MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS OF DEATH IN RENAISSANCE SPAIN:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SELECTED REQUIEM MASSES

A Thesis in
Musicology
by
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Abstract

The Catholic Church served as an institution of unparalleled importance in late fifteenth-century Spain. The Spanish monarchs endorsed a program to enforce uniformity of belief, skillfully extending their authority over the Spanish Church. Spain had a fascination with death evident among writers, including mystics, theologians, and monarchs unseen elsewhere in Europe.

The Spanish composers Cristóbal de Morales and Tomás Luis de Victoria both wrote two Requiem Masses: one that is quintessentially Spanish in style and one that is a hybrid of both Roman and Spanish stylistic practices. The analysis of musical elements within these Masses shows how the emotion of Spanish polyphonic Requiem Masses was controlled and how it conformed to a distinctly Spanish obsession with death.

Spanish Requiem Masses are characterized by the contrasts inherent in chant performance, as well as a chant-bearing cantus. These procedures attest to the composers’ introspective nature. Eschewing displays of ingenuity or virtuosity, Morales and Victoria approached the theme of death in the most restrained and reverential way because the Spanish believed that music had a dangerous power.

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. The aesthetic of purity that occurred in Spain was abandoned in the New World colonies in an effort to incorporate indigenous practices and thus to convert the natives more easily. However, nearly a century after contact, polyphonic singing schools had been established and Morales’s Requiem Masses became a standard in Mexico.
# Table of Contents

List of Examples ........................................................................................................... v  
List of Tables ................................................................................................................ vi  
List of Abbreviations ................................................................................................... vii  
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ viii 

**INTRODUCTION** .................................................................................................. 1

Chapter 1: GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA ............................................. 11  
  Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* ................................................................. 13  

Chapter 2: CRISTÓBAL DE MORALES ................................................................. 21  
  Morales’s *Missa de profunctis à 5* ................................................................. 21  
  Morales’s *Missa de profunctis à 4* ................................................................. 35  

Chapter 3: TOMÀS LUIS DE VICTORIA .............................................................. 49  
  Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4* ............................................................... 49  
  Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* ............................................................... 60  

**EPILOGUE** ......................................................................................................... 71  

Bibliography ............................................................................................................... 84
List of Examples

Example 1.1: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Kyrie (opening) .........................15
Example 1.2a: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Kyrie (opening of Christe) .........16
Example 1.2b: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Kyrie (opening of second Kyrie) ...16
Example 1.3: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Offertory (conclusion of Domine Jesu Christe Rex Glorae and beginning of Hostias et preces) .........................17
Example 1.4: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Sanctus/Benedictus ..................17
Example 1.5a: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, conclusion of Agnus Dei I and beginning of Agnus Dei II .................................................................18
Example 1.5b: Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, conclusion of Agnus Dei II and beginning of Agnus Dei III .................................................................18

Example 2.1: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Gradual (opening) .......................27
Example 2.2: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Offertory (opening) .....................28
Example 2.3: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Communion (opening) ..................29
Example 2.4: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Communion (v. Requiem aeternam) ..30
Example 2.5: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Introit (opening) ..........................32
Example 2.6a: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Gradual In memoria ......................34
Example 2.6b: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Offertory (Hostias et preces) ........34
Example 2.7: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Introit passage - Bermudo and MâlaC 4 ..........................................................38
Example 2.8: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Gradual (opening) ........................41
Example 2.9: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Gradual (et lux) ............................42
Example 2.10: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Offertory (opening) ....................43
Example 2.11: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Offertory (“fidelium defunctorum”) .44
Example 2.12: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Introit (verse) .............................45
Example 2.13a: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (Roman underlay) ......47
Example 2.13b: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (Spanish underlay) ....47

Example 3.1a: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Introit (beginning) ....................52
Example 3.1b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Introit (Psalm) ............................53
Example 3.2: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Kyrie (Christe eleison) ..................54
Example 3.3a: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Gradual (opening – first section) ...55
Example 3.3b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Gradual (et lux perpetua – second section) .................................................................55
Example 3.3c: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Gradual (luceat eis – third section) ..56
Example 3.4: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Offertory (Hostias et preces) ............57
Example 3.5a: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (v. Requiem aeternam) .57
Example 3.5b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (beginning) ..............58
Example 3.5c: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (final phrase of antiphon and verse) .................................................................59
Example 3.6: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Gradual (opening) ........................66
Example 3.7a: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Introit (opening) ..........................67
Example 3.7b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Introit (Te decet hymnus) ..........68
Example 3.8: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Communion (Quia pius es) ..........69
List of Tables

Table 1.1: Palestrina’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 5 ..........................13
Table 2.1: Morales’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 5 ............................23
Table 2.2: Comparison of Roman and Spanish Lux aeterna Texts ......................25
Table 2.3: Morales’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4 ..............................39
Table 3.1: Victoria’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4 ..............................50
Table 3.2: Victoria’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4 and à 6 .................64
## List of Abbreviations
*(Sigla for Polyphonic Manuscripts)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Coimbra. Biblioteca Gerald a Universidade. MS 34</td>
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<tr>
<td>MunBS 65:</td>
<td>Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. MS 65</td>
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<td>MunBS C:</td>
<td>Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. MS C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToleBC 21:</td>
<td>Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Introduction

On the eve of the Renaissance, Spain occupied a unique position among other European nations: it was a land of diverse peoples, traditions, and faiths, where for centuries Muslims, Jews, and Catholics had enjoyed freedom of worship. Along with the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile came a policy to unite the disparate kingdom of Spain via a common faith. The firm direction given to religious policy motivated Spain’s advocacy of the Catholic cause, and with it the centuries-long cohabitation of Catholics with their Jewish and Moorish neighbors, known as *convivencia*, began to disintegrate. The traditional school of Spanish historians has interpreted the Catholic monarchs’ attempt to eliminate Spain’s multi-cultural heritage and the imposition of Catholicism as the only acceptable faith as policies that definitively shaped the development of Spain’s religious identity in the early modern period. Thus, the Catholic Church served as an institution of unparalleled importance in late fifteenth-century Spain, central to the development of Spanish society during one of the most formative periods in its history, a period that many historians and Spaniards alike still refer to as *El Siglo del Oro*.

Prior to Ferdinand and Isabella’s ambitious program of ecclesiastical reform, the Spanish Church suffered many criticisms. As Helen Rawlings explains:

According to the official reports of church councils and synods, as well as popular anti-clerical literature of the time, it was a Church riddled with secularism, absenteeism, ignorance, and low levels of morality and discipline.  

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1 Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1-2.  
2 Ibid., xiii-xiv.  
3 Ibid., 26.  
4 Ibid., 50.
By endorsing a program to enforce uniformity of belief, Ferdinand and Isabella skillfully extended their authority over the Spanish Church, creating a powerful union of Church and state. The new monarchs heralded Catholicism as the defining characteristic of Spanish national identity. The resulting triumphant and secure Spanish Church, implemented by Ferdinand and Isabella’s initiative, materialized a half century before the Catholic Church launched its official response to the Protestant Reformation. Thus, 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 behavior. A War of Reconquest, fought sporadically since ca. 722, gained momentum by the Inquisition’s formation in 1478. Church and state conspired to exterminate all threats that could undermine their authority. Established to repress and eliminate diversity of belief, the Inquisition discredited all differences of opinion and all alternative religions as heresy. The oppressive machinery of the Spanish Inquisition obliged its Jewish community to accept baptism or go into exile by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Church had also taken a leading role in the recovery of southern Spain from its Moorish inhabitants. The fall of the ancient Moorish stronghold of Granada to Christian forces on 6 January 1492 was a major part of the Reconquest victory. The Catholic Church saw the collapse of the coexistence of these three cultures as a great triumph for Spanish

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5 Ibid., 50-51.
6 Ibid., 1.
8 Rawlings, Church, Religion and Society, xii.
Catholicism. Throughout the tumultuous years of rooting out alleged heresy and apostasy, “the Reconquest bred a warrior, crusader society that fed off the glories of war fought in the name of religion.” Accordingly, the Spanish Church became characterized by its militancy and exclusivity.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Spanish Church had become firmly associated with the authoritarian power of the monarchy. Spain’s reputation as a foremost upholder of religious orthodoxy and non-Christian intolerance continued after Ferdinand and Isabella as it took on a leading role under Charles V (1516-56). He further reinforced this image in the early sixteenth century by impeding the spread of Protestant heresy throughout Spain and combating the onslaught of Turkish power through the lands of the Holy Roman Empire in northern and central Europe, which he inherited in 1519.

A further crusade began with dramatic suddenness across the Atlantic. In 1492 Christopher Columbus, in his quest to find a westerly route to “the Indies,” unknowingly embarked upon the discovery of the New World of the Americas. The conquest of the Aztec civilization of New Spain by Hernàn Cortés in 1519 was rapidly followed by that of the Incas of Peru by the Pizarro brothers in 1534. Spain now began the massive task of winning the souls of the conquered peoples of the New World for Christianity.

Death is a universal phenomenon common to all human beings, where the here and the unknown hereafter intersect. As Carlos Eire explains:

In the case of Catholic Europe before the Enlightenment, death was the moment when salvation was decided, the instant when the soul began its journey into the unseen spiritual realm that was the church’s special dominion. Hence, death was the unique moment, common to all, when the church could make the ultimate claim over each individual and over

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9 Ibid., xiv.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., xii-xiv.
society as a whole; it was arguably the consummate Catholic experience, the ultimate expression of a society’s beliefs, and also the ultimate opportunity for shaping and controlling a society’s behavior.12

Spain, arguably the staunchest defender of the Catholic faith in the sixteenth century, had a fascination with death evident among writers, including mystics, theologians, and monarchs unseen elsewhere in Europe.13 Death comprised an important prominence in Spain where “heaven, hell, and purgatory were as much a part of that nation’s topography as Madrid, Gibraltar, and the Pyrenees.”14

The realm of death ritual in Renaissance Spain represents a significant category of human experience through which society communicated its ultimate values. Eire concludes the following:

[A]ttitudes toward death and the afterlife are indeed a barometer of faith and piety, and a unique manifestation of the interrelationship between belief and behavior, between the abstract world of theology and the practical world of deeds and gestures.15

Culturally conditioned core beliefs illuminate the role of death ritual in the construction of personal and civic identity. These beliefs, imbued with profound social, political, and religious significance, express the conceptual foundation of its major social institutions, specifically the Church in Spain.16 Under the strong arm of the Spanish Church, the concern with orthodox representation emphasized the sanctity of death rituals and became the focus of how to prepare for death.17

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13 Ibid., 6-7.
14 Ibid., 7.
15 Ibid., 5.
Death triggered not only intense emotion, but also an ordered way of doing things.\(^\text{18}\) The ability to cope with the difficulty that accompanies death stems from the accumulated wisdom of social convention – ritual. Engaging in a series of closely patterned, repetitive ritual actions helps in coping with grief.\(^\text{19}\) Ritual death behaviors, however formulaic, expose how feeling, doctrinal instruction, and concern for the departed soul “tangled together in an intricate web.”\(^\text{20}\) Thus, ensuing rituals seek to soften the socially disruptive effect of death.\(^\text{21}\)

There are two dimensions to death ritual: funerals and Requiem Masses.\(^\text{22}\) Despite their shared public character, the funeral and the Requiem had fundamentally different objectives:

The funeral was essentially a political rite: it revealed relationships of power between groups, separated people on the basis of status, and legitimated those distinctions of status by recreating them in the processional order. By contrast, the requiem was a religious rite of incorporation: its purpose was to strengthen and renew social, communal, and spiritual bonds by gathering into a cohesive community a wide variety of kin, friends, neighbors, trade associates, confraternal brothers, political allies, and occasionally public officials.\(^\text{23}\)

The Requiem liturgy further stressed the mutuality of shared religious beliefs among Catholics in Spain.\(^\text{24}\)

The theological concepts of what death symbolized, in part, governed ritual behavior.\(^\text{25}\) While funerals became increasingly complex throughout the sixteenth century, some restraint continued to be exercised in regard to what the Church deemed as

\(^{18}\) Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 1-2.
\(^{19}\) Heroshi Obayashi, *Death and Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), xi.
\(^{21}\) Obayashi, *Death and Afterlife*, xi.
\(^{22}\) Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, xiii.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., 6-7.
\(^{24}\) Ibid., 241.
\(^{25}\) Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead,” 172-173.
“lugubrious excesses,” “execrable abuses,” and “indecencies” practiced at funerals.\textsuperscript{26} These practices generated a sense of desperation and suggested a lack of faith in the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. The Synod of Toledo in 1323 admonished against non-intercessory gestures, such as the wearing of mourning garb, the lighting of a certain number of candles and “the horrible cries” of mourners – practices that “tended to imitate the rites of the pagans.”\textsuperscript{27} In Spain, the fear of contamination from Muslim or Jewish influences in proper Christian death ritual made the issue of mourning gestures a sensitive subject.\textsuperscript{28}

Throughout the late Middle Ages, clergy and laity alike continued to disobey such restrictions. This is evident from the proscriptions issued by the Synod of Alcalà in 1480:

The testimony of sacred scripture teaches us that those who are greatly saddened by the deaths of the friends and relatives…really seem to deny the resurrection, and to lose hope in that promise that all Catholics hold dear of being brought back to life on the Last Day. Since faith and hope in this teaching should be more certain and firm among those who are well versed in the sacred scriptures and the precepts of the law, that is, the clergy and all ecclesiastics, it seems most reprehensible and dangerous that they should give in to such grief, inducing others into great error.\textsuperscript{29}

Barring the reaffirmation of the directives of 1323, this Synod also prohibited certain forms of mutilation, apparently commonly practiced in the diocese of Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century, despite ecclesiastical legislation against them. This document banned priests from scratching their faces, pulling out their hair with their hands, or performing any other immoderate gesture that does damage to themselves “according to

\textsuperscript{26} José Sanchez Herrero, \textit{Concilios Provinciales y Sinodos Toledanos de los Siglos XIV y XV: La Religiosidad Cristiana del Clero y Pueblo} (Laguna, 1976), 178.

