

AESTHETICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPECTS IN MORALES' 1544 REQUIEM

ESTETISKE OG HISTORISKE ASPEKTER I MORALES' 1544 REQUIEM

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ABSTRACT

English

The reign of Spanish emperor Charles V (1500–1553) was marked by the political and cultural unification of Spain. Despite the strong influence of the Inquisition, the country witnessed the flourishing of the arts, financed with the discovery of American gold. Among the beneficiaries of the royal patronage was the composer Cristóbal de Morales (1500–1553), who wrote the first Spanish requiem mass. The polyphonic Requiem à 5 (1544) was performed at the funeral of Charles V in 1559 and again in the obsequies of his son Philipp II, in 1598. Despite the international fame and posthumous prestige of Morales, little is known about the inception of this mass that holds immense political, artistic and historical importance. The available literature approaches the Requiem in collateral ways and there are currently no academic works dedicated exclusively to the musical or historical analysis of this masterpiece. Through comparison with similar works of funerary music from 1497 to 1556, this dissertation aims to highlight its exclusivity and the technical features behind its “beauty and profundity”, as it is described in epoch accounts.

Norsk

Den spanske keiseren Karl Vs regjeringstid (1500–1553) var preget av den politiske og kulturelle foreningen av Spania. Til tross for inkvisisjonens sterke innflytelse, var landet også vitne til blomstringen av kunsten, finansiert med oppdagelsen av amerikansk gull. Blant mottakerne av det kongelige patronatet var komponisten Cristóbal de Morales (1500–1553), som skrev den første spanske rekviemmessen. Det polyfone Requiem à 5 (1544) ble fremført ved keiserens begravelse i 1559 og igjen i begravelse av hans sønn Philipp II, i 1598. Til tross for Morales internasjonale berømmelse og posthume prestisje, liten er kjent om begynnelsen av denne masse som har enorm politisk, kunstnerisk og historisk betydning. Den tilgjengelige litteraturen nærmer seg Requiem på andre måter, og det er foreløpig ingen akademiske verk dedikert utelukkende til den musikalske eller historiske analysen av dette mesterverket. Gjennom sammenligning med lignende verk av begravellesmusikk fra 1497 til 1556, tar denne avhandlingen sikte på å synliggjøre dens eksklusivitet og de tekniske trekkene bak dens "skjønnhet og dyphet", slik den er beskrevet i epokeberetninger.

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INTRODUCTION

After the fall of Granada on January 2, 1492 and Columbus' first arrival to America later in October of the same year, the newly unified Kingdom of Spain was at the centre of a series of events that radically changed the course of Western history. The discoveries of immense reserves of gold and silver in America led to an era of cultural splendour sponsored by the Spanish monarchy. Figures like the painter El Greco, the composer Cristóbal de Morales and the writer Miguel de Cervantes are beneficiaries and witnesses of that era. In terms of religious music, the flourishing cultural production of Spain in the 16th century would not be exempt from the pervasive influence and severe interpretation of Catholic doctrine.

In addition to being sponsored by the Spanish Crown through Charles V (1500–1558) and his son Philip II (1527–1598), the Catholic Church preserved the legacy of this generation of polyphonic music composers. Among the greatest representatives of the Andalusian school of polyphony, lies the oeuvre of Morales – said to be unparalleled style and refinement by his contemporaries and successors. The influence of his work, for example, was to be felt even during the time of Padre Martini, the Italian teacher of Mozart. When asked about the finest compositions among the Sistine Chapel archives, the composer pointed out that Morales' Magnificats were second to none. However, it was not until the late 19th century that the splendid musical legacy of the renaissance Hispania came to be academically discussed. In 1868, August Wilhelm Ambros, a romantic Austrian composer, referred in high esteem to the music of Morales in his compendium *The history of Music* (Geschichte der Musik). In 1886, J. Garda Icazbalceta published a book containing rich and detailed epoch accounts from the 16th century Mexico concerning the elaborate funeral rites for the deceased Emperor Charles V.

In 1913, Henri Collet published an authoritative book about the mysticism in the Spanish music of 16th century. The French musicologist was a pioneer in the study of Spanish sacred music. This book used an historical analysis as a base to discuss the music and presented polyphonic music of that period in international perspective. However, it does not seem that until the 1950s, Spanish and English-speaking musicology paid much attention to this fascinating musical period in Spain. A major source in organizing, cataloguing, studying and discussing the Andalusian school of polyphony came through the lifetime efforts of Monsignor Higinio Anglés. In Rome, 1952, Anglés published *Cristóbal de Morales, Opera omnia* in eight volumes – an authoritative source that later on was much praised and employed in the writings of Robert Murrell Stevenson. Around this time, the interest of mainstream English language literature seems to have been sparked. In 1954, Stevenson published a review of the first part

of *Opera Omnia*. In 1961, he published *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* – a respected source that became reference among scholarship for the studies of this repertory. In the chapter devoted to the biography of Morales, there are extensive reports on the execution of his Requiem à 5, and the commotion and compliments the polyphonic mass arose at the epoch’s audience. Mostly thanks to the individual works of Samuel Rubio and Robert Murrell Stevenson, the interest in this repertory has gradually widespread. The systematic study of Morales’ 1544 Requiem I am proposing also finds justification because there are extensive publications about the Requiems of Victoria (Rees 2019, for example), but none exclusively dedicated to Morales’ Requiem à 5. As of 2022, all other publications about Morales’ life, work, or Requiem masses approach marginally this milestone in the development of the polyphonic Requiem.

I deem that the Andalusian school does not find proper merit among the current musicological literature, and, that the music of Morales has been given even less attention ever since. Despite the glimmering aesthetic quality of his music and masterful technique, there are very few specialized publications dealing exclusively with his legacy. This work intends to honour the memory of this composer and leave an open invitation for the forthcoming generations of researchers, musicologists and performers to lean over the precious artistic heritage left by Morales, the “light of Spain in music” – as described by Juan Bermudo (Stevenson 1961, 3). My thesis intends to leave an open invitation to future scholars to lean on the Requiem à 5, in Morales’s work, and in the Spanish Renaissance in general. This research is promoting another regard into this very important composer of the Renaissance and upon the piece. In the musicology of the past centuries, the study of polyphonic music – especially that of Josquin, Palestrina, and Victoria was mostly discussing their contrapuntal teachings. In this work, I propose a rather artistic approach of this relatively unknown composer.

My bachelor thesis dealt particularly with the introitus of the Requiem à 5. The resulting insights provided me a basis to now extend the analysis to all the movements of the piece. My bachelor thesis combined historical information with analysis, but the analysis was mostly occupied in studying and describing the compositional procedures of the *Introitus*. This master dissertation is a further step: an effort to understand the music of Morales both as a product of its cultural environment as well as contextualizing it among the polyphonic Requiem tradition. Moreover, the comparison enabled me to understand why is the style of Morales so unique and why he was so eulogized during and after his lifetime. However, Morales is still not a widely known composer in our times; I had the privilege of getting in touch with his work through my former music history classes. If even Padre Martini praised his work two hundred years after

Morales' death, Morales deserves his legacy to be kept alive by the academic community: he merits more exclusive publications about his oeuvre, more performances of his music, and proper prestige aside composers such as Josquin and Palestrina.

My approach to the research relies mostly on the historical considerations, which is a tool to understand art according to sociological, political, religious and economic factors. Collet's 1913 *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle* is a great example of presenting original epoch accounts and then adding modern commentaries. I find this method of great utility for my historical problematization of the Morales' Requiem à 5. I propose to contextualize Morales' Requiem à 5 either with the polyphonic Requiem tradition and a broader cultural panorama. The major challenge is to derive subjective or artistic conclusions from technical features in the music, using historical information as justification. It was also challenging to gather separate pieces of information about Morales, Spain, Charles V and the Requiem tradition and style it as a cohesive story.

This research work is organized in sections that depart from a broad cultural and historical perspective and narrows down to the score of the Morales' 1544 Requiem and to similar works composed in the thriving first half of the 16th century. The first chapter functions as a great introduction to the historical moment surrounding the creation of Morales' oeuvre and the cultural influences that derived from such environment. The history of mankind suffered a great shift with the discovery of America in 1492 by Columbus – employed by Charles' V grandparents, Fernando and Isabela. The discoveries of immense amounts of gold allowed the Spanish crown to start a massive programme of royal patronage and humanistic studies. The emperor himself was highly educated in music, a distinctive personality feature that might help to understand the emergence of figures such as Penalosa, Morales, Guerrero and later on, Victoria. However, there is no certitude whether Morales met Charles V in person. The emperor sponsored the arts and letters, but thoroughly continued to culturally and politically unify the four crowns that formed the recently unified Kingdom of Spain. This process was mostly performed by the Holy Inquisition, who sought to eliminate vestiges of seven hundred years of Arabic domination in the Iberian Peninsula. Such staunch views of the catholic religion quickly spread into the arts, creating the sober, profound and as Collet first coined (1913), the "mysticism" of the Spanish musical style. Such aesthetical aspects are elements that originated as summation of religious, political and cultural influences. They can be perceived in the polyphonic music of this period, that is very contrasting in style if compared to the Franco-Flemish, Italian, English, or Burgundian schools, for example. The shortage of literature about this specific mass required an indirect approach within the literature survey, performed by

looking at sources indirectly citing or dealing with Morales and the Requiem à 5. The first chapter enlists special consideration on how has the Catholic doctrine impacted the Spanish rite, and the politics and aesthetics of the national art. The centre of the discussion shifts to the celebratory particularities of the Spanish Catholic rite, and how did those precepts are connected to the music I am analysing.

The second chapter is dedicated to enlisting the technical and aesthetical particularities of the Spanish liturgy, that much influenced the sonority and artistic conception of Morales' Requiem. This chapter includes a literature survey in order to determine more precisely in which region, city, or parish do scholars refer when addressing the "Spanish rite". Particularities of the Spanish rite in relation to Morales' Requiem are clearly manifested in the monumental 1544 mass for the dead: the chant-bearing soprano, slow and large chordal texture, intense usage of the low register, restricted usage of imitation, general absence of melodic ornaments, alternation between homophonic and contrapuntal sections. The stylistic particularities of the Spanish rite in contrast to the Roman liturgical practice reveal that the distinctive long plainchant intonations employed by Morales do not follow the Roman practice. A deeper investigation to determine the probable place in Spain of which those traditions arose from found evidence that the performance of Morales' Requiem was connected to the Toledan rite. Morales also set into music the verses of the hymn *Israel, tu es rex* with a particular form – one that was in conformity to the Toledan plainchant tradition. According to Spanish theorists, the "Toledo way" was the grandiose and solemn mood with which prayers were recited in Spanish cathedrals on solemn days – and this is the sonority that modern literature should bear in mind when imagining the first performance of Morales' Requiem à 5.

The third chapter is the individual analysis of some aspects in Morales' Requiem à 5. The main research criterion is a search for textural changes, which will be regarded as an artistic effect applied to the funerary polyphonic mass of the 16th century. I will also discuss structural features such as the employment of cadential formulas as devices for "piercing" the texture as well as the usage of texts. Variations of scoring (usage of more or less voices) are approached both as a structuring element and aesthetic effect. The second most important analytical aspect is trying to determine where are the Spanish influences. Since the following chapter discusses a comparison between the Requiem à 5 and similar pieces, I aim to highlight Morales Requiem à 5 original and "ethnic" aspects. The third chapter conducts an analysis of the Requiem observing the aesthetical elements described on the second chapter, but mostly aiming at textural changes. The alternation between homophony and polyphony in deplorative (funeral) music was started much before, having in Josquin's *Nymphes de bois* a great representative of

such technique. Besides textural contrasts, the discussion of melodic structures as cadential formulae and is fundamental, since Morales' 1544 setting of the Requiem à 5 was the first Requiem in Spain – as well as one of the earliest in the literature. This specific way usage of alternating between textures was a milestone in developing the Requiem tradition. The principal claim in the chapter is that structural aspects of the Requiem à 5 are connected to the musical theory in vigour at that time. One central aspect of that theory refers to the choice of texts to set into music, as Lowinsky (1954) points out. Since Renaissance music was largely vocal, the selection of texts “is in itself highly revealing”. The chapter is a preparation for the main analytical tool in the forthcoming section: a chart organizing the textual selection and the contrapuntal treatment that composers before and after Morales applied to the Requiem texts. Another major challenge arose when I was confronted in regards to which pieces to compare. I selected three earlier pieces than the 1544 Requiem à 5, and three later pieces – including Morales' own Requiem mass from 1551 (à 4). I designed this comparison so that it contains the most important representatives of the early polyphonic Requiem tradition. After mapping of the most relevant textural shifts in Morales' Requiem à 5, I will compare five different pieces and place the 1544 Requiem as the reference of the comparison. I will provide brief explanations about the other funerary music I am comparing and an introduction to their particularities.

The fourth chapter is a both a systematic and theoretical comparison between Morales' Requiem à 5 and mortuary music from 1497–1556. The selected analysis method chapter is comparison of funerary music in the first half of the 16th century, looking particularly for textural changes. Since the concept of harmony or tonality did not exist at the time, a major compositional technique to vehicle expressive intentions in mortuary music was given through the increase or decrease of the scoring. The comparison will also be searching for similarities and differences in style. The procedure of textural manipulation had been developed in funerary music at least since the publication of Josquin's *Nymphes de Bois* in 1497. There will be also examinations on contrapuntal aspects, both in their similarities and differences – such as type of imitation, plainchant placement, and distance between voices. The fourth chapter also gives attention to smaller stylistic features, such as number of voices assigned for the score, selection of specific texts, and text treatment.

The purpose of comparing Requiems from different schools aims the discussion on treatment of specific texts and textural changes – and not only the contrapuntal procedures. Confronting some of the main examples in the literature reveals in which way or which parts Morales was similar to his Franco-Flemish colleagues, and where are their greatest artistic

differences manifested. The objective of the comparison is to place the Requiem à 5 in the centre of the discussion, while looking for similarities and differences in textural changes on selected examples. Organizing the masses in a systematic manner aims to form a clear panorama of their technical and stylistic similarities, and sport their main differences under the light of one single aspect: texture. Once organized in chronological order, the comparison provides a better understanding of the early Requiem tradition. Quantitative aspects also are also to be taken into account (e.g., how many movements were set into music, and which parts are missing), since such data is relevant for the discussion regarding structure. The conclusion of the chapter is devoted to formulating hypotheses on Morales' usage of texture in the light of the historical and aesthetical aspects which are ever pervading the construction of his art.

Chapter 1 – HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SPAIN UNDER THE RULE OF CHARLES V

Cristóbal de Morales was widely regarded as one of the greatest composers of his time in Europe. Stevenson (1961, 3) claims that “no Spanish composer of the 16th century was more lauded during his lifetime and for two hundred years after his death than Morales. Juan Bermudo – a knowledgeable vernacular treatise-writer of the age – called Morales the ‘light of Spain in music’”. Another musician that lived after Morales wrote about him, in regard to his musical reputation: in 1711, Andrea Adami da Bolsena listed the Spaniard as the most important composer in the papal chapel between Josquin and Palestrina (ibid). Adami particularly praised the masses for their polish, their learned contrivance and their elevated style. The Italian composer called Morales’s *Lamentabatur Jacob* the most precious work in the Capella Sistina archives, referring to it as a ‘marvel of art’ (Stevenson and Planchart 2001, §2). Even Padre Martini (1706–1784), the teacher of Mozart, was an admirer of Morales’ work. In his 1774 "*Esemplare o sia saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*", the Italian composer and theorist printed excerpts from three of Morales's Magnificats, placing them as models to be followed by aspiring contrapuntists of his own generation (Stevenson 1953, 5). In 1711, Andrea Adami in his *Osservazioni* called Morales's five-voice motet *Lamentabatur Jacob* “the most precious composition in the entire Sistine Chapel archive”, not even excepting any work of Palestrina, and described its performance as an annual event (ibid).

