The expansive tradition of Renaissance L’homme armé masses often prompts considerations of how composers competed with, imitated or emulated one another. For fifteenth-century settings, written in close chronological proximity, such comparisons have yielded important channels of influence. But they are less effective in explaining L’homme armé masses from the mid-sixteenth century, written after this tradition’s heyday and less immediately concerned with proximate influence. This article addresses the relationships between two pairs of L’homme armé masses by composers of two separate generations: Cristóbal de Morales and Josquin des Prez. Besides uncovering close links between these works relating to source tune treatment, mode, texture and overall style, it offers a new contextualisation for these practices. Morales does not compete with, imitate or emulate Josquin; rather, he reanimates the L’homme armé tradition by adapting features from its most renowned practitioner and translating them into a contemporary musical language.

Few aspects of Renaissance composition have occasioned more vigorous or prolonged attention than the tradition of masses built upon the L’homme armé melody. Over the second half of the fifteenth century, this tune was transformed from a simple monophonic melody to a polyphonic juggernaut, anchoring some forty masses by most of this half-century’s elite composers and many of the sixteenth century as well. As a tradition of unparalleled magnitude, the L’homme armé mass offered composers a prominent stage upon which to display their ingenuity, inviting (overtly or otherwise) comparisons to the practices of their predecessors and peers.1

Though the reasons behind L’homme armé’s unusual prevalence remain imperfectly understood, the tune’s clearly segmented melodic and formal divisions make it inherently suitable for supporting a polyphonic mass. L’homme armé divides easily into three clear sections, designated as ABA for analytical purposes throughout this article. Its melody consists of several brief motifs, easily amenable to varied manipulation in a polyphonic context. Figure 1 presents this melody as it appears in Naples MS VI. E. 40.2 Clear ambitus differentiations accentuate the sectional construction;

---

1 Heinrich Glarean writes that Josquin des Prez’s two L’homme armé masses were composed particularly as a display of his compositional skill (‘Ad ostentationem autem artis haud dubie duas illas Missas instituit L’homme armé’). See Glarean, Dodecachordon (Basle, 1547), p. 441.

2 The tune functions in this manuscript as the tenor voice for a set of six masses. It further survives in the Mellon chansonnier as part of the three-voice combinative chanson Il sera par
based on G, the tune alternates between the A section’s lower fifth (g’ to d’) and the B section’s upper fifth (d’ to a’). The tune as it appears in Naples is in the Mixolydian mode, though in polyphonic masses composers usually choose either Mixolydian or G Dorian, depending on the melodic variants employed (that is, the use of a B versus a B♭ in the tune). Its text, meanwhile, connotes images of power, strength and righteous nobility well suited to the Mass, the ‘highest’ of musical genres according to Johannes Tinctoris’s well-known commentary.\(^3\)

Scholars have found in the L’homme armé mass tradition a wellspring for intensive scrutiny, and critical study of these pieces has embraced an extraordinary range of topics.\(^4\) Theories on the monophonic melody address its approximate date of composition, its authorship and its status as either an independent tune or as forming part of a polyphonic chanson.\(^5\)


\(^5\) Dragan Plamenac, having discovered the Naples manuscript in 1925, presumed the tune to be the tenor of a polyphonic chanson, contrary to Otto Gombosi’s concurrent view that the tune was a type of folksong. Several other scholars (most notably Leeman Perkins) have reinforced Plamenac’s conclusion, though others argue for its status as a composed monophonic song. Reinhard Strohm calls it an imitation of a chanson rustique, while Alejandro Planchart suggests that the tune was intended as a parody of the Turks. For more on these arguments see Plamenac, ‘La chanson de L’homme armé et le MS VI. E. 40 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Naples’, in Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique, Congrès jubilaire sous les auspices des Ministères des Sciences et Arts, des Affaires étrangères et de la ville de Bruges (Bruges, 1926), pp. 229–30; id., ‘Zur ‘L’homme armé-Frage’, Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, 11 (1929), pp. 376–83; Perkins, ‘The L’homme armé Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison’, Journal of Musicology, 3 (1984), pp. 363–96; Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985), pp. 119–21; id., The

\[\text{Figure 1} \text{ The L’homme armé melody, from Naples MS VI. E. 40} \]
Questions of the armed man’s identity have prompted associations with such figures as Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, St George, St Michael the Archangel and Christ himself. Symbolic identifications between L’homme armé and aspects of church and court life centre on the realm of number symbolism, particularly exploiting correlations between the thirty-one knights in the Order of the Golden Fleece and the purported length of the melody (which may or may not amount to thirty-one breves, depending on how one interprets certain notational matters). Finally, theories on dating early masses by Guillaume Du Fay, Johannes Ockeghem and Antoine Busnoys have prompted impassioned debate.


about the polyphonic tradition’s origins – who came first, and by extension, who influenced whom.8

Underscoring these historical details are some more foundational issues on the nature of compositional influence. In seeking to identify the where, when and how of a given L’homme armé composition, scholars invariably move towards the more elusive question of why – that is, why a given composer crafted his L’homme armé mass (or masses) the way he did, in view of the tradition as it was known to him at the time. Responses to this question have spanned a range of concerns. In some cases, composers are viewed as imitating or emulating an earlier model, paying a sort of homage to some discrete figure or compositional practice. Other theories propose a sense of competition between different L’homme armé masses, with composers striving to ‘one-up’ a pre-existing practice and take the tradition to new heights. These terms have found wide usage in describing allusions between compositions of varied length and substance.9

8 Planchart suggests that the Du Fay mass was written before that of Ockeghem (around 1461), and that Philip the Good may have asked Ockeghem to compose his L’homme armé mass between 1461 and 1463, followed by works of Firminus Caron and Regis (1462–7), Busnoys and the Naples masses (1468 and later). Wright affirms that Du Fay composed the first L’homme armé mass in the late 1450s or early 1460s. Taruskin’s theory that Busnoys both launched the L’homme armé mass tradition with his Missa L’homme armé (echoing an earlier suggestion by Oliver Strunk and a much earlier statement in Pietro Aaron’s Toscanello of 1523) and also composed the six Naples masses has not found wide acceptance. See Strunk, ‘Origins of the ‘L’homme armé’ Mass’, Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, 2 (1937), pp. 25–6; Strohm, The Rise of European Music, pp. 466–71; Taruskin, ‘Antoine Busnoys and L’homme armé’, pp. 255–93; Wright, The Maze and the Warrior, p. 175; and Planchart, ‘The Origins and Early History of L’homme armé’, pp. 327–56.