\textsuperscript{27} Clergy were advised to abstain from wearing any mourning clothes, even for the immediate family, under the pain of excommunication. Eire, \textit{From Madrid to Purgatory}, 151-152.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{29} Herrero, \textit{Concilios Provinciales}, 30; as quoted in Eire, \textit{From Madrid to Purgatory}, 152.
the customs of the laity.” Failure to comply resulted in suspension of benefices for three months and imprisonment for two months in an ecclesiastical jail.

In order to die “well” in Spain, one needed to be processed, buried, and commemorated with orthodox ritual. According to the Spanish Church, a pious death required at least one Requiem Mass. These Requiem Masses also exhibited the restraint found in funerals because the Spanish believed that music had a dangerous power, herding back to an ancient tradition in Christian theology recorded by St. Augustine:

I used to be much more fascinated by the pleasures of sound than the pleasures of smell. I was enthralled by them, but you broke my bonds and set me free. I admit that I still find some enjoyment in the music of hymns, which are alive with your praises, when I hear them sung by well-trained, melodious voices, but I do not enjoy it so much that I cannot tear myself away…For sometimes, I feel that I treat it with more honor than it deserves. I realize that when they are sung these sacred words stir my mind to greater religious fervor and kindle in me a more ardent flame of piety than they would if they were not sung…But I ought not to allow my mind to be paralyzed by the gratification of my senses, which often leads it astray. For the senses are not content to take second place.

St. Augustine’s words reflect his struggles with the senses and their inherent power.

Even the Spanish composers, Tomás Luis de Victoria, acknowledged the power of music:

“Music can affect for good or ill the body as well as the mind.”

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.

Several diocesan constitutions from the late Middle Ages through the sixteenth century

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30 Eire, From Madrid to Purgatory, 152-153.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., 22.
33 As quoted in Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead,” 172-173.
34 From the preface to Victoria’s Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatour vocibus...concinuntur (Rome: Basa, 1581) as quoted in Robert Murrell Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 373.
decried “foreign” musical practices such as excessive laments and wails.\textsuperscript{35} The Spanish Church considered overt emotional displays as signs of evil influence and an affront to Christian beliefs.\textsuperscript{36} It is likely that composers were encouraged by ecclesiastical authorities to create more appropriate sacred music for funerals and commemorations that more closely reflected the Christian belief in the calm acceptance of death. The music in Spanish death rituals was carefully planned to generate the correct emotional response and control of what Church officials viewed as formidable behavior.\textsuperscript{37} To replace these unchristian practices, music served to express grievers’ empathy in a more controlled fashion: emotions were to be gentle, not overpowering, and not for display to others, in order to represent a calm, pious death. Grayson Wagstaff concludes that “the production of polyphonic Requiems in Spain was spurred in part by ecclesiastical leaders’ desire to suppress unsanctioned music at funerals and commemorations for the dead.”\textsuperscript{38} In part, the eagerness to counterbalance the appeal of popular rituals led to a growth of polyphonic Mass settings in Spain.

The earliest identified works in the Spanish repertory for the Requiem Mass and the Office for the Dead date to the late fifteenth century. Although related to the Requiem tradition in France, the Low Countries, and later in Italy, the repertory in Spain and colonial Mexico is unique in that it emphasizes music for the processions and other ceremonies, not just the Mass for the Dead.\textsuperscript{39} This thesis will investigate the Spanish tradition of polyphonic Requiem settings, focusing on the music of Spanish composers

\textsuperscript{35} Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead,” 172-173.
\textsuperscript{37} Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead,” 169-170.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 171.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 169.
Cristóbal de Morales (1500-1553) and Tomàs Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), widely regarded as the most significant composers of the Spanish Renaissance. Both worked in Rome for at least a decade and were directly influenced by the style developed by the great Roman master, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594). I will examine five separate Requiem Masses, one by Palestrina, and two by Morales and Victoria, respectively. Both Morales and Victoria wrote one Requiem Mass while in Italy and the other while in Spain. Each composer has one Requiem Mass that is quintessentially Spanish in style, characterized by the contrasts inherent in chant performance with alternation of monophony and polyphony, as well as a chant-bearing cantus, making it the most obvious element.\(^{40}\) Likewise, each composer has a Requiem Mass that is a hybrid of both Roman and Spanish stylistic practices. The analyses will compare the differing Roman and Spanish approaches of setting the Requiem Mass in relation to the treatment of the chant, voice-leading, sensitivity to the text, texture, and the resulting emotional impact.

Chapter 1 will summarize the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and their influence upon the late Renaissance Requiem Mass. A review of the characteristics of Palestrina’s style, through an analysis of his *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, his only setting of the Requiem Mass, will follow. This survey of his stylistic attributes will facilitate a comparison of the Roman and Spanish styles. I will also discuss the influence of Palestrina and his style, specifically on Morales and Victoria.

Chapter 2 will focus on Morales’s two Requiem Masses, beginning with his 1544 *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, which has been argued to be representative of his Roman

\[^{40}\text{Grayson Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American Composers Before 1630” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 607.}\]
approach. My analysis will exemplify elements of his adherence to Spanish tradition. The next section will examine his later Missa pro defunctis a 4, which is believed to have been composed between 1548-51 after Morales returned to Spain and while he served under the patronage of the Duke of Arcos in Marchena. The distinctly Spanish qualities, such as the careful presentation of chant, in contrast to uncontrolled expression, are responsible for the emotional character of this work.

Chapter 3 will focus on Victoria’s two Requiem Mass settings. Victoria’s first setting of the Requiem Mass in 1583 is distinctly Spanish in nature, although written while in Rome. Conversely, his Requiem Mass of 1605, dedicated to Princess Margarita in honor of the death of her mother, the Dowager Empress Maria, and his patron of nearly twenty years, is marked by a hybridization of the Spanish and Roman styles. This adoption of a mixed style demonstrates the changing cultural ideals and the influence of other countries on the music of Spain. The analysis of musical elements within these Masses will examine how the emotion of Spanish polyphonic Requiem Masses was controlled and how it conformed to a distinctly Spanish obsession with death.

The Epilogue will include an overview of how the Spanish Requiem Masses were used and appropriated in the New World. The aesthetics of purity and the cleansing of outside influences that occurred in Spain were abandoned in the New World colonies in an effort to incorporate indigenous practices and thus to convert the natives more easily. However, nearly a century after contact, polyphonic singing schools had been established and Morales’s Requiem Masses became a standard in Mexico.

CHAPTER 1

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

Palestrina’s musical style was among the most profoundly influential in the Renaissance. Both Morales and Victoria spent at least a decade in Rome and would have known his work. Morales lived and worked in Rome from 1535 to 1545. While Morales sang in the papal choir, Palestrina sang in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore. Victoria stayed longer in Rome, from 1565-87, and unlike Morales, it is quite certain that Victoria not only knew Palestrina, but that he may have been his student. Any discussion of Requiem Masses written in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century must take into account Palestrina’s influence, especially for composers who were in Rome and who probably had direct contact with Palestrina.

The religious foundation of early modern Europe underwent a dramatic transformation in the sixteenth century. Lutheranism swept through Germany in the 1520s and prompted a movement of radical reform within the Western Church. The Reformation produced a rival Reformed Church that promoted a broader, more inclusive approach to Christian belief and worship. The Catholic Church responded with a housecleaning that reinforced the orthodox principles of its foundation.

A General Council of Catholic bishops and theologians met in December 1545 in Trent in northern Italy to address the religious crisis affecting the continent. This was to

be the first of three separate sessions of debate, lasting a total of seven years, spread over
the period 1545-63. The Council of Trent’s overriding concern was to reinvigorate the
Church of Rome by reaffirming its doctrinal beliefs and by setting out a program for
institutional reform that would eradicate the corruption and lax discipline found within its
professional body.

By the time its second session met (1551-2), the unity of Christendom was
all but lost. In 1555, the principle of freedom of worship (cius regio eius
religio) was established in the Empire by the Peace of Augsburg. The
influence of the Reformed Church was spreading rapidly throughout
northern Europe. As delegates assembled for the crucial final session
(1562-3), the rise of international Calvinism (a rival, militant current of
the Lutheran Church) threatened to penetrate the heart of Catholic
Europe.4

The redefinition of the theory and practice of Catholicism that emerged from the Council
of Trent was designed to strengthen the Church from within and preserve it from further
disintegration.5

Many codifications of Catholic Church music accompanied the last meeting of the
Council of Trent. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, local versions of Requiem
Masses followed local custom rather than a fixed, prescribed liturgy. A standardized
liturgy only occurred with the 1570 Missale of Pius V. Furthermore, a Requiem Mass
was not actually mandated as an essential part of the burial rite until the creation of the
codified Rituale Romanum in 1614.6 Despite a lack of standardization in liturgical texts
for Requiem Masses, the advent of the printing press, adapted for music printing in 1501,
generated “a dulling of native emotions brought about by a striving to follow
contemporary fashions and by centralized ecclesiastical laws, especially those which

4 Rawlings, Church, Society and Religion in Early Modern Spain (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 54.
5 Ibid.
6 Sharon T. Strocchia, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in
developed after the Council of Trent.”

Printing disseminated new musical styles throughout Europe, and although local development continued, a trend to conform to more international styles slowly replaced local traditions.

**Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5**

Palestrina published his only setting of the Requiem Mass in 1554 within his *Missarum liber primus*. It is unclear in what context this Requiem Mass was used.

Predating Pius V’s codification of the Requiem texts, the expectations for Requiem Mass settings in Rome lacked definition. Consequently, the settings for the *Missa pro defunctis* by Italian composers often do not agree on the formulary to be used. The lack of unified expectations for the Requiem Mass in Italy may be due in part to the political environment of the country: Italy was comprised of many independent city-states, each with its own thriving local liturgical practice. The formulary that Palestrina followed is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kyrie</th>
<th>Offertory</th>
<th>Sanctus/Benedictus</th>
<th>Agnus Dei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Domine Jesu Christe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Palestrina’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 5

Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* resembles Morales’s two Requiem settings in including only those elements that belong properly to a Mass. By contrast, Victoria’s two Requiem settings include additional selections from the Burial Office. Palestrina’s Requiem Mass includes only three of the five texts of the Mass Ordinary and only one

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8 Ibid.
9 Grayson Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American Composers Before 1630” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 428.
item from the Proper, resulting in an incomplete polyphonic setting that “extends to but half [of] Morales’s [Missa pro defunctis à 5] length.” Most strikingly, Palestrina begins with the Kyrie, omitting the Introit Requiem aeternam, which gives the Requiem Mass its name. Palestrina then excludes the Gradual and Sequence. Although omitting a polyphonic setting of the Gradual was common within the sometimes differing Italian liturgical expectations, it is odd that Palestrina omits the Sequence Dies irae, which was the only shared Proper text in all sixteenth-century Italian formularies.11

Robert Murrell Stevenson asserts that of the movements of Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, “none is a cantus firmus movement.” However, Palestrina does model his Requiem Mass on the preexisting chant melodies. Stevenson is correct that none of the preexisting melodies found in Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5 function as a strict cantus firmus. Instead, Palestrina paraphrases the chant melody, often only discernible in the openings of the movements. Palestrina alters the chant and fits it into his setting by reshaping it both melodically and rhythmically. This technique of handling the cantus firmus is similar to that of Guillaume Dufay and Gilles Binchois. Thus, the chant melody forms the skeleton of the composition, but does not achieve melodic prominence. Instead, Palestrina’s cantus acquires the lead, emanating from the paraphrased cantus firmus in a free development.15

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12 Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, 395.
14 Fellerer, The History of Catholic Music, 70.
15 Ibid., 70-71.
In the opening *Kyrie*, the plainsong is paraphrased in the tenor I voice, presenting the melody in long note values (see Example 1.1).