Morales’ Requiem à 5 was chosen to be performed in the interment of three rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. The mass, first published 1544, was probably composed in 1539 for the funeral of the wife of Charles V, Isabel de Portugal, and possibly performed by Morales himself with the rest of the chapel (Conchiña 1998, §Una obra excepcional). The Requiem was later sung in 1598 at the funeral ceremony of Philipp II, in Toledo cathedral (Chase 2004, 30) and also in 1559 at the commemorations honouring Charles V’s passing in Mexico (Stevenson 1961, 4).

The Spanish chronicler Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (1514–1575) refers to the elevated artistic dimension of this mass: several of Morales's compositions were chosen for performance at Mexico City because “they were thought best suited to the dignity of the occasion” (Icazbalceta 1886, 120). The chronicler listed each composition and said that they dissolved the audience in tears and gave “great contentment to the hearers”. This mass is also relevant to the historical development of the Requiem mass genre, as it constitutes one of the

earliest complete settings attributable to one author (Karp, Fitch, and Smallman 2001, §2) and was the first complete Spanish polyphonic Requiem mass in history (Wagstaff 2002, 39).

However, despite the fact of having the same piece performed twice in royal funerals (allegedly three), there is currently not enough academic literature about this piece of great political, cultural and artistic esteem. For example, in her comparative study of Requiem masses by Morales, Palestrina and Victoria, Heather Paudler (2010, 35–49) briefly mentions Morales' 1544 Requiem as part of comparing the liturgical differences between Roman and Spanish rites among those works. My inquiry indicates that there are no master or Doctoral dissertations dedicated exclusively to the analysis of Morales' 1544 Requiem. Stevenson and Planchart (2001, §3-iii) make an even more brief mention of the 1544 Requiem. Numerous CD program notes such as Knighton (1998) and Mechen (2009) praise the beauty and spiritual preoccupations of this Requiem and bring proper historical contextualization. In his 2002 co-publication with Robert Snow, George Grayson Wagstaff (2002, *Encomium Musicae*) evokes important epoch testimonies about the performance of the five-voice Requiem; yet, his focus lies in the polyphonic invitatory *Circumdederunt me* that Morales wrote as a “distinctively Spanish liturgical element”. In his authoritative 1961 “Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age”, Stevenson dedicates a whole chapter about Morales and eulogizes his immense artistic prestige throughout Europe during his lifetime – yet, he mentions the 1544 Requiem tangentially. The same brief reference is to be found in the original 1980 and 2001 articles he wrote for Grove dictionary of Music and Musicians.

Nonetheless, the interest in Morales – as well as a deeper understanding of the Spanish Renaissance music – has its origins in the beginning of the 20th century. The study of the Spanish sacred music gained momentum particularly after the 1913 publication of *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI^e siècle* (“Spanish musical mysticism in the 16th century”) by Henri Collet. He characterizes this repertoire as consisting of “[...] admirable choral works distinguished by an originality of race, and which possess a rare expressive virtue. This virtue is Catholic mysticism, and we will soon be able to speak of the mysticism of the Middle Ages. The works of which we speak, hatched in the shadow of medieval cathedrals, express the living soul of this exceptional period of the sixteenth century in Spain” (Collet 1913, 1, translation of mine).

Collet states that the musician who would study them by “technique only” could not appreciate the spirit or the mission, and hence the “examination of these complex monuments must be continued following a historical method” (ibid, 2). He sustains that “their characters will emerge only after research on the time, the circumstances, the various influences, the life

of the authors, and, finally on the way in which these conceived and carried out their work” (ibid, 2). In order to understand whether the cultural environment determines or influences the perception of an artwork, I shall lean over the historical aspects encircling the composition of Morales’ 1544 mass.

I. CRISTÓBAL DE MORALES’ REPUTATION AND RELATION TO THE SPANISH EMPEROR

Despite Morales’ elevated reputation in Spain during and after his lifetime (Stevenson 1961, 3; Stevenson and Planchart 2001, § 2), modern scholars have no evidence that Charles V has actually met Morales. The composer visited Genova in May 1543 with the hope of taking over the position of *maestro de capilla* of the Emperor’s chapel (R. M. Stevenson 1961, 22). The Spanish composer died before his polyphonic Requiem mass for 5 voices – published in his *Missarum liber secundus* in Rome in 1544 – was sung in Charles’ funeral celebrations (Icazbalceta 1886, 120). Despite the political importance of the ceremony, we are short of available information about exactly where and when the Requiem was composed (Paudler 2010, 21). Morales (1500–1553) was born at the same year as Charles V but died five years before him. Hence, the composer was unable to see his Requiem à 5 performed throughout Europe (Allo Manero 2000, 275) and even further away in time and space, when the same Requiem mass was performed to honour the passing of Charles’ son Philipp II in Mexico in 1598 (Rees 2019, 43). Stevenson (1961, 3) states that “No Spanish composer of the sixteenth century was more lauded during his lifetime and for two hundred years after his death than Morales”. He first began to publish in 1539. Two years later he was called ‘the most excellent Morales,’ and in the next two decades forty different publications containing his compositions appeared at diverse centers. Stevenson postulates that “Morales was the only Spanish composer of his century whom the Lutherans admired sufficiently to include in their own denominational collections” (ibid). Stevenson collects some elements about the composer’s lifetime and posthumous reputation:

Nor was Morales's fame confined to the Eastern Hemisphere. As far afield as Peru and Mexico his music was copied, admired, and performed in the second half of the sixteenth century. His two books of masses published at Rome in 1544 were already the proudest musical possession at [...] Cuzco, when the first inventory of Cuzco Cathedral treasure was taken on February 21,

1553. [...] The present wide dispersal of manuscript copies of Morales's music in Mexico, Spain, and Italy proves the geographic spread of his reputation. The number of publishing centers where his music continued to be printed for two-thirds of a century after his death [...] (ibid, 3)

The widespread fame of Morales might have been a decisive factor in the posthumous treatment of his Requiem à 5. Wagstaff (2002, 45) formulates a hypothesis on why Morales' Requiem à 5 from 1544 was chosen to be sung in Mexico in 1559 in the memory of Charles V – as well as almost forty years later, in the ceremonies to honour the passing of his son Philipp II in Toledo, in 1598:¹

Given Morales's importance in bringing the learnedness of counterpoint into the mainstream of Spanish composition, it seems that this mass combining several traditions was probably performed² in honor of Charles V. This selection process, choosing those items appropriate for use in Spanish cathedrals, would explain why Morales' work was copied in the Toledan choirbook in the first place. [...].

Although Stevenson suggests that Morales did not meet Charles V in person, Alison McFarland (2002, 331) proposes that the composer had somehow near ties with the monarch. She explains that Toledo was an imperial city, and an ambitious man (i.e. Morales) would find the possibility of service within the empire an appealing proposition. In Toledo, a talented young musician-priest could certainly have gained the notice of some of Charles' circle. She also claims that persuasive evidence links Morales' Missa Mille regretz to Charles' circle. The tune was known as 'the emperor's song', and the illustration that accompanies the printed Mass seems to clinch the argument (the presence of symbol of the Habsburg empire, the crowned double eagle). Further about the relationship between Charles V and Morales, and particularly on how Morales sought the protection and patronage of the emperor, McFarland (ibid, 330–31) postulates:

Morales was thus working for the representative in Rome of the most powerful man in Europe. This connection with Charles explains a body of Masses by Morales that are otherwise

¹ Chase (2004, 30) mentions the possibility that the work Morales' Requiem à 5 was performed for the funeral of King Philip II of Spain in September 1598 as well – an hypothesis that is later confirmed by Rees (2019, 43).

² The account brought by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar in "*El túmulo imperial*", published in Mexico city in 1560, is unequivocal about Morales' five-voice Requiem and the antifona *Circumdedeunt me* used as invitatory.

difficult to fathom: his two *L'homme armé* Masses and the *Missa Mille regretz*. The *L'homme armé* tune was a common enough subject: but, as [William F.] Prizer has revealed, many of the Masses on that tune were written for the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Charles V would have been the inheritor of that tradition and head of the Order in Morales's day.

In addition, Morales's music was employed at the Charles' V court ceremonies in numerous occasions. A motet of the Spanish composer was used to celebrate a peace treaty between Charles V and Francis I of France. Ferer (2012, 238) writes: "The image of the emperor as peacemaker resonates in *Jubilate Deo*, the motet by Morales that commemorated the negotiations between Charles, Francis, and Pope Paul III at Nice in June 1538". William F. Prizer concluded that a five-voice setting by Morales of the motet *Andreas Christi Famulus* may also have been written for the Order of the Golden Fleece (ibid), which Charles V presided. Cervantes de Salazar (1514–1575), a Spanish chronicler who settled in Mexico City in 1553, wrote a description of the musical service for Charles V in the cathedral, in 1559:

After all these acts were completed with utmost magnificence and authority, and after everyone was seated, the vigil then began with the chapelmaster [...] dividing his choral forces into two groups for the Invitatory. One choir sang the *Circumdederunt me* and the other the *Venite exultemus* psalm: both in the polyphonic settings composed by Cristóbal de Morales. At the outset of the vigil, the hearts of all present were lifted toward heaven because of the sublimity and sweetness of the sound[...] Upon completion of the Lord's Prayer, Morales's *Parce mihi*, Domine was sung to the great satisfaction of all present. (Salazar: "Título Imperial de la Gran Ciudad de México", published by Antonio de Espinosa in 1560, Mexico. In: Stevenson 1961, 108)

Stevenson (ibid) sustains that Cervantes de Salazar was, in the same way as the deceased Emperor, a "musically knowledgeable person". The account personally written by Salazar shows to the reader that he held the music of Morales in high esteem – would have the emperor done the same, if he was able to hear it? Before formulating hypotheses on why were Morales' compositions chosen for this funeral service (and again in 1598 for Charles V's heir, Philip II), it is necessary to take in consideration the wide and refined musical and artistic education that the monarch received throughout at an early stage.

II. MUSICAL EDUCATION OF CHARLES V AND THE EMPEROR'S ARTISTIC VISIONS

The reign of Spanish king and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), the first Habsburg ruler of Spain, spanned from 1516 to 1556 and was marked by the continuation of ultra-catholic policies started by his parents Philip I of Castille and Joana of Aragon (Rawlings 2002, xiv; Paudler 2010, 3). However, the image of an authoritarian monarch and catholic soldier – widely regarded as the most powerful statesman of the 16th century (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 5) – sometimes obscures the most private and human features of the emperor. For example, the emperor's lifetime relation for music (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 204–5) is not given the due attention. The musically educated monarch had a special affection for this art: “Charles V, an artist by nature, had been educated with refinement musical since his childhood; he esteemed the music in his chapel, primarily as the most effective means of glorifying God, and later to rejoice and spiritually amuse his soul” (Anglés 1944, 84). Collet (1913, 115) wrote that

Charles V, above all, had a certain predilection for them [the arts of music]. A pupil himself, in his youth, of the Flemish van Viven who taught him [to play] the spinet and the organ; later disciple of the famous Bredemers (1472–1517) [...]; surrounded by Dutch masters until his departure for Spain [Charles V listened] to their compositions being played by his musical sisters [nuns], [and] he must necessarily have kept a lasting impression of this first contact.

The Emperor's musical chapel was of such prestige that in the event of his abdication, the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg, led by his younger brother Ferdinand I, tried to gain control of the ensemble – an act that was ferociously opposed by the Emperor's son, Philipp II (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 204–5). Even in the two years that separated his abdication in 1556 and his death in 1558, Charles V was concerned with the musical quality at the services he attended: in the monastery of Yuste, where he spent his retirement living as a monk, he ordered the formation of a musical chapel – carefully choosing the best singers among all the Hispanic convents of the Hieronymite Order (ibid, 205). Fernández Álvarez (2006, 2) states that the life of Charles V could be defined as a constant struggle to convert the inherited Europe into the Europe of his dreams. To achieve such transformation, he argues – Charles V used artistic production under his patronage as a mean to glorify his personality and carve his reign into history. Fernández Álvarez (ibid, 271) also commented on the relationship of Charles V and

Titian, arguing that the Emperor's satisfaction with the Venetian painter stems from the search by Carlos V for an artist who would leave his image as he wanted it. Charles V used artistic means to consolidate his image: "its musical chapel exemplified the greatness of the sovereign, and that some of his salaried musicians of great prestige such as Cabezón were the bulwark of his cultural power" (Olarte 2000, para. 1, translation of mine).

Ferer (2012, 13) is even more assertive about the usage of the arts by Charles V with political intentions: she argues that the perceptions of Charles V that have survived to the present day are largely those which were fashioned by his image-makers – artists such as Titian and Leoni (as well as courtiers, poets, historians, and the chroniclers of his reign). I sustain that Morales should be included among those who helped shape the image of the monarch: in many occasions besides the burial festivities held in Mexico in 1559, the music of Morales was used to celebrate the greatness of the emperor. Stevenson (1961, 16) remarks that

If it cannot be proved that Morales's music was sung in the emperor's presence in April, 1536, it is at least certain that in the same year he had already written one of his most masterful motets, the six-voice *Veni Domine et noli tardare*; [...] At the next meeting of pope and emperor two years later in Nice, Morales was the composer of the official welcome music.

III. CHARLES V RELATIONSHIP TO MUSIC

Ferer (2012, 14) states that music played an extremely significant role in the presentation of the emperor's public image and also as means of political propaganda. She ponders that albeit music enhanced the splendour and magnificence of the royal spectacle, its role in political promotion has to some extent been ignored – arguing that motets and other musical settings with texts in Latin were used to laud and magnify his military victories. Regarding the ceremonial character of music under the rule of Charles V, Audubert (2016) recalls that musical settings served to heighten the sacral aspect of the monarchy, the royal entries, the military victories, the signing of treaties or alliances, the receptions of foreign ruler. Audubert points out that the ceremonial splendour in such occasions, from the musical and cultural point of view, were opportunities for European royals and dignitaries to compete with each other in magnificence. It means, then, using music as a cultural artifact in the service of his political objectives of "converting the inherited Europe into his dreamt Europe" (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 2).

Charles V's musical taste may have been influenced by the musical taste of the aunt that raised him, Marguerite of Austria, (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 194), who favoured mournful chansons (O'Donovan 2014). Among those chansons, his well-known affection for Josquin's *Mille Regretz* stands out (ibid); the lyrics of this chanson describe the lamentations of a lover. In addition to this mournful aspect of his psyche, epoch chronicles from Gasparo Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to the court of Charles V, describe the emperor as having "a melancholic complexion, and standing out for his extreme religiosity and righteous spirit – it would be the ethical meaning of his existence", as later claimed Spanish philologist Menéndez Pidal (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 184). Fernández Álvarez (2006, 202) poses that "the Renaissance formation of Carlos V is evident in his desire for art to give due testimony to his deeds. [Do not] the portraits of the emperor coincide with the paintings and sculptures that the artists of his time have given us?"

I suggest that the "[high] cultural level of the court of his aunt Margarita, in which Charles V grew up" (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 51) exposed the young emperor to perceive the artistic production as a mean to consecrate his image into posterity. I also argue that his religious education and conceptions helped to build the emperor's artistic values. It is also possible that Charles V's personal tastes influenced the sacred music of the Church that he attended? Collet (1913, 119) makes a short account on the Emperor's musical habits in the years of his retirement in the monastery of Yuste:

Ruthless critic, emeritus composer, Charles V was still a singer with a sounding voice. The Monks often listened to him, behind the door of his apartment while he chanted some well-known motet, or hummed "in consonance with those of the choir" of which he perceived the slightest negligence, despite the distance and the thickness of the walls. This love of singing pursued him even at night, and his secretary Van Male was constantly woken up to sing [...].