Especially pertinent to imitatio in Spanish Renaissance L’homme armé composition is the case of Francisco Guerrero, who in two versions of his Missa L’homme armé shifted from emulation of Cristóbal de Morales’s five-voice mass as a student might emulate a teacher, to a sense of homage in the updated mass, which removes some but not all of his original borrowings. For a detailed study of Guerrero’s processes see O. Rees, ‘Guerrero’s L’homme armé Masses and their Models’, Early Music History, 12 (1993), pp. 19–54.
Amid this prolific study, one key *L’homme armé* mass composer has so far remained stubbornly under the radar. Cristóbal de Morales is usually referenced only tangentially as a member of this tradition, despite having composed two separate *L’homme armé* masses.\(^{10}\) This lacuna may be due in part to chronology, as Morales first published his masses in the early 1540s, well after the tradition’s heyday.\(^{11}\) Still, in view of efforts to ascertain Morales’s influence on later *L’homme armé* composers like Francisco Guerrero and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, the relatively limited attention granted to these pieces, and particularly the lack of any substantial effort to relate his pieces to earlier models, is surprising.\(^{12}\)

Focusing attention on Morales is not simply an attempt to compensate for previous neglect. Detailed study of these works has uncovered valuable

---


\(^{11}\) Morales was hardly alone in this respect. Other known 16th-c. *L’homme armé* masses in Spain include those by Juan de Anchieta, Francisco de Peñalosa, two versions of Guerrero’s mass plus a lost mass by Diego Ortiz. Outside Spain, later *L’homme armé* masses include works by Robert Carver, Mathurin Forestier (a work also attributed to Jean Mouton), Pierre de la Rue, Matthaeus Pipelare, Ludwig Senfl, Vitalis Venedier and two by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

\(^{12}\) Rees traces in great detail two sources of Guerrero’s masses and his particular debts to Morales’s five-voice *L’homme armé* mass. He illustrates that Guerrero’s mass has strong relations with Morales’s settings, becoming progressively enriched over the course of the composition, using the same variant of the source melody and other closely related material as well. James Haar, meanwhile, suggests that Palestrina knew the Morales masses despite the disparities in these composers’ styles, since they both wrote four- and five-voice versions and many similarities in physical characteristics appear among the respective print editions. For more on these connections see Rees, ‘Guerrero’s *L’homme armé* Masses and their Models’, pp. 19–54, and Haar, ‘Palestrina as Historicist: The Two *L’homme armé* Masses’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 121 (1996), pp. 193–4.
insights into Morales’s contributions to this tradition, including a central engagement with the works of Josquin des Prez. To date, studies of Morales’s *L’homme armé* masses have yielded only surface relationships to Josquin. Both composers wrote two separate masses on this tune, a feat no other composers achieved except Pierre de la Rue and, later, Palestrina.13 Morales also used the sixth mode in his five-voice mass, echoing the Josquin *Missa sexti toni*, while in the four-voice mass his interpolations of plainsong excerpts from Credo I and presentation of the *L’homme armé* tune in the cantus during the Agnus Dei II find a precedent in the *Missa L’homme armé super voces musicales*.14

These links, while important enough to posit a legitimate juncture between these composers, merely hint at the true extent of their relationship. The connections between Morales’s two masses and Josquin’s *Missa L’homme armé super voces musicales* and *Missa L’homme armé sexti toni* are more thoroughgoing than has previously been recognised; comparison in fact reveals a more transformative engagement in which Morales emerges as both adopter and adapter of Josquin’s music. The connections encompass at least three spheres of influence: the use of motivic and structural repetition, issues of mode and treatment of the source tune. Not only does Morales directly respond to Josquin’s practice in each of these areas, he also models each of his masses on one of Josquin’s. In particular, his four-voice mass evokes practices from Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass, while his five-voice mass recalls gestures from Josquin’s *sexti toni* mass.

These correlations prompt important reconsiderations of how to interpret compositional influence in the *L’homme armé* tradition, particularly as this tradition entered its latter stages. In using Josquin’s works as a foundation for his own masses, Morales adopts techniques alien to his style but characteristic of Josquin’s processes. Rather than copy these older devices, Morales carefully integrates these elements into the refined imitative polyphonic language of his time. Within the context of *L’homme armé*, this is a pioneering manoeuvre. Unlike the composers before him, Morales does not precisely imitate, emulate or compete with other works in the tradition. By adapting techniques from a distinctive older compositional model and framing them within a modern musical language, Morales single-handedly reanimated what had become a declining *L’homme armé* tradition.15

---

13 Though one of the two masses attributed to La Rue is anonymous in its source, most scholars accept an attribution based on stylistic features.

14 Though, as McFarland observes, Morales often introduces the opening notes of Credo I into his masses.

15 This process also belies the increasingly untenable claim that Morales was essentially a ‘conservative’ mass composer, strictly adhering to traditional compositional techniques. McFarland upholds this view in observing that Morales’s masses ‘show a marked preference for
Morales, Josquin and the *L’homme armé* Tradition

Before assessing Morales’s place in the *L’homme armé* tradition, the immediate circumstances of their composition merit some attention. When, and where, did he compose his two masses? Questions of dating and context for Morales’s music are notoriously difficult given the lack of surviving sources from his early career in Spain and can therefore often be addressed only indirectly. The woodcuts accompanying these masses in printed sources, for instance, have been used to make suppositions about both chronology and patronage. In Morales’s two mass collections published by Valerio Dorico in 1544 under his personal supervision (*Christophori Moralis Hyspalensis missarum liber primus* and *liber secundus*), the historiated ‘K’ initials that begin each Kyrie contain illustrations reflecting the particular mass’s features.\(^16\) The woodcuts in both masses portray an armed knight, and the one for the four-voice mass particularly references the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56) with the imperial crown and the personal motto of the emperor, ‘Plus ultra’, entwined around the pillars of Hercules.\(^17\) (See Figures 2a and 2b.) Some type of association with Charles V therefore seems indicated at least for the four-voice mass, and possibly for the five-voice mass as well. The differing ages of these knights have been further interpreted as clues for the relative dating of these masses, the ‘younger’ knight of the five-voice mass a sign of this work being more youthful than the ‘older’ knighted four-voice mass.\(^18\)

\(^16\) The five-voice mass had previously been published in *Quinque missae Moralis Hyspani, ac Jacheti musici excellentissimi: Liber primus, cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1540).

\(^17\) I am grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for her insight on the identification of these images. For more on this iconography see Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 57; McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, pp. 50–1; Rees, ‘Guerrero’s *L’homme armé* Masses and their Models’, pp. 49–50; and Prizer, ‘Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece’, p. 172. McFarland further suggests that the *Liber missarum primus* might originally have been intended for Charles V, in the light of two masses contained therein with evident connections to the emperor (the *Missa L’homme armé* and the *Missa Mille regretz*; the former due to its associations with the Order of the Golden Fleece, the latter based on *Mille regretz*, a chanson described in Luis de Narváez’s *Los seis libros del Delphin de musica de cifra para tañer vihuela* (Valladolid, 1538) as ‘la canción del emperador’) but none of any apparent relevance to the volume’s actual dedicatee, Cosimo di Medici. See McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, pp. 80–1. For more on associations between *Mille regretz* and Charles V see Rees, *Mille regretz* as Model: Possible Allusions to “The Emperor’s Song” in the Chanson Repertory*, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120 (1995), pp. 44–76.