Example 1.1: Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Kyrie (opening)

The melodic contour of the chant is anticipated in the cantus and altus voices. This type of imitation is common not only throughout Palestrina’s Requiem Mass, but in his style in general.\(^{16}\) The melody in the top three voices, exactly carried out in imitative manner in terms of melodic content, is based upon the opening chant motive, but rhythmically it is Palestrina’s own. While the melodic content of the three voices is the same, different rhythmic values are given to each melodic note, depending on the voice, in order to avoid dissonance.\(^{17}\) It is typical that the Kyrie movement does not open with a plainsong incipit. Nevertheless, none of Palestrina’s movements open with an intonation. This further obfuscates the perception of a cantus firmus contained within the polyphony.

Palestrina does not differentiate the tripartite text of the Kyrie with shifts in texture, style, or voicing (see Examples 1.2a and b). Instead of using a musical change to delineate a textual change, Palestrina opens each of the three sections in the same

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manner. After the cadence of section one, *Kyrie eleison*, Palestrina opens with a single voice, layering the others until all voices enter imitatively in succession.

None of the delineations of text inherent in the chant are underscored with a change in texture (see Examples 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5a and b). Instead, each new large section of text is marked solely by the preceding cadence. In one case, the *Hostias et preces* verse in the Offertory, Palestrina changes the scoring to four voices, eliminating the bassus (see Example 1.3).
Example 1.3: Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Offertory (conclusion of *Domine Jesu Christe Rex Gloriae* and beginning of *Hostias et preces*)

Example 1.4: Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Sanctus/Benedictus
Example 1.5a: Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, conclusion of Agnus Dei I and beginning of Agnus Dei II

Example 1.5b: Palestrina’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, conclusion of Agnus Dei II and beginning of Agnus Dei III
The most direct link to the chant melody is in regard to the idea of intervals. Although the intervals of the borrowed chant melodies are not copied note for note, taken altogether, Palestrina restricts the intervals employed in his Missa pro defunctis à 5 to those admissible in plainsong tradition.\textsuperscript{18} Palestrina’s only intervallic additions to his polyphonic music include the minor sixth ascending and the octave. Contemporary composers employed other intervals outside this tradition, but Palestrina’s melodies signify a return to the stricter melodic fashion of plainsong with regard to intervals.\textsuperscript{19} Palestrina’s choice to refrain from using other intervals aligns with his strict rules of avoiding dissonance.

The starting point in Palestrina’s style is the melodic line characterized by balance: “…the ascending and descending movements counterbalance each other with almost mathematical accuracy.”\textsuperscript{20} Palestrina’s aims include control and perfection, resulting in absolute clarity of expression, but often characterized as bland.\textsuperscript{21}

Musically and technically [Palestrina’s self-control] is shown by the subtle discrimination with which everything is avoided that might make too strong a claim upon the attention, and consequently create the impression of too great activity.\textsuperscript{22}

Palestrina’s music is characterized by control of every aspect of the music, above all seeking to avoid “harsh effects or violent contrasts.”\textsuperscript{23} This philosophy explains Palestrina’s lack of an obvious change in texture to call attention to the textual changes, restricting the chant to the tenor voice, and eliminating intonations that delineate the

\textsuperscript{18} Jeppeson, The Style of Palestrina, 52.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 50.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 11, 83-84.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 51.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 83.
inherent monophonic nature of the chant. Together with the relatively few items set polyphonically, these are choices that Palestrina makes specifically in this Requiem Mass due to its mournful nature.
CHAPTER 2

Cristóbal de Morales

Morales’s first Requiem Mass dates from 1544, a year before the first meeting in Trent. At this time, Spain, despite its firm commitment to Catholicism, was not unaffected by the Reformation. It possessed a large new Christian population comprised of morsiscos (Moorish converts) and conversos (Jewish converts) whose faith was regarded as ambivalent. The Catholic Church responded to the emergence of the Reformed Church with a hardening of traditional, conservative attitudes.

The Inquisition deliberately set about associating innovative trends in religious and intellectual life with the ‘heresy’ perpetrated by Martin Luther. Furthermore, by actively seeking new sources of contagion, it substantially expanded its own power base, which had been considerably diminished since the end of the period of intense anti-converso persecutions.¹

The Spanish Church and its militant Inquisition sought to purge Spain of any potentially subversive infiltrations of belief.

Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5

Similar to the overwhelming majority of Renaissance compositions, very little is known about the inception of Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5. It was published in Rome in 1544 in Morales’s Missarum liber primus, a two-volume collection containing sixteen of his Masses.² His Missa pro defunctis à 5 was reissued in 1552 in Lyon within

¹ Helen Rawlings, Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 27.
his Missarum liber secundus.³ Publication in both Italy and France led to its widespread dissemination. There are ten known extant copies of the 1544 publication: nine in Italy, three of which are held in the Vatican archives, and one in Germany. Five surviving copies of the 1552 edition are known: one each in Austria, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and the United States.⁴ In manuscript, some portion of the setting is found in sources in Spain, Portugal, and Germany.⁵

The exact compositional date of the Mass remains uncertain, although Wagstaff postulates that it “was probably written in the early 1540s.”⁶ Although the Mass was first published while in Rome, the lack of documentary evidence indicating when Morales actually wrote it implies that the place of composition is also unknown. If indeed the Mass was written during Morales’s decade in Rome, it must be noted that upon completion of each five-year term with the Papal choir, it was customary to grant foreign musicians a paid leave of absence of ten months in order to return home. Morales overstayed his leave of absence, leaving 4 April 1540 and not returning until 25 May 1541.⁷ It is possible that some of the Masses in his 1544 collection, including his Missa pro defunctis à 5, could have been written while in Spain.

Since the Mass was published while Morales was in Rome, yet its origin remains unknown, it is important to compare its formulary with those characteristic to both Spanish and Italian repertories. However, this comparison is difficult because Morales’s

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⁴ Ibid., 424.
⁵ Ibid., 425. Known manuscript concordances include: CoimU 34, Gradual (verse only “In memoria”) ff. 27-28; MadM 6832 (olim Medinaceli, MS 607) ff. 508-531; MunBS 44/4 ff. 233-; ToleBC 21, ff. 97-118.
⁶ Ibid., 423. Wagstaff states that the work was written in the early 1540s, but he does not explain how he arrived at that date.
⁷ Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, 21.
Missa pro defunctis à 5 precedes the reforms issued by Pius V on 14 July 1570, which standardized the formulary for the Requiem Mass and made, with certain reservations, the reforms obligatory for the whole Western Church.\(^8\) 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. Consequently, the settings for the Missa pro defunctis by Italian composers often do not agree on the formulary to be used.\(^9\) The lack of unified expectations for the Requiem Mass in Italy may be due in part to the political environment of the country. Unlike Spain, which had undergone a systematic political and liturgical codification following its unification in 1492, Italy was comprised of many independent city-states, each with its own thriving local liturgical practice. The formulary that Morales followed is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introit</th>
<th>Requiem aeternam</th>
<th>v. Te decet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>Requiem aeternam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual</td>
<td>Requiem aeternam</td>
<td>v. In memoria aeterna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
<td>Dies irae - only set the final verse</td>
<td>v. Pie Jesu domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offertory</td>
<td>Domine Jesu Christe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctus/Benedictus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>Lux aeterna</td>
<td>v. Requiem aeternam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Morales’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 5

Within the sometimes differing Italian liturgical expectations, the only shared text among the more variable Proper items is the Sequence, Dies irae. Often, sixteenth-century Italian composers omit a polyphonic setting of the Gradual.\(^10\) Morales chose to set the text Requiem aeternam.

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\(^10\) Ibid., 428-429.
Two composers, Orazio Vecchi (1550-1605), an Italian composer, and Jacobus de Kerle (1531-91), a southern Netherlandish composer working in Rome at the time of his setting of the Requiem Mass, contradict this standard. Each of these composers set the Gradual *Si ambulem*, which reflects the text that is included for this item in the majority of Franco-Flemish settings. Therefore, it is possible that Kerle chose to set the text with which he was familiar. It is also plausible that Vecchi set *Si ambulem* for an institution that used a different formulary than that in existence in Rome. Finally, it was typical for Italian composers to omit the tract, which in Roman usage was *Absolve*. Thus, all texts used in Morales’s Requiem setting à 5 fit the Roman liturgical practices of the time, although the Gradual is set polyphonically.

The majority of Morales’s formulary also fits into the liturgy common in Spain during the sixteenth century. Of the Proper items set by Morales, the Introit, Gradual, and Offertory all have the same texts found for these items in Spanish liturgies. His setting of the last verse of the Sequence presents a problem, as it is a text that was almost never set by Spanish composers. Similar to the Gradual in the Roman liturgy, the Sequence text was not usually sung polyphonically in Spain. The only text used in Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis* à 5 that does not fit into the Spanish liturgy is the

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11 Ibid., 428.
12 Ibid., 428.
13 Ibid., 427.
14 Ibid., 428.
Communion text. Morales chose to use the Roman version of *Lux aeterna*, not the variant of the text used in Spain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Roman Lux aeterna</strong></th>
<th><strong>Spanish Lux aeterna Variant</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ant.</strong> Lux aeterna. Luceat eis, Domine: Cum sanctis tuis, Cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es.</td>
<td><strong>Ant.</strong> Lux aeterna. Luceat eis, Domine: Cum sanctis tuis, Cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>v.</strong> Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine, Et lux perpetua luceat eis. Cum sanctis tuis, Cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es.</td>
<td><strong>Ant.</strong> Pro quorum commemoratione corpus Christi sumitur: done eis requiem sempeternam: et locum indulgentie cum sanctis tuis in eternam qui pius es.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: Comparison of Roman and Spanish *Lux aeterna* Texts

As Table 2.2 shows, the Roman text is comprised of the antiphon *Lux aeterna* followed by the verse *Requiem aeternam*. In Spain, a popular variant is comprised of the antiphon *Lux aeterna* followed by the antiphon *Pro quorum*, forming a single amplified antiphon with no verse.\(^{15}\) Aside from this variant of *Lux aeterna*, the other widely used Communion text in Spain was *Absolve Domine*, the text set by both Pedro de Escobar (1465-1535), a Portuguese composer active in Spain, and Juan Vásquez (1500-60).\(^{16}\) Morales chose to set all items, except the Communion, with texts that were common to both the Spanish and Italian traditions. Similarly, this Mass blends Spanish and Roman traditions in other ways.

The actual melodies of the chants that Morales used are all very similar to those found in the modern *Graduale Romanum*.\(^{17}\) A comparison of the chant melodies with those found in the modern published editions of the liturgy exposes slight variances.

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\(^{16}\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 429-430.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 430.
These instances of deviation no doubt existed in the version known to the composer.\textsuperscript{18} Even though the texts that Morales chose to use for the Proper items, excluding the Communion, are the same in both Roman and Spanish liturgies, the chant melodies used in Spain for these Proper items, the Introit, Gradual, and Offertory, are variants of the melodies used in Rome.\textsuperscript{19} Therefore, these three chant melodies vary slightly from the melodies used in his Missa pro defunctis à 5. Thus, it is not in the melodies themselves that any suggestion of Morales’s Spanish tradition can be found.

