

JOSEPH SARGENT

Email: jmsargent@usfca.edu

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## MORALES, JOSQUIN AND THE *L'HOMME ARMÉ* TRADITION

*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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> Clear ambitus differentiations accentuate the sectional construction;

<sup>1</sup> 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 arme'). See Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basle, 1547), p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> 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*



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.<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>7</sup> Finally, theories on dating early masses by Guillaume Du Fay, Johannes Ockeghem and Antoine Busnoys have prompted impassioned debate

*Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 465–6; and Planchart, 'The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*', *Journal of Musicology*, 20 (2003), pp. 309–12.

<sup>6</sup> Lockwood's study of the *L'homme armé* tradition provides a useful summary of early views on this subject. Identification with Charles the Bold comes from David Fallows, Richard Taruskin and other scholars, who observe that the song was one of the emperor's favourites and may even have been composed for him. Among those equating the armed man with Christ, Craig Wright interprets retrograde presentations of the source tune in Agnus Dei sections of masses by Guillaume Du Fay and Josquin as a symbol of Christ's return. He further claims a dual symbolism with St Michael, particularly as evidenced by the Sanctus of Johannes Regis's *L'homme armé* mass. Planchart, meanwhile, suggests that different composers had different perspectives on who, if anyone, the armed man was meant to symbolise. He particularly identifies the combinative chanson *Il sera par vous* with Symon le Breton and an attitude of mock-aggressiveness. See Lockwood, 'Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition', pp. 97–122; Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), p. 283; Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), pp. 175–92; Planchart, 'The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*', pp. 313–14; Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, i: The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (New York and Oxford, 2005), p. 485; S. Gallagher, *Johannes Regis* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 59–114; and A. Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 98–134.

<sup>7</sup> William Prizer outlines potential contexts for musical performance at meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece and offers potential relationships between these events and several musical manuscripts in 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 113–53. A subsequent study, on later meetings of this order, is id., 'Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in B. Haggh (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris, 2001), pp. 161–88. In the realm of liturgy, Flynn Warrington has identified several locales where priests wore armour and/or wielded swords during the Gospel reading, affording suitable possibilities for the performance of *L'homme armé* masses. Andrew Kirkman also stresses matters of liturgical appropriateness, viewing the *L'homme armé* mass as participating in a wide-ranging system of allegories embedded in the mass more generally, embodied particularly by the 13th-c. *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* of Guillelmus Durandus, in which everything from vestments to liturgical actions helps to articulate the Passion of Christ. See Warrington, 'The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the *L'homme armé* Mass', in P. Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford and New York, 1999), pp. 88–130, and Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, pp. 98–134. For more on notation and melodic length see Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition', pp. 271–3, and Rob C. Wegman's questioning of the 31 figure in a letter in response to Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), pp. 437–43.

about the polyphonic tradition's origins – who came first, and by extension, who influenced whom.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> Lockwood introduced the notion of *imitatio* as it relates to Renaissance music. Howard Mayer Brown, in a classic discussion, noted that imitation implies a direct modelling of an older piece, often as a learning exercise. Emulation involves either the pedagogical process of a youthful composer working with models before achieving mastery or else a more deliberate effort by an established composer modelling a piece on the work of another master, in which case the effort can be seen as a gesture of either competition or homage. See Lockwood, 'On "Parody" as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music', in J. La Rue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York, 1966), pp. 560–75, and Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 35 (1982), pp. 8–10. Other studies of Renaissance imitation and borrowing abound, particularly as they relate to the rhetorical concept of *imitatio*; but for a more circumspect assessment of *imitatio* as a concept see Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's "Missa L'homme armé" – And Some Observations on "Imitatio"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989), pp. 189–202, and H. Meconi, 'Does *Imitatio* Exist?', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), pp. 152–78.

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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