\(^18\) McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, p. 156.
With the earliest known versions appearing in printed volumes, discerning a particular occasion for which either was first composed proves challenging. Alison McFarland has suggested the five-voice mass may have been written for the 10 March 1526 wedding of Charles V to Isabella of Portugal, making it an early work, though this wedding took place during Lent, when only plainsong accompaniment would normally be permitted. A connection to the 1526 wedding also seems unlikely in the light of both Morales’s debts to Josquin’s practice and his probable reliance on Josquin’s mass as it appeared in Vatican rather than Spanish sources, though there may well be some other unknown connection between this work and the emperor. Robert Stevenson opines that the four-voice

19 Ibid., pp. 156–7.
20 Ibid.
mass may have been composed for some occasion honouring Charles V, while James Haar reasonably observes that the thicker-textured five-voice mass could just as easily fulfil a similar function.21

The *L’homme armé* melody has long been associated with the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, established in Burgundy in 1433. Charles V, who inherited the Burgundian lands when his father died in 1506, was head of this order during Morales’s lifetime, making the likelihood of an imperial connection for these masses even stronger. Additionally, Morales

---

himself apparently cultivated relationships with several members of the emperor’s circle, including Pedro Álvarez de Torres, viceroy of Naples and distant cousin of the emperor, as well as Ferdinando de Silva, count of Cifuentes and the emperor’s courtier and ambassador to Rome.\(^{22}\) Morales also dedicated his *Missarum liber primus* (containing his five-voice mass) to Cosimo I de’ Medici, the youthful duke of Florence and personal friend of Charles V, who three years earlier had acknowledged the emperor as head of the Florentine state in exchange for military assistance battling the French during the Italian wars.\(^{23}\)

As for where these works were composed, the most probable answer is the Sistine Chapel, where Morales served as singer and composer during the heart of his career (1535–45). This institution maintained a strong devotion to *L’homme armé* masses from at least the 1480s through the time of Palestrina’s nine-month tenure in 1555, evidenced particularly by an unrivalled collection which encompasses nearly the entire known corpus of *L’homme armé* masses, and by elements such as the recopying of Josquin’s mass during the years 1550–5 and of a *L’homme armé* mass by Marbrianus de Orto in the 1560s.\(^{24}\) Indeed, even Palestrina evidently composed both of his *L’homme armé* masses under the Sistine Chapel’s sway despite his very brief tenure.\(^{25}\)

Morales surely sang a great deal of *L’homme armé* repertory in his ten years in the Cappella Sistina, and it seems most likely he composed his *L’homme armé* masses while in Rome. Several further points offer indirect

---


The Josquin copying project entailed adding a previously omitted “Et in Spiritum” section of the Credo and a si placet voice to the final Agnus Dei. For more on this project see Haar, ‘Josquin in Rome: Some Evidence from the Masses’, p. 217.

\(^{25}\) See Haar, ‘Palestrina as Historician’.
Morales, Josquin and the *L’homme armé* Tradition

evidence of a Sistine connection. Both masses were first published after Morales was well established in the chapel, suggesting at least an initial proximate connection. Even if new *L’homme armé* masses were not being composed with the same zeal as half a century earlier, the Sistine Chapel’s obvious taste for these pieces, and its penchant for cultivating conservative repertory more generally, suggests an ideal performance context. And if Morales’s contemporaries Costanzo Festa and Elzéar Genet (Carpentras) did not also compose *L’homme armé* masses while serving at the chapel, it should be remembered that Morales was more heavily inclined towards mass composition than most of his peers, including Festa, Carpentras, Adrian Willaert and Nicolas Gombert.

Both the Sistine Chapel and Charles V, then, probably motivated the composition of Morales’s two *L’homme armé* masses. In aligning himself with such august company, Morales also chose for his musical model the one composer whose reputation surpassed all others. As the following analysis illustrates, Morales references Josquin’s music with great frequency and subtlety, drawing on an array of techniques particular to Josquin while couching them in his own musical language.

**MORALES, MISSA L’HOMME ARMÉ (4V) AND JOSQUIN, MISSA L’HOMME ARMÉ SUPER VOCES MUSICALES**

Morales’s four-voice Missa *L’homme armé* evidently lagged behind his five-voice work in popularity, since it was reprinted only once and currently survives in only two manuscript sources, housed in Toledo and Mallorca. It is a cantus firmus mass presenting the source tune in the
Phrygian mode, a highly unusual gesture which yields a dramatically altered variant of the *L’homme armé* melody, most strikingly with the half-step interval E–F at the top and bottom of its range.\textsuperscript{29} This tune anchors the mass and appears mostly in the tenor, excepting a distinctive altus presentation during the Benedictus and other isolated moments when the tune is absent. Its consistent cantus firmus disposition in slower rhythms contrasts with great variety in rhythmic devices among the other voices and an irregular distribution of the tune’s ABA sections across the mass. McFarland recognised this latter element as one of the mass’s novelties, but cited the source tune’s clear presentation in the tenor and Morales’s retention of its basic rhythmic shape as evidence that the tune held little structural interest compared to the surrounding polyphony, terming the piece ‘an old-fashioned scaffolding cantus firmus mass’.\textsuperscript{30} In fact, Morales’s creativity in this mass is anything but old-fashioned. Though basing his mass on a tried-and-tested compositional technique, Morales does not simply compose in an older style. He instead refashions several distinctive elements from Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass, three of which – the use of motivic repetition, modal manipulations and treatment of the source tune – will be discussed here.

In his frequent repetition of motifs, Morales invokes both a large-scale practice of systematic treatment of musical ideas pioneered by Josquin and a specific motif from his *super voces musicales* mass. More than any other Renaissance composer, Josquin engages in habitual repetitions of musical gestures – literal repetitions, repetitions by means of sequence or what Jesse Rodin has termed ‘conspicuous repetition’, involving a single voice, in many cases the superius, moving towards a single pitch in its upper range at least three times in rapid succession.\textsuperscript{31} Such motivically based melodies do not often feature in Morales’s masses, but they lie at the very core of the four-voice *L’homme armé* mass.\textsuperscript{32} Morales grounds this piece in repeated iterations of a short rhythmic idea, not especially distinctive on its

\textsuperscript{29} Morales’s only predecessors in composing a Phrygian-mode *L’homme armé* mass were Jacob Obrecht (a work conspicuously absent from Sistine Chapel sources) and Loyset Compère.

\textsuperscript{30} McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, pp. 96–8, 100.

\textsuperscript{31} Pervasive ‘conspicuous repetition’ offers perhaps one of the clearest instances of stylistic differentiation between Josquin and his peers, none of whom uses this technique with nearly the same zeal. As Rodin observes, ‘composers other than Josquin simply do not write melodic lines as obsessive as his; and the few exceptions one can find often give the impression of having come about by accident’. For more see Rodin, ‘Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass in the Sistine Chapel’ (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2007), pp. 232–4. For a listing of all instances of conspicuous repetition in Josquin’s *Missa L’homme armé super voces musicales* and *Missa Fortuna desperata* see pp. 324–8.

\textsuperscript{32} These repetitions also feature in parts of the *Missa Tu es vas electionis*; this and the four-voice *L’homme armé* mass rank as the two masses most deeply inspired by earlier musical styles. The *Missa Tu es vas electionis*, which opens Morales’s 1544 *Missarum liber secundus* (dedicated to Pope Paul III) and was clearly written for the pope, connects with *L’homme armé* in that they are the
own but used conspicuously in Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass. In its basic form this motif comprises the three-note rhythmic pattern of dotted minim, semiminim, minim, its melody ascending upward or downward in a few characteristic intervallic patterns, usually but not always in stepwise motion. The motif is not static, but rather can be embellished melodically or rhythmically without straying too far from its essential form. Various versions of the motif also combine to form longer melodic lines by means of literal repetitions, melodic elaborations or sequential disposition, within a single voice or spread out among a larger complex.

The Kyrie illustrates how itinerant repetitions of a single idea are strung together into flowing melodic lines around the cantus firmus. In the opening bars of Kyrie I, Morales builds an expansive arch in the altus by placing the motif in a series of first ascending and then descending figurations, set against a cantus firmus statement of the first *L’homme armé* phrase in the cantus in fore-imitation. (See Example 1.) Upon reaching the first cadence on A in the fifth bar, the tenor having introduced its cantus firmus declamation of the tune, cantus and bassus now take up the motif in earnest, the former concentrating on descending presentations while the latter makes a series of melodic ascents. Blending independent motivic strings with homophonic declamation in multiple voices, Morales spins an intricate web of textures out of this single three-note phrase.