While the texts mostly fit both liturgical practices, and the melodies are predominantly Roman, some movements embody typically Italian or Roman styles, while others seem to present more Spanish characteristics. One of the most striking and obvious characteristics argued to be non-Spanish is scoring the Mass for more than four voices.\textsuperscript{20} As discussed in Chapter 1, Palestrina’s Requiem Mass utilizes a fifth voice. The Requiem Mass that Morales published in Rome is also scored for five voices, a break from the Spanish tradition.

As evident in Palestrina’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, placement of the chant in an inner voice is a common occurrence. Besides Palestrina, many other Italian composers, or foreign composers working in Italy, place the cantus firmus in an inner voice. Some of these contemporary composers include Kerle, Costanzo Porta (1528-1601), and Vecchi, all of whom placed the preexistent melodies predominantly in the tenor part.\textsuperscript{21} In Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, there are two examples of the preexisting chant melodies being placed in an inner voice. In the Gradual, the chant is presented in the alto

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 427.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., Chapters 3 and 5.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 438.
II, indicated by the intonation in that voice (see Example 2.1).

Example 2.1: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Gradual (opening)

As the Gradual continues, motives outlining the shape of the chant melody are shared imitatively in the other four voices surrounding the alto II. This technique tends to veil the melody by making it part of a polyphonic web. As such, it does not stand out as clearly as it would if it were in the uppermost voice and free from imitative treatment.

Likewise, the supranus II presents the cantus firmus in the Offertory. In the Offertory, the cantus firmus is paraphrased more loosely, often in shorter notational values. This approach departs from the Spanish tradition of presenting the chant note for note, a treatment that is Morales’s usual method throughout the Mass. Like the Gradual, which uses imitative treatment to further obfuscate the cantus firmus, Morales uses this technique in the only other item of the Mass that presents the cantus firmus in an inner voice, the Offertory (see Example 2.2). After the intonation in the supranus II, all voices begin with the opening motive derived from the chant, a descending major third followed by an ascending major second. In the bass, the intervals are not equivalent to the chant, but the duration and direction of the melody remain intact.
Although the Communion does not present the cantus firmus in an inner voice, the techniques of imitative writing, or motivic sharing, and paraphrasing the cantus firmus occur. These later techniques, typical of Roman tradition, are present in the Communion, the only text that does not wholly fit within the Spanish liturgy. The liturgical melody is often presented in shorter notes, making the supranus part containing it not as easily distinguishable from the other voices. Like the Offertory, the Communion also opens with all voices beginning on a motive based on the chant (see Example 2.3).
Of particular interest is the verse, *Requiem aeternam*, where the text of the Spanish tradition diverges from the Italian formulary (see Example 2.4). Wagstaff has noted that the obscuring of the melody in the Communion

...is particularly noticeable in the verse, “Requiem aeternam,” where the first portion of the melody repeats the pitch c (beginning on “et lux perpetua,” after the monophonic intonation). Even though the cantus has the repeated pitches, it is not distinguished from the other voices because of the similar notational values. Throughout the verse, the chant becomes the melodic language out of which Morales’ polyphony flows. Consequently, the polyphony does not support a presentation of the chant...but rather motives are derived from the melody and the fabric of the polyphony is built from those melodic motives.²²

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²² Ibid., 440.
Example 2.4: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5, Communion (v. Requiem aeternam)

As did other composers active in Italy, within the items discussed thus far – the Gradual, Offertory, and Communion – Morales incorporated the preexistent material in inner voices, often with similar notational values in the other voice parts, and featured imitative writing. These items from this Requiem setting demonstrate that Morales included the heavy imitative style he was accustomed to hearing during his Roman decade. It has been hypothesized that the “foreignness” that the theorist Bermudo alluded to in Morales’s work could be this imitative nature, as it has been shown that the sacred music in Seville that Morales heard as a child (ca. 1500-20) was not based on points of imitation. These techniques, which ultimately disguise the cantus firmus, are used in Roman Requiem Masses and are incorporated in Morales’s setting à 5.

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23 Grayson Wagstaff, “A Re-examination of Music Attributed to Pedro Fernández de Castilleja: ‘El Maestro de los Maestros de España,’” (M.M. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1990), 66-72. That sacred music in Seville (ca. 1500) was not imitative can be seen in the works of Escobar and Pedro Fernández de Castilleja, both chapelmasters at the Cathedral of Seville during Morales’s youth; on Bermudo’s “foreignness” in Morales’s music, see Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 435.
Morales chose to use imitative writing in the Communion, the one text that does not fit into the Spanish liturgy. Furthermore, of the remaining Proper items whose texts fit into both the Spanish and Roman liturgy, but follow the Roman chant melodies, both the Gradual and the Offertory obscure the chant melody by using imitative polyphony, placing the melody in an inner voice, and paraphrasing the cantus firmus while using similar notational values in the surrounding voices. Of the remaining two Proper items, the last verse of the Sequence, which would not have been sung polyphonically in Spain, and the Introit, the latter exemplifies a more “Spanish” approach.

The Introit presents the liturgical melody in longas in the cantus, the uppermost voice. The chant is presented note for note, except for a few added notes to accommodate for cadences. This careful presentation of the chant is reminiscent of the Spanish tradition, much like the Introit of Escobar’s Mass for the dead composed forty years earlier. Wagstaff has argued that part of the reason for this clear presentation of the chant in Escobar’s Missa pro defunctis à 4 is his

…tendency in his compositions in general not to use very much imitation between the voices so that the highest melody becomes distinguished from the other voices because they make no allusion to it.²⁴

It is not within the chant melodies themselves that Morales follows Spanish tradition, but in the way that he often uses the melodies, placing them in the uppermost voice. In Morales’s Requiem Mass à 4, 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.

As seen later in the Gradual, Offertory, and Communion, Morales begins the Introit following the intonation with a motive derived from the chant, which is shared

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²⁴ Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 432. Escobar’s setting is examined in detail in Chapter 5.
imitatively among the four lower voices on the opening word *dona* a tactic which obscures the melody (see Example 2.5). However, after this short imitative treatment, at the entrance of the chant in the cantus, the Introit continues without reference to the chant melody by voices other than the cantus. There are some imitative motives, not derived from the chant, that are shared among the other parts. Even with these motives, all of the lower voices support the cantus firmus without making specific reference to it or distracting from it.

Example 2.5: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Introit (opening)

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.
Throughout the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, Morales presents the chant melody in long notes in the cantus, which is supported by the other voices. Rather than obscure the cantus firmus with imitative treatment, Morales often employs a more homophonic treatment throughout these Ordinary movements.

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.\(^{25}\) In the Roman practice, the intonations are much shorter than those in the Spanish tradition. Within the Roman tradition, on the text *Requiem aeternam*, it is customary to only intone the first word.\(^{26}\) Likewise, the offertory has *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae* intoned monophonically as in Spain. In Rome the practice would be to have the first three words intoned monophonically, with polyphony beginning on the word *Rex*.

In two instances Morales reduces the number of voices, adhering to another Spanish tradition. The verse of the Gradual, *In memoria*, is written for three voices, ATB, until the last phrase *non timebit*, where the full texture resumes (see Example 2.6a). The other instance is the verse of the Offertory, *Hostias et preces*, where the scoring is reduced to CATB, until the repeat of the text *Quam olim Abrahae* (see Example 2.6b). The portions of the chants where Morales reduced the voices were originally intended to be sung by a soloist.\(^{27}\) This careful setting mirrors the performance of the chant where the voice reductions clearly delineate the contrasts inherent in the chant performance traditions.

\(^{25}\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 430.
\(^{26}\) Ibid., see Chapter 2.
\(^{27}\) Ibid., 431-432.
Example 2.6a: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Gradual (*In memoria*)

Example 2.6b: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Offertory (*Hostias et preces*)

For the formulary of his *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Morales chose to include items whose texts, in general, are common to both the Spanish and Roman traditions. Throughout the Mass, the intonations follow the Spanish tradition. Furthermore, the presentation of the cantus firmus is contained in the cantus, except for the Gradual and the Offertory, adhering to Spanish convention. This arrangement contrasts with almost
all of the settings published in Italy in the fifty years after Morales’s *Liber secundus*.\(^{28}\)

Therefore, this may be an intentional effort by the Spaniard to integrate characteristics of his native tradition in an ostensibly “Roman” setting. Given this evidence, the accepted view that the five-voice Requiem Mass is thoroughly Roman in approach seems difficult to support.

**Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4***

Compared to his *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, Morales’s second Requiem setting is a jewel in regards to the documentation available pertaining to its inception. The *Missa pro defunctis à 4* was commissioned for the Count of Ureña, who held court in Osuna, near Seville. Morales wrote the *Missa pro defunctis à 4* sometime between the years of 1548-51 while he worked for the Duke of Arcos in nearby Marchena. The Mass’s identity is cited by the theorist Juan Bermudo in his treatise *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* stating that the work was “una missa de Requiem que hizo Morales para el señor Conde de Ureña (a Requiem Mass that Morales composed for the Count of Ureña).”\(^{29}\)

A relationship between Morales and this count, Juan Téllez Girón, had already been established, as Morales had previously composed his setting of the Office of the Dead for this patron.\(^{30}\) It is possible that the count turned to Morales to compose this Requiem Mass because he was already a patron who was familiar with Morales’s work, as well as his renown. Moreover, documentary evidence suggests Téllez Girón understood Morales’s compositional aptitude.

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\(^{28}\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 441.

\(^{29}\) Juan Bermudo, *Declaración*, f. cxxxix.

Information concerning life at the court of the Count of Ureña comes from a history of the family written by Gerónimo Gudiel. Within this history, Gudiel notes that Téllez Girón was knowledgeable in music. The count’s musical training extended beyond the fact that he “cantaba sueltamente” (sang sweetly). In fact, his compositional skills are noted: “y con algunos avisos y gracias musicales componía algunas obras, que sonavan dulcemente al oydo” (and with some musical finesse and grace [he] composed some works that sound sweet to the ear). This musical foundation, perhaps even expertise, helps explain why the Count would have turned to Morales to compose the Requiem Mass for his funeral instead of commissioning a local musician to produce one. Undoubtedly, Morales was the most skilled and renowned composer residing in Andalusia at that time.

Unfortunately, Gudiel’s Declaración offers little regarding the funeral of the Count of Ureña. At the time of Téllez Girón’s death in 1558 “fue llevado su cuerpo a sepultar al sepulcro, que avia hecho, con solenes exequias” (his body was taken to bury in the tomb, which was done with solemn exequias). Gudiel makes no mention of the actual music performed, or of the Mass in question. However, the author notes that these services were managed with great care by the Count’s son, Pedro. Furthermore, there was a “larga procession de clerigos” (long procession of clerics). These descriptions

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
give the impression that the services in honor of the Count’s death were similar to, albeit less extravagant than, those for royal family members.35

Despite the wealth of information available providing a contextual basis for Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4* compared to his earlier Requiem Mass, this work has arguably created more frustration for scholars due to a passage in Bermudo’s *Declaración* that praises Morales for resolving a dissonance correctly in this Mass. For some time, none of the known extant copies of what was believed to be this work included the same reading of the passage given by Bermudo. A number of works found in Castilian manuscripts had been known to scholars, but none of them included the voice-leading in Bermudo’s excerpt where he commended Morales for a passage from the verse of the Introit as representative of how to prepare and resolve a diminished fifth. After many years of speculation by musicologists, Eleanor Russell announced in 1978 that she had discovered a copy of the Mass in the Cathedral of Valladolid that matched *exactly* the passage quoted by Bermudo (see Example 2.7).36 Undoubtedly, the version of the passage found in Bermudo’s *Declaración* and VallaC s.s. represent Morales’s intention for the resolution since the treatise was written only a few years after the Mass was composed and Bermudo seems to have known the composer personally.37

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37 Ibid., 17-18.
Example 2.7: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Introit passage - Bermudo and MàlaC 4.

There are eight known manuscript sources for this Mass, dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century or the first quarter of the seventeenth century, except for AvilaC 1, which is from the late eighteenth century. Unlike the widespread dissemination of Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, all eight sources for this Requiem Mass are found in Spain. Furthermore, other than MontsM 753, these manuscripts are thought to have originated in the city in which they are now maintained. This places all but one of the manuscript sources, including MontsM 753, within the region of Castilla. The manuscript written outside of the Castilla region is MàlaC 4, which originated in the Andalusia region in Spain. Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4* was not a generic Requiem Mass; it was written for a specific patron’s death, a patron important in the region where the manuscript sources survive. This lack of dissemination and near confinement to one region reflects the significance of the patron’s influence within the community. 