<sup>10</sup> Even Robert Stevenson, whose seminal *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* includes a chapter subheading on Morales's use of borrowed material, scarcely considers the *L'homme armé* tradition. The most detailed analysis so far is A. S. McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past: Music for the Mass in Sixteenth-Century Rome' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1999), pp. 96–109 and 141–57. Though occasionally referencing other composers and cultural contexts of the *L'homme armé* tradition, her analysis concentrates in the main on aspects of internal structure. Prizer, drawing on McFarland's research, claims that Morales's masses were probably composed for Charles V and connected with the annual St Andrew's Day celebrations that are associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. Samuel Rubio's analysis of Morales's masses is largely taxonomic, charting such features as frequency of particular interval distances, patterns in the order of voice entrances, types of dissonance figures and types of cadences. For more on Spanish *L'homme armé* masses see, e.g., Rubio, *Cristóbal de Morales: Estudio crítico de su polifonía* (El Escorial, 1969), pp. 35–191; Rubio, *Juan de Anchieta: Opera Omnia, Estudio técnico estilístico y transcripción* (Guipúzcoa, 1980); J. M. Llorens Cisteró, 'El Ms. 40 de la Biblioteca Municipal de Oporto fuente única de la Misa *L'homme armé* de F. Guerrero, *Misa pequeña* de C. Morales y de otras novedades', *Anuario Musical*, 49 (1994), pp. 75–102; Llorens Cisteró, *Francisco Guerrero: Missarum liber quartus. Introducción, estudio y transcripción* (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 16–20; H. González Barrionuevo, *Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599): Vida y obra. La música en la Catedral de Sevilla a finales del siglo XVI* (Seville, 2000), pp. 410–16; Prizer, 'Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece', pp. 171–3; and T. Knighton, 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502', in Knighton (ed.), *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court* (Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY, 2005), pp. 85–102.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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*.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

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

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

<sup>15</sup> 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



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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> (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.<sup>18</sup>

older, in some senses archaic, types of construction', noting his relatively sparse usage of parody technique and heavy concentration on four-voice masses, which lead to their occasional labelling as 'conservative oddities'. More recently, Cristle Collins Judd has argued that Morales's engagement with the *Missa Si bona suscepimus*, based on a motet by Philippe Verdelot, presents more novel manipulations of borrowed material than previously recognised. See McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past', pp. 5–6, and Judd, 'Compositional Approaches to *Si bona suscepimus*', in O. Rees and B. Nelson (eds.), *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY, 2007), pp. 123–40.

<sup>16</sup> The five-voice mass had previously been published in *Quinque missae Moralis Hispani, ac Jacheti musicici excellentissimi: Liber primus, cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1540).

<sup>17</sup> 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 de' 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.

<sup>18</sup> McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past', p. 156.



Figure 2a Woodcut accompanying Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* (4v). Source: *Christophori Moralis Hyspalensis missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544)

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> Robert Stevenson opines that the four-voice

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156–7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*





Figure 2b Woodcut accompanying Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* (5v). Source: *Christophori Moralis Hyspalensis missarum liber primus* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544)

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.<sup>21</sup>

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

<sup>21</sup> See Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 57, and Haar, 'Palestrina as Historicist', pp. 4–5. One possible occasion was a visit by Charles V to Rome in Apr. 1536, at which he heard the Sistine Chapel choir. See Raffaele Casimiri, 'I diarii sistini', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 1 (1924), p. 157.

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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, even Palestrina evidently composed both of his *L'homme armé* masses under the Sistine Chapel's sway despite his very brief tenure.<sup>25</sup>

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

<sup>22</sup> These connections are detailed in McFarland, 'Within the Circle of Charles V: New Light on the Biography of Cristóbal de Morales', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), pp. 330–2.

<sup>23</sup> Cosimo's wife, Eleanora de Toledo, was the daughter of Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, and the duke himself owed fealty to the emperor. See McFarland, 'Within the Circle of Charles V', pp. 331. Samples of Morales's correspondence with Cosimo are published in K. Pietschmann, 'A Renaissance Composer Writes to his Patrons: Newly Discovered Letters from Cristóbal de Morales to Cosimo I de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), pp. 383–402.

<sup>24</sup> Notable omissions from the Sistine Chapel repertory include the mass by Obrecht, as well as those of the Naples manuscript. See Haar, 'Palestrina as Historicist', pp. 203–5. Further background on the Sistine Chapel's special devotion to *L'homme armé* masses and Vatican manuscript collections around 1500 appears in J. Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York and Oxford, forthcoming). I am grateful to Rodin for sharing an advance copy of portions of this work prior to publication. For more on editing and recopying efforts see Haar, 'Josquin in Rome: Some Evidence from the Masses', in R. Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford and New York, 1998), pp. 213–23, and Rodin, 'Finishing Josquin's "Unfinished" Mass: A Case of Stylistic Imitation in the Cappella Sistina', *Journal of Musicology*, 22 (2005), pp. 412–53. For more on the Sistine Chapel's manuscript collection see the index to Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi* (Vatican City, 1960).

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.

<sup>25</sup> See Haar, 'Palestrina as Historicist'.