Morales’s choice of motif is not random; it features prominently in the Kyrie of Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass, to some degree in Kyrie I but most notably at the end of Kyrie II. (See Example 2.) This section encompasses multitudinous repetitions of a series of separate but related motifs. It begins with the superius and altus voices loosely declaiming an ascending motif spanning the range of a sixth. The two lower voices present the *L’homme armé* tune in a mensuration canon, while the superius proceeds with variations on this motif. Beginning in bar 73 the superius, altus and bassus engage in conspicuous repetition of variations on the initial motif, now both ascending and descending but with similar rhythmic character and stepwise motion. Towards the Kyrie’s very end, Josquin distils these figurations into the simple, three-note motif identified

---

Morales, Josquin and the *L’homme armé* Tradition

---

by Morales. This motif becomes especially audible once the tenor has finished declaiming the cantus firmus, with superius, altus and bassus all presenting the motif multiple times in homorhythmic, sequential
declamation. Josquin’s motivic usage in this final Kyrie progresses from an elaborated form into a shorter, more essential cell, which Morales then uses as the foundation for the florid polyphony of his entire mass.
Further repetitions of this motivic idea appear throughout Morales’s four-voice mass, in a manner as distinctly reminiscent of Josquin as it is differentiated from his own customary melodic style. In the Christe, for instance, the motif is first used in parallel tenth motion between cantus and bassus, creating brief arches; it then appears in sequential repetition between altus and bassus, in imitation between altus and bassus, and a final sequential repetition within the altus. For the Kyrie II Morales employs the motif primarily in sequential chains, longer and more pervasive than before, perhaps a nod to Josquin’s own more prominent use of this motif at the same point in his mass. (See Example 3.) The opening bars find the cantus, altus and bassus all presenting the motif in sequential repetition. The contrasting tenor declaims the source tune’s A section as a cantus firmus, with Morales’s considerable use of coloration a probable nod to Josquin’s elaborate mensural practices. The altus incorporates a Josquinian gesture of conspicuous repetition in bars 30–1, declaiming a five-note descending motif (c’–b–a–g–f) and then repeating it, with slight variations, and extending the lower range down to d. In bar 33, cantus and bassus expand upon this initial descending motif with sequential repetitions of their own elaborated versions of the motif. Indeed, the entire bassus line of this final section consists essentially of motivic repetitions, either sequential or (as in bars 35–6) exact reiterations.

More than simply borrowing this motif from Josquin, Morales also reconceives more generally the nature of motivic construction. Josquin’s closing Kyrie displays great technical sophistication with its intricate motivic manipulations, accentuated by bold harmonic gestures, rhythmic excitement and a dramatic contrast between cantus firmus and its surrounding voices. Morales is not so daring in his own Kyrie II; his innovation is rather to temper Josquin’s multitudinous variations by crafting a more consistent motivic language, preserving the idea of textural and melodic variations but adhering more rigorously to the essential motivic cell. In Josquin’s mass, this motif is the seed from which a dazzling series of manipulations emerges; indeed, the motif appears in its ‘strict’ form only at the endings of Kyrie I and II. Morales, in contrast, varies this motif with far greater restraint, relying primarily on two closely related versions (for ascending and descending motion, respectively). His achievements in motivic repetition are simultaneously reductive and expansive, isolating a single idea from Josquin’s broad mosaic and then enhancing its singular presence in his own mass.

Another instance of adaptation occurs in the final Agnus of each mass. In the super voces musicales mass Josquin presents an astonishing array of sequential repetitions in the lower three voices as the superius declaims the cantus firmus source tune on A. These motifs, frequently exploiting the
fourth and fifth intervals characteristic of the source tune, embrace great variety in their rhythmic and melodic configurations. Especially prominent in the latter part of this movement are a series of repetitions, involving

Example 3. Morales, Missa L’homme armé 4v, Kyrie II
repeated stepwise motion and regular rhythms, on the text ‘dona nobis pacem’. Here Josquin subtly shifts the nature of his motivic writing; whereas earlier motifs were more rhythmically varied and spanned wider melodic contours, the motif here is stark and simple, replacing the more florid earlier style. (See Example 4.)

Though Morales’s closing Agnus lacks the expansiveness and variety of *super voces musicales*, it nevertheless owes clear debts to Josquin, drawing particularly on the endpoint of his movement and reworking other motifs in more subtle fashion. Morales begins this section with a brief set of imitative lines in the three upper voices, presenting an ascending motif reminiscent of the opening motif of Josquin’s final Agnus against two statements of the *L’homme armé* tune’s opening phrase in the bassus. (See Example 5.) In bar 36 the cantus voice picks up the tune, declaiming the entire A section – the only time in the entire mass the melody appears in this top voice, and a distinct parallel to a similar practice in Josquin’s final Agnus.34 Against the cantus, the lower voices contain frequent inversions of the initial opening motif, now in a downward fourth descent, plus a more rapid ascending fifth motif presented imitatively in the altus and tenor. This latter motif, while obviously connecting with the characteristic fifth interval of the source tune, also resembles a motif in Josquin’s mass at a similar middle point in his setting (e.g., bars 179–81 in the tenor voice of Example 4).

As the cantus presents the descending fifth B to E that closes the tune’s A section, beginning in bar 44, in distinctive syncopated hemiola rhythms, the altus and bassus engage in downward sequential repetitions on a short, two-note motif of interlocking thirds. This motif, and its sequential disposition, is a condensed variation of larger-scale, sequentially descending motifs across bars 170–8 (see Example 4), which also coincided with a statement of the cantus’s closing descent. Morales uses this gesture not once but twice; indeed, the second iteration is even longer than the first, and separating these two sequential statements is another statement in the altus and tenor of the earlier ascending fifth motif (bb. 46–7).35 Each instance appears while the cantus declaims the

34 It should also be noted that both masses use the superius to declaim parts of this melody elsewhere in the mass, though not as a cantus firmus, and here yet another parallel emerges between the composers; Josquin and Morales both open their Kyrie and Sanctus movements by placing portions of the melody in the superius, in anticipation of the tune’s cantus firmus entrance in the tenor. Marbrianus de Orto also placed the *L’homme armé* melody in the superius in his final Agnus, which may have influenced Josquin’s practice in particular. For more on the connection between these composers see Rodin, ‘Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass’, pp. 353–6.

35 These dual sequential repetitions also appear at the close of other Morales mass movements. One prominent instance comes at the end of the Gloria of the *Missa de Beata Virgine a 5*, a work
which, like Morales’s four-voice Blessed Virgin mass, also shows a heavy Josquinian influence. For a detailed comparison between Morales’s four-voice mass and Josquin’s Missa de Beata Virgine see McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, pp. 158–86.
ending fifth descent of the source tune’s A section, creating a metrical juxtaposition of the prevailing triple rhythm of the tactus with duple rhythms created by a syncopated *L’homme armé* tune presentation and the repeated two-note motifs.


196
Morales’s disposition of these motifs underneath a cantus declamation of the cantus firmus is redolent of Josquin’s practice. While motivic repetition and sequential development certainly feature elsewhere in the mass, particularly in the Kyrie and Sanctus, the final Agnus stands out for its unusual convergence of multiple figures derived from Josquin. Indeed, Morales deliberately spotlights these moments by aligning these repetitions with a syncopated presentation of the source tune’s distinctive closing fifth descent, yielding a palpable rhythmic tension amidst rapid harmonic shifts.