Collet also evokes a passage by Théodore Juste in his book *Charles V and Margarita of Austria*, giving an account about the emperor's state of mind some weeks before his death – and how music would influence it:

Even in this strange "repetition of death" that Charles V gave himself to Yuste on August 30, 1558, music holds the greatest place: 'He heard lugubrious music' which is usually sung at masses consecrated for the dead; he listened attentively to the hymns, the antiphons, and the other prayers that the assistants intoned in a sad tone to ask God, according to the custom of

the Roman Church, the eternal rest of his soul and a place in the abode of the blessed. He himself joined with touching devotion to the songs of the Assembly, and implored the mercy of the Sovereign judge of men. (Collet 1913, 120)

Stevenson (1961, 177) complements the accounts evoked by Juste, by adding that the emperor not only met Francisco Guerrero in person (a student of Morales and later *Maestro de Capilla* in Toledo Cathedral). Stevenson claims that when Guerrero presented a new composition to the monarch, Charles V immediately recognized certain borrowed passages in the new mass of Guerrero. Stevenson commented the unlikeliness of “any of the friars having heard much foreign polyphony”. The same source explains that the Hieronymite friars were willing to allow Charles the joy of discovery; and that “when the emperor spoke out, they all united in admiring his vast musical knowledge” (ibid).

IV. THE EMPEROR’S RELIGIOSITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ARTS

Paudler (2010, 21) and Fernández Álvarez (2006, 196) write that at the time of Charles V’s reign, Spain had a large population of converted Moorish and Jewish populations – whose faith was regarded as ambivalent. Commenting on the religious habits of the Spanish people in the 16th century, Collet (1913, 108) argues that “The success of religious policy was complete, thanks above all ‘to the combined action of kings and the Inquisition’”. In regard to the general acceptance of the Catholic faith in Spain during Charles V’s reign, Fernández Álvarez (2006, 195) argues that “we see in the Hispanic Crown something peculiar, something well received by its people: the providential sense. It could not be otherwise, for those who saw the holy war in defence of Christianity as the maximum justification of his [Charles V] life”. The author also adds that both Charles V and his parents and son “saw themselves as the arm elected by God” (ibid, 195). The religious point of view was, so to speak, the only one in which the agents of this vaunted ‘Spanish unity’ were placed. In his accounts on the personality and physical aspect of the Emperor, Contarini adds that “It is true that he feels sadness more than joy, according to the quality of his character; which, [as] I have said before, is melancholic” (ibid, 186, my translation). Regarding his “extreme religiosity”, Badoaro – another Venetian ambassador to his court – stated in 1557 that Charles V had a “grave aspect” and gave the following account:

For, coming to the parts of the spirit, His Majesty has shown in all his words and in his actions the greatest adherence to the Catholic faith. Every day of His life he has heard one [mass], and often, two Masses; at [the] present [moment] he hears three [services], of which one is for the soul of the Empress and another for the Queen, her mother. He attends sermons on the occasion of the solemn feasts of the Church, as well as all those of Lent and sometimes also vespers and other divine services. Nowadays, he makes [forces himself to] read the Bible every day [...] as a great testimony of his religious zeal, that when he was in Ingolstadt, in the proximity of the Protestant army, they saw him at midnight in his pavilion kneeling before a crucifix and with his hands clasped (ibid, 190, my translation).

Ferer (2012, 15) makes an observation on the direct intervention of Charles V in his musical service, stating that the religious rituals as well as the duties and responsibilities of the *Capilla Flamenca* (the Flemish Chapel of which the emperor was so proud) are to be taken into consideration. Ferer also claims that the repertory of devotional motets fulfilled the liturgical requirements that were stipulated in the ordinances issued by the court (of Charles V). This direct intervention in the *capilla* is illustrative of how Charles V employed both his stark religious beliefs to project his public image through the control of artistic production. Wagstaff (1998, 556–57) adds that Spain’s (then) recent expulsion of the Jews and victory over the Muslims at Granada, must have been an epoch reference to the attempts to cleanse the country of anything that could be thought of as an influence from those two religions³. Also according to Wagstaff, nonetheless in that context music and sound were believed to have the power to sway people's behavior toward “unacceptable foreign practices” (ibid, 558).

About Charles V’s relationship to sacred music, Collet (1913, 116) writes: “[T]his historian has limited his work at the prince's entrance to the monastery of Yuste, *and it is precisely from this time that [it is] essential [for us] to know the tastes of the emperor and his direct influence on the Spanish school.*” (my italics) Collet also remarked that “religious music captivated and enchanted” Charles V; and “by dint [the forced habit] of hearing masses, hymns or motets interpreted by the monks in this way, Charles V appreciates their exact value. He becomes a critic with a trained and vigilant ear: he does not allow false notes, dissonances, foreign voices.” (ibid). Ferer (2012, 20) sustains that a repertory of motets, masses and chansons can be connected with ceremonial occasions as well with religious rituals at the court of Charles V. To highlight the special devotion that Charles V had to music – and also the esteem for musicians as artists, Stevenson (1961, 16) remarks that when he left Rome in April 18, 1536,

³ Judaism and Islam, respectively.

Charles V distributed 100 scudi (the epoch's currency) to the papal singers as a mark of special favor for the music they had sung during Holy Week and at Easter.

V. CHARLES V AND THE RESPONSE TO PROTESTANT REFORMATION: CULTURAL INFLUENCES UNDER HIS RULE

Given the political and religious desires of Charles V to unify Spain under one king and one faith as well as the importance of music in the royal protocol, could Morales' 1544 Requiem be considered a cultural artifact at the service of such ambitions? Also considering the effects of the Reformation which took place at the same time of Charles' reign (in the early 1540s) Wienpahl claims that

[T]hough initially limited to religion, [it] quickly spread to politics, due to the close alliance of Church and State, thus affecting the populace both from within, spiritually, and from without, politically. Therefore there could be scarcely any conceivable facet of human endeavour which did not reflect its powerful influence. In perhaps more remote areas of science and art it is a little more difficult to assess. (Wienpahl 1971, 414).

Wienpahl observes the difficulty to trace how did the immense power of the Church reach or influence "remote areas of art". The literature I have brought into question so far focuses on Charles V usage of his musical chapel and other artists at his service as instruments for personal glorification, but not specifically as liturgic apparatus as vehicles of Charles' Christian devotion. Paudler (2010, 2) remarks that the support of the crown strengthened the power of the Spanish Church by controlling ecclesiastical patronage and determining religious policy. A militant policy sanctioned by the monarchs, known as the Holy Inquisition, rigorously enforced the practice of orthodox principles of belief and behaviour. She also brings into discussion another very relevant event at the time Morales wrote his Requiem à 5: the composer's first Requiem Mass dates from 1544, a year before the first meeting in Trent. She states that despite Spain's firm commitment to Catholicism, it was not unaffected by the Reformation (ibid, 21) – a religious and political theme that was dear to Charles V.

Fernández Álvarez (2006, 784–85) writes that when the Pope Paul III announced the opening of the great Council of the Church, which was to be held in Trent, at once he would give orders to his son Felipe so that the best theologians that were in the Hispanic Universities

to be set in motion – from low-ranking prelates to university professors. Fernández Álvarez observes yet another crucial political and cultural landmark in the reign of Charles V, which also coincides with the exact period that Morales wrote his first Requiem, in 1544: the triumphal victory of the ultra-catholic armies of Charles V over the protestant League of Schmalkalden in 1547. He writes that the war against the Protestant League of Schmalkalden and the supposed Lutheran outbreaks in Castile in the middle of the century revived religious fanaticism, once again giving the Inquisition its terrible power (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 236–37).

I suggest that the examination of Morales' 1544 Requiem, which Collet (1913, 2) described as one “of these complex monuments” must follow a historical interpretation. I endorse his argument that the tastes of the emperor exerted direct influence on the Spanish school (Collet 1913, 116), but much before his retirement period in the monastery of Yuste. There are abundant historical, cultural and political elements to justify the analysis of Morales' 1544 Requiem through a historical and aesthetical method.

The harsh counter-reformation ethos sparked by the Council of Trent exerted immense influence in the artistic conception of Spanish artists during that time. I hypothesize that Charles V's “keen taste on sorrowful music” (O'Donovan 2014, 3) was somehow influential on the sober, spirituous and dark *éthos* of sacred music composition under his reign. There is no material proof whether Charles V commended those works of arts according to his personal preference. If we consider the ultra-catholic religious and refined musical education of Charles V, the general aesthetic guidelines of Spanish sacred music from this epoch makes sense. The profoundly religious-driven and serious style of Hyspanic polyphony at that time might have amused the emperor that “felt more sadness than joy” and whose “character was melancholic”, as described by Contarini (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 186).

VI. THE SPANISH MUSICAL STYLE: AESTHETIC ELEMENTS AS SUMMATION OF RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

Owen Rees (2019, 186–87) comments about the aesthetic guidelines that oriented sacred music production in that historical and cultural ambiance: “Spanish works are characterised by a distinctive sobriety of style, a simplicity which was particularly appropriate to the liturgical occasions and which – again – is seen as setting this repertory apart from Requiems composed

elsewhere.” Collet (1913, 107) also made some observations on the production of sacred music in Spain during the reign of Charles V and also during the rule of his son, Philipp II: “First, only religious music could develop in Spain; then kings gave large grants to church musicians; finally, in spite of the general indolence, there were still a few conscientious and inspired ‘maestros’”. What is the common denominator between the virtues of “piety and simplicity” (Fernández Álvarez 2006, 195), the staunch religious practices of the emperor and the sacred musical production in the Spain of that time? Owen Rees (2019, 186–87) discusses the musical style of 16th century of Spanish composers, particularly mentioning Requiem masses: “[A] recurrent observation about writing in polyphonic Requiems in this period, and about the Spanish repertory in particular, is that Spanish works are characterised by a distinctive sobriety of style, a simplicity which was particularly appropriate to the liturgical occasions concerned and which – again – is seen as setting this repertory apart from Requiems composed elsewhere”.

Paudler (2010, 65) formulates the hypothesis that an honourable royal death necessitated an elaborate setting and could indicate the royals ‘cosmopolitan taste’”. On the religious aspect that was endorsed by Charles V with political purposes, she also complements that “with emphasis from the Spanish Church on doctrinal purity and proper decorum, the understanding of music and its powers in late medieval and early modern Spain became intertwined with attempts to cleanse the Church of inappropriate behavior” (ibid, iii).

Owen Rees points out that such qualities have been associated with a peculiarly intensive religiosity and with mysticism. “Writings in this vein have tended to associate some of all the following: simplicity, expressivity, Spanishness, and spirituality” (ibid, 187). Samuel Rubio (1975, xv) also made observations regarding the style of Requiem masses by composers of the Spanish school, which he defined as being “austere, sober, skeletal, specially applied to the referred liturgy”. Specifically about Morales’ Requiem à 5 that was sung in Charles’ V funeral, Ambros (1868, III:573–74) claims that

The Missa pro defunctis, though magnificent, inspires terror. One shivers in the presence of this somber, nocturnal masterpiece. One feels as if he were wandering in dark hollows beneath leaden vaults supported by heavy pillars. In it, all adornment has been stripped away, and everything is as plain as could be. Before the face of death all colors fade, and all gaiety ceases. Morales, the Spaniard, conceives death in all its terrible seriousness [...] Coming from his Requiem immediately upon that of Palestrina, one is struck by the strange feeling that into the blackness of the graves has shot a ray of heavenly light, and that the

stern messenger from an unknown land whom Morales presented to us has given way to an angel, serious but benign. One should always hear these two works in succession.

In regard the Spanish school of music in the 16th century, Collet (1913, 3) affirms that we “must study the environment where our musicians lived, the protection that the kings gave them, and the pious foundations where the traditions of sacred art were perpetuated. The fruitful activity of these modest artists, their sublime faith, their abnegation, and very often even their asceticism.” He describes music as having a power certain of emotion; also claiming that melody and the rhythm actively penetrate into our soul. However, he argues that it would be necessary to undertake an in-depth study of each composer and even of each work – “if the religious inspiration is the same, the external form varies” (ibid, 5).

Rees (2019, 188) furtherly characterizes the distinctive Spanish style in sacred music under the rule of the Spanish Habsburgs. He ascertains “appropriateness” to the austerity in the Spanish repertoire, praising the sacred, liturgical and solemn character – especially when referring to Requiem masses. He seems to agree with the review written in 1868 by Ambros, especially when the latter refers to “adornment being stripped away, everything being as plain as could be” in Morales’ Requiem à 5 of 1544.

In order for the modern scholarship to understand the exequys (funeral rites) of Charles V from the musical point of view, a brief analysis of the particularities of the Spanish catholic rite is required. Strocchia (1992, xiii) affirms that in the context of the Catholic liturgy in the Renaissance, “the funeral was essentially a political rite”. Any kind of contextualization of the music needs to take into account social and implications Morales’ Requiem at the time it was performed to honour the passing of the emperor.

Chapter 2 – PARTICULARITIES OF THE SPANISH RITE IN RELATION TO MORALES' REQUIEM

I. MORALES' REQUIEM À 5 IN THE LIGHT OF SPANISH TRADITIONS AND LITURGY

The study of Morales' treatment to the polyphonic setting of the Requiem is important because of his unique place both in Spanish and Roman in the 16th century. The settings by Morales of the invitatory⁴ became a standard in the "Spanish cathedral" repertoire (Wagstaff 2004, 225). It was Morales that may have established the model for the Iberian Requiem with his Requiem à 5 (Chase 2003, 80). The analysis of the polyphonic settings by Morales of the Office for the dead reveals different approaches to the way it was performed at the time, although there was a prevailing practice in the 16th century: the one connected to traditions of monophonic liturgical chant (Wagstaff 2004, 225). Wagstaff also sustains that among Spanish composers, Morales "went to great lengths" to represent monophonic practices in his settings for the Requiem à 5 (ibid).

Copyists were aware of the connection between the polyphonic setting and the music of the *proprium* – the liturgical services in which they were sung. Between 1470 and 1510 (i.e. during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabela, Charles V's parents) the tradition for interpreting the Matins for the dead⁵ was defined by the local and diocesan⁶ liturgical traditions, which differed among the regions of Spain, and in many cases, from Rome (ibid). Morales' 1544 Requiem might have been written in Spain, as suggested by Paudler (2010, 22). Although its origins are not properly document, evidence to sustain this argument derives from the formulary employed by the composer in this specific mass. The 1998 re-construction of the performance by McCreesh employs a markedly Spanish version of the *proprium* text, offering also aesthetic elements of the Toledan musical rite.

Although the Spanish liturgical elements are well manifested in the Requiem à 5, there is a difficulty in tracing its origins (such as where and when did Morales compose it) as well

⁴ The pieces that preceded the execution of the mass itself; in the case of the Morales' Requiem à 5, the antifona *Circumdederunt me* and the psalm *Venite exultemus Domino*, both by Morales,

⁵ Not necessarily a Requiem mass. According to Karp et al. (2001) the first complete Requiem mass attributable to a single composer is that of Johannes Ockeghem, in the late 15th century – hence, by the time Morales published his *Requiem à 5* in 1544, it was a relatively new genre.

⁶ Musical tradition particular of a city or territory under a bishop's ecclesiastical authority.

as to which Spanish local tradition it comes. In the same way, the Italian Requiem masses of the same period were not homogeneous in their texts before the reforms by Pius IV in 1570 (ibid). I refer to Italian Requiems because the music used of Charles V funeral and Philipp II was printed in Rome before that standardization. Hence, Paudler (2010, 23) argues that prior to this codification “the expectations for Requiem Mass settings in Rome seem to have been less well defined than they were within the Spanish tradition”. Moreover, the fairly crystalized Spanish Requiem structure at that time might be connected to the political environment of the country. The lack of unified expectations for the Requiem Mass in Italy diverges from the Spanish repertoire, which had undergone a systematic political and liturgical codification following its unification in 1492 (ibid, 23).

In consideration to Italian liturgical expectations in contrast to those in Spain, the only shared text between these two traditions is the sequence *Dies irae* (Wagstaff 1998, 428–29). For the *Graduale*, Morales chose the *Requiem aeternam* text and the polyphony starting over the word “*Dona*” – in opposition to the majority of 16th century Italian composers, who avoided a polyphonic setting of the *Graduale*. The great part of the proprium text used by Morales in this mass also fits into the liturgy common in Spain during the sixteenth century (Paudler 2010, 24). She refers to the Proper items set by Morales, the Introit, Gradual, and Offertory, observing that all have the same texts found for these items according to the Spanish rite. Paudler highlights that similarly to the Gradual in the Roman liturgy, the Sequence text was not usually sung polyphonically in Spain. The only text used in Morales’ *Missa pro defunctis à 5* unfit to the Spanish liturgy is the Communion text – Morales chose to use the Roman version of the *Lux aeterna* instead of its Hispanic version (ibid, 24–25).