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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> It is a cantus firmus mass presenting the source tune in the

<sup>26</sup> A recent discussion of the Sistine Chapel's special cultivation of *L'homme armé* masses is in Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*. For more on 'conservative' elements in the 16th-c. Sistine Chapel's musical tastes see, e.g., R. Sherr, 'Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41 (1988), pp. 434–64; J. Dean, 'The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel: The Importance of Old Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians*, pp. 143–50; M. Brauner, 'Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *ibid.*, pp. 167–74; and T. Schmidt-Beste, 'A Dying Art: Canonic Inscriptions and Canonic Techniques in the Sixteenth-Century Papal Chapel Repertory', in K. Schiltz and B. J. Blackburn (eds.), *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History. Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005* (Leuven and Dudley, Mass., 2007), pp. 339–55.

<sup>27</sup> The most recently published tally of Morales's music credits the composer with twenty-three masses, compared with ten for Willaert, nine for Gombert, five for Carpentras and just two for Festa. For a complete accounting of Morales's masses and surviving sources, see Martin Ham's worklist in Rees and Nelson (eds.), *Cristóbal de Morales*, pp. 362–70.

<sup>28</sup> Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca de la Fundación Bartolomé 6832, and Catedral de Toledo, BC 31. The work is known to have existed also in Treviso, Biblioteca capitolare della Cattedrale 1 at pp. 96–104, but this source was destroyed during the Second World War. A vihuela intabulation of the Et resurrexit, Benedictus and Agnus Dei appears in Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (Seville: Martin de Montesdoca, 1554).

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.<sup>29</sup>

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'.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> Morales grounds this piece in repeated iterations of a short rhythmic idea, not especially distinctive on its

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past', pp. 96–8, 100.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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

only ones to rely heavily on perfect tempus; it also consciously cultivates older techniques such as lengthy cantus firmi, open-fifth cadences and the use of polyphonic 'extensions' at ends of sections even after the cantus firmus is fully declaimed. For further analysis see McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past', pp. 130–40.

<sup>33</sup> In addition to Rodin's exploration of Josquin's motivic manipulations, previous studies include Haar, 'Parody Technique in the Masses of Josquin des Prés' (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1954), pp. 57, 79; C. C. Judd, 'Josquin des Prés: *Salve Regina* (à 5)', in M. Everist (ed.), *Music before 1600* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1992), pp. 114–53; and J. Milsom, 'Analysing Josquin', in R. Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford and New York, 2000), pp. 431–84.



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Cantus  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, e -

Altus  
Ky - ri - e e - lei -

Tenor  
Ky - ri -

Bassus

5  
lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -  
son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,  
e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e

10  
son, e - lei - son.  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.  
e - lei - son.  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

Example 1 Morales, *Missa L'homme ame* 4v, Kyrie I

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

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73  
Discantus  
son, Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e.

Contra  
son, Ky - ri - e e - le - - i - son e - le - i -

Tenor  
Ky - ri - e,

Bassus  
e, Ky - ri - e e - le - - i - son, e - le - i -

78  
e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, Ky -  
son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i -  
Ky - ri - e e - le -  
son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son,

83  
ri - e Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.  
son, Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.  
- i - son.  
Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Example 2 Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, Kyrie II, bb. 73–87

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

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Cantus  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky -

Altus  
Ky - ri - e - lei - - -

Tenor  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - son,

Bassus  
Ky - ri - e - e - le -

33  
- ri - e e - - lei son, Ky - ri - e e -

- - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei -

- Ky - ri - e e - le - i -

- i - son, Ky - - - ri - e e - lei -

37  
- lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

- son, Ky - - - ri - e e - lei - son.

son.

son, Ky - ri - e - e - lei - son.

Example 3. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 4v, Kyrie II

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

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.<sup>34</sup> 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).<sup>35</sup> Each instance appears while the cantus declaims the

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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



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170

Discantus

no - - - bis

Altus

no-bis pa - - - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, do -

Tenor

pa - cem, do - na no - bis, do - na no -

Bassus

cem, do - na no-bis pa-cem, do - na no - bis, do -

175

pa - - - - -

- na no - bis pa - - - - - cem, do - na no -

bis, do - na no - bis, do - na do - na no -

- na no-bis pa-cem, do - na no-bis pa - cem, do - na

180

- - - - - cem.

- bis pa - - - - - cem.

- - - - - bis - pa - - - - - cem.

no - bis pa - - - - - cem.

Example 4. Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, Agnus III, bb. 170–84

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.