38 Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 445-446. Known manuscript concordances include: AvilaC 1, ff. 101-121; LedesmasC s.s., ff. 109-120; MàlaC 4, ff. 10-23; MontsM 753, ff. 8-22; SegC 3, ff.13-19 (folio 14, containing the alto and bass part of the Introit on the recto and the cantus and tenor of the Kyrie on the verso, is missing); SilosA 21, ff. 63-76; VallaC s.s., ff. 23-47; VallaP s.s., ff. 127-141.
39 Ibid., 445.
40 MontsM 753 was copied for and owned by the Real Convento de las Señores de la Encarnación in Madrid.
specific region of Spain is not accounted for by its poor craftsmanship or its unpopularity, but rather points to the specific purpose for which it was written. In fact, the number of manuscript copies in the area attests to its importance within the local community and its practices. Furthermore, the fact that Morales chose not to publish this work (or nearly any of his other later works written after his return to Spain) suggests that this work adheres to the Spanish idiom and therefore would not be appropriate outside of Spain and its specific liturgical practices.

The formulary that Morales followed in his Missa pro defunctis à 4 eliminates the Roman Sequence found in his earlier Requiem setting (see Table 2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introit</th>
<th>Requiem aeternam</th>
<th>v. Te decept</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>Requiem aeternam</td>
<td>v. In memoria aeterna</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sanctus/Benedictus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>Lux aeterna</td>
<td>v. Requiem aeternam</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 2.3: Morales’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4

Unlike the previous Requiem Mass, whose cantus firmi mostly conformed to the Roman liturgical practices, the majority of the chant melodies used in Missa pro defunctis à 4 are either different versions of the Roman melodies or are different from those used in Rome. For example, the chant used for the antiphon of the Introit is basically the same as the one in the Vatican Graduale, but the psalm is more similar to the version included in the Mexican Manuale. As stated by Russell, the Kyrie is based on a melody seemingly unique to Spain and Latin America. The chant used in the communion, Lux aeterna,
which was considered by Miguel Querol Gavaldà to be a loosely paraphrased version of the Roman communion, is a melody used with the variant of this text common in Spain.\textsuperscript{43} This same variant was used in Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 5. It is therefore within these melodies themselves that Morales chooses to embody the Spanish tradition.

Another way that the setting à 5 departs from Spanish convention is the placement of the chant in a voice other than the cantus, which occurs in the Gradual and the Offertory. As a Requiem Mass composed in Spain for a Spanish count, it is expected that the Gradual and Offertory in this setting would abandon this Roman characteristic. Of all the movements in this Requiem Mass à 4, the Gradual departs the most from what is expected as the Spanish convention. The Gradual reveals that Morales may well have had his own earlier work in mind as a model. Similar to his à 5 setting, Morales places the chant melody in the tenor, unlike his Spanish predecessor Escobar, who placed the chant melody in the cantus throughout.\textsuperscript{44} The presentation of the melody is much as it was in his earlier setting à 5 in that the composer begins with the chant in long notes on *dona eis*, exhibiting motives in the other three voices loosely based on the melodic outline of the cantus firmus (see Example 2.8).

\textsuperscript{43} Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 468.

\textsuperscript{44} For more information on Escobar’s music see Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” Chapter 5: Early Settings of the Missa pro defunctis in Spain: Escobar and Basurto.
Morales then changes to a presentation that incorporates smaller durational values, as he did in his earlier setting. This makes the preexistent melody less distinguishable from the other voice parts. The last word of this phrase *Domine* is demarcated by a full cadence that begins a point of imitation texture. This textural change on *et lux* further obfuscates the original melody (see Example 2.9). The remainder of the respond presents a more conservative presentation of the cantus firmus, albeit in the tenor voice. According to Wagstaff, there seemingly was no accepted approach for setting this item in Spain.\(^{45}\) Wagstaff explains that Escobar set only the respond to polyphony, Vasquez composed polyphony only for the verse, and both Vasquez and Guerrero set the entire text with no intonation as had Morales in his setting à 5.\(^{46}\) As there was no preset formula for setting a “Spanish” Gradual, although Morales places the chant in the tenor voice and makes its presentation less clear due to changing durational values and the use of imitation, he does use the Spanish intonation and Spanish version of the chant.

\(^{45}\) Ibid. See Chapter five for the history of setting the Gradual in Spain.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 472-473.
Unlike the Gradual, the Offertory exhibits conventions typical of previous Spanish composers. The Offertory setting à 4 is strikingly different than the one in the à 5 setting. Following the traditional Spanish intonation, *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae*, versus the traditional three-word Roman intonation, the polyphony begins on the words *Libera animas*. Here, Morales presents the chant in long notes in the Altus, which is the highest sounding voice in this section, unlike his previous setting that places the chant in the tenor voice (see Example 2.10).
Example 2.10: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Offertory (opening)

On the words *fidelium defunctorum*, Morales seems to adopt the Roman technique of imitation exemplified in an outbreak of interaction which occurs among the lower voices. These imitative entries with shorter notational values seem to adopt the Roman imitative approach, although the *Missa pro defunctis à 5* does not adopt this treatment. Such a contrast between the opening word and this point is found in Escobar’s Requiem Mass, whose style Morales was exposed to while a child in Seville. Furthermore, the imitative nature is not based on points of imitation, but rather on similar motivic shapes. Despite the imitative nature in the lower three voices, the presentation of the chant is largely unaffected due to the imitation among the lower voices, which are not based on the chant melody itself. In fact, the manner of how certain passages of text are set, often involving similar contrasts, is a technique favored by many Spanish composers in several genres.\(^{47}\) Thus, the Offertory setting in Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4* follows the Spanish conventions of chant placement, intonation, and uses the Spanish variant of the

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\(^{47}\) Wagstaff, “Fernández,” 62-65. Wagstaff demonstrates that this technique is an important characteristic in the *Salves* by Fernández and Anchieta.
Roman chant usage. Also, it is very similar to the approach taken by Escobar in that it follows his model of contrasting sections (see Example 2.11).

Example 2.11: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Offertory (“fidelium defunctorum”)
The beginning of the Introit likewise follows Spanish conventions. Morales’s setting of the verse *Te decet hymnus* contrasts greatly with his earlier setting à 5.

Morales’s à 5 setting, in which the tenor part is in opposition to the other voices, obscures the text in a typically Roman way by staggering it among the voices. This procedure also obscures the chant melody. However, his approach in the later setting conforms to the way Escobar set the verse in his Requiem Mass, in that it is composed almost completely note against note resulting in unison text declamation (see Example 2.12).

![Example 2.12: Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Introit (verse)](image)

According to Wagstaff, the chordal presentation of the verse, with its clear break after the important medial cadence, is perhaps Morales’s closest link to the setting by Escobar.\(^48\) This clear Spanish convention continues into the Kyrie, where the *Kyrie I* presents the uniquely Spanish chant melody in the cantus.\(^49\)

Perhaps the most interesting movement in Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* is the Communion due to the unusual structure of its text. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the setting was based on a chant melody and text that are variants of the ones

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\(^{49}\) Ibid., 470.
used in the Roman liturgy. The most obvious structural difference between the standard
Roman Communion and the version used in Spain is that the latter consists of a longer
antiphon without a verse. The Communion Lux aeterna presents many problems
because in almost all of the manuscript copies, the setting has been adapted to
accommodate the text for the Communion promulgated in the Missale of Pius V (1570).
Consequently, to make the text fit properly when the setting was adapted, the verse of the
Roman text had to be set to the second half of Morales’s Communion. The application of
the new text creates a rather awkward transition to the verse because the cantus must
enter with the first word of the verse, requiem, while the cadence of the newly created
“antiphon” is still sounding because there is no clear cadential break between these two
sections in Morales’s music (see Example 2.13a). Thus, the expected structure of
antiphon and verse is confounded. Example 2.13b shows the underlay of the original
text.

50 Russel, “Morales,” 23.
Example 2.13a: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Communion (Roman underlay)

Example 2.13b: Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Communion (Spanish underlay)
Thus, the work historically presented challenges both to the copyists of the manuscripts in the mid-sixteenth century, as well as to modern scholars studying the Mass. Querol, in fact, stated that the Communion was not by Morales because of what he identified as stylistic differences with the other items.\textsuperscript{52} As Russell has shown, this results whenever a musical setting is underlaid with a text other than the one for which the music was intended.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} Miguel Querol, preface to Muñiz Hernández’ edition of the version in MâlaC 4.
CHAPTER 3

Tomàs Luis de Victoria

The Spanish Church played a significant role in the expansion of Spanish power. When the Catholic Church began its own renewal at the Council of Trent (1545-63), the Spanish Church was already at the forefront of change.¹ Over 200 Spanish bishops and theologians attended the Council where they made a vigorous contribution to debate and the drawing up of its decrees. In addition to addressing doctrinal matters, the decrees of Trent sought to radically raise moral and educational standards among Catholic clergy, as well as to extend an understanding of Christian doctrine among its peoples.² The Council of Trent represented an historic moment in the evolution of the Western Church; where the Spanish Church was concerned, its proposals largely reaffirmed previously established objectives.

The fundamental question was whether Philip II, with the support and enthusiasm of those who had taken part in the Council, would be able to succeed in taking forward the Tridentine recommendations where previous attempts at reform had barely made discernible progress.³

Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4

As with Morales’s first Missa pro defunctis, little is known about the origin of this Requiem Mass. The intended purpose of this Requiem Mass remains a mystery due to little documentary evidence. Victoria’s first setting of the Requiem Mass, like most of

¹ Helen Rawlings, Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain (New York: Palgrave, 2002), xiv.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., 55.
the polyphonic Missae pro defunctis by Spanish composers after 1580, was published.\(^4\)

Victoria published this Mass in 1583 while working in Rome (1563-1587). It was then reissued in 1592 together with two polyphonic responsories. Following the newly established unified formulary, Victoria abandons the formularies utilized by the Spanish diocesan practices. The items that Victoria set polyphonically from the Roman formulary for the Requiem Mass are:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introit</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td>Lux aeterna</td>
<td>v. Requiem aeternam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion</td>
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Table 3.1: Victoria’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4

The item of particular interest in adopting the new Roman standard is the Communion setting. Victoria’s Mass utilizes the antiphon Lux aeterna, as did both of Morales’s Requiem Masses, but adopts the verse Requiem aeternam, discarding the unique enlarged Spanish antiphon comprised of the antiphon Lux aeterna immediately followed by the antiphon Pro quorum and no verse. Also following the mandated unification of Pius V’s Missal, Victoria assumes the Roman chant melodies. This adoption of the standard Roman melodies was a precedent set by Morales when he wrote his “Roman” Missa pro defunctis à 5. Although Victoria observes the Roman standardized formulary and its chant melodies, his Roman-written Requiem Mass is distinctively Spanish in nature.

\(^4\) Grayson Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American Composers Before 1630” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 587.
On the basis of text and melodic content, both Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* and Victoria’s first Requiem Mass seem Roman in approach. Both composers follow the standard Roman formulary. Both composers also use the Roman chant melodies. However, unlike Morales’s “Roman” Requiem setting, which he presumably wrote during his decade working in Italy (that included a thirteen month return to Spain), the *Missa pro defunctis* that Victoria wrote in Rome is scored for four voices. Writing a Requiem Mass in such a manner points to a traditional Spanish approach to setting the Mass for the Dead, one that Morales only employs while in Spain. When in Rome, Morales wrote a hybrid, five-voice Requiem Mass, while Victoria composed a Mass that is characteristically Spanish in construction.\(^5\)

Throughout all movements of the Mass, the cantus firmus is placed in the uppermost voice. Extensive portions of the canti firmi are presented strictly in long notes in the cantus voice. This technique deviates little from the manner of chant presentation found in Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, the Requiem Mass written in Spain, or his Spanish predecessors Guerrero and Escobar.\(^6\) Placing the chant melodies in the cantus throughout is more directly Spanish in nature than Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, in which Morales presents the chant melody in the uppermost voice in only some of the movements. This careful presentation of the chant is uniquely Spanish and reflects a conscious choice on behalf of Victoria, a noticeable departure from the tradition of his environment at the time the piece was composed.