Here it should again be stressed that Morales does not imitate, emulate or ‘out-do’ the technically sophisticated devices of Josquin’s music, as composers from Josquin’s own generation might have attempted. Conceptually, Morales shares with Josquin an interest in mensural play, motivic construction and exploitation of telltale features of the L’homme armé melody (e.g., downward fifth leaps) in contexts outside the cantus firmus. His genius involves transforming these concepts into the language of his own time and place. In this manner Morales’s process may be deemed historicist, though certainly not in the sense of endeavouring to revive a specific older practice. Drawing inspiration especially from the endings of Josquin’s mass movements, Morales seems metaphorically to be picking up where Josquin left off, weaving the older composer’s ideas into his own distinctive polyphonic web.

Mode provides a second area of connection between Morales and Josquin, with both composers complicating the ordinarily straightforward profile of the L’homme armé tune. Normally set in either Mixolydian or G Dorian, this melody contains clear ambitus differentiations between its A and B sections, filling out the span of an octave plus one step that fully encompasses a mode. Most L’homme armé mass composers treat mode in an
uncomplicated fashion, planning cadences on modally appropriate pitches and quoting the *L’homme armé* tune largely (if not always) on the same pitch as the mode.\(^{36}\)

Josquin’s well-known modal novelties are revealed in the titles of his two masses. In *sexti toni* he casts the tune unusually in Hypolydian, while in *super voces musicales* he centres the tune on a different note for each movement, a continuous upward progression from \(c\) to \(a\), set against the prevailing Dorian mode of the piece overall.\(^{37}\) In view of the spirit of competition among *L’homme armé* composers of his generation, Josquin’s use of mode strikes the observer as a gesture of one-upmanship, turning a seemingly uncomplicated musical feature into a vehicle for highly distinctive treatment.

Morales, following Josquin’s example, similarly alters *L’homme armé*’s typical modal profile. By setting his four-voice mass in the Phrygian mode, and placing the melody on \(E\) for all its appearances, Morales reveals his own streak of boldness. Having undoubtedly sung other *L’homme armé* masses at the Sistine Chapel, Morales must have known that his Phrygian version of the melody was a dramatic departure from most of the existing repertory. And in combining an unusual modal configuration with rigorous usage of cantus firmus technique (as Josquin did also), Morales blends radical and conservative approaches towards this tune.

The source melody’s rigid presentation allows Morales to fashion some pointed modal clashes between cadence points of the polyphony and the traditional cadential points of the Phrygian mode. A particularly powerful example appears in the Christe, which presents the *L’homme armé* tune’s B section. At the tune’s climactic point on its highest pitch (an \(f’\) in this configuration), in bar 25, Morales creates a full cadence on \(D\) – a pitch outside the customary orbit for a Phrygian-mode piece – before quickly receding to a plagal \(E\) cadence for the movement’s close. (See Example 6.) Several factors accentuate the drama of this moment. Because the tune’s ascent to this highest pitch normally occurs by means of a whole step, Morales’s Phrygian half-step motion from \(e’\) to \(f’\) creates a stunning effect

\(^{36}\) For a detailed comparison of mode and cantus firmus pitch levels from various Vatican sources see Rodin, ‘Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass’, p. 351.

\(^{37}\) As for other precedents in modal mismatches between a source melody and its surrounding polyphony, David Fallows observes practices in Du Fay’s *Missa Se la face ay pale* and the six Naples masses where the final of the source tune in the tenor fails to match the modal final of the other voices. Rodin observes additional points of contact with the practices of Ockeghem and de Orto. Josquin’s tune presentations on the six notes of the hexachord may compare with Ockeghem’s *Missa Cuiusvis toni* and de Orto’s *L’homme armé* mass, which quotes the cantus firmus on the pitches of \(g, a, b, c\) and \(d\). Josquin’s avoidance of conventional modal configurations thus represents both a technical tour-de-force in its own right and a highly creative response to de Orto’s ‘incorrect’ modal designations. See Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 148–9 and Rodin, ‘Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass’, pp. 338–9, 350–2.
in and of itself. Sustained breves in the bassus and tenor, a forceful altus entrance at the top of its range (the first time within the mass it achieves this highest note) and the topmost cantus cadence all focus attention on this moment. This tension between a climactic D cadence and the prevailing mode of E appears again in the Osanna, in a configuration virtually identical to the Christe aside from some voice reconfigurations.

These devices recall the central conceit of Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass: the recurring disparities between the mass’s prevailing Dorian mode and the source tune’s varying pitch centres across each movement. Josquin employs devices both showy and subtle in expressing these conflicts, evidently expanding on techniques previously espoused by Marbrianus de Orto, in what Rodin calls ‘a means of showing off – of boldly entering the competitive fray of the *L’homme armé* tradition’.38 Morales’s ‘out of mode’

38 Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass*, pp. 279 and 350–3. Josquin does this through a highly novel combination of ostentation and avoidance right from the opening Kyrie,
cadences, while less intricately wrought, nevertheless respond to Josquin’s modal treatment. Placing them prominently at points where the *L’homme armé* melody reaches its peak, Morales does not engage with Josquin’s technical sophistication on the older composer’s terms, but rather identifies an innovative feature of the Josquin model and references it within the parameters of mid-sixteenth-century style.

Pervasive alterations of source-tune rhythms further link these masses. Unlike many other cantus firmus *L’homme armé* masses, where special rhythmic devices like canon, inversion and retrograde are reserved for isolated movements, each movement of Josquin’s *super voces musicales* and Morales’s four-voice mass holds some sort of rhythmic interest in the cantus firmus, from Josquin’s mensuration canons and notational manoeuvres to Morales’s hemiolas, syncopations, ostinatos, augmentations and diminutions. For Morales especially, these manipulations are an important point of differentiation from his other cantus firmus masses. 39 No other Morales mass can claim such an irregular disposition of the source tune’s melodic segments across each movement and such exhaustive rhythmic manipulations of a cantus firmus.40 Table 1 illustrates the composer’s treatment of the cantus firmus in each section of the mass. Never is any full tune segment presented rhythmically exactly as it appears in an original source, though it comes close at moments like the opening Kyrie and in sections of the Gloria and Credo. Rather, Morales habitually alters motifs or entire segments of the tune through augmented or diminished rhythmic values (though usually not in a strict proportional relationship), syncopations, hemiolas and other rhythmic displacements.

introducing the first of his mensuration canons while simultaneously having the two voices (superius and tenor) sound together for just two bars.

39 In Morales’s *Missa Mille regretz*, based on the superius melody of the source chanson, this tune is integrated rhythmically with the other voices rather than set off from them in slow-moving rhythms, and is customarily placed in the cantus voice. As McFarland observes, ‘It is rare to find Morales using his borrowed material so faithfully and so invariably, even in a cantus-firmus Mass; and here, placed in the first cantus, it is not just audible but inescapable’. The *Missa Tu es vos electionis* keeps the cantus firmus source melody largely in the tenor; rhythmically, it is distinguished by use of triple metre in all movements (though with internal duple sections for each) and a diminution/transposition of the source tune in the final Agnus after its initial presentation. For further analytical detail on these masses see McFarland, ‘Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past’, pp. 110–40.

Of course ostinato technique is used to great effect in certain Morales motets (*Andreas Christi famulus, Veni Domine et noli tardare* and others), but in each case the ostinato is carefully planned, the melody retaining its precise shape and appearing at clearly specified intervals.

