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16th-century music

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Morales's *Officium*, chant traditions, and performing 16th-century music

THE invitatory and lessons from the setting of Matins for the Dead by Cristóbal de Morales are among his most often recorded works, being both starkly beautiful examples of his art and the correct length to fit alongside his five-voice Requiem Mass on a compact disc.¹ The fact that performers have been drawn to this group of pieces is certainly fortunate for those of us who are devotees of Spanish music, but these items present problems in terms of balancing our own musical tastes with the evidence of how they would have been performed in most cathedrals during Morales's lifetime and soon after his death. In this dilemma, the works offer a case study in how one treats several problems in re-creating music that was bound by the rules of liturgical rites affecting both the musical 'form' of the item, and contrasts within the performing media, i.e. who sang what and when. Understanding Morales's approach is important, because of his seminal role in both Spanish music and music in Rome in the 16th century.² Settings of such liturgical genres as the invitatory became a hallmark of Spanish cathedral repertoires.

An examination of the polyphonic repertory for this Office reveals that, while different approaches to performing Morales's works coexisted, there was a prevailing practice in the 16th century, one that reflected the many connections of these genres to the performance traditions of monophonic liturgical chant. Morales, even more than other Spanish composers, went to great lengths to represent this monophonic practice in his settings for Matins for the Dead. His dedication to inculcating what Eleanor Russell labelled the 'ancient method' of monophony in his polyphonic works is a defining characteristic

of his Office settings and four-voice Requiem Mass.³ Scribes in Spanish cathedrals also were cognizant of the close connections between such polyphonic works and the liturgical services in which they were sung. The copyists' awareness is reflected in the presentation of polyphonic settings in manuscripts: most copies of Morales's works follow the order of services as well as the order of segments within individual items in which the liturgical form required that those segments be repeated. It is clear that the 'ancient method' shaped many aspects of sacred polyphony in Spain. How modern performers can reflect these practices is the ultimate purpose of my study.

Earlier music in death rituals

To understand Morales's works, they must be placed in the context of earlier polyphonic works for the Office for the Dead. At some time between 1470 and 1510, composers in the employ of Ferdinand and Isabella or their children wrote polyphonic settings of responsories, used both in Matins for the Dead and processions as well as settings of the Requiem Mass.⁴ Both the Mass and Office were defined by the local, diocesan liturgical traditions, which differed from region to region of Spain and also differed, in many cases, from those in Rome.⁵ Although Pedro de Escobar's Mass is extremely important for the later Requiem tradition in Spain, the early responsory settings—Francisco de la Torre's *Ne recorderis* and Juan de Anchieta's *Libera me, Domine*—relate directly to the chant performance practices of Matins and, therefore, to the works by Morales. Indeed, the two responsories are the earliest identified settings from Matins for the Dead (meaning as

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distinct from the Mass) by any European composer.⁶ Torre's responsory is one of the most widely disseminated works by a Spaniard before Morales; indeed, the *Ne recorderis* is found in almost every city in Spain with surviving 16th-century repertory, and in Mexico at the cathedrals of Puebla and Mexico City as well as in the Lilly Library choirbooks of Guatemalan origin.⁷

The settings by Torre and Anchieta both follow the same approach with only the first word or few words of each portion of the responsory set in polyphony. (Those portions set as polyphony are shown here in SMALL CAPITALS.)

Torre, *Ne recorderis*⁸

NE RECORDERIS peccata mea, Domine,
DUM VENERIS judicare saeculum per ignem.

V.1 DIRIGE, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam
meam.

DUM VENERIS ...

[V.2 REQUIEM AETERNAM dona eis Domine: et lux perpetua
luceat eis.]⁹

DUM VENERIS ...

This approach, which was also used by the vast

1 *Ne recorderis*, responsory, Matins for the Dead (Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Ms.82-4-35, ff.9v-10r)

majority of Spanish and Latin American composers before 1650 who wrote polyphonic settings, seems odd and restrictive in the limitations it placed on composers. However, this method relates directly to the contrast in the chant performance practices in Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries. A monophonic cantonale from the Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Ms.82-4-35, reflects this practice by including only the short segments sung by the cantors in the respond and its verse for each of several responsories from Matins for the Dead.¹⁰

Another early polyphonic setting, an anonymous *Qui Lazarum* from TaraC 5, probably composed between 1510 and 1530, reflects the practice established by Torre and Anchieta in that only these small segments of the chant are set polyphonically:

anon., *Qui Lazarum*, TaraC 5

QUI LAZARUM resuscitasti a monumento foetidum:

TU EIS, DOMINE, dona requiem et locum
indulgentiae.