Specifically in the Introit, Victoria’s sensitivity to the preexistent material in a way that reflects Spanish convention is evident from his distinct treatment of the antiphon

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\(^6\) Ibid.
compared to the psalm. Both sections are demarcated by the longer Spanish intonations *Requiem aeternam* and *Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion*. The lower three voices of the antiphon are treated independently from the top voice, but the lack of imitative treatment based on the cantus firmus and its distinctive long notes help the top voice stand out and float above the other three (see Example 3.1a). At the beginning of the Psalm, after the long intonation, Victoria changes to an almost completely homorhythmic texture.\(^7\) This perceptible distinction is a feature common in Spanish Requiem Masses, underscored by both Escobar and Morales (see Example 3.1b).\(^8\)

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\(^7\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 588.

\(^8\) Ibid.
Example 3.1b: Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Introit (Psalm)

Victoria’s sensitivity to the text continues in the Kyrie, whose tripartite structure offers the opportunity to distinguish these sections musically. Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5* distinguishes the second section, *Christe eleison*, by having the lower four voices paraphrase the opening of the chant in imitation, clearly a technique favored in Italian polyphony. Morales’s four-voice Requiem Mass also stylistically alters each section slightly to draw attention to the change in text. However, Victoria’s treatment is perhaps more striking. On the text *Christe eleison*, Victoria reduces the number of voices to three (see Example 3.2). While a reduction to three voices is not an inherent characteristic in Spanish Requiem Masses, it is worth noting that such a distinction is not apparent in the Kyrie of Palestrina’s Requiem Mass. As such, this technique may constitute a way to make the text declamation understandable that goes beyond placing the chant in the top voice.
Further demonstrating Victoria’s Spanish approach is the respond portion of the Gradual. Like Morales’s Spanish setting à 4, Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4 contains a tripartite division, marked by contrasting sections. Instead of delineating this textual division by altering the number of voices, as evident in the Kyrie, Victoria sets the second section on the text *et lux perpetua* with imitative entries. Therefore, the opening of the respond begins with a segment that contains the chant in the highest voice. This section is followed by the contrasting imitative section in all four voices, which abandons the clear presentation of the chant in long notes in the cantus. The final section returns to the presentation of the chant melody in long notes in the uppermost voice (see Examples 3.3a, b, and c). This same textural treatment is found in Morales’s Spanish setting of the Requiem Mass. The precedent for contrasting each section began with Escobar, who unlike Morales and Victoria’s imitative section, switched to a very simple homorhythmic
texture at *et lux perpetua*, which is still framed by portions presenting the chant melody in long notes.  

Example 3.3a: Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Gradual (opening – first section)

Example 3.3b: Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, Gradual (*et lux perpetua* – second section)

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9 Ibid., 589.
Another significant departure from the Roman tradition is found in the Offertory. Unlike Morales’s “Roman” Mass, but similar to his Spanish setting à 4, Victoria does not set the *Hostias et preces* polyphonically. Palestrina’s partial setting of the Requiem Mass does set this section polyphonically, a Roman practice that Morales observes while writing his *Missa pro defunctis à 5*. This example demonstrates the Spanish tradition of delineating the contrasts inherent in the chant performance tradition of the Mass for the Dead.  

Victoria only sets the portions of each text originally intended to be sung by the cantors. The *Hostias et preces* creates an obvious contrast between the portions set in polyphony and the remainder of each portion of the chant left to be sung monophonically (see Example 3.4).

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Of particular interest in Morales’s Requiem Masses is the setting of the Communion. Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4 cannot follow the “double” antiphon form popular in Spain due to the recent unification of liturgical practices. However, an analysis of Victoria’s setting reveals his observance of Spanish practice. The intonations used in the Communion are taken from the Spanish tradition. Although the verse used is Requiem aeternam instead of the second antiphon Pro quorum, the intonation at the verse includes the words Requiem aeternam, dona eis, Domine (see Example 3.5a).

This distinctly long intonation does not follow Roman practice. The long intonation placed at the beginning of the verse serves a double purpose: besides simply conforming to Spanish custom, it draws attention to the fact that this text is different than what had been expected in a Spanish Requiem Mass.
The Communion begins in Victoria’s typical imitative nature. This time, the lower three voices begin with a motive based on the chant melody (see Example 3.5b).

Example 3.5b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (beginning)

The altus and tenor both begin with a rising minor third, falling down a minor second and returning to the previous pitch, the exact melodic outline of the chant, which is present in the cantus. The tenor line then falls immediately to the starting note, while the altus reaches this note through an extended melodic flourish. The bass does not follow the exact intervallic relationship of the chant, but merely mimics the overall shape of the beginning of the cantus firmus, rising and falling accordingly, because Victoria’s bass lines are beginning to resemble functional bass. Despite this seemingly intricate weaving of imitation of the cantus firmus, a characteristic not common in earlier Spanish settings of the Requiem Mass due to its obfuscation of the chant, the chant is prominently presented in long notes in a higher tessitura, allowing the chant declamation to remain clear.

The cadences at the end of the antiphon and the verse reveal another uniquely Spanish characteristic. Like Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Victoria’s à 4 setting exhibits a restrained cadential phrase that is not used anywhere else in his setting (see Example 3.5c).
Example 3.5c: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, Communion (final phrase of antiphon and verse)

This homophonic texture marks a clear declamatory style. The lower voices form a static harmonic fabric, compared to the imitative polyphonic web at the beginning, underneath the melodic extension of the cantus firmus. The homophony creates an austere and serene mood on the words quia pius es (because Thou art pious). This homophonic setting at the end of Communion is also present in Morales’s Missa pro defunctis à 4, written in Spain. This procedure attests to Victoria’s introspective nature, a quality often associated with Spanish music of this period; eschewing displays of ingenuity or virtuosity, he wanted to approach the theme of death in the most restrained and reverential way.

This Requiem Mass’s distinct Spanish quality is evident in all movements by the placement of the cantus firmus in the top voice. Even with Victoria’s more imitative writing style, the imitation does not make the chant difficult to distinguish from the other voices because the imitation rarely paraphrases the chant melodies themselves. With the exception of short portions of some movements, the chant melody is presented in long notes within the cantus voice. Also adhering to Spanish convention, Victoria employs
the longer Spanish intonations throughout his Missa pro defunctis à 4. Victoria’s careful setting of the text, clearly outlining the contrasts inherent in the chant performance traditions, is a conscious choice to incorporate a tradition from his Spanish heritage. Even the formulary itself, adapted from the Requiem Masses used in Rome, is part of the contemporary Spanish liturgical practice, as all local practices gave way to the newly uniformed formularies instituted by Pius V as a part of the Counter-Reformation.

Victoria’s affinity for Spanish traditions while working in Rome is similar to that found in Morales’s own four-voice Missa pro defunctis. Thus, it can be concluded that while in Rome, Victoria composed a distinctly Spanish Requiem Mass.

**Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6**

Victoria published his second Requiem Mass in Madrid as part of a larger collection of items for the liturgy for the dead in his Officium defunctorum in 1605.\(^{11}\) Although Victoria’s dedication contains much information regarding the Mass’s purpose, it remains unclear when this Requiem Mass was first sung. Victoria dedicated his Missa pro defunctis à 6 to Princess Margarita two years after the death of her mother, the Dowager Empress María, for whom Victoria had worked since 1586 until her death in 1603.\(^{12}\) The Officium defunctorum memorializes the Dowager Empress María who enjoyed the triple distinction of being daughter of an emperor, Charles V, wife of an emperor, Maximilian II, and the mother of two emperors, Rudolph II and Matthias.\(^{13}\) Choosing not to remain in Prague after her husband’s death in 1576, but to return to her

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\(^{11}\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 587.


\(^{13}\) Ibid.
homeland of Spain, she and the most devout of her fifteen children, the Princess Margaret, set out from Prague on 1 August 1581 reaching Madrid on 6 March 1582. Shortly after arriving, both mother and daughter took up residence at the Descalzas Reales convent in Madrid, which was to remain the home of both until death. As personal chaplain to the Dowager Empress, Victoria took up residence adjacent to the premier convent in Spain.14

The Empress died on 26 February 1603 and on 1 March, Philip III sent instructions for her burial from Valladolid. Attired in the habit of St. Clara, her body was laid to rest in the convent cloister. More than two weeks later, on 19 March, a vigil in her behalf was sung at the convent. As expected in the death commemorations for royalty, four extra singers were brought from the Toledo Cathedral for the occasion.15 An account written and published later in the year by Diego de Urbina, regidor of Madrid, recalls the events of the vigil. According to Diego de Urbina, the vigil was lengthy, lasting from half-past two until five in the afternoon.16 Although his account seems painstakingly complete, he says nothing about Victoria’s Officium Defunctorum. In fact, Victoria is not so much as mentioned. This lack of documentary evidence led Robert Stevenson to conclude that “perhaps then we need not believe that Victoria composed so lengthy a work for performance only three weeks after her death.”17

A more convincing event for the performance of Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6 occurred some months later with special services in her commemoration held by the Jesuits. The Jesuits sought poetry and compositions from talented people for the

14 Ibid., 364.
15 Ibid.
16 As quoted in Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, 365.
17 Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, 363.
“solemnísimas y grandiosas honras” conducted on 21-22 April 1603 at SS. Peter and Paul, the Jesuit church completed in 1567 on the present site of the Madrid Cathedral of San Isidro. Stevenson surmises that “Victoria, whose intimate associations with the Society dated from before 1565 if not earlier, cannot have been overlooked when the Jesuit superiors combed Madrid for the finest talent.” Victoria certainly was the most recognized composer working in Spain at the time who had connections to the Jesuits stemming from his childhood in Spain through his time working in Rome. While this occasion poses a more imposing rationale for the first performance of the Requiem, it remains purely speculative.

In his lengthy dedication to the Princess Margaret, Victoria expressly states that he had composed his *Officium Defunctorum* “for the obsequies of your most serene mother.” Victoria lauds the whole house of Austria, beginning with Charles V who was the first to adopt *plus ultra* for his device. Likewise, Victoria includes many classical allusions as he did in his 1600 dedications. He also praises the princess’s choice of religion. At the close, he voices the hope that he may in the future, if Providence grants him length of days, present still better works to the princess. The dedication bears 13 June 1605, as its date. He calls his present work a *Cygneam cantionem* – a “swan song.” Doubtless he means “swan song” in an illative sense, but rather the *Officium Defunctorum* would be a swan song for the empress, Victoria’s benefactress. This

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18 Ibid., 419.
19 Ibid., 369-370.
20 Ibid.
Requiem turned out not only to be a *Cygneam cantionem* for the Empress, but was Victoria’s own musical swan song as well.\(^{21}\)

Martín Pescenio, a fellow chaplain at *Descalzas Reales*, probably from Segovia diocese and holder of one of the three convent chaplaincies endowed by the Empress at her decease, contributes a Latin poem of thirty-three hexameters in postscript to the dedication. The poem throws further light on such a phrase as *Cygneam cantionem* in the dedication. The poem concludes as follows:

Victoria, you lament our common benefactress in such exquisitely sad song as to bring to mind Orpheus lamenting Eurydice, or the cry of the expiring swan, or of Philomela grievously sobbing. Proceed then, for a long time adding artistic laurel to laurel. Become another Timotheus of Miletus. Mount up like a swan on wings supplied by Apollo until your appropriate name, Victoria, fulfills its happy augury.\(^{22}\)

This later Requiem Mass setting, published twenty-two years after his first *Missa pro defunctis à 4*, similarly includes several additional items for Matins. So far as the parts set polyphonically are concerned, Victoria’s two *Pro defunctis* Masses resemble each other closely (see Table 3.2).

![Table 3.2: Victoria’s formulary for Missa pro defunctis à 4 and à 6](image)


\(^{22}\) As quoted in Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 374.
The 1583 Mass includes polyphony for all three sections of the Agnus Dei, but the 1605 setting includes polyphony for only Agnus I and III. Additionally, not reflected in Table 3.2 above, in the 1583 Offertory Victoria requires *Quam olim* to be sung polyphonically after the verse *Hostias et preces*; the 1605 Offertory leaves *Quam olim* to be sung monophonically. Otherwise, the succession of polyphonic numbers is the same throughout both Requiem Masses.

As for the music added for the Office of the Dead and the Burial Service, both the 1583 and 1605 publications provide polyphonic settings of the *Libera me* Responsory from the Burial Service. The music for the verse of this Responsory, *Tremens factus sum ego, à 3*, is indeed identical in both publications. The 1605 publication continues with a motet, *Versa est in luctum* (the words taken from Job 30:31 and 7:16b), and a Lesson, *Taedet animam meam* (Job 10:1-7).23 This Lesson is from the first nocturn of Matins of the Office for the Dead and therefore is in part responsible for the Mass also being entitled *Officium Defunctorum*.