40 The *Missa Tu es vos electionis* comes closest to the four-voice *L’homme armé* mass in this respect, and not coincidentally these are the only two of Morales’s masses to employ triple metre. But its simpler, shorter source melody offers fewer possibilities for rhythmic manipulation, as does the cantus firmus’s absence over several lengthy mass sections.
Why would Morales bring such an abundance of rhythmic devices into this particular mass? For an answer we can again turn to Josquin, whose *super voces musicales* ranks supreme in the *L’homme armé* tradition for its rhythmic intricacies. Remarkably, many of his complexities derive from just a few simple notational signs, allowing him to vary the speed and alteration/imperfection patterns of a source tune otherwise notated in similar fashion across all the mass’s movements. Mensuration canons, retrograde, augmentation and the use of different mensuration signs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass section</th>
<th>C.f. segment</th>
<th>Tenor treatment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie I</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>regular, with slight rhythmic alterations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christe</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>regular, leading to diminution and syncopation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie II</td>
<td>A'</td>
<td>syncopation/hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et in terra</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>alternation between regular rhythms and hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>regular with closing augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui tollis</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>augmented, irregular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>hemiola with closing augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrem</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>extensive sections of augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>regular with closing augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>regular with closing augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A' (first phrase)</td>
<td>augmented initial notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et resurrexit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>no cantus firmus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et in spiritum</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>augmentation, syncopation, hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>regular with closing augmentation/hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctus</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>‘preview’ in cantus with irregular rhythms metrical displacement, hemiola, repetition of final phrase with hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosanna</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>hemiola with closing augmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>in altus; ostinato on augmented final phrase of B section, five statements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnus I</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>‘preview’ in cantus virtually identical to Sanctus rhythmic displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>diminution, rhythmic displacement, hemiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnus II</td>
<td>A (first phrase)</td>
<td>in bassus, repeated at transposed interval down a fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>in cantus, lengthy hemiolas, repetition of final phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Morales, Josquin and the *L’homme armé* Tradition

Table 1 *Disposition of the cantus firmus in Morales’s Missa *L’homme armé* (4v)
between the cantus firmus and its surrounding polyphony yield an extraordinary level of rhythmic sophistication to this mass. Josquin’s contrapuntal brilliance was certainly not lost on sixteenth-century figures, who indeed were captivated more by these intricacies of rhythm and notation than the mass’s modal complexities.\(^{41}\)

The remarkable three-in-one mensuration canon of Josquin’s Agnus II may rank as the most flashy example of this ingenuity, yet other movements better illustrate the diversity and subtlety of Josquin’s practice. In the Kyrie, for instance, the tune-bearing tenor participates in mensuration canons with the superius, contra and bassus voice across the three sections. For the Kyrie I, the tenor entrance as the comes of a 2:1 mensuration canon is almost inaudible, despite its entrance on C rather than the overall mode of D, as no cadence marks this voice’s entrance.\(^{42}\) The Christe expands the level of augmentation to 4:1 (\(\Phi\) versus \(\Theta\)), yielding a lengthier cantus firmus whose entrance now coincides with a cadence on A. In the Kyrie II, Josquin creates a rhythmic tension in the 2:1 mensuration canon between bassus (in \(\Phi\)) and the tenor (in \(\Theta\)), producing a duple-against-triple effect. All this occurs within a polyphonic sheath permeated with motivic repetition and sequential disposition, further emphasising the primacy of rhythm even outside the cantus firmus.\(^{43}\)

Morales doubtless understood the extraordinary rhythmic achievement of Josquin’s mass, but with Josquin’s notation-based techniques not part of his mid-century musical language, he cultivated a different sort of rhythmic palette. His opening Kyrie presentation, like Josquin’s, deals in subtlety; apart from a couple rhythmic alternations, there is little hint in the source-tune rhythms of the complexities to come. Matters become more complicated in the Christe, now with a \(\Phi\) mensuration (see above, Example 6). Here Morales begins the tune’s B section with an implied triple rhythm in the tenor, contrasting with the duple rhythms of the surrounding polyphony. This leads immediately, however, to a hemiola within the tenor voice, the first phrase’s final three notes in equal imperfect breves against the previously established triple mensuration. This first phrase is then repeated exactly but in diminution, now on the order of semibreves and minimis. The final phrase begins with a breve and then, from the top note \(f’\), presents a syncopation in which each note is presented as a dotted semibreve. A reversal of this process characterises the

\(^{41}\) As Blackburn has observed, ‘The [Missa L’homme armé super voces musicales] fame in the sixteenth century lay not so much in the novelty of presenting the melody in various modes as in the complexity of the rhythmic notation, involving mensuration canons, augmentation, and diminution’. See Blackburn, ‘Masses on Popular Songs and on Syllables’, in Sherr (ed.), The Josquin Companion, p. 53.


\(^{43}\) A thoughtful recent analysis of this section is Rodin, ‘Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass’, pp. 277–82.
second Kyrie, now in triple mensuration, in which the tune’s A-section reprise begins traditionally before new syncopations are introduced. (See above, Example 3.) After presenting the opening melodic gesture in ternary rhythm, Morales introduces a series of hemiolas between the tenor and other voices by placing nearly every succeeding note in coloured imperfect breves, forming a large-scale duple-against-triple pattern.44

These intricate rhythmic manipulations of a tune whose melody ordinarily falls so clearly within the compass of ternary rhythm evoke the spirit, if not the letter, of Josquin’s extraordinary mensural practice. Of course other L’homme armé composers also employed intricate source-tune rhythmic manipulations; the famous ‘crab canon’ in Du Fay’s Missa L’homme armé, for one, suggests that such configurations featured very early in this tradition’s history. Why, then, should we presume that Morales looked to Josquin rather than one of these other composers in crafting his most rhythmically intricate mass? The primary reason, in my view, is because Josquin foregrounded rhythm (through the vehicle of notation) more thoroughly than any of these other composers. Whenever the L’homme armé tune appears, a straightforward presentation is accompanied by some modified form, whether by a simultaneous mensuration canon (Kyrie), statements in forward motion followed by retrograde/diminution (Gloria/Credo), use of differing mensuration signs between sections (Sanctus) or a modal shift across different sections (Agnus I/III). In also using rhythmic variety to anchor his source-tune treatment, Morales very likely took Josquin’s practice as a model – not of imitation or emulation, but more to achieve a conceptual refashioning of rhythmic variety as it might have related to his own time. And whereas Josquin’s super voces musicales mass addresses his peers in a competitive vein, Morales seems to be in dialogue with the tradition itself, positioning himself as the rightful heir to Josquin.

**MORALE, MISSA L’HOMME ARMÉ (5V) AND JOSQUIN, MISSA L’HOMME ARMÉ SEXTI TONI**

In composing two separate L’homme armé masses, Morales and Josquin both carefully differentiated the stylistic palettes of their respective works. Josquin’s Missa L’homme armé sexti toni, probably composed a few years

44 Similar manipulations permeate other movements as well. In the Gloria, Morales presents the tune’s A section using the same duple hemiolas against a prevailing circle mensuration. When the B section is presented in nearly identical rhythms to the source tune, the effect comes as somewhat of a shock. In fact, this is about as close as Morales comes to a faithful presentation of the tune. Two other outstanding examples include the Benedictus, where Morales indulges in a characteristic fondness for using a tune segment as an ostinato, and the Agnus II, where he places the tune in the cantus voice (which, as observed earlier, appears to be a direct imitation of Josquin).
following the super voces musicales mass, differs from its predecessor in such
fundamental features as mode, ambitus, use of textural variation and the
source tune’s melodic shape. Morales, in contrast, crafted his five-voice
mass using paraphrase rather than cantus firmus technique, treating the
source melody with great freedom and employing a unifying head motif
for all movements. He also employs a varied form of the source-tune
melody, a different mode and heightened textural variety relative to his
four-voice mass.