A further look on the stylistic particularities of the Spanish rite in contrast to the Roman liturgical practice reveal that the distinctive long plainchant intonations employed by Morales (and later replicated by Victoria in his four-voice Requiem) do not follow the Roman practice. Such lengthy monophonic declamations of the Gregorian melodies placed at the beginning of each verse served to a double purpose, according to Paudler (ibid, 42, 57). Besides simply conforming to Spanish custom, it drew attention to the fact that such texts were different than the expected for a *Spanish* Requiem Mass. Hence, in the Roman practice, the intonations are much shorter than those in the Spanish tradition (ibid, 33). Paudler sheds light to some peculiarities of the Hispanic rite strictly connected to Morales’ *Requiem à 5*:

The Ordinary items that Morales set are likewise seemingly more “Spanish” in nature, as the composer distinguishes the cantus firmus stylistically from the other voices [...]. The intonations also constitute a conscious attempt to align with Spanish tradition. Each intonation adheres to the paradigm connected to the Spanish monophonic practice and the early settings of Spanish Requiem Masses based on this tradition. The Introit and Gradual, both on the text *Requiem aeternam*, call for both words to be intoned [...]. Within the Roman tradition, on the text *Requiem aeternam*, it is customary to only intone the first word. (ibid)

The compositional technique employed in the Introitus of the Requiem is the very clear presentation of the chant, being the counterpoint over cantus firmus practice a reminiscent of the Spanish tradition. Morales places the liturgical melody in *longas* in the cantus (or superius) note by note except for a few added notes to accommodate for cadences (ibid). Wagstaff (2002, 44) defines the Introitus, in particular, as having some “noticeably Spanish qualities”. He observes that its procedure is very alike the technique employed in the Introit of Pedro de Escobar’s (1465–1535) Requiem, whose Requiem was composed in the early 1510s. Paudler (2010, 31) argues that Morales’ placement of the Gregorian melodies in the uppermost voice is what characterizes the adherence to the Spanish tradition. In Morales’ Requiem Mass à 4, for example, “presenting the cantus firmus as the highest part of the texture and limiting imitation is a conscious attempt to include a part of his Spanish heritage”.

This specific practice of placing the *cantus firmus* in the highest voice is arguably a peculiarity of the Hispanic composers. The Requiem genre remained a haven for tenor *canti firmi* and plainchant paraphrase as an indication of “abiding conservatism” and perhaps a survival of the apparent reluctance to admit polyphony into the Office of the Dead a few decades earlier than 1520, when Jean de Richafort’s Requiem à 6 was composed (Fitch et al. 2001, vol. 1, sec. 2 “*Polyphonic settings before 1600*”). My hypothesis is that such compositional technique is somehow connected with the fierce and rigid interpretation of the Catholic faith in 16th century Spain. Perhaps consciously, composers wanted the religious melody to be heard, or preserve the clarity and intelligibility of the religious text at all cost. There could also be theological or rhetoric interpretations for placing “the truth and Gospel” of the Catholic church in the uppermost voice in a choral work. **Example 1** is a short demonstration on how this procedure was manifested in early Spanish requiems.

Example 1

a. Cristóbal de Morales, 1544

Introitus from the Requiem à 5

Cantus
Do - - - - - na

Altus I
Do - - - - - na e - - is,

Altus II
Do - - - - - na e - - is, do - - - - - na

Tenor
Do - - - - - na e - - is, do -

Bassus
Do - - - - - na, do - - - - - na e - - is,

b. Cristóbal de Morales, 1551

Introitus from the Requiem à 4

Cantus
Do - - - - - na e - - is, Do - -

Altus
Do - - na e - - is, Do - - mi - ne, Do - - mi - ne, do -

Tenor
Do - - na e - - is, Do - - mi -

Bassus
Do - - na e - - is, Do - - mi - ne, do - - na e - - is, do - - na

c. Juan Vasquez, 1556

Introitus from *Agenda defunctorum*

na e - is
na e - is Do - - -
na e - is Do - - - mi - ne, do - na e - - -
is Do - - - mi - ne, do - na

d. Tomás Luis de Victoria, 1583

Introitus from *Requiem à 4*

Cantus
do - - - na
Altus
do - na e - is, Do - -
Tenor
do - - na e - is, Do - -
Bassus
do - na e - - - is, do - -

II. POSSIBLE RELATIONS BETWEEN MORALES' REQUIEM À 5 AND THE TOLEDO CATHEDRAL

After the foundation of the Kingdom of Spain in the early 16th century, Charles V's parents sought, through royal and ecclesiastical authority, to uniformize the Hispanic liturgical traditions. If Morales' Requiem is described by Monsignor Anglés as "typically Spanish", or if Paudler (2010, 31) and Wagstaff (Snow and Wagstaff 2002, 34) claim that "placing the cantus firmus in the uppermost voice" is also an exclusive feature of Spanish music, there is uncertainty regarding which part of Spain they refer to. The discussions about "Spanish"

characteristics in polyphonic 16th century music are vague in regard to which diocese, cathedral or church in Spain the music belongs to. For example, shortly before the Vatican Council II, in 1961, the Vatican elected the plainchant traditions of Solesmes abbey in France as a model to standardize this musical practice throughout the entire Catholic Christendom. Up to this day, the Tournai imprint of the *Liber Usualis*⁷ remains the standard collection of plainchants fit for the Roman liturgy. If Charles V had the same liturgical ambitions, which Spanish cathedral or musical tradition would have the emperor elected as a model to uniformize the liturgy?

Evidence points out that Morales' *Requiem à 5* performance was connected to the Toledan rite. The cathedral had a long tradition in holding royal funerals, and its archive holds the sole Spanish copy of the *Requiem a 5*. Another strong argument that sustains this claim are the findings of British conductor Paul McCreesh in the steps of re-constructing the funeral of Philip II in 1598 for the fourth-centenary album recording of Morales' *Requiem à 5* in 1998. In the programme notes (Gabrieli Consort & Paul McCreesh, 1998) it is stated that such performance was fashioned according to the ceremony that took place in Toledo Cathedral to honour the deceased Spanish king. Nonetheless, I would make it clear that the interpretations or traditions are rather connected to their auditive properties (that are not notated on the score) – meaning that the pitch curves at the end of phrases, durations, dynamics, ornamentations and other interpretative properties are not *written* in the manuscripts. It is difficult to confront the Roman and Spanish liturgical since none of the above-mentioned parameters that distinguish one from another are notated in the scores.

Some aesthetical elements of Morales' *Requiem à 5* were fashioned according the Toledan rite. Among such stylistic features lies the lengthy Gregorian intonations and the doublings of the bass part with a dulcian or *bajón* – the predecessor of the modern bassoon (de Pascual 2000, 101). Knighton (1998) emphasizes that the Spanish dulcian was commonly used in cathedral choirs throughout the peninsula, from about the mid-16th century onwards. Korrick (1990, 359) also alludes the instrumental practice during Mass, specifically in the Spanish rite: other sorts of instrumental music during the celebration of the Mass became a well-established phenomenon in Spain by 1525 – and gradually spread to Italy, England and France during the remainder of the century. Other peculiarities of the liturgic practices in Toledo consisted, for example, in the doubling of the bass part with a *bajón* (or dulcian), considerably longer sung note values in comparison with Roman liturgy, and the recitation of the prayers over the same

⁷ Latin form of “Usual book” or “common book” that compiles all the plainchant used throughout the liturgical year.

tone (*cuerda*), with small semitone inflexions at the cadence to follow the punctuation or ethos suggested by the religious text.

Another evidence that links Morales to the Toledan tradition resides in the fact he was referred thrice as *Presbyter toletanus* in the Sistine chapel chapter archives (Rees and Nelson 2007, 279). Palacios (2014, 47–48) gives special attention to Morales in his article confronting the Toledan rite with the Spanish tradition. He argues that in the codex 21 of Toledo, Morales set into music the verses of the hymn *Israel, tu es rex* with a particular form – one that was in conformity to the Toledan plainchant tradition. He also states (*ibid*, 23) that according to the tradition of Spanish theorists, the “Toledo way” was the grandiose and solemn mood with which prayers were recited in Spanish cathedrals on solemn days. Perhaps the funerals of Charles V and of his son Phillip II provide no better depiction of such solemnity and grandeur. In the review of the album *Morales: Requiem – Music for Phillip II*, Knighton (1998) highlights the reconstruction of the Requiem Mass as might have been held in Toledo Cathedral. Knighton also asserts that Morales’ Requiem à 5 is uniquely preserved in the cathedral archive.

But to what extent do local Spanish traditions and local liturgical elements (such as the Toledo style) were incorporated in Morales Requiem à 5? Bosch (2000, 4) notices that “only in Toledo [where Morales was a *Maestro de Capilla* in the 1540s]⁸ was the Mozarabic liturgy [national Spanish rite] allowed to continue into the sixteenth century.” Although the Requiem mass itself was published in 1544 (i.e. before Morales’ period in Toledo), I suppose that the stylistic precepts guiding the performance of the mass both for Charles V and for his son Philipp II followed the precepts of the Toledan rite. Stevenson (1953, 30) reasons that Morales found no stimulus to compose while in Toledo, but Morales was surely acquainted with this specific liturgy – given his tenure as chapel master in Toledo cathedral from 1545 to 1547 (McFarland 2002, 325). Toledo, like other important Cathedral cities in Spain, was the site of numerous royal commemorations and ceremonies in honour of noblemen and ecclesiastical leaders in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Wagstaff 2002, 36).

Allo Manero (2000, 261–282) gives an extensive description of the funerary ceremonies for Charles V in 1559 and places Toledo in a *lieu d’honneur* among all the Spanish cathedrals: “Mourning was declared in many countries and funeral orations pronounced in Toledo, Seville [...] and other cities throughout the [Holy Roman] Empire”. Morales’ Requiem à 5 dating from 1544 would be sung again, precisely in this cathedral, in September 1598 to the memory of Philipp II, the emperor’s son. Also, in Spain there are no copies of the original

⁸ Stevenson and Planchart 2001, sec. 1.

manuscript (as well as the re-issue in 1552) outside the Toledan archives (Wagstaff 2002, 39).

The exclusiveness and rarity of Morales' *Requiem à 5* among the Hispanic repertoire by delineating that "there is no other surviving *Missa pro Defunctis* à 5 by a Spanish composer before Morales or of his generation" (ibid, 40). Morales' *Requiem* is ambiguously proper for the liturgical traditions of Rome, being that most items in the work could have been used either at Toledo (ibid, 45). By the time of the death of Charles V in 1558, there had been a systematic codification of the liturgy, music, and ceremonial of death rituals. In major cities throughout Spain and Latin America, Charles was remembered with exequies that featured polyphonic music – his descendants would fiercely preserve those traditions for generations to come. Philip IV is said never to have left the palace without the crucifix that Charles had gazed upon as he died, so that himself could meet his death with the same ritualized acceptance that his great-grandfather had demonstrated. Philip knew that his "proper" death would then be publicly proclaimed through the music and liturgy at his own exequies (Wagstaff 1998a, 560).

Given that the most important royal funerals in Spain took place in Toledo cathedral, and that there is evidence connecting the liturgical style of the *Requiem à 5* with the musical tradition in that diocese, it is of great importance to define what characterized the Toledan rite – and why would Wagstaff, in his articles, and McCreesh, in the programme notes for the 1998 recording, place the *Requiem à 5* so closely connected to Toledo cathedral. My hypothesis about the uniqueness of the liturgy in this cathedral (and hence the predilection for holding royal funerals) points to the Mozarabic influence and other major political and cultural events. The unique importance of Toledo cathedral in Spanish history traces back as far as to the reign of Alfonso X "El sabio" (1221–1284). In the 16th century, Toledo was given the title of *Ciudad Imperial* (Imperial city) due to intense artistic patronage by the royalty, and the cathedral reached its political, cultural and architectural heights. This was especially due to the protection of Archbishop-cardinal Juan de Tavera (1472–1545) – a central figure in the Spanish inquisition, that had also worked in the court of Charles V. In other words, by the time Morales was working as *Maestro de capilla*, Toledo cathedral was culturally splendid – a stage for major political events in Spain (such as the Inquisition trials and Royal marriages), and home for the Mozarabic rite, the most distinctively Spanish celebration.

Although this aspect is not central for the analysis of the music of Morales, it should be clear that, regarding musical traditions, for centuries Toledo cathedral was a stronghold of the Mozarabic chant. I shall discuss one liturgical element that was regarded as the most distinctive in the Toledan tradition. In contrast to the Roman rite, the Mozarabic liturgy is more

celebratory, joyful, elaborate and ornate. Local saints and events from Spanish history are mentioned in the Mozarabic liturgy; hence it has a strong national spirit. In contrast, the Roman liturgy is more uniformly universal throughout the Western Christendom (Bosch 2000, 58). Accommodations to the Mozarabic rite were made in Toledo cathedral and that in the fifteenth century, this integration led to the creation of the type of missal published as the *Missale mixtum Toletanum* (ibid, 61). In order to understand the predominating liturgical practices in Toledo cathedral around 1500, we should turn our attention to the second edition of the *Missale*. This date is classified as the real preservation of the Mozarabic liturgy initiated by the individual desire of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros in 1502, which contributed to Toledo cathedral being a stronghold of the Mozarabic liturgy even until the twentieth century. Bosch ascertains the quality of “sacramental action” to the Toledan rite because of the theological and religious aspects of this rite in connection to the musical liturgy. Another special feature of the Spanish book of prayers is the Toledan tradition as being the vision and sense of history of Mozarabs, who were defending themselves from annihilation through liturgical identity (ibid).

It seems the Spanish liturgical values were particularly well preserved in Toledo Cathedral: that Morales’ *Circumdederunt me* is found in one (of only two surviving) Spanish manuscript sources in that cathedral’s archive (together with the “earlier”, meaning, five-voice Requiem of Morales). Due to this fact, these works were used in sequence (first the antiphon *Circumdederunt*, afterwards the Requiem à 5) as funerary rites in Toledo (Wagstaff 2002, 39). Morales’ Requiem à 5 published in Rome embodies several Spanish characteristics such as the composer’s use of the longer chant declamations, typical among settings in Spain and the stereotypically Spanish presentation of the liturgical melody in some items. Morales’ approach to the intonations may be a conscious attempt by the Spaniard to incorporate something of his native tradition in an ostensibly Roman setting (ibid, 43). Given the conservative liturgical practices of Toledo cathedral, I could hypothesize that the Spanish traditions mentioned by Wagstaff are directly pointing towards the Toledan liturgy in specific in spite of other local liturgical (or diocesan) practices. The most peculiar of all the Hispanic liturgic customs was the choice of the antiphon for the Invitatory of the Dead *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis* for solemn occasions. (Palacios 2014, 47).

Morales’ invitatory *Circumdederunt me* for five voices is uniquely preserved in the archive of Toledo Cathedral, being that the 21st choirbook contains the Requiem à 5. If we consider the particularities of the Spanish liturgy in connection to Morales’ Requiem à 5, (*Circumdederunt*) is in fact a setting of a melody used in Spain and Latin America as an alternative *Invitatorium* for the Matins for the dead instead of the habitual Roman counterpart,

“*Regem cui omnia*”. An invitatory, in the roman liturgy, as the word suggests, is an invitation for the mass. In the musical setting of the Requiem à 5, Morales included a polyphonic setting of this antiphon, whose text bears mortuary sentiments and is fit for the Requiem mass liturgy. Despite the gravity suggested by the words, the opening section and the cadence are characterised by homophonic textures (which makes the text transparent), steady rhythms and elegant movements. Under the light of aesthetic and theological aspects – and in connection with the prevailing musical theory and religious doctrine – could we hypothesize it is a view of Morales on the subject of death? Or being Morales a priest, and hence an agent of the Church and State – was there a religious speech produced in connection to the artistic features in the *Circumdederunt*? It is not given that an artistic object would transmit, precisely and faithfully, the institutional view on a specific matter such as death. Morales had, according to contemporaries and successors, a strong artistic personality and a distinctive style; I suggest that the aesthetical experience or perception of the listener is rather driven by intuitive factors deriving from the artistic construction, rather than the theological view (even if it was a cultural convention).