V. QUI VENTURUS ES JUDICARE VIVOS et mortuos, et
saeculum per ignem.

TU EIS ...

As can be seen from the text and ex.1, the composer has created an alternation scheme that is identical to that of Torre and Anchieta. As did his predecessors, this composer set the beginning of the second half of the respond, 'Tu eis, Domine', and the beginning of the verse. Furthermore, the presentation of the chant as an audible focus is the primary aesthetic goal of the composer as it was for Torre, Anchieta, and most of the later composers of this genre. It should be obvious that the anonymous *Qui Lazarum* reflects the same practice as the monophonic cantonale Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Ms.82-4-35 (illus.1). In addition to the evidence of the polyphonic settings and liturgical manuscripts, there are references in chronicles from 15th-century Spain that imply that this monophonic practice was adapted with polyphonic music.

It cannot be established conclusively when responsories were first sung polyphonically in Spain. There are references by the historian Carbonell to polyphonic music during the processions at the exequies for Juan II in Barcelona in 1479; he refers to some genre sung in polyphony simply as 'hymns', a liturgical category that was allowed in such proces-

Ex.1 Anonymous, *Qui Lazarum*, responsory, Matins for the Dead, after TaraC 5, ff 88v-89r (modern foliation)

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and three keyboard accompaniment staves (Right Hand, Left Hand, and a lower Right Hand part). The music is in common time (C) and G major. The lyrics are Latin, and the score includes a modern foliation.

System 1:

Vocal parts: Qui La - - - za - - - rum

Keyboard parts: re - su - sci - ta - - sti - a mo - nu - men - to foe - ti - dum:

System 2:

Vocal parts: Tu e - - is, Do - - mi - ne.

Keyboard parts: do - na re - qui - em: et lo - cum in - dul - gen - ti - ae.

System 3:

Vocal parts: Qui a ven - tu - rus es

Keyboard parts: Qui a ven - tu - rus es

AvilaC 1	Ávila, Archivo de la Catedral, Ms.1
AvilaC 2	Ávila, Archivo de la Catedral, Ms.2
BurC s.s.	Burgos, Archivo de la Catedral, manuscript without number. (Ms.1 according to J. López-Calo, <i>La música en la catedral de Burgos</i> , x)
EscSL7	Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms.7
EscSL 10	Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms.10
GranCR 2	Granada, Capilla Real, Archivo de Música, Ms.2
GranCR 7	Granada, Capilla Real, Archivo de Música, Ms.7 (Ms.1 according to J. López-Calo, <i>Catálogo del archivo de música de la Capilla Real de Granada</i> , i)
JaenC s.s.	Jaen, Archivo de la Catedral, manuscript without number
LedesmaC s.s.	Ledesma, Archivo de la Catedral, manuscript without number
MontsM 753	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms.753
PueblaC 3	Puebla (Mexico), Archivo de Música Sacra de la Catedral, Ms.3
SegC 3	Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms.3
SilosA 21	Santo Domingo de Silos, Abadía Benedictino, Archivo, Ms.21
ToleBC 22	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms.22
VallaC s.s.	Valladolid, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música, manuscript without number
VallaP s.s.	Valladolid, Valladolid, Parroquia de Santiago, manuscript without number
ZaraP 18	Zaragoza (Saragossa), Iglesia Metropolitana de la Virgen del Pilar, Archivo Musical, Ms.18

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sions but was not part of the stations or absolutions for the dead.¹¹ Polyphonic responsories may have been used since these chants were sung in processions particularly those with stops for commendations. When describing the processions in which polyphony was performed, he mentioned 'orations', which implies that the commendations—each composed of prayers and a responsory—were sung at stations in the procession.¹² Although the genre sung in polyphony in Barcelona cannot be conclusively determined, there is another account from the 1460s that does describe responsories from Matins. In Jaen, during the 1464 funeral of Alonzo de Iranzo recounted in the *Hechos del Condestable*, some improvisatory practice was used on the responsory *Libera me* when it was sung as part of the absolution at the grave.¹³ This ceremony in Jaen is interesting not only because it seems to connect the polyphony with the absolutions—not with Matins itself—but also because of the ceremony associated with the litany; this litany was broken into segments called nocturns each followed by a responsory. The Colombina cantonale mentioned above contains just such a litany with interspersed responsories as described in Jaen. Therefore, Colombina, Ms. 82-4-35 presents the ceremonial context of what was perhaps the earliest polyphony in Spain in the Liturgy for the Dead. In the cantonale the responsory melodies are included not in their entirety but only the incipits of the respond and the verse—two portions usually set polyphonically by most later composers. This demonstrates that the polyphonic repertory in Spain emerged as a replacement for those segments of texts sung by the cantors, leaving the remainder of the chants to be sung by the choir or community.