Already these factors suggest a unifying preoccupation with exploring
divergent approaches to masses based on the same source melody. That
the connections between Morales’s five-voice Missa L’homme armé and
Josquin’s Missa L’homme armé sexti toni encompass some of the same areas as
those between Morales’s four-voice mass and Josquin’s super voces musicales
further strengthens this alliance.

Though the dating of Josquin’s masses remains open to conjecture, the bulk of scholarly
opinion suggests that super voces musicales came before sexti toni. The super voces musicales mass
survives in VatS 197, dating from c. 1492–5, while the first extant source for sexti toni is JenaU 31,
copied around or shortly before 1500. Rodin speculates that sexti toni may have been
composed at the end of Josquin’s tenure at the Sistine Chapel, around 1497–8, though he
remains cautious about making chronology decisions on stylistic grounds. For further analytical
and dating considerations of the sexti toni mass see, e.g., Reese, Music in the Renaissance,

Connections between these masses extend to other areas as well. Rees observes in his discussion
of the Morales–Guerrero relationship how Morales in the Sanctus of his five-voice mass adds
a new subject to the points of imitation present with Josquin’s mass. He further suggests that
Guerrero evokes Josquin’s sexti toni mass in his Sanctus, using canons on the source tune in
lower voices and a looser canon in the upper voices; and in his Agnus Dei, which includes a
retrograde cantus firmus in the lower voices and certain melodic motifs from Josquin’s mass.

It may also be no coincidence that the first printed appearance of Morales’s five-voice mass
(Scotto, 1540) occurs in a volume with several affinities with Josquin. This print includes five
masses, each scored for five voices: Morales’s L’homme armé and Missa de beata Virgine, plus Jachet
of Mantua’s Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae and Missa Ferdinandus dux Calabriae, and Jachet Berchem’s
Missa Mort et merci. Besides sharing three titles in common with Josquin masses, including a mass
honouring Ercole d’Este I, both Jachet’s works employ the soggetto cavato technique pioneered
by Josquin, matching vowels in the honorand’s name to notes of the hexachord. In features
such as his deployment of soggetto, motivic borrowing and use of mensuration and canon Jachet
owes clear debts to Josquin, a characteristic also found in several of his other masses and
motets.

Several of the masses also have links to Charles V. Philip T. Jackson has suggested the text
for the Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae published in this volume may not be original, as the cantus
firmus notes fit uncomfortably with the name ‘Hercules vivet’, and posits Charles as a possible
original name. The Missa Ferdinandus dux Calabriae is associated with Don Ferdinand of Aragón,
Duke of Calabria, whom Charles freed from prison, later named viceroy of Valencia, and in
1526 joined for a double wedding in Seville in which Ferdinand married Germaine de Foix and
Charles married Isabella of Portugal. For a detailed study of these two pieces see Jackson, ‘Two
Descendants of Josquin’s “Hercules” Mass’, Music & Letters, 59 (1978), pp. 188–205. For more
on Ferdinand of Aragón and music see, e.g., B. Nelson, ‘The Court of Don Fernando de

204
provide important links between these two masses, just as they did with Morales’s four-voice mass and Josquin’s super voces musicales. Here, however, these two issues are more intimately intertwined. Unusually, both composers set these masses in an F mode rather than Mixolydian or G Dorian. Within this F mode the tune’s melodic shape requires a simple adjustment: a half-step descending interval in the B segment’s first two phrases between the top F and the adjoining E, rather than the customary whole-step interval. Both composers make the additional melodic alteration of filling in the falling fourth by substituting a D for a repetition of the F in each phrase’s ending, a common variant within this tradition.

Observing this varied presentation here as well as in Du Fay’s Missa L’homme armé, McFarland speculated that Morales sought to reproduce in his L’homme armé masses the two versions of the source tune found in L’homme armé’s earliest settings by Du Fay and Ockeghem.47 This supposition has its difficulties. The implied connection between Morales’s four-voice mass and Ockeghem’s mass, for one, seems untenable given Morales’s pointed concern with adjusting this tune to the Phrygian mode. The variant version of the tune was used by many other composers besides Du Fay, including Antoine Brumel, Ockeghem, Philippe Basiron and Tinctoris. Rather than looking to the tradition’s origins for inspiration, Morales probably borrowed from the more proximate example of Josquin, in view of his more exact replication of this composer’s other practices.

Composing a L’homme armé mass in a plagal mode (or, in Morales’s case, an ambiguous F mode) presents an immediate challenge: how does one construct such a piece using the authentic-mode L’homme armé melody as a foundation? Tellingly, both Josquin and Morales devise similar solutions to this problem. Josquin takes a free approach to the tune’s melodic shape and free disposition of its motifs throughout all voices, distributing the tune’s B section in other voices besides the tenor and on different pitch levels to preserve the piece’s overall plagal range. Having treated the source melody with exceeding rigour in his super voces musicales mass, Josquin’s exceedingly liberated approach in sexti toni could hardly be a greater contrast.48 The opening Kyrie gives little hint of what is to come, containing a modally straightforward presentation of the tune on f, in all voices with imitative entries. But as the L’homme armé tune ascends to its authentic range in the ensuing Christe, Josquin exchanges four clear tune


48 As a cantus firmus the tune remains most often in the tenor, though with frequent migrations to the bassus and superius.

205
statements on $f$ with a single, cantus firmus declamation of the B section – on $c$, in the bassus voice – before transposing upward to $f$ for the final phrase. (See Figure 3). Outlines of the tune’s B section appear in other voices as well, most clearly in the tenor, centred variously around the pitches of C, F and G. For the Kyrie II, Josquin returns to a tune statement on $f$, this time as a cantus firmus in the tenor, with a prominent melodic sequence on the tune’s closing descent of a fifth, shortly before the section ends with an added statement of this closing fifth in mostly homophonic declamation.

Morales’s Kyrie–Christe pair, while not as sharply differentiated in pitch as in Josquin’s, shows the same concern with progressive modal complication as the source tune moves to its authentic range. At the outset, the situation appears simple: his Kyrie presents the tune’s A section as a cantus firmus on $f$ in the tenor, with imitative statements on both $c$ and $f$. But this modal fabric is ruptured in the Christe, as the altus I declaims the B segment’s first phrase as an ostinato on $g'$, with three statements separated by rests of three semibreves duration. The melody is then transposed to $f'$, the first phrase now proclaimed with slightly modified rhythm, before closing with the B section’s final phrase. (See Figure 4.) Layered underneath is a statement of the first phrase on the ‘correct’ pitch of $f'$ in the altus II, followed by further iterations of this phrase in altus II and tenor variously employing transpositions of tune segments on the pitches of $f'$, $g$ and $c$.\(^{49}\) Tune fragments on $c'$ in the bassus, meanwhile, distinctly recall Josquin’s own prominent bassus cantus firmus on $c$ in the sexti toni mass.