I claim that the technical aspects used by Morales in the invitatory *Circumdederunt me* is evocatory of the religious peace and mercy of the Christian god. Those elements seem to be mostly proper for the solemn, elaborated and ceremonious liturgy held at Toledo Cathedral. Wagstaff (2002, 29) extensively discusses the piece in connection with that specific liturgical practice, and claims that the composition of *Circumdederunt me* was almost certainly necessitated by the liturgical requirements of the Cathedral of Toledo. “Circumdederunt” – a motet that was sung as part of the funerary celebrations for Charles V in Mexico in 1559 – should be considered the most characteristically Spanish item that Morales composed while in Toledo (ibid, 30). If any Spanish local liturgical or tradition is to be found relevant in connection to the funerary ceremonies of Charles V and Philipp II, I suggest that Morales endowed his Requiem à 5 with many of the expressive qualities of the Toledan rite.

In sum, the political, religious and ceremonial importance of Toledo cathedral and its music is a reflex of the tradition started centuries before Morales wrote his Requiem à 5. For example, the influence of the Mozarabic chant led to the birth of a sui generis liturgy in Spain – in the same way that Milan cathedral is the only stronghold of the Ambrosian chant in the entire Western Christendom. The obscure, solemn, and exaltation of this liturgic practice was not only manifested in the style of Morales’ Requiem à 5, but appears to have caught the attention of the Spanish monarchs – who possibly, and wisely, appropriated the lavish ceremony as part of the funerary state protocol, as explained by Wagstaff:

There is perhaps no greater sign of the power that such music and ceremony was believed to have had than this dedication that reached all the way from the king down to the poorest subject who wanted a *responso* sung when he or she died. (Wagstaff 1998a, 560)

The Requiem mass in the Catholic rite during the Renaissance exerted political, ceremonial, liturgical and social functions. The *funeral* (i.e. act of mourning and burial in all of its dimensions) was essentially a political rite: it revealed relationships of power between groups, separating people on the basis of status, and legitimizing the distinctions of status by recreating them in the processional order. On its turn, the *Requiem* (i.e. musical service and reference to the proprium liturgy) was a religious rite of incorporation, whose purpose was to strengthen and renew social, communal, and spiritual bonds (Strocchia 1992, xiii). The funerary art (to which the art of sacred music also belonged) sponsored by Charles V achieved such splendour under his rule that are described as “portable art objects”. Those musical celebrations constructed the atmosphere of royal environments and proclaimed key political messages (Ferer 2012, 14). The concept of political and cultural power expressed through small and immaterial forms of art (such as music) is regarded also with theological implications, as suggested by Bouzy (2007, 91). According to him, in the Spanish and more broadly Hispanic domain, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the emblem played a different expressive role from that assigned to it in Germany or France, for example. As for the messages conveyed, the cultural emblems produced during the Spanish Golden Age seem rather to submit to the almost dogmatic tone of religion, ethics and politics.

The idea that music had the power to influence the behaviour of participants in rituals was taken for granted in late-15th and 16th century Spain. Concerns about such powerful influences were reflected in a number of documents – specifically in ecclesiastical constitutions and accounts of rituals in the 15th and 16th centuries in Spain. Church leaders in the Renaissance period in Spain made several pronouncements against inappropriate ceremonies and music, expressing the concern on behaviour at funerals and other death rituals by the participants (Wagstaff 1998, 552, 560). Such preoccupations to govern proper conduct at death rituals became an obsession for Spanish monarchs: they were held up as models because of their calm acceptance of death, despite the unimaginable suffering they endured (ibid). The next chapter will discuss the usage of textural changes as expressive or narrative effects on music composed for such grandiose funerary occasions – and specifically, how did this compositional technique helped to highlight or obscure the text in the Requiem à 5 of Morales.

Chapter 3 – ANALYSIS OF TEXTURAL CHANGES IN THE REQUIEM À 5

Surely, where the musical life is so intense and so intimately related to the social life there must be many ways to demonstrate the union of life and art in the Renaissance. The most obvious is found in the texts which were set to music. Since Renaissance music is for the greatest and most important part vocal music the choice of texts is in itself highly revealing. A history of changing styles, tastes, fashions, a history of religious feeling, of literary evolution and an abbreviated history of political events could be gleaned-at least in outline-by a mere study of the texts Renaissance composers set to music. (Lowinsky 1954, 522)

So far, I have examined historical perspectives, the characteristics of the Morales' style, and the strong political and symbolic senses of the artistic patronage under Charles V. The cultural background and the interpretation of the catholic faith had deep influence on Morales both as a priest and a composer. It is possible that some rhetorical elements, such as variations of texture in the Requiem à 5, are connected to the musical theory in vigour at that time. The *proprium* of the Requiem was a nascent tradition for the Roman rite, and this mass genre was largely used as political symbol and a funeral state. My argument concerns the connection between textural changes (number of voices, homophony versus polyphony, clarity of the text, etc.), cadential formulas and text meaning to the historical and aesthetical aspects.

In Morales' Requiem à 5, the first ideas of cadential gestures are presented in the Introitus. Those musical structures function as a symbol for finality, and textural changes (more sparse or denser) are arguably employed in tight connection to the meaning of the text. My first observation concerns the nature of the soprano (cantus) and the bass. In this movement, the highest voice bears the cantus firmus *Requiem aeternam* (a typical Spanish compositional technique, as discussed in chapter 2), while the bass does not take part in the imitation. Although both outer voices present independent behaviours, the bass functions as a stabilizing element. The discussion of such melodic structures and textural contrasts is very important because Morales' 1544 setting of the Requiem à 5 was the first Requiem in Spain, as well as one of the earliest in the literature. This specific usage of alternating between textures was a very important milestone in developing the Requiem tradition and the circumstances of this piece are creating a situation of a strong influence to the next Requiems to come. Morales is particularly relevant as an artist due to his placement in historical, artistic and political circumstances that refer to a very important moment in the history of Western civilization. My claim is also reassuring that given the speciality of the circumstances, any melodic innovation in connection to the *proprium* words in the Catholic liturgy has direct implications on its

interpretation, and surely impacted Morales' contemporaries who first listened to the piece. In this sense, Spanish musical humanism presents a double social purpose: religious and human. The belief in the power of music paralleled the ideal of musical perfection that was cultivated in the 16th century. The importance of the power of music in the lives of believers is glimpsed, because it exalted the thoughts of men. The supposed effect of music on the believers served the religious purposes and the Catholic doctrine, undoubtedly contributing to the asceticism (abstinence of sensual pleasures with the pursuit of spiritual purposes) of which Luther and Calvin spoke (Albert 2013, 277).

If connected to historical and aesthetic aspects, the most relevant musical gesture to convey symbolic meanings probably is the usage of cadential motives or formulae (ending of phrases). A unique feature in this Requiem is the static bass along with the cantus firmus in the soprano – being that most of the motion occurs in between the cantus and the lowest part. Not only this is a theoretical description of a texture, but also a symbol of the heaven vs earth and the inconsistencies of life. Salzer and Schachter (1969, 399) provide an interesting comment on the matter: the authors claim that in Renaissance polyphony more often than in later music, voices other than the highest characteristically participate in expressing the fundamental melodic structure. The melodic formula shown in **Example 2**, which is typical for cadences, is sung by the Altus I in bar 10 and repeated in all voices throughout the *Introitus* (except for the bass).

Example 2



The *Introitus* is marked by several “violations of expectation”. Those violations could be understood as individual apparitions of a cadential formulae in a voice against the other voices, an effect that pierces the homophonic texture. These sudden melodic interventions can be found in bars 42 and 43 towards the cadence in bars 44–45 and in bar 53 to the final cadence in bar 54. Expectation could be created either by acquaintance with learned models of either the general style or a specific piece. For this piece, we expect mostly a polyphonic texture; homophony is a violation of this expectation, and hence tension is aroused. By implementing those violations of expectation, Morales is using such cognitive schemes to emphasize the written message, i.e. the lexical meaning of the words, as seen on **Example 3**.

Example 3

The image shows a musical score for five voices, numbered 9 at the beginning. The staves from top to bottom are:

- Staff 1: Treble clef, whole notes, lyrics: "e - - - is"
- Staff 2: Treble clef, eighth notes, lyrics: "do - - na e - is,". Two rectangular boxes highlight specific melodic phrases: one over the notes for "na" and another over the notes for "e - is,".
- Staff 3: Treble clef, whole notes, lyrics: "e - - - - - is, do - - -"
- Staff 4: Treble clef, eighth notes, lyrics: "- - - na e - - - - - is"
- Staff 5: Bass clef, whole notes, lyrics: "do - - - - - na, do -". Two rounded rectangular boxes highlight the notes for "do" and "na, do".

One argument that could corroborate the symbolic meaning of the cadential formula as a musical gesture for “end” is the fact that in both cases, Altus I (second voice from top down) is singing the cadential formula over the text of *Requiem æternam* (**Example 3**, bb. 10 and 12). In addition, those formulae are applied in connection to the ascending fourth movement of the bass, as highlighted by the rounded frames on the bass line. **Example 4** shows cadential formulae appears in bars 2, 4 and 6 being sung by the Tenor, Altus I and Cantus. It is a rare example of the consecutive usage of the cadential formula in short phrases. Those melodic and rhythmical structures become evident when placed against static notes. In addition, and clarifies the preparation of dissonances and their respective resolution. They serve a double purpose of being both a melodic embellishment and leading a smooth transition between a sequence of chords.

Example 4 (bb. 1–6)

Cantus
Do - - - - -

Altus I
Do - - - - - na e - -

Altus II
Do - - - - - na

Tenor
Do - - - - - na e - - - - -

Bassus
Do - - - - - na

In **Example 5** we are able to find the expected use of the cadential formula, which is to bring a full simultaneous stop in all the voices. In **Example 5**, the polyphonic section (shortly depicted in bb. 17–18) returns to a homophonic section that gradually resumes the usage of polyphonic texture (bar 21 onwards). This shift to a homogeneous texture creates a sensation of arrival; my hypothesis is that it could be used as a rhetoric artifice to transmit the idea of peace or steadiness. A sudden stop probably comes with the intent to highlight either the cadence or the D minor chord (in modern terms, bar 19).

Example 5

17
Do - mi - - - - -

is Do - mi ne, Do - - - - -

- - - is Do - - - mi - - - ne, Do - -

- - - mi ne, Do - - - - -

Do - - - - - mi - - - ne, Do - - - - -

In other words, **Example 5** displays the usage of this device as a musical convention – a cultural code that evokes cause and consequence. On the other hand, **Example 6** shows the usage of this melodic and rhythmic device rather as an embellishment. **Example 6** demonstrates how cadential formulae can be used to pierce the background textures – and also as a melodic embellishment. It is different to **Example 5** inasmuch the polyphonic flow is not completely interrupted after the apparition of the cadential formulae on bars 40 and 44, respectively. Hence, their usage constitutes a violation of expectation since there is no full stop or shift to homophonic texture after the application of the cadential formulae.

Example 6

Example 6 is a musical score for a vocal line, likely a soprano or alto, in a minor key (one flat). The score is numbered 40 at the beginning. The lyrics are: "ce - at is, lu - - - - ce - at lu - ce - at e - - is, lu - ce - e - - is, at e - at e - - - - - is, e -". The score consists of five staves. The first staff is the vocal line. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is a second vocal line. The fourth staff is a third vocal line. The fifth staff is a bass line. There are two boxes highlighting specific melodic phrases: one in the second staff (piano accompaniment) and one in the fourth staff (third vocal line).

At the B part (*Te decet*) this procedure is elevated to real homophonic moments; to our surprise, the first one happens after the first cadence (59–60) on bar 60–61. In those bars, violation of expectation is explored as a rhetorical effect. This cadential formula is used before or after cadences as a dramatic effect, and I claim that Morales conveys the idea of end in connection to the *proprium* text. In bars 60–67, Morales also plays with that the meaning of the words: *exaudi orationem meam* (“listen to my prayers”, translation of mine) – which is clearly uttered by all the voices, in a homophonic texture.

In bars 58 and 59 there is a double appearance of the cadential melodic formula, but instead of returning to a polyphonic texture, all the texture becomes rigidly homophonic and homorhythmic, highlighting even more the cadential formula sung by Altus II in bar 59. In my perception, the gentle descending melodic movement performed by the tenor in bar 58 is not aggressive, neither disturbing to the relatively heterogeneous textural background. However, in bar 59, the same cadential gesture is sung by altus II against the four other voices who bear

rhythms of minims. I call particular attention to the word *Reddetur* – whose meaning is “will be paid”, since the text setting is united with a well-defined melodic and rhythmical contour as seen in **Example 7**.

Example 7

56
 Et ti - - - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - ru - - -
 Et ti - - - bi red - de - - - tur vo - tum in Je - ru -
 Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - - - ru - - -
 Et ti - - - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - ru - sa - lem,
 Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum in Je - - - ru -

Throughout the 16th century, there was a significant and increasingly sharp shift from the objective world of symbolism to the subjective realm of man’s relation to God in the face of sin, suffering, and death. It is not by chance that motet texts deal with great figures in the depth of despair, especially Christ suffering on the Cross (Lowinsky 1954, 523). The polyphonic Passion as well as the motet Passion are creations of the Renaissance – and so is the Requiem as a new-born genre with expressive possibilities. But how does Morales convey the figure of despair or death specifically in the *Requiem aeternam* text?

I would like to shed light on this passage of the proprium text as seen on **Example 8**, given that its meaning is directly related to the issues pointed out by Lowinsky. The grandiose cadence in bar 68 in **Example 8** draws the listener’s attention to it. Consisting of an articulation point before the words *exaudi orationem meam*, it disrupts the musical speech both as complete stop in the motion of all voices and also because of the text setting in bars 72–74 (syllabic treatment). Such technique, allied with homogeneous rhythm, makes the text even clearer. There is yet another factor: the repetitive A natural sung by the Cantus (which is actually the plainchant melody) draws even more attention to the word *orationem* (prayer). The Altus I, Altus II, Tenor and Bass place a special value over the word *orationem*.

Example 8

66
 - - sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me -
 sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me -
 - - sa - - - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me -
 Je - ru - sa lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me -
 sa - - - - - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti - o - nem me -

My hypothesis for explaining the clarity of the text is also related to the meaning of the words. The words *ad te* (bb. 77–78) are the only vocative, i.e., a part in which the text is directly addressing God, in contrast to the word *Domine* (Lord). In the reference recording (Gabrieli Consort & Paul McCreech 1998), an implicit pause is performed between the recitation of the plainchant *Te decet* and bar 56. This performance detail could exist either because of the comma after the word *meam* (“my prayer”), or because of the optional pause for breathing that in the neumatic notation. However, when Morales comes to a complete stop in bar 76, such textural change has symbolic meaning. In bars 76–79 (**Example 9**) lies the slowest, more extensive and clearer utterance of the text in the entire Introitus.

Example 9

76
 am, ad te om - nis ca - ro
 am, ad te om - nis ca - - - -
 am, ad te om - nis ca - - - -
 am, ad te om - nis ca - - - -
 am, ad te om - nis ca - - - -

The next significant textural change occurs in the Graduale, from bar 58 onwards. It is a repetition of the *Requiem æternam* with a different verse: *In memoria eterna* instead of *Te decet*. This specific section cannot be ignored as it constitutes the sparsest texture in all the eight movements of the Requiem à 5. Morales suddenly shrinks the five-voice setting to a much denser and closer vocal arrangement. The appendix *In memoria eterna*, a part of the Graduale, clearly embodies the idea of textural variation – as seen on **Example 10**. The voices feature now a narrower spacing, and I suggest this and other phenomena related to the text. In a later moment I will discuss the presence of “empty” chords in cadences. The strict imitation initiated by the bass is repeated literally in the upper voices. The lowest voice has independent behaviour, in similitude to the soprano (which bears a given cantus firmus).