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26  $\Phi$ 3

Cantus A - gnus De - i,

Altus A - gnus De - i, qui - tol -

Tenor A - gnus De - i,

Bassus A - gnus De - i,

33

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

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

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

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

40

do - na no - bis, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

- ta mun - di, do - na no - bis pa -

di, do - na no - bis pa - cem, do -

di, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

Example 5. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 4v, Agnus II

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.

## Morales, Josquin and the *L'homme armé* Tradition

47

do - na no - bis pa - cem. do - na no bis pa - cem. na no bis pa - cem.

do - na no - bis pa - cem.

Example 5 *Continued*

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.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup> 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

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed comparison of mode and cantus firmus pitch levels from various Vatican sources see Rodin, 'Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass', p. 351.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

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15

Cantus  
Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste, Chri - ste e - lei -

Altus  
Chri - - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e -

Tenor  
Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e -

Bass  
Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste

22

- son, Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son.

- lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son.

- lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son.

- lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei - son.

Example 6. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 4v, *Christe*

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'.<sup>38</sup> Morales's 'out of mode'

<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> 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 vas 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.

<sup>40</sup> The *Missa Tu es vas 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.

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Table 1 *Disposition of the cantus firmus in Morales's Missa L'homme armé (4v)*

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

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

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.<sup>41</sup>

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.<sup>42</sup> The *Christe* expands the level of augmentation to 4:1 (♠ versus ♡), 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 ♠) and the tenor (in ♡), 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.<sup>43</sup>

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 ♠ 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 minims. 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

<sup>41</sup> As Blackburn has observed, 'The [*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*]'s 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.

<sup>42</sup> Rodin, 'Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass', p. 279.

<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

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.

MORALES, *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

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> Source-tune treatment and mode

<sup>45</sup> 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*, p. 238; H. Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols. (Tutzing, 1962–5), i, pp. 164–6; Haar, 'Josquin in Rome: Some Evidence from the Masses', p. 214; Blackburn, 'Masses on Popular Songs', pp. 62–9; and Rodin, 'Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass', pp. 222–4 and 335–7.

<sup>46</sup> 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. See Rees, 'Guerrero's *L'homme armé* Masses', pp. 38–9.

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

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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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

Aragón, Duke of Calabria in Valencia, c.1526–c.1550: Music, Letters and the Meeting of Cultures', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), pp. 194–224. For detailed considerations of Jachet's devotion to Josquin see Jackson, 'Two Descendants of Josquin's "Hercules" Mass', pp. 195–205.

<sup>47</sup> McFarland, 'Cristóbal de Morales and the Imitation of the Past', p. 141.

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



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

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*.<sup>49</sup> 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

<sup>49</sup> 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 4. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 5v, *Christe*, altus II, from *Quinque missae Moralis Hyspani, ac Jacheti musici excellentissimi: Liber primus, cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1540)

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.<sup>50</sup>

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

<sup>50</sup> For a thorough discussion of these borrowings see Fallows, Letter to the Editor, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), pp. 146–8, at 147 n. 4, and Rodin, 'Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass', pp. 344–9.

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Cantus Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son,

Altus I son, Ky - ri - e e - le -

Altus II e e - le - i -

Tenor Ky - ri - e e - le - i -

Bassus Ky - ri - e e - le -

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Ky - ri - e e - le -

i - son, Ky - ri - e e -

son, Ky - ri - e

son, Ky - ri - e e - le -

i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son,

Example 7. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 5v, Kyrie II, bb. 65–79

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

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The musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics: "i-son, Ky-ri-e e-le-i-son." and "le i-son." The third staff is a vocal part with lyrics: "e lei son." The fourth staff is a vocal part with lyrics: "Ky-ri-e e-le-i-son." The fifth and sixth staves are instrumental parts. The score is in a key with one flat and a common time signature.

Example 7 *Continued*

distinctiveness is a startling accented dissonance created by the cantus and altus I (altus II in the block's repetition), a suspended  $e_b'$  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.<sup>51</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

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Cantus  
mun - di,

Altus I  
mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun -

Altus II  
mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - di, do - na

Tenor  
pa - cem,

Bassus I  
pec - ca - ta mun -

Bassus II  
ta - mun - di, qui tol - lis pec -

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qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta,

di, do - na no - bis pa -

no - bis pa - cem, do - na no -

do - na no - bis

di, pec - ca - ta mun - di, do -

ca - ta mun - di do - na no - bis pa -

Example 8. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé* 5v, Agnus III, bb. 95–109

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



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.<sup>53</sup> 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

<sup>53</sup> For a recent commentary on this issue in relation to Josquin's *super voces musicales* mass see Rodin, 'Finishing Josquin's "Unfinished" Mass'.