The implications for performance practice of the polyphonic settings include both the 'form' and contrasts in who sings what. To begin with the most basic level: these polyphonic segments must, of course, be sung in the context of the chant that they decorate with the remainder of each responsory sung monophonically. And, the repeats of the *repetenda* ('Dum veneris' in *Ne recorderis* above) demanded by the responsorial form should always be sung. Whether or not these repeats were always sung in polyphony is not certain, since some manu-

scripts include the repeated portions copied where they were required to be sung, while other choirbooks do not.¹⁴ From the number of manuscripts that specifically delineate this repeat structure, we may assume that the repeats were generally performed with the polyphonic incipit even though this cannot be confirmed.¹⁵ Another question is the proper performing forces employed in these items if one wishes to observe the performance expectations of the 16th century. Based on the historical information that this practice derives directly from the practices of cantors, these polyphonic portions of responsories should be sung one per part, creating a contrast between the soloistic nature of these portions of the responsory and the monophonic sections, which were sung by the *schola* or community. As outlined above, this contrast is crucial in the history of why these items developed as polyphonic music since the musical and ceremonial importance of the cantors was defined by the etiquette of the liturgy. Both their musical expertise and honoured role in the ceremonial made these portions of the chant obvious ones to embellish with polyphony.

A more complex issue is whether or not the second verse 'Requiem aeternum', included in some copies of these settings when they were copied in manuscripts produced after the acceptance of the reformed Tridentine liturgy, should be included in performances. This verse was not added in the predominant version of Matins celebrated in Seville, Toledo, and a number of other cities in Castile and Andalusia.¹⁶ None of the earlier sources for the work contain this added verse. However, the verse was added in Spain when the chants were used in processions. In several cases, including Torre's work, these added verses were used after the reforms of Trent, but they may not have been part of the composers' original conceptions. Such a decision would be complicated when pairing a responsory—such as those by Anchieta, Torre, or the other early Spanish composers—with one of the Masses by Morales. The earlier five-voice Mass was composed with the expectations of Morales's Roman audience and the requirements of Roman liturgical practices in mind.¹⁷ If someone chose to perform one of the responsories with the second verse 'Requiem'

alongside Morales's Requiem Mass *a5*, this would be defensible on the grounds that this could have been used in Granada, Málaga, or several other cathedrals in Spain that had adopted Roman liturgical practices before the mandated Tridentine reforms.¹⁸ The responsory with the second verse Requiem could be sung to re-create a post-Tridentine performance of Morales's Mass and Office in the Reformed liturgy. The other Requiem Mass by Morales, the four-part 'Spanish' setting, presents fewer choices in terms of items from Matins that would match its liturgical context. Morales's four-voice Requiem was written for the liturgical practices of Andalusia, the collegiate church in Osuna that followed the use of Seville; in this case, the responsory, if the intent is to match Morales's Mass, should omit the second verse, 'Requiem', since this would not have been sung in Matins in Seville.

This 'prehistory' of music in the Office for the Dead and the earliest surviving settings by Torre, Anchieta and other composers in Spain before 1530 confirms that the polyphonic responsories were an outgrowth of chant performance practices. Much as organum in the Notre Dame school around 1200, the responsory settings in Spain are a direct translation of the monophonic practice, with its contrast between soloist and choir, into polyphonic music. In the case of responsories, this direct correlation between monophonic and polyphonic music is clear, but the invitatory and lessons, the items that Morales set, present somewhat more complex problems. For these genres, practices in the 16th century seem to have differed from place to place. However, it is possible to demonstrate connections between Morales's concept for these works and the monophonic practices. I examine the evidence that different extant copies of these works—or portions of them—reflect about performance practices. The term *portions* is used because Morales wrote at least two versions of the antiphon itself, *Regem cui omnia*, which were paired with the invitatory psalm *Venite exsultemus* in various ways.¹⁹