Example 10

58 Altus II

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - - -

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - ter - - - - -

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - ter - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - na,

So far, I have been discussing the aspects of texture in regards to note values, number of voices and the cadential formula. However, I shall now focus my argument on the imitative nature of this section. The only other moment in the whole mass where the contrapuntal treatment is predominately imitative rather than homophonic (with a small degree of imitation) is in the opening of the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe* (**Example 11**).

Example 11

The musical score for Example 11 consists of five staves, each representing a different vocal part. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Cantus:** Li - - - be - - - ra a -
- Altus I:** Li - - - be - - - ra a - - - ni - mas o - - -
- Altus II:** Li - - - be - - - ra a - - - ni - mas o - mni - um,
- Tenor:** Li - - - be - - - ra a - ni -
- Bassus:** Li - - - be - - - ra

As I have stated, the writing technique employed by Morales in the offertory is *mostly* imitative, but not entirely. Both in *In memoria eterna* and *Domine Jesu Christe*, Morales chooses polyphonic, rhythmical and imitative textures since these two texts are the longest of the mass. This distinctive text setting is much in accordance to the common practice of other composers of polyphonic masses of the same periods – a procedure which eventually leads to the auditive obscurement of the words. This claim is supported by the small opening of the three voices of *In memoria eterna*. My observation points to the placement of the cantus firmus in the bass (the only occasion in the whole Requiem) and the strict imitation performed in a small-range ambitus of the melody. There might be a connection between the musical organization and the meaning of the text in this specific part. The words of *In Memoria* are emblematic for the greatness of a royal funeral, meant to portray the deceased monarch as a model of Christian soldier. This short text finely conveys the ideals of righteousness, salvation, redemption and eternal life preached by the Catholic doctrine in 16th century Spain, and it might not be a coincidence that this is the sole moment in the Requiem à 5 when Morales employs a three-voice scoring. My translation of the Latin text follows:

In memoria aeterna erit iustus: ab auditione mala non timebit.

The righteous will be remembered forever. They shall not fear slander.

In bars 1–57 of the Graduale, Morales displaces the cantus firmus from the Cantus to Altus II (in original pitch); from the section *In memoria* (bars 58–101) until *Non timebit*, Morales transposes the plainchant one octave down and starts the procedure of strict imitation

in the Tenor and Altus II, as seen on **Example 12a** (rounded brackets: a–c¹–c¹–d¹) in contrast to **Example 12b** (squared brackets: A–c–c–d).

Example 12

a.

∇. In memó-ri-a

aetér- na

b.

⁵⁸ Altus II

In me - mo - - -

In me - mo - - - ri - a

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - ter - - - -

Albeit the, the cantus and the bass seem to resume their independent behaviour, leaving the three inner voices in charge of all significant motion as seen on **Example 12**. The forthcoming section, *Non timebit* (starting on bar 101, still belonging to the graduale *Requiem æternam*), is marked by the full return of the five voices. The aural effect is that of reinforcing the text; the cantus firmus remains on Altus II starting on bar 103. The texture is very transparent, with the same rhythm until bar 104. Like Gombert, Morales avoided the duet structure of the Josquin generation and wrote a relatively dense stream of polyphony. But, through slight reductions in scoring, occasional usage of homophonic passages, melodic repetition and careful attention to the text setting, he achieved a rhetorical clarity in the presentation of the text unmatched by most of his contemporaries (Stevenson and Planchart 2001, sec. iii).

manipulation of the whole Requiem. The tenor has a secondary role because of the shorter values¹⁰, and also because it is delayed in the beginning of its own line. Nonetheless, the staticity of the Cantus and Altus II provides a clear background for the events in the bass and Altus I to be perceived. Throughout this movement, the bass is the voice with the greatest leaps, and because of this reason, it becomes evident in the general output. Its movements can be characterized mostly by quartal and quintal motion: for example, in bars 2–4, the bass jumps two fourths down consecutively (f–c–g). When heard against the stable structure provided by the steady notes of the Cantus and Altus II, those movements sound particularly appalling to the ear. In bar 5, the same effect can be perceived in the Altus I: irregular rhythms that display descending movement. In such cases a rather exceptional rhythm contributes to the salience of these voices.

In **Example 14**, I claim particular attention to the low register in which the Cantus is transiting. Albeit the bass is endowed with significant leaps, the rhythms are the same as those of the soprano, and the Altus I is also bearing very slow notes: a tied A in bars 17–18 and a minim tied to a semibreve in the second half of bar 19. There are also some pauses in this system that – in addition to the slow-flowing lines of the highest and lowest voice – provide grounds for the cadential formulae in bars 17–18 (Altus II) and 20–21 to be heard as ornaments.

Example 14

Example 14 is a musical score for five voices (Soprano, Alto I, Alto II, Tenor, and Bass) in G major and 8/8 time. The score begins at measure 17. The lyrics are: "re - qui - - - em. A - is re - - - - - qui - em. re - - - qui - em, do - na e - - - is re - qui - - - qui - em, re - qui - em. A - - - - - qui - - - em, re - - - - - qui - em." The Soprano part features long, sustained notes. The Alto I part has a tied A in measures 17-18. The Alto II part has a minim tied to a semibreve in the second half of measure 19. The Tenor part has irregular rhythms. The Bass part has significant leaps.

¹⁰ Tied minims in modern notation that actually were tied semibreves in the original manuscript.

Example 15 is marked by the single apparition of the word “Amen” in the whole proprium, and the typical iv-I convention is evoked. The static design of the Cantus and the Tenor is very similar to the third and last musical repetition of the *Kyrie* in the Requiem à 5.

Example 15

Example 15 is a musical score for five voices. It begins at measure 25. The top staff (Cantus) has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics under the top staff are "men, a - - - - - men." The second staff (Soprano) has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "A - - - - - men, a - - - - - men." The third staff (Alto) has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "em. A - - - - - men, a - - - - - men." The fourth staff (Tenor) has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "men, a - - - - - men." The bottom staff (Bass) has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "A - - - - - men, a - - - - - men." The music features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some melodic lines and some sustained notes.

A point of extreme relevance for discussing textural in the in Morales’ Requiem à 5 comes at the second section of the long, contrapuntal offertory *Domine Jesu Christe (Hostias)*. Throughout the entire mass, Morales only alters the number of voices in two occasions. *In memoria eterna* (the first intermission in the polyphonic narrative of the Graduale) shifts from five to three voices; the other is seen on **Example 16**. On bar 104, Morales shortens the texture by designating four voices. There is some degree of imitation in the first part of the Graduale (*Domine Jesu*, bars 1–103). *Hostias* could almost be considered an appendix or even a movement inside the Graduale because it creates contrast through the reduction to four voices.

Example 16

Example 16 is a musical score for four voices. It begins at measure 104. The top staff (Soprano) has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "Ho - - - sti - - - as et pre - - - - - ces". The second staff (Alto) has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "Ho - - - sti - - - as et pre - - - - - ces". The third staff (Tenor) has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "Ho - - - sti - - - as et pre - - - - - ces". The bottom staff (Bass) has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are "Ho - - - sti - - - as et pre - - - - - ces". The music features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some melodic lines and some sustained notes.

The initial bars of the following movement, *Sanctus*, shown in **Example 17a**, can be considered a miniature of the textural manipulation procedure as it happens in *Pie Jesu Domine*. A general background in all the voices except the Tenor hold slow note values, while the Tenor performs more noticeable melodic steps and carries syncopated or irregular rhythms. This construction pierces the homophonic texture in the other voices and disturbs the overall balance, calling much attention to that individual line. After the first of the three repetitions of the word *Sanctus* in the end of bar 7, the tenor introduces the melodic cadential formula in bars 10–11 – whose effect is reinforced by what modern literature calls “plagal” cadence (iv–i) in bar 11. **Example 17b** illustrates (with the exception of bar 12, in which the rhythms are homogeneous) the stable nature of the Cantus and the Bass in this piece. This claim can be sustained by observing their note values. The melodic cadential ornament is used as motive outside ordinary cadences, as in bars 17–18.

Example 17
a. (bb. 1–10)

The musical score for Example 17a consists of five staves, each representing a different voice part. The staves are labeled on the left as Cantus, Altus I, Altus II, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is written in C major and common time. The lyrics are: "San - ctus, San - - - - ctus. San - ctus" for the first two phrases, and "San - ctus, San - - - - ctus, San - ctus" for the second phrase. The Tenor part is characterized by more active rhythms and melodic steps compared to the other voices, which maintain a more static, homophonic texture with long note values. The score shows the first ten bars of the piece, with a double bar line after bar 7.

b.

11

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.

Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.

ctus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.

mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth, Sa - ba - oth.

Fourteen years after the publication of this Requiem in 1544, Zarlino (1558, chap. 58, p. 159) wrote: “As the earth is the foundation of the other elements, the bass has the function of sustaining and stabilizing, fortifying and giving growth to the other parts”. Had the Zarlino looked at the Requiem of the Andalusian master, he might have liked the way Morales encapsulated this narrative between the Cantus and the Bass. In Morales’ Requiem à 5, placing the cantus firmus in the highest (and hence, most audible) voice could be considered as a representation of the Heavens, and the Christian view of life and death. I could hypothesize that the cantus firmus represents heaven, and the bass represents the earth – in the same way that in the Organum tradition back in the 12th century, the highest and lowest voices were associated with this cosmological vision. The Gregorian melody held by the cantus is literally closer to heaven (or the end of life), while the bass represents the earth (birth or beginning of life). Given that Morales himself was a priest, I shall suggest that his artistic personality might have been influenced by personal and religious conceptions. His Requiem à 5 is imbued with the common-sense belief of the Renaissance humanists that music had the capacity to stir the affections; some evidence is visible through musical structures with symbolic finalities. Most of those in connection to specific texts of the proprium, and I would highlight textural manipulations with the aim to highlight or obscure words as the main rhetorical device employed by Morales in the Requiem à 5. The dedicatory of the *Missarum Liber Secundus* to Pope Paul III and Cosme de’ Medici provides another possible evidence that Morales believed in such powers of his art.

“Music heals the bodies and diminishes and enlightens [for] the soul temptations of evil spirits remounting it back to the wisdom of divine counsel. [...] All music that does not serve to honor God or to exalt the thoughts of men, is completely missing its true purpose.” (Cristóbal de Morales, 1544, translation of mine)

The way Morales structures the inner melodic lines of the five-voice Requiem could be an image of the Christian view of the journey of the soul: great part of the textural effects take place in the three inner voices. By extension, the earthly life of the believers takes place between the events of birth (which I claim to be the earth, the origin, the lowest part in the music and in poetic senses) and death (which is represented by the highest part, closer to the sky). The subsequent movement of the mass after the *Benedictus* (*Agnus Dei*) carries a text that is very strong in the religious sense (“Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world”) and is a fine exemplar of Morales’ approach to the catholic religiosity in regards of his artistic personality. Stevenson and Planchart (2001, sec. iii) imply that the Requiem à 5 has a much more austere aspect in relation to Morales’ own motets. I attribute such austerity mainly to textural effects. Morales starts the musical tissue of the first repetition of the *Agnus Dei* with homophonic and homorhythmic treatment: **Example 18** points out how does the text become very clear and audible because of this particular way of edifying the text.

Example 18 (Agnus Dei, bb. 1–9)

The musical score for Example 18 consists of five staves, each with a vocal line and lyrics. The lyrics are: "Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - - - na". The score is in G major and 4/4 time. A square box highlights a note in Altus II at bar 7, and a rounded rectangle highlights the cadential formula in the Tenor at bars 8-9.

In this section, the only ornaments occur in Altus II (bar 7, squared rectangle) and in through the cadential formula sung by the tenor (bb. 8–9, rounded rectangle). The rhetorical clarity achieved by general homophonic treatment can be examined in bars 18 and 19 of **Example 19**.

Example 19 (bb. 18–20)

18
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - - -
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta - - -
 Qui tol - lis pec - - - -
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - - -
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - - -

However, after the third declamation of the verse *Agnus Dei*, there is a violation of expectation in the Tenor – that sings two quarter notes on bar 19. I cannot avoid a comparison with the *Kyrie* – which, besides bearing three repetitions (the original verse in addition to another two intonations), is a demonstration of different contrapuntal treatments thought by the composer. In the first repetition of the *Kyrie* (**Example 20**), Morales breaks the expectation already in the beginning of the movement by introducing the melodic cadential formula in the Altus II in Bar 3, as part of a full cadential setting in bb. 2–3.

Example 20 (Kyrie, bb. 1–4)

Cantus
 Ky - - - - -
 Altus I
 Ky - - - ri - - - e
 Altus II
 Ky - ri - e - - - e - lei - son,
 Tenor
 Ky - ri - - - - e e
 Bassus
 Ky - ri - - - - e - - -

The last movement of the Requiem à 5, the Communion *Lux æterna*, starts with strict imitation of the four-note motive taken from the Gregorian melody of the proprium as seen on **Example 21**.

Example 21 (bb. 1–5)

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Cantus, Altus I, Altus II, Tenor, and Bassus. The score is in common time (C) and features a four-note motive in the bassus part. The lyrics are: "Lu - ce - at e - is, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne, Lu - ce - at e - -".

Inasmuch literature implies that hundreds of years after his death, Morales’ works were used as a model for the study of counterpoint (Carreño 2013, 4), and his ability to produce textural changes (e.g., thickening vs rarefaction of scoring) seem to have caused a lesser impression in his successors. In 1749, Italian composer Matteo Fornari praised Morales as the composer who first showed how to set words intelligibly in a contrapuntal fabric (Stevenson and Planchart 2001, sec. 2), but made no mention to his textural manipulations. Perhaps this mass features a very specific usage of textural manipulations, and was by its own was not so impressive in his general output as a composer. Nonetheless, Morales’ dexterity in manipulating the depth of musical flow rendered him the posthumous praise of Fornari (Stevenson 1961, 6).

I claim that he attained the “virtuosic” capacities as a 16th century musician by correctly communicating the pathos of the text he set into music. I also deem that Morales’ humanism – as Albert (2013) and Carreño (2013) refer – was manifested in using musical strategies and resources to amplify the meaning of religious texts: in Morales’ own words, he believed in the power of music as it exalted the thoughts of men. In Morales’ Requiem à 5, the symbolic power of music that Lowinsky (1954) mentions as a general rhetoric property of Renaissance music could be conveyed upon the alternation of homophonic, polyphonic and monophonic tissues

of the mass. Also according to Lowinsky, in Renaissance vocal music the “choice of the texts is itself highly revealing” – which places this funerary mass in a special place among the literature, since Morales made an extensive and complete setting of the proprium. However, his outstanding procedures and textural solutions need to be put into historical perspective. If Fornari – a violinist and colleague of Corelli – claimed that “Morales's magnificats to be the only earlier compositions that showed Palestrina how to proceed” (Stevenson 1961, 6), we should lean on the particularities of Morales’ music. A comparison with other works is a concrete manner of assessing how and why his style was so distinguished and lauded much after his death. The next chapter will determine whether the Requiem à 5 of Morales finds equivalence in the repertory or if it is an outstanding artwork, in the same artistic height of the Magnificats praised by Fornari.

Chapter 4 – COMPARISON BETWEEN MORALES' REQUIEM À 5 AND MORTUARY MUSIC FROM 1497–1556

Any comparative attempt between these pieces and those of Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, Févin and other Dutch or like-minded authors is idle. The style of Morales' Pro Defunctis masses is clear and exclusively Spanish, as evidenced by their similarities of J. Vázquez, Guerrero and Victoria, whose affinity with those of the former is obvious, but not out of mere servile dependence, but because all obey the same aesthetic principle, encrypted in a peculiar way to conceive funeral music. (Rubio, 1969, 296, translation of mine)

The contrapuntal and polyphonic techniques of the Franco-Flemish school were mostly introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the composer Francisco de Peñalosa (1470–1528), who lived one generation before Morales (Carreño 2013, 1). The style of the Franco-Flemish school probably also spread in the recently unified kingdom of Spain by influence of the composers employed in the itinerant court of Charles V. Some notable chapel masters of the *Capilla Flamenca* (Flemish Chapel) included the composers Nicolas Gombert (c. 1495–1560) – an acquaintance of Morales (Stevenson 1961, 9) – and Thomas Créquillon (c. 1505–1557). However, despite the pioneer aspect of the polyphonic technique in Spain, it seems that Morales was eulogized during and after his lifetime for also having consolidated the Hispanic Requiem tradition. As stated before, Morales' 1544 Requiem à 5 has been described as markedly Spanish: scholars as Rubio (1969), Stevenson (1961) and Wagstaff (2002) have shone light on the Hispanic features of his work. Wagstaff (2002, 44) also identifies the Spanish liturgical melodies as pertaining to this specific musical tradition.