Both of the latter additions, the motet and Lesson, involve texts that not only express personal sorrow but that also have to do with the limitation of time as humans experience it. Traditionally, there was room for personal expression in the Offices. Hymns, motets, laude spirituali and other extra-liturgical genres made their way into the Proper of the Mass via the Offices.24 Legislation in the sixteenth century, particularly from the Council of Trent, limited extra-liturgical additions to the Mass, which had become prolific during the growth of polyphony and homophony.25

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25 Korner, “‘The ‘Mystic Way,’” 116-118.
As was usual for polyphonic Requiems, Victoria used the liturgical chant for his source. The most obvious factor giving the setting a different effect than the composer’s earlier Requiem Mass is the placement of the chant melody in the cantus II in all items except the Offertory, where it is presented in the altus. Throughout the 1583 Requiem Mass, the plainsong was confided uniformly to the highest of the four voices. The presentation of the chant in an inner voice diverges from the Spanish aesthetic of clear chant presentation achieved through placing it in the top voice. In contrast to Morales’s Requiem Mass settings, in which the Mass written during his Roman stay places the chant in an inner voice and the Spanish setting presents it in the top of the texture, Victoria’s Requiem Masses are the opposite. Victoria’s Requiem Mass written in Rome contains the chant in the highest voice, making it the characteristically Spanish Mass, and his Requiem Mass written in Spain removes the chant from the top of the texture, creating a hybrid. Such a reversal may be accounted for due to the royal status of Victoria’s later setting. An honorable royal death necessitated an elaborate setting and could indicate the royals’ cosmopolitan taste.

In addition to changing the placement of the chant within the polyphonic texture to a lower voice, Victoria also alters the chants themselves. This change occurs with the addition of sharps to several notes in the 1605 plainsong-bearing voices, which were obligatorily natural in the 1583 Requiem Mass. Stevenson notes that local usage in Spain throughout the sixteenth century often contained more sharping in the chants than was customary elsewhere. Significantly enough, any change of accidental in the chant-bearing voice in the 1605 Missa pro defunctis à 6 involves sharping. No notes sharpened in

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26 Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 414. For such natural versus sharp notes, compare Graduals: mm. 9-11 vs. 8; offertories: mm. 5 vs. 2, 39 vs. 27, 98 vs. 70; Sanctuses: m. 11 vs. mm. 11-12; Benedictuses: m. 16 vs. m. 12.
the Requiem Mass à 4 in 1583 become naturals in the 1605 Requiem Mass. Perhaps Victoria consciously chose to include a more local chant tradition to compensate for placing the chant in a lower voice.

The chant placement enables Victoria to use the highest voice, now free of its responsibility to bear the plainchant melody, to create melodic and rhythmic interest above the cantus firmus in the cantus II, resulting in a work that is more elaborate for the death of the Dowager Empress. The cantus is very active, especially in the Gradual, where it begins with a motive derived from the chant and continues as a countermelody to the cantus firmus (see Example 3.6).

Example 3.6: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Gradual (opening)

The use of shorter durational values and the exchange of material among the voices, typical of Victoria’s style in general, are much in evidence in the Gradual. At the beginning of the Gradual, the chant melody is still discernible as a result of the imitation between the chant bearing cantus II and the countermelody created in the cantus. The cantus II presents the chant while the cantus opens with the same melodic motive derived

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27 Ibid.
from the chant, albeit in shorter notational values and with elaborate flourishes. The cantus and cantus II are much higher in the register than the rest of the texture and continue as such throughout the movement. The overall effect is a floating cantus part that sits above the rest of the texture. The duet created by the cantus voices produces an ornamented version reminiscent of the local Spanish monophonic chant tradition. The effect of a more elaborate chant is fitting for the commemoration of a member of Spanish royalty. This stylistic choice applies throughout the Requiem Mass.

Also keeping with the Spanish tradition, the intonations at the beginning of each section mirror the practice inherent in the monophonic chant tradition. However, unlike Victoria’s Requiem setting from 1583, the Missa pro defunctis à 6 contains little contrast between the approaches taken to underlay different portions of the liturgical melodies. For instance, the kind of writing found in the polyphonic antiphon of the Introit is strikingly similar to its psalm, with little of the contrast in texture found in the earlier work (see Example 3.7a and b.)

Example 3.7a: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Introit (opening)
Example 3.7b: Victoria’s Missa pro defunctis à 6, Introit (Te decet hymnus)

Although Victoria does not incorporate a textural change, the chant incipits are used throughout each section of the Requiem Mass not only to begin each section, but also to delineate verses and refrains within individual sections.²⁹

Stevenson asserts that in this Requiem, perhaps more than any of Victoria’s other Masses, Victoria writes “expressive” harmony.³⁰ As seen in the other Requiem Masses set by Spanish composers, often the Communion is a section that receives special treatment due to its religious significance. In Victoria’s setting à 6 after the line “let light eternal shine upon them,” at Quia pius es (“because Thou art pious”), Victoria uses a more expressive harmony (see Example 3.8).

³⁰ Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, 417.
Example 3.8: Victoria’s *Missa pro defunctis à 6*, Communion (*Quia pius es*)

At *Quia pius es*, a sudden shift occurs when a quite unexpected major triad built on A succeeds a whole-note rest in the six parts. This subtle pause draws attention to the meaning of the next syntactical unit of text, set similarly to the earlier Requiem Masses in a slow homophonic texture.\(^{31}\)

Victoria’s two Requiem Masses present an interesting contrast: the first is remarkably similar to many of the settings by earlier Spanish composers, while the second is characterized by a decidedly different approach.\(^{32}\) Although it may seem surprising that the more Spanish of Victoria’s two Requiem Masses is the one that he composed in Rome, we know from the dedication of the earlier setting to Philip II that Victoria wished to return to Spain. The native elements found in the 1583 setting thus may have been intentional. Also, the sensitivity that Victoria revealed in the earlier

\(^{31}\) Ibid.
\(^{32}\) Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead,” 588.
Requiem Mass may not have been required at services in the Convent, which could have taken on a more festive character because of its royal residents.\textsuperscript{33}

The latter Mass, despite its acclaim and popularity, lies further from the traditions associated with this genre than does the earlier setting. In part, this distancing from the approach taken by earlier composers no doubt occurred because the work was intended as an offering to his royal patrons, which necessitated a grander setting than the earlier work. This is evident from the work’s scoring for six voices: cantus I and II, alto, tenor I and II, and bass.\textsuperscript{34} Also, the composer’s style in general had moved further into the realm of the larger palette of Baroque style.

At first glance it seems like a startling departure from Victoria’s previous Requiem Mass, but put into its proper context it seems to reflect a conscious decision to create a constrained Requiem Mass. Since 1600, Victoria’s Masses had grown to enormous length with thicker textures. Before his 1605 Requiem Mass, Victoria had written multiple Masses for more than one choir with eight separate voice parts, such as his Missa \textit{Alma Redemptoris mater}, Missa \textit{Salve Regina}, and Missa \textit{Ave Regina coelorum}, a two choir nine-voice Mass, Missa \textit{Pro Victoria}, and even a twelve-voice three choir Mass, Missa \textit{laetatus sum}.\textsuperscript{35} Setting a Requiem Mass with only six voices is, within this context, restrained. This may be a reflection of the more pious, serious subject matter. It stays within the tradition of the Spanish Requiem Masses, but incorporates more ornamentation. In reality, Victoria only uses subtle manipulations of the previous practice in contrast to his other contemporary Masses.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 591.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 590.
Epilogue

The Holy Inquisition in Spain discredited all differences of opinion and all alternative religions as heresy.\(^1\) Thus, Church and state conspired to exterminate all threats that could undermine their authority. Spain achieved this victory in 1492 when it celebrated its political triumph over the Moors after their expulsion.\(^2\) Jews who had refused to convert to Christianity were also banished. The repercussions of this extermination were soon to be felt across the Atlantic. The suppressed presence of the Moors in Spain had a direct influence on the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Columbus based his navigation across the Atlantic on the work of Alfraganus, who was an Arab astronomer. His accurate calculations of the earth’s circumference were available to Columbus and others throughout Spain and Italy through Moorish scholarship. Columbus’s failure to translate the much longer Arabic nautical miles into European measurements resulted in a massive miscalculation that led him to insist that Cuba was indeed the Chinese mainland.\(^3\)

As in Spain, religion was used to fuel and support a political agenda in the New World.\(^4\) The exegetical tools used to explain the discovery of the New World and Spain’s divine right to conquer it included prophecy, prediction, and psaltery.\(^5\) The themes of prophecy and prediction are prominent in artwork made for the Spanish

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\(^4\) Ibid., 9-11.
monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, specifically within the Isabella Breviary. The Isabella Breviary, written and illuminated in Flanders during the last decade of the fifteenth century, illustrates the newly united kingdom of Spain’s vision of its destiny and divine institution. In this Book of Hours, an extraordinary amount of space is devoted to David, as well as Solomon and the temple – more so than other contemporary illuminated prayer books. The Isabella Book of Hours is a stunning testimony to the Psalter, but, as apparent by many of its illuminations, also a witness to the political concerns of the Catholic monarchs.

King Ferdinand held the title of “King of Jerusalem” and the monarchs were hopeful that the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors would mark the beginning of a last crusade to regain the Holy Land. Following Ferdinand, a new Solomon ascended the throne: Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, lord of the islands of the Indies, and likewise known as “King of Jerusalem.” Similarly to Queen Isabella, a Book of Hours was created for his visit to his home town en route to his coronation in 1520. Inscribed in the illuminated initial, Charles V sits enthroned between his biblical predecessors: David and Solomon. On stage, Charles was depicted as a new Solomon in triumph, frequently surrounded by the prophetic Sibyls and as the conqueror of the Holy Land receiving the keys and crown of the city of Jerusalem.

Europeans entered the New World believing they had Divine right to the lands they encountered. This belief is exemplified by Columbus in El Libro de las Profecías in

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7 Jacob Rader Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*, 59-64.
8 Ibid., 60-3.
9 *Sforza Hours*, ca. 1466-76, British Library.
10 Charles V is seen receiving the keys to the city of Jerusalem in Reny du Pus, *La triumphant Entre de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515* (facsimile with introduction by Sydney Anglo; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973).
which he quotes Psalm 2: 7-8: “The Lord said to me: ‘You are my son. It is I who have begotten you this day. Ask and I shall bequeath you the nations and put the very ends of the earth in your possession.”11 When arriving in the New World, explorers and soldiers exported the policy of “submit or die” used in Spain during the Inquisition and applied it to the native peoples of the Americas. These momentous events had a profound psychological impact upon Spain, confirming the identity that the Reconquista had forged between Spanish military expansion and divine purpose: clearly, from the Spanish perspective, the enlargement of their territories, in both Europe and the Americas, was a God-given opportunity to further the cause of Catholicism within them.12

The idea of this New World frightened and confused Europeans. To the mind of a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century man, the New World order needed to be explained within the context of the Judeo-Christian story of salvation. That is, Europeans needed a Biblical explanation of the New World and its novel peoples.13 During this period the Bible was considered the ultimate history book – a book that explained the past, present, and future. Surely God would have foreseen the encounter with this new land and its foreign people and included it within his Word. The magnitude of this discovery was felt by all of Europe, including the clergy. The chaplain to Cortés, Father Francisco López de Gómora, explained this encounter as the second most significant event of all time. He exclaimed that the discovery of the Indies, which were known as the New World, was

11 Christopher Columbus, Libro de las Profecías, ed. and trans. Delno West and August King (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 7-40.
12 Helen Rawlings, Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain (New York: Palgrave, 2002), xiii-xiv.
“[t]he greatest thing since the creation of the world, save the Incarnation and death of Him who created it…”

Christopher Columbus, discoverer of the New World during the reign of Ferdinand, also dreamed of the Holy Land. The money gained from his explorations was meant to finance Ferdinand’s last crusade: he firmly held that the king would fulfill his destiny and take back his Palestinian possession as monarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem. In 1502 Columbus composed El Libro de las Profecías with the help of his son and chaplain. It is a compilation of biblical texts and commentaries, as well as ancient and medieval writings that speculated on geography. Columbus’s book includes nearly every passage from the Scriptures that relates to “islands.” In particular, Columbus focused on the mythical islands of Seba, Ophir, and Tarshish mentioned in relation to Solomon, because Columbus believed that he himself had now rediscovered them. Some of the verses that Columbus included are Psalm 97:1: “The Lord is king; let the earth rejoice, let the many islands be glad” and Psalm 72:10: “The kings of Tarshish and the islands shall pay him tribute; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall bring gifts,” which Columbus believed to be a reference to the Spanish monarch.