Morales’s Kyrie II, like Josquin’s, returns to the pitch pattern found in the composer’s first Kyrie – in this case, imitative tune motifs on $f$ alongside a cantus firmus statement on $c'$ in the altus II. Morales also introduces a sequential motivic pattern at the tune’s final melodic

\(^{49}\) This blending of $F$, $G$ and $C$ statements permeates other movements as well, contributing further to the piece’s modal destabilisation. When introduced in the Gloria at ‘Qui tollis’, the B section is presented in imitation across the five voices on all these pitches. In the Credo, the B section appears at ‘Qui propter nos homines’ in a full, cantus firmus-style statement – not on $f'$ but on $g'$, in altus I, while other voices declaim segments in imitation on $F$, $G$ and $C$. 

---

49 This blending of F, G and C statements permeates other movements as well, contributing further to the piece’s modal destabilisation. When introduced in the Gloria at ‘Qui tollis’, the B section is presented in imitation across the five voices on all these pitches. In the Credo, the B section appears at ‘Qui propter nos homines’ in a full, cantus firmus-style statement – not on $f'$ but on $g'$, in altus I, while other voices declaim segments in imitation on $F$, $G$ and $C$. 

---

Figure 3. Josquin, *Missa L’homme arme sexti toni*, Christe (excerpt), Chigi Codex

---

Joseph Sargent
descending fifth (see Example 7). Indeed, he takes this latter device even further than Josquin, proclaiming the L’homme armé tune’s closing descent twice as Josquin does but introducing sequence on both statements rather than the first statement only – a deliberate extension of the elder master’s practice, especially sharpened by an avoided cadence at the end of the first sequence. Enriching his modal profile through tune statements on three different pitches, including a prominent bassus statement on c’, Morales simultaneously invokes and expands upon Josquin’s pioneering conception of source-tune treatment.

Another instance of modelling occurs in the Agnus Dei. Foundationally, both masses use the same textural configuration for the three sections: a regular four-voice texture for Agnus I, a reduction to superius, altus and tenor for Agnus II and a six-voice expansion for Agnus III. A focus on literal repetition by both composers further links these movements, particularly in the Agnus II, where Morales repeats a series of motifs bearing surface melodic correlations to Josquin’s melodies. But the most intriguing parallel occurs in the final Agnus. Josquin’s music at this point is a tour-de-force, pitting two pairs of duos in canonic pairs against cantus firmus lower lines, where segments of the L’homme armé tune are presented in forward and retrograde motion by the tenor and bassus respectively. Borrowing ideas from peer composers like Busnoys and Basiron, including the use of retrograde canon and a sudden pause in the middle of the movement, Josquin vastly expounds on these techniques, presenting a construct of unparalleled sophistication in a seeming gesture of one-upmanship towards his peers.50

As an adapter of techniques rather than a strict borrower or competitor, literal copying of these devices is not Morales’s concern. But while

---

Morales’s Agnus III music bears little surface relation to Josquin’s, he does borrow one very prominent idea from the _sexti toni_ mass: the use of block repetition. This type of repetition is pervasive in Josquin’s final Agnus, where pairs of voices, first an altus pair and then a superius pair, present a repeating series of melodies using such intricate devices as stretto imitation, motivic reiterations and sequential motion. Morales’s repetition, though markedly different from Josquin’s, is equally striking: a block of four bars is reused almost verbatim, with some voice exchanges, six bars later. (Compare bars 96–9 and 106–9 in Example 8.) Adding to its
distinctiveness is a startling accented dissonance created by the cantus and altus I (altus II in the block’s repetition), a suspended $e\flat'$ in the altus clashing on a strong beat against a $d''$ in the cantus.

For Morales, a block repetition of this type is extraordinarily unusual. Indeed, as far as I am aware the gesture is *sui generis*; never in any other composition does Morales employ such a large-scale reuse of musical material. The obvious question then follows: why would Morales insert a large-scale block repetition in this mass, during this closing movement? One possibility is that it has a climactic function, emerging from an expanded texture during the mass’s final movement, but this idea is weakened by the music’s seamless integration with its surrounding polyphony. Distinctive as the gesture is, it simply does not sound like a climax. A more likely possibility is that it pays tribute to the extended pattern of repetition in Josquin’s *sexti toni* mass. Like Josquin, Morales introduces layers of repetition throughout his mass but brings this technique to new heights in its closing moments. Rather than simply imitate the older master, however, Morales creates a less ostentatious sense of climax, folding the repeated block within his dense, imitative polyphony. In doing so, he shows both the influence of an older practice and an impulse to transform that practice into something more suitable to mid-sixteenth-century style.

51 Most prominent among the repetitions in other movements is the Kyrie II, where cantus, altus I, tenor and bassus engage in sequential repetition of motifs around the altus II’s cantus firmus declamation of the *L’homme armé* melody.
As a mass tradition, *L’homme armé* carried a pedigree unlike anything else in the entire Renaissance, from the sheer quantity of masses on this melody to the powerful symbolic significance of a noble, even Christological, ideal. In studying the vast fifteenth-century *L’homme armé* tradition, with its multitude of masses in close chronological proximity, the dominant
comparative analytical paradigm has been to consider how one composer’s setting might have competed with, imitated or emulated another exemplar. For a mid-sixteenth-century composer like Morales, however, these ideas have markedly less currency. A L’homme armé mass published around 1540 carries distinct historicist connotations absent from the flourishing of masses preceding it by some half-century or more.52 Considerations of imitation, emulation and competition lose some of their relevance, and a different set of questions needs to be asked about a composer’s motivation for journeying back into the past.

Morales hardly endeavoured to ‘out-do’ the complex learned devices and mensuration manipulations of Josquin, though he clearly references these telltale features of Josquin’s style. And while some reliance on Josquinian models may be perceived in his having composed two L’homme armé masses with unusual modal choices and source-tune treatments, Morales is not trying to ‘emulate’ Josquin in the sense of equalling or excelling his achievement – particularly since, by the time of Morales’s compositions, parody technique would have offered a more suitable means of emulation than cantus firmus or paraphrase. For Morales, composing

52 Haar has commented on this impulse in relation to Palestrina’s L’homme armé masses, composed even later than those of Morales and engaging with what he describes as characteristically Renaissance concerns with emulation and sensitivity to history. See Haar, ‘Palestrina as Historicist’, pp. 191–2.
two *L’homme armé* masses probably represented several things at once: a keen appreciation of this mass tradition, a desire to occupy a prominent position within it, an identification of Josquin as a masterful composer upon whose shoulders he could stand and even perhaps a desire to himself become a figure of influence upon later composers – a wish that would be realised in subsequent mass pairs by Guerrero and Palestrina. And if the pieces were written at the Sistine Chapel, as seems likely to be the case, they also participate in this institution’s known penchant for traditionalism and musical borrowing.\(^{53}\) Morales’s greatest achievement in his *L’homme armé* masses was to reanimate a hallowed tradition, taking select musical features from its most accomplished fifteenth-century practitioner and adapting them to a contemporary musical language. The conspicuous motivic repetitions of Josquin’s masses are combined into longer melodic statements, and Josquin’s strict learned devices are softened in the service of a smoother polyphonic language. Through a meticulous engagement with Josquin’s music, Morales self-consciously positioned himself as the composer’s rightful successor.

University of San Francisco

\(^{53}\) For a recent commentary on this issue in relation to Josquin’s *super voces musicales* mass see Rodin, ‘Finishing Josquin’s “Unfinished” Mass’.

212