Rubio's citation above, describing the "Hispanic accent" in Morales' funerary music, does not invalidate the study of textural changes in the Requiem à 5, if compared to other Requiems written prior or even posterior to his. Much of the contrapuntal and textural procedures in his Morales' Requiem à 5 were to be found in funerary masses written earlier than his. The greatest example of those textural manipulations is the heavily homorhythmic and homophonic sections of the verse *Te Decet* in the first movement of Brumel's 1516 and Richafort's 1520 Requiems, and the equally homophonic section of *Requiem æternam* as a verse to the last movement of the proprium, the Communio *Lux æterna*. I believe that the centre of the discussion arisen by Rubio lies in the aesthetical and religious aspects of Morales' music, constructed in a particular way through technical features that are relatable to the Spanish rite – not only from the musical point of view. The aesthetical qualities are manifested both in (a)

the way the music was written – through the usage of the dark register (highlighted by the dulcian in doubling the bass), the chant-bearing superius; and (b) interpretative nuances such as the slow recitation of plainchant by the congregation. My intent in selecting the Requiems included in **Table 1** is an effort to catalogue, systematize and compare polyphonic Requiem masses written before and after Morales’ Requiem à 5 which was published in 1544.

	Brumel, Requiem (c. 1500)	Josquin, Nymphes de Bois (1497)	Richafort, Requiem (1520)	Morales, Requiem (1544)	Clemens, Requiem (1545–1555?)	Morales, Requiem (1551)	Vasquez, Agenda Defunctorum (1556)
Introitus (Requiem aeternam) (Te decet)	P H	H Over the words “ <i>Requiem aeternam</i> ” —	P Mostly H	P H	P H	P H	P P
Kyrie (i,ii,iii)	P	—	P	P	P	P	P
Graduale	—	—	P. Text setting: <i>Si ambulem</i>	P. <i>In Memoria</i> : à 3, SI <i>Non timebit.</i> , PP	Tractus <i>Domine Jesu Christe</i> : SI	P	P, Long gregorian intonation <i>In Memoria</i> : à 3
Sequentia: Dies iræ, Pie Jesu	<i>Liber scriptus</i> : à 2; <i>Quid sum miser</i> : à 4; <i>Pie Jesu</i> : H	—	P	P	—	—	—
Offertorium	—	—	P	SI; <i>Hostias</i> : à 4, P	H	P	P
Sanctus	H	—	P with very sparse texture and slow notes	Mostly H	P; <i>Pleni sunt coeli</i> : HH	Mostly H	P
Benedictus	H with cadential formula (bb. 30 & 38)	—	P	P	H	Mostly H	P
Agnus Dei (I, II, III)	H (very similar to Morales 1544)	—	I: H; II: H with cadential formula, III: P (very similar to Morales 1544)	I: H; II: H; III: P	H	I: Mostly H; II: idem; III: H	P
Communio	SI (very similar to Morales 1544)	—	P	<i>Luceat eis</i> : SI; <i>Requiem aeternam</i> : partly P	P	—	—
(Requiem aeternam)	H (very similar to Morales 1544)	—	H (very similar to Morales 1544)	H over “ <i>Et lux perpetua</i> ”	HH (very similar to Morales 1544), Cum sanctis: SI	—	—

Table 1: Comparison between polyphonic music for the dead, c. 1500–1550. Acronyms: **H** = Homorhythm; **P** = Polyphony; **SI** = Strict imitation; **FI** = Free imitation; **TD** = Textural decrease; **À (x)** = Number of voices.

My objective of comparing Requiems from different schools has in the centre of its discussion the treatment of specific texts and textural changes – and not specifically the contrapuntal procedures. The intent is to identify in which way or which parts Morales is similar to his Franco-Flemish colleagues, and where do their greatest artistic differences lie. To understand which solutions or expressive resources each composer has given to convey ideas and images of death and mourn, I will compare the earliest Requiems composed and some examples posterior to Morales’ 1544 mass. The method is reflected on **Table 1** according to

the emphasis on textural treatment: my parameters are variations on the original number of assigned voices, shifts to homophonic (and usually homorhythmic) sections, which kind of polyphonic treatment is predominant (e.g., strict imitation vs. free imitation), etc. Some pieces, however, are endowed with particular compositional techniques and beforehand deserve special consideration. When displayed in chronological order, we are also able to see quantitative aspects about the Requiems (e.g., how many movements were set into music, and which parts are missing). This historical evolution can provide a better understanding of the early Requiem tradition.

I have included composers from different generations of the Renaissance who have set the proprium text into music because the Requiem mass as a genre was relatively a novelty at the time, being the first complete mass the one by Johannes Ockeghem – probably written in 1483 for the funeral of Louis XI and found in the Chigi Codex, published in 1502–3. The overwhelming majority of the Requiem masses before 1544 (the year of publication of my analysis object) pertains to the Franco-Flemish school a style that created an ensemble of contrapuntal techniques later implemented in the Iberian Peninsula by the composers of the *Capilla Flamenca*. The 1544 Requiem à 5 of Morales is the only complete setting of all the proprium texts in the comparison. The hyphens (–) in the table refer to proprium texts that were not set into music by the composer. Pieces are placed in chronological order and the movements are in the sequence they appear in the order of the composition. The table describes the predominant texture of the sections.

Another piece elected to figure among the deplorative (funerary) music is the celebrated motet *Nymphes de Bois* by Josquin Desprez, composed in 1497 upon the death of his teacher Johannes Ockeghem. By the time Josquin composed the piece, only the Requiem mass attributed to Guillaume Dufay (whose manuscript is lost) and the 1483 Requiem by Ockeghem existed in the literature. Another exceptionality in **Table 1** is Brumel’s *Missa pro Defunctis*. It was probably written circa 1500 in Ferrara under his employment by the Duke Alfonso D’Este. Brumel’s Requiem is one of the first in the repertory; notably the first to set the sequence *Dies iræ* in polyphony (Thacker et al., 2012, 92). Hence, in the end of the 15th century, the Requiem mass as a musical genre was still very incipient and scarce. This is one of the reasons for including a funerary piece (*Nymphes de bois*) among this comparison; it shows an interesting multi-textual composition technique, and uses the resource of textural change as a mean of expressivity. Although the main text is non-liturgical (the French poem *Déploration sur la mort de Jean Ockeghem*), it combines the Gregorian melody of the *Requiem æternam* in the closing section, as well as the word “Amen” which has clear liturgical and religious connotations. A

similar approach is to be found in Jean de Richafort's 1520 Requiem, styled according to the Parisian rite. Throughout the piece, the composer uses the plainchant *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis* in different voices and varied ecclesiastical modes, whereas the remainder of the lines sing the proprium text of the Requiem mass.

Josquin's *Nymphes de bois* and Richafort's 1520 Requiem are both multi-textual, which brings at the same time additional expressivity – but also other challenges for the analysis. The plurality of texts poses an interesting artistic effect, that can draw the attention of the listener to different layers of expressivity. In both Richafort's and Josquin's compositions, only one of the voices bears a different text than the other lines. This type of scoring creates clashes between the semantic loads, but also other sorts of friction between the voices – especially because they bear different poetic metrics. In Josquin's *Nymphes de bois*, there is an even more distinctive feature: the tenor sings in Latin, whereas the other voices carry the text in French. This feature is equivalent to the chant-bearing soprano in the Spanish Requiem: a structure that was meant to be evident.

Brumel is said to have composed the earliest polyphonic *Dies iræ* in the history of music (Thacker 2012, 140). Morales' 1544 Requiem, albeit setting into music an extensive selection of proprium texts, preserves the reciting of very long Gregorian declamations – a mark of the Spanish liturgy. The modern scores of the Requiem à 5 do not include the plainchant, but the interpretation of the recording selected to be the reference to this comparison (Gabrieli Consort & Paul McCreesh 1998, track 9) – being a reconstitution of the Spanish rite as celebrated in Toledo cathedral – features the entire congregation (in mixed voices) reciting the Gregorian melody. Late 16th century works such as the 1583 Requiem of Tomás Luis de Victoria, or even his celebrated 1603 Requiem à 6 written in the memory of dowager Empress of Austria, are equally unfit for comparison. Specially in the case of Victoria, there are already manifestations of the mannerist, almost baroque, aesthetics. So that the compatriots of Morales are not left out of the analysis, I chose to include Juan Vásquez's 1556 *Agenda Defunctorum* – a work that is almost contemporaneous to Morales' 1544 Requiem à 5 and brings some clear characteristics of the Spanish style in Requiem masses.

The compositions I am evoking present very different and often incomplete settings of the proprium text, which restricts the possibilities of comparing the treatment of each section. Another challenge is to compare textural variations that exist in different moments. For example, Brumel reduces the scoring of the sequentia *Dies Irae* from four to two voices on bar 45 and resumes the four-voice texture on bar 66. No other composer among the table has done the same procedure with the same section, so it cannot be compared with discrepant texts. In a

similar way that Josquin utilizes a multi-textual approach to *Nymphes de bois* – combining texts in French and Latin, Richafort inserts multiple texts in the Graduale of his 1520 Requiem. The Bass starts singing the line *c'est douleur non pareille* (there is no such a pain, translation of mine) on bar 46 and then is joined by the Altus II on bar 47. Both stop together in the final cadence, singing a text in French on bar 60, while the other voices are singing in Latin. This kind of particularity deserves mention as of being an interesting artistic effect and a distinctive stylistic mark of the Franco-Flemish school, but for the sake of comparison of textural changes – it cannot find equivalence in other masses. I am comparing the 1544 Requiem à 5 of Morales with Franco-Flemish composers since the Andalusian school absorbed much of the contrapuntal technique. The timeframe delimitation is absolutely relevant for my discussion, remaining in the first half of the 16th century. Later composers of the Spanish school, such as Francisco Guerrero (himself a student of Morales) and Tomás Luis de Victoria wrote in a much different style than their predecessors, so also for this reason, their Requiem masses were left out of my comparison.

Another important example from the literature was left outside of the comparison: the 1504 Requiem mass by Pedro Escobar. Until 1987, when the first recording was done by Quodlibet Ensemble, the manuscript was deemed as lost. Albeit having worked for the Spanish crown, Escobar was Portuguese – being many times referred to as “Pedro do Porto”. I shall also mention that the earliest Italian Requiems – notably from the Roman school – were left out of the comparison. The earliest examples were composed after the liturgical reform promulgated by the Vatican in 1570, and are styled in an extremely polyphonic and imitative frame that does not offer proper grounds to locate textural manipulations. Palestrina and Asola’s Requiems are unfit for means of comparison, since they are structured in an extremely polyphonic setting and do not provide enough means of comparison in regards to textural changes.

The Requiem tradition arrived lately in Italy. The earliest polyphonic setting of a Requiem by an Italian composer is that of Giovanni Matteo Asola, first printed in Venice in 1580. Palestrina also wrote a funerary mass which was published in 1591. Hence, the Italian Requiems were published after the 1570 standardization of the *Missa pro defunctis* formulary as defined by the Council of Trent. This new-born convention reflected in the radically different style of both Asola’s and Palestrina’s Requiems, that follow much different liturgical rules and musical conventions than the contemporaries of Morales, as further explained by Thacker (2012, 91).

This standardization also opened the door to a thorny issue during this period, which was how the liturgical texts were to be set musically. Thus the emergence of the Requiem Mass exists alongside with a musical innovation that was not without some controversy – the introduction of polyphony. The gradual introduction of polyphony into sacred music not only challenged the symbolic unity of monophonic chant, but it also introduced a plurality of voices that threatened to descend into cacophony and noise, if not properly handled. If the polyphony was excessive or too complex, then the words of the texts would be unintelligible, and the religious message lost among dense, shifting clouds of sound.

The most contrasting pieces present in the table are those of Josquin (*Nymphes de bois*) and Richafort (*Requiem*, 1520), both multi-textual polyphonic settings of deplorative texts. *Nymphes de bois* is a fine example of textural changes. There is a subtle, but noticeable textural decrease starting on bar 56: the tenor enters on a long silence that will perdure until bar 64, as seen on **Example 21a**. It is a strong figurative gesture; my hypothesis is that the silence and sudden sparsity of the texture is a clear analogy to death, to wane away, to vanish. Starting on bar 59, there is a strong effect when the polyphonic flow is interrupted, drawing attention to the text. The sequence “Josquin, Brumel, Pirchon, Compère” (bb. 59–63) is remarkable because of its descending melodic movement – a rhetoric figure for sadness and grief, as seen on **Example 21b**. Such themes and states of spirit are completely relatable to the artistic precepts of the compared Requiem masses. The major textural change which creates a mechanical effect is the sober, monophonic intonation of the words “*Requiem aeternam*”, starting on bar 64. The sudden shift from polyphonic to homophonic texture is a remarkable effect as seen on **Example 21c**. This procedure is also widely used in the other Requiems of the comparison. The piece ends with all the voices singing “Amen”, which gives the deplorative motet a clear religious connotation albeit it was not written for liturgical use.

Example 21 (Josquin, 1497)

a. bb. 51–56

4
51

vre, la ter-re le cœu-vre, la ter-re le cœu-vre. Ac-cou-trez
vre, que la ter-re cœu-vre, que la ter-re cœu-vre. et plo-rez

- vre, que la ter- - re le cœu-vre. Ac-cou-trez
- re cœu-vre, que la ter-re cœu-vre. et plo-rez

- re le cœu- - - vre, la ter-re le cœu-vre. Ac-cou-trez
- re cœu- - - vre, que la ter-re cœu-vre. et plo-rez

- - - is.

cœu-vre, la ter-re le cœu-vre. Ac-cou-trez
cœu-vre, que la ter-re cœu-vre. et plo-rez

b. bb. 57–62

57

vous d'a-bitz de deuil: Jos-quin, Bru-mel, Pir-chon, Com-
gros-ses lar-mes d'œuil: per-du a-vez vos-tre bon

vous d'a-bitz de deuil: Jos-quin, Bru-mel, Pir-chon, Com-
gros-ses lar-mes d'œuil: per-du a-vez vos-tre bon

vous d'a-bitz de deuil: Jos-quin, Bru-mel, Pir-chon, Com-
gros-ses lar-mes d'œuil: per-du a-vez vos-tre bon

vous d'a-bitz de deuil: Jos-quin, Bru-mel, Pir-chon, Com-
gros-ses lar-mes d'œuil: per-du a-vez vos-tre bon

c. bb. 63–70

63

pè-re, Re-qui-es-cat in pa-ce. A-men, A-men.

pè-re, Re-qui-es-cat in pa-ce. A-men.

8 pè-re, Re-qui-es-cat in pa-ce. A-men.

8 Re-qui-es-cat in pa-ce. A-men.

pè-re, Re-qui-es-cat in pa-ce. A-men, A-men.

In regards to the aesthetical and liturgical differences between the Franco-Flemish and Spanish schools, Rubio identifies as “a peculiar way to conceive funeral music” is tightly connected to the ceremonial functions of Morales’ Requiems (both the 1544 and 1551 compositions). Rubio (1969, 295) also characterises the early *Requiem à 5* of 1544 as a representative of the Spanish musical “austerity” in the liturgy of the dead. An even more specific nomenclature would place both of Morales’ Requiems as fine examples written in the style of the Andalusian school of polyphony. The particularly long Gregorian declamation in the *Graduale* is also a Spanish liturgical element that is not to be found in any of the Franco-Flemish Requiems – and not even in the printed sources of Morales’s both *Missæ pro defunctis* from 1544 nor 1551. A curious coincidence is the only textural decrease in the whole Requiem Mass of Vásquez: the section *In Memoria*, the contrasting part of the *Graduale Requiem æternam*. There is a similarity with the same section in Morales’ *Requiem à 5*. In both cases, the texture shrinks (from four and five, respectively) to three voices. Morales starts the motive in the bass – taken from the cantus firmus – which is repeated in strict imitation in the Tenor and Altus II, as seen on **Example 22a**. Vásquez reduces the scoring of the whole *Graduale* for three voices rather than four. Regardless of strict or free imitation, the polyphonic stream creates a dense texture, given that the voices are placed within a close distance, as seen on **Example 22b**.