Additionally, the medieval commentaries that he included in El Libro de las Profecías all claimed that the island nations were actual locations to the west of Europe and that they would receive the gospel message near the end of time. With this biblical confirmation, and commentaries including that of Rabbi Samuel de Fez, Columbus

14 Translated from Gómora’s Historia General de las Indias (Zaragosa, 1552) as cited in Lara, “Feathered Psalms,” 295.
17 Ibid., 195.
developed a geo-eschatology to describe the relationship between these seemingly mythological geographic locations and a theology of the end of times. Quoting Isaiah 61 in El Libro de las Profecías, Columbus claims that he is none other than the foretold prophet of the last days; the one to bring the good news to the nations, meaning the New World, and thus initiate the final age.

Stunned by Columbus’s revelations and image as the prophet foretold in the Scriptures, Europeans desired to write Columbus into the Biblical prophecies. The discovery of the New World and Columbus’s role in heralding the end of times sent Europe into a fury of speculation about the proximate return of Christ. To illustrate the belief of the second coming of Christ, it is worth noting the desire among scholars which prompted commissions of Aramaic Bible translations so that these European scholars would be able to converse with Christ in his native language. One such commission was made by Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros. Another polyglot Psalter published in Genoa in 1516 actually inserts Columbus into the Biblical prophecies. After Psalm 19:4, the commentator of this Psalter added an entire vita of Columbus and his accomplishments that continues for several more folios. Christopher Columbus himself is exegeted into the book of Psalms.

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Long after first contact, the New World was still associated with the Biblical prophecies of geographic lore. A 1571 map made by the librarian of the Escorial Palace in Spain, identifies North and South America with the mysterious sites mentioned in reference to Solomon, his mines, and the Lost Tribes of the Jews.\textsuperscript{23} The supposed Jewish origin of the American Indians was no afterthought in the New World, but continued from the sixteenth century into the twentieth century. The Hebraic origin of the Mesoamericans was supported by anthropologists at Harvard University until the 1920s.\textsuperscript{24}

To the eyes of the first missionaries, Mesoamericans practices pointed to a Jewish or Judeo-Christian prehistory. As reported by several chroniclers, missionaries saw that the Aztecs practiced forms of self-flagellation, penance, public confession, circumcision, and a seemingly debased parody of communion where the body and blood of deified victims were offered as altar sacrifices. Their customs and practices led the missionaries to believe they had divinely inspired Scriptures, a ritual priesthood, vestments, relics, and even a liturgical calendar. Their native priests lived as temporary celibates in monastery-like settings as mendicant beggars. There were military-monastic orders as well as consecrated virgins.\textsuperscript{25} These practices only confused the missionaries, raising in their minds the possibility of an earlier evangelization and a subsequent demonic perversion.\textsuperscript{26}

Regardless of what the missionaries believed concerning the origin of the indigenous peoples of the New World, the similarities that they saw between societal customs opened up several points of association to the new Catholic religion.

\textsuperscript{23} Lara, “Feathered Psalms,” 300.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Jacques Lafaye, \textit{Mesías, Cruzadas, Utopias} (Mexico: Fondo de la Culture Económica, 1988), 57-64.
Among the Franciscan teachers was Bernardino de Sahagún, who from 1547 onward was a dedicated student of Aztec culture and notable chronicler.²⁷ The missionization method used in the Americas by the Franciscans, in which linguistic research afforded the groundwork for conversion, was first implemented by Pedro de Alcalà in the early sixteenth century in Granada. In an attempt to convert the Spanish Moors, his grammars and dictionaries of Granadino Arabic validated language as a key to conversion and the subsequent construction of an empire.²⁸ In this elitist Franciscan institution, as in the majority of other schools run by these orders in the New World, all teaching was either in Latin or in the local Indigenous language, not in Castilian.²⁹

As in Spain, religion was used to fuel and support a political agenda in the New World.³⁰ Within this political and religious context, music exercised an important role as a tool of propaganda and conversion.³¹ The power of music was recognized by the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, who served as the first bishop of Mexico City from 1528 to 1548. In a letter dated 17 April 1540 he wrote: “Indians are great lovers of music, and the religious who hear their confessions tell us that they are converted more by music than by preaching, and we can see they come from distant regions to hear it.”³²

The Amerindians had native flutes and percussion and performed ritual dance; the missionaries then introduced them to the full range of European instruments and to

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polyphony. Although Dominican and Augustinian missions existed in the New World, music was most closely linked with the missions of the Franciscans and Jesuits. In these institutions, music had a major part in education. Just three years after Cortés captured Mexico City in 1521, a school for natives that included musical training was opened in Texcoco by Fray Pedro de Gante. In 1527, this school was transferred to Mexico City. Here natives were first taught to copy musical notation. After a year of this preliminary training, the natives were taught to sing chants, then later to sing polyphony, make instruments and play them, and then to compose hymns and Masses.

In 1523, Pedro de Gante wrote to King Charles V commending his indigenous students:

> There are already Indians here who are very capable of writing, and teaching, or preaching…I can attest that there are now trained singers among them who could sing in Your Majesty’s Chapel so well that you might have to see them actually singing in order to believe it is possible.

According to Robert Ricard, music became exceedingly popular. In fact, so much so, that within a few years of the conquest, the Mexican council of bishops had to enact legislation to limit the exaggerated size of both choirs and orchestras. It is possible that one of the reasons for the enthusiasm of natives to join a choir or orchestra was that musicians were exempt from taxation. Yet, the statements of the numerous chroniclers remark on the extraordinary ability of the natives to imitate European music well.

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33 See Native Dancers and Instruments, *Codex Tovar*, ca. 1585 and Bernardino de Sahagún, *Native Musicians, Florentine Codex*, ca. 1579.
37 Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 176-93.
By 1539 Mexico City had a printing press. Its first book containing musical notation appeared in 1556. Printed only four years later, in 1560, the *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum ecclesiae Mexicanae* ranks among the earliest New World publications containing music and attests to the importance of musical traditions in colonial Mexico. The book contains a nearly comprehensive presentation of the chant melodies included in the burial processions. The traditional format of the burial processions included the chanting of psalms while the body was carried from the home to the Church where the Requiem Mass and other services were celebrated. Accordingly, responsory chants for each station of the procession included *Memento mei, Kyrie, Qui Lazarum, Peccantem me, Requiem aeternam,* and *Subvenite Sancti Dei.* The *Requiem aeternam* chant is a variant of the one found in the Roman rite, and its Psalm verse, *Te decet,* is the version used in Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 4.* Mexican composers and Spanish composers working in Mexico soon created polyphonic settings of these burial procession chants. The newly written polyphonic works for the dead utilize a very conservative compositional style. The most important aspect of these newly composed works is the clear presentation of the preexistent chant melody in the highest voice. These new polyphonic responsories for the dead preserve the distinction of the older practices inherent in the chant: only portions of the chant reserved for the cantor were set to polyphony, whereas the portions sung by the choir remained monophonic.

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40 Grayson Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American Composers Before 1630” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 467-470.
41 Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead,” 174.
As evident in these new polyphonic settings for death processions, composers favored the aesthetics of purity that occurred in Spain, such as the clear presentation of the chant and chant performance practice. However, the Church betrayed the ideal of complete cleansing of outside influences in the New World colonies in an effort to incorporate indigenous practices to convert more easily the natives. Early missionaries composed entire hymnals in the indigenous language. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Psalmodia Christiana* was published in 1583, but its use in manuscript form dates as early as the 1550s. In a bold effort to replace the pre-contact hymns that remained popular within the Aztec culture, this Psalter was composed in the Nahuatl language. The musical settings suggest that the natives were sufficiently trained to perform these European hymns.\(^{42}\) This book of “Psalms” is a collection of doctrinal and liturgical paraphrases that incorporate Aztec ideology and not the literal collection of songs attributed to David. Similarly to David’s Psalms, these hymns were meant to be sung while dancing.\(^{43}\)

Specifically, Sahagún’s *Psalmodia Christiana* was meant to be sung while dancing in the church yards or atria which were modeled on the courts of the Jerusalem temple. The book contains a brief catechism, basic prayers, the commandments, and then fifty-four compositions that follow the liturgical year from the Circumcision (January 1) to the Nativity (December 25). The style of the songs, although musically European, attempts as closely as possible to follow the rhythms, metaphors, and other characteristics of Nahuatl poetry. Some examples of this practice include praising God for creation and giving special thanks for “the gold, the jade, the feathers of the Quetzal bird,” or when


\(^{43}\) Lara, “Feathered Psalms,” 304.
lauding the Virgin and singing “You are, O Virgin Mary, like precious jade, like the finest turquoise.” Unfortunately, no musical examples survive from Sahagún’s *Historia General*.

Music was a crucial part of the forced conversion of the New World natives, and as such Psalms found their way into the New World in unique manners. They were first used to explain the designs of Divine Providence in the discovery of the New World. Later, the Indians were taught the Psalms in their native language as part of their daily prayers. Still later, when the missionary Church had been fully institutionalized, Psalms were sung daily during many of the Canonical Hours. Mainstream European music quickly replaced the hybrid repertoire created in the century after discovery. By the late-sixteenth century, natives were already composing Latin Masses, motets, and psalm settings in a mixture of chant and elaborate European style polyphony.

An event featuring a stunning amount of music, incorporating music composed in Mexico specifically for the event by the chapel master of Mexico City alongside works imported from Spain including Morales’s *Missa pro defunctis à 5*, occurred in Mexico City in November 1559. Mexico City, then the viceregal capital of the New World, held a multiday commemoration, or *exequies*, to honor the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who had died the previous year. Due to his Habsburg ancestry and his father’s marriage into Spain’s royal family, Charles V had ruled much of Europe, including Spain’s New World colonies. As defender of the true Catholic faith, a soldier fighting against heresy,

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44 The mention of jewels and plumes of the Quetzal bird would have appealed to the Indigenous population, as these objects were believed to have divine qualities. Thus, the Nahua emphasis on glitter, sheen, and luminosity coincided, by chance, with the biblical concept of divine glory, which likewise was imagined as brilliant and reflective of light. Sahagún also wrote another tome in Spanish and Nahuatl entitled *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, which also linked the Nahuatl language to music and Christian doctrine and ritual.

45 Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 176-93.

Charles’s death served as a model: the music, ceremony, and liturgy had to project the orthodox beliefs of the Church. In this context, these compositions served as a symbol of orthodox Catholic beliefs as well as the emperor’s power.\(^{47}\)

These *exequies* in colonial Mexico also needed to communicate to non-Europeans, which added the complexity of communicating across linguistic and cultural barriers. Native leaders and thousands of other native Mexicans from many of the surrounding regions of the colony came to Mexico City to participate in the *exequies*.\(^{48}\) The music had texts, but because its Latin language was incomprehensible to all but a tiny segment of the listeners, the power of the music in the ceremonies had to have “exceeded its textual limitations.”\(^{49}\) Even if the Native inhabitants did not know the meaning of the words, each person who heard the responsories knew that these texts, and the priests who sang them, carried importance, and that the portion of each sung in polyphony differentiated it from the rest of the text as more elaborate and solemn.\(^{50}\)

*Exequies* were media events, staged to represent the stability of the Habsburg line. According to Wagstaff:

> These events had a veneer of sacred ceremony, theologically based ritual, but they were in fact much more about political power and maintaining the civic status quo than they were concerned with any sacred elements. […] Those who heard the music in 1559 were being taught about the decorum of colonial life, the calm acceptance of the Christian way and colonial rule, just as fifteenth-century Spaniards were taught about the theology of death when these polyphonic works replaced the older laments specifically labeled “foreign” by the Church.\(^{51}\)

\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., 177-78.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 173.

\(^{50}\) Ibid.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 177.
The music used in the *exequies* for Charles V highlighted the chant melodies and orthodox practices surrounding death, a tradition from Spain that fostered proper calmness and Christian acceptance in death rituals.
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