Example 22

a. Morales (1544), Graduale, In Memoria

58 Altus II

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - - -

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - ter - - - - -

In me - mo - - - ri - a æ - ter - - - - - - - - - - - na,

b. Vásquez (1556), Graduale, In Memoria

[Versvs]

[Altvs] In me - mo - - - - ri - a ae - ter -

[c.f., con poca fidelidad]

[Tenor] In me - mo - - - ri - a # ae - b - - ter - -

[Bassvs] In me - mo - ri - a ae -

There is yet another similarity between Vásquez’s and Morales’ Requiems in *Domine Jesu Christe*. In this section, both Morales’ Requiem à 5 and Vasquez use the incipit of the response to the verse, as seen on **Example 23a**. Morales presents the Gregorian melody in the Altus I, a the three-note motive was transposed a perfect fourth upwards – as seen on **Example 23b**. The imitation is present in the majority of the voices. Morales employs the plainchant until the end of the end of the word “*animas*”; Vásquez dismisses the cantus firmus after the word “*libera*”, as seen on **Example 23c**. The employment of long excerpts of plainchant in imitative textures might be a stylistic similarity between those two Spanish Requiems in comparison to those of the Franco–Flemish school.

Example 23

a. original melodic line of “*libera ánimas...*”

Domine Jé-su Christe, * Rex gló-ri-æ, líbe-ra ánimas ómni-um

Example 24

a. Morales (1544), Introitus

17
Do - mi - - - - - ne:
is Do - mi - ne, Do - - - - - mi - ne: et
- - - is Do - - - - mi - - - ne, Do - - - - mi - ne: et
- - - - - mi - ne, Do - - - - - mi - - - - ne:
Do - - - - - mi - ne, Do - - - - - mi - ne:

b. Vásquez (1556), Agnus Dei

51
re - - - - - qui - em
em, do - na e - is re - - - - - qui - em sem -
qui - em, do - na e - is re - qui - - - em sem -
is, do - na e - - - - is re - qui - em sem -

The most identifiable textural change in all Requiems can be found in the introitus. After the declamation of the verse *Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion*, there seems to be a very clear shift in the *geist* of the piece, hence acting as the contrasting section of the *Requiem aeternam*. Despite the sharp stylistic discrepancies among all the Requiems, this section (*Te decet*) displays textural and rhythmical similarity in all the Requiems, as seen on **Example 25**. One hypothesis lies on the fact that the response *Te decet hymnus* is a very specific text for the Requiem mass and does not have other settings in the literature.

Example 25

a. Brumel (1516), Introitus

35

S et ti - bi red - de -

A et ti - bi red - de -

T Te de - cet hym - nus De - us, in Si - on, et ti - bi red - de -

B et ti - bi red - de -

b. Richafort (1520), Introitus

[V.]

51

S Te de - cet hymnus, De - us, in Si - on: et ti - bi red - de - tur vo -

A et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - -

T et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum

Resolutio

Canon

Cir - -

B et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - -

c. Morales (1544, à 5), Introitus

56

S Et ti - - - bi red - de - tur vo -

A Et ti - - - bi red - de - - -

T Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum

B Et ti - - - bi red - de - tur vo -

S Et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - tum

d. Clemens (1540s?), Introitus

2

26 27 28 29

Et ti - - bi red-de-tur vo - tum

Et ti - - bi red-de-tur vo - tum

Te de-cet hymnus Deus in Si-on_ Et ti - - bi red-de-tur vo - tum

Et ti - - bi red-de-tur vo - tum

e. Morales (1551, à 4), Introitus

Et ti-bi red-de-tur vo-tum in Ie - ru - sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti -

Et ti-bi red-de-tur vo-tum in Ie - ru - sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti -

Et ti-bi red-de-tur vo-tum in Ie - ru - sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti -

Et ti-bi red-de-tur vo-tum in Ie - ru - sa - lem: ex - au - di o - ra - ti -

f. Vásquez (1556), Introitus

50

Ps. Te de - cet hym - nus De - us in Si - on, et ti - bi red - de - - tur

et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - - -

et ti - - bi red - - - tur

et ti - bi red - de - tur vo - - -

The section *et tibi redettur* features similarity between all the compared Requiems as well. The durations over the word “Reddetur” become shorter, most probably because of the prosody and the syllabic treatment. The first half of the 16th century was the first time this specific text was set polyphonically. Albeit the general structure of those Requiems is way different between themselves, the prosodic possibilities to set into music the words *Et tibi votum reddetur* might explain the very similar rhythm. In other words, all of the examples

(except **Example 25a**) carry a breve or semibreve over the word “*Et*” – regardless of the edition. The setting of the words “*tibi reddetur*” as seen on **Examples 25 d–f** presents strikingly similar rhythms: two minims for each syllable of the word “*tibi*” and four quarter notes for the word “*reddetur*”. My hypothesis is that the natural utterance for those words (trochee and tribrach rhythms, respectively) reflects the very common text setting for these two words.

Another common aspect among the Requiem masses presented on **Table 1** concern the Communion. **Example 26a** presents the original monodic melody, and **Examples 26 b–d** features only the four Requiems in the comparison that have set the Communion *Lux aeterna*. Imitation of the cantus (highlighted in brackets) takes place with the words *Luceat eis* after the recitation of the verse *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine*, as seen only in **Example 26b, d and e**. The Communion of Richafort’s Requiem contains the original plainchant, but does not perform imitation, as seen on **Example 26c**. The placement of the cantus firmus melody was a standard procedure in paraphrase masses with the *Ordinarium* text, but such compositional technique seems to have been applied to this setting of the *Proprium*. Clemens (**Example 26e**) quotes only the five first notes (A–C–B–C–A) from the six-note Gregorian melody of the text *Luceat eis Domine* and does not proceed to sixth note G natural, as did Brumel, Richafort and Morales in the 1544 *Missa pro Defunctis*. Morales did not set the Communion in the 1551 Requiem and neither did Vásquez in his 1556 *Agenda Defunctorum*.

Example 26

a. Original plainchant, Latin Requiem mass, *Lux aeterna*

Lux aeterna * luce- at è- is, Dómine:

b. Richafort (1520), Agnus Dei (bb. 1–6)

16

A-gnus De - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca -

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di:

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec -

Resolutio

ge - mi -

Canon

ge - mi - tus mor -

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

c. Morales (1544), Agnus Dei (bb. 1–9)

Cantus

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - - - na

Altus I

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do -

Altus II

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - di: do -

Tenor

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - - - -

Bassus

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - - - -

d. Clemens (1540s?), Agnus Dei (bb. 1–9)

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Qui tol-lis pec - ca-ta mun - di, do - na e - is re - qui-em.

Qui tol-lis pec - ca-ta mun - di, do - na e - is re - qui-em.

A-gnus De-i Qui tol-lis pec - ca-ta mun - di, do - na e - is re - qui-em.

Qui tol-lis pec - ca-ta mun - di, do - na e - is re - qui-em.

in 1566, to fit the reforms by the Council of Trent that ended three years earlier. The definitive revision, upon which modern editions are based on, was published in Rome in 1582. Yet, both the two Requiems of Victoria and the 1582 version of Guerrero's Requiem are styled in a radically different fashion in comparison to the same sources by Morales. Those latter compositions suggest a rather horizontal and imitative structure of the musical speech, in contrast to the more vertical chordal structures employed by Morales in his masses.

However, some innovative features in the setting of a polyphonic Requiem, implemented by Morales in 1544, were later reproduced by Spanish and Italian composers. Palestrina wrote a Requiem in five voices and Victoria in six, but in fact it was Morales who broke the tradition of scoring Requiems for four voices. The only exception to be found in the literature was Richafort's Requiem of 1520. I would point out to two great novelties implemented by Morales in his Requiem à 5: the additional fifth voice and the systematic use of a melodic cadential formulae outside cadences, which is tightly associated to textural changes. The fifth voice created a denser texture and enabled more expressivity through textural manipulation, as well as the nearly basso continuo behaviour of the lowest voice.

The other great Spanish feature that was consistently used by Morales in his 1544 Requiem is the chant-bearing soprano. The 1556 *Agenda Defunctorum* of Juan Vásquez also utilizes this compositional technique in a great extent, but later Spanish Requiems, such as the 1605 by Victoria and the 1580 Parisian revision of Guerrero's, are scored for six voices. The result of the dense stream of polyphony is the inevitable obscuring of the Cantus firmus: in the same way that Morales and Richafort attained more expressivity by adding more voices to the traditional SATB setting, there was the indirect consequence of loss of clarity of the text. On the other hand, Morales usually tends to use rather transparent textures, which could even be associated, in rhetoric structures, as the *lux perpétua* (eternal light). With the exception of very specific moments, in which Morales deliberately wishes to obscure the texture and the meaning of the words (for example, the strictly imitative section *In Memoria*, a part of the Graduale), the listener can almost see through a musical stained-glass window in a cathedral, where only the structures are visible: the bass and the superius. In conformity to the Spanish tradition, the cantus is placed closer to the skies, and hence, to God – possibly conveying, death and eternity through a rhetoric figure. Another hypothesis is that the staunch religiosity of Spain in the 16th century had direct influence on the “way of conceiving funeral music”, as Rubio states (1969, 296); it seems that the composer consciously wanted the listener to be aware of the liturgical melodies, since they are located in the uppermost and most audible voice (*superius*).

The way Morales employs textural changes throughout his Requiem à 5 is a very good example of what Carreño cites as “expressing technically his cultural acquisitions and humanistic thought”. Morales attains very different sonorities and expressive nuances by means of increasing or decreasing the scoring. My analogy is the same as the quantity of light pervading the in a cathedral: the foundation (the bass) and the design (the ecclesiastical melody) are given, but as a priest and a man of the church, Morales wisely creates different images with the religious text: sometimes scrambling the liturgic words on a thick polyphonic tissue, or making the recited Christian truth clear as plain glass. The overall result is an extremely varied sonorous landscape; according to the historically informed recording of McCreesh (1998), the actual funeral ceremony for both Charles V and for his son Philipp II included several moments of recitation by the canon. The performance interpretation of the Gabrieli Consort and Paul McCreesh (1998) brings a diversity of religious texts such as prayers (*oratio*), a letter to the apostle Paul, and the invitation *dominus vobiscum*. When listened as a whole, and hence put into perspective, the musical settings of the Requiem proprium (i.e., the scoring by Morales) acquires an even richer aesthetic quality: the words gain duration, colours, and intensity – as if the light shining upon a window would produce different images throughout the day. As Stevenson claimed, “Morales in 1544 artfully varied his sonorities by giving the plainsong to altus II in the gradual and to supranus II in the offertory” (Stevenson 1961, 395).

CONCLUSION

Morales' Requiem à 5 of 1544 is the first Spanish Requiem mass ever written, with full and rich accounts about its execution – and most importantly, a marker of great state events (death of two important Spanish monarchs). Based on the epoch accounts conferring exceptional importance to Morales' compositions, the mass could be regarded as a political and religious symbol, heavily influenced by the Catholic Spanish rite and beliefs. Although not commissioned for the exequies of Charles V and of his son Philipp II, it was used for state funerals. In my point of view, such historical and political references add immense aesthetical weight to the work. On this regard, there is a clear difference between Morales' 1544 Requiem à 5 and all the selected examples of Requiem masses from the comparison in the fourth chapter, which were not written for occasions of similar grandeur.

Considering the style of this Requiem mass and how traditional compositional elements such as counterpoint are fashioned, Morales walks away from the tradition of Franco-Flemish composers by incorporating the national liturgical practices of Spain in a systematic manner into his Requiem masses. The chant-bearing soprano, slow and large chordal texture, intense usage of the low register, restricted usage of imitation, absence or restricted usage of melodic ornaments, alternation between homophonic and polyphonic sections are the most remarkable features. These elements are perceived in a clearer way in his first (1544, à 5) rather than second (1551, à 4) Requiem mass. By means of comparison, it is also clear that there were strong influences of the Franco-Flemish school in the way Morales set some specific texts in the Requiem. Pedro de Escobar, a Portuguese composer, wrote a Requiem in 1504 placed the cantus firmus in the soprano – a procedure that was adopted by Morales and his Spanish successors. Morales' 1544 Requiem presents contrapuntal similarities to the Requiems of Brumel (1516), Richafort (1520) and Clemens (ca. 1540s) in regards of textural changes and imitation. The most similar sections are *Communio* and *Te Decet*, which present a highly imitative texture and very similar text setting.

Although the notation of Morales' Requiem à 5 was quite similar to the notation of Franco-Flemish composers, the Requiem's local performance style and its resulting sonority was immensely affected by Spanish liturgical practices. Morales was not so innovative in regards to contrapuntal techniques applied in the 1544 Requiem à 5, but the details connected to its performance made his work singular in the existing Requiem tradition. We can imagine, according to epoch accounts, that sections that were notated similarly in the Requiems of Brumel, Richafort and Clemens would have sounded completely different than in the Requiem

of Morales. In the Spanish interpretation of Morales' polyphonic Requiem mass, the intonation (the text declamation in solemn and lengthy-paced style) of the plainchant would be much slower than Roman practice. Another interpretative practice concerns the reinforced low register, a characteristically Spanish liturgical practice: evidence shows that at least since 1520, the bass line that was sung by the choristers in Toledo was doubled by a dulcian (or *bajón*), the predecessor of the modern bassoon. Minor aesthetic differences between the Requiem à 5 and its Franco-Flemish counterparts also lie in the usage of the low register of the vocal parts. Possibly, the "Toledo way" of recitation suggested a slow tempo for the musical interpretation and text declamation: a solemn and lengthy-paced intonation prevailed.

In Morales' Requiem à 5, textural changes act as a major aesthetic effect. The composer created different emphasis on the chanted text and expressive nuances are attributed to the religious text by the means of textural manipulation. The way Morales employs textural changes throughout his Requiem à 5 is what Knighton (2001) describes as "declamation" (contrapuntal sections alternating with passages of homophony) in the music of Peñalosa, with whom Morales might have studied. I suggest that largely homophonic and homorhythmic sections tend to sound serious and sober, meanwhile its extreme opposite is the strict imitation, which drives away the attention of the listener to the musical construction rather to the content of the text. For example, I showed that the most homophonic sections of the whole Requiem are the verse *Te decet* of the Introitus and the first two repetitions of the *Agnus Dei*. In contrast, the most polyphonic parts are *In Memoria* (appendix of the Graduale) and the Communion *Lux aeterna*, both written in strict imitation and extremely contrapuntal texture. This compositional technique generates through interest contrast and variation, and there are different gradations in between those two extremes. For instance, I would place the *Introitus* and the *Sequentia Pie Jesu Domine* exactly in between the extremities of textural usage. In both sections, the text is intelligible, but the listener's attention is also directed to the beauty and internal mechanisms of the contrapuntal tissue.

Morales – the highly educated man of the Renaissance, had a "vast and refined education", whose influence is not only aesthetic or formal but also affects the field of thought, clearly humanistic (Carreño 2013, 3). His Requiem à 5 could be compared, from the artistic point of view, as a depiction of the human soul in accordance to the Christian precepts. The humanist education and musical training in the art of counterpoint in the Sevillian school, as well as the acquisition of knowledge and contacts with European authors during his stay in Rome, provided him with the technical means to express in his art what he had acquired culturally in his native land. In his maturity, there was in the music of Morales a perfect balance

between the freedom of the Renaissance man and the craft of his art (ibid). His refined compositional technique was intelligible but at the same time balanced with the inner quests of the humanist thought and the religiousness of the Spanish court.

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