Morales's invitatory for Matins for the Dead

Unlike the responsories, the invitatory antiphon and psalm that Morales set in polyphony were not used in other ceremonies; the only function of the invita-

tory and lessons was as a component of Matins for the Dead. As is discussed above, it seems that earlier responsories were sung in related ceremonies, such as processions and the litany, perhaps more so than in celebrations of Matins itself. This means that Morales was instrumental in defining Matins for the Dead as an event for polyphonic elaboration. After his time, numerous composers set in polyphony items solely for use at Matins. Also, a number of manuscripts indicate that by 1550 the earlier responsories were being sung in Matins perhaps in addition to their previous uses, since copyists began to organize manuscripts according to the structure of Matins. Thus the nature of music in Matins for the Dead was going through changes during Morales's lifetime in terms of how much polyphony and which genres were being incorporated. The widespread dissemination of his works probably encouraged the use of the earlier responsory settings in Matins. In terms of Morales's approach to the invitatory, the most significant connection to the older responsories is that the invitatory also featured a contrast between the cantors and the choir. As will become clear below, his concept for this setting is directly derived from the liturgical practice and the repeat structure required in the invitatory.

The responsorial practice of the invitatory alternates statements of the whole antiphon—here 'Regem cui omnia vivunt; Venite adoremus'—with those of the latter half, 'Venite adoremus'.²⁰ In the presentation 'Textual structure of the invitatory' (shown opposite), the two statements of the antiphon for the cantors are marked *s* while the responses by the choir are labelled *c*.²¹ It is the two statements for the cantors that were replaced by Morales's polyphonic antiphon versions A and B, respectively, in a number of institutions where the work was sung. See exx.2, 3 for Morales's *Regem* A and B.

Note that there is no statement of the whole antiphon by the choir at the end of the psalm, only one for the cantors. Scribes who copied many sources for Morales's setting reflected this structure in their presentation of his work. The composer wrote two slightly different versions of the antiphon *Regem* (labelled A and B respectively); scribes placed A before and B after the psalm in the majority of

Textual structure of the invitatory

- Antiphon: *s Regem cui omnia vivunt; Venite adoremus.* (Morales, Version A)
c Regem cui omnia vivunt; Venite adoremus.
- Psalm 94: *s Venite, exsultemus ... jubilemus ei.* (Ps. vv.1–2)
c Regem cui omnia vivunt; Venite adoremus.
s Quoniam Deus ... ipse conspicit. (Ps. vv.3–4)
c Venite adoremus.
s Quoniam ipsius ... pascuae ejus. (Ps. vv.5–7)
c Regem
s Hodie si ... opera mea. (Ps. vv.8–9)
c Venite
s Quadraginta annis ... requiem meam. (Ps. vv.10–11)
c Regem
s Requiem aeternam
c Venite
- Antiphon: *s Regem cui omnia vivunt; Venite adoremus.* (Morales, Version B)
c Venite

Ex.2 Morales, *Regem cui omnia A*, invitatory antiphon, Matins for the Dead, after BurC s.s., ff.47v–8r

Re - gem cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt,
 Re - gem cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt,
 Re - gem cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt,
 Re - gem cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt,

Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus.
 Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus.
 Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus.
 Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus.

Ex.3 Morales, *Regem cui omnia* B, invitational antiphon, Matins for the Dead, after BurC s.s., ff.53v-4r

Re - gem - cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt, ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus.

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R. Kyrie eleison. **Xp̄e** eleison. **R.** Kyrie
eleison. **Pater** noster. **Et** ne nos in
ducas. **Sed** libera nos a malo. **In**
memoria eterna erunt iusti. **Et** lib
a omni one mala non timebunt. **Do**
minus vobiscum. **Et** cu3 spiritu tuo
Oremus.

O ratio.

Idelum deus omnium conditor
et redemptor: animabus famulor
famularumq3 tuarum: remissione cul
torum tribue peccatorum: vt indulgen
tiaz quam semper optauerunt: p3s sup
plicationibus consequantur. **Qui** vi
uis et regnas deus per omnia secula se
culorum. **Almen.** **Domine** vobis
cum. **Et** cum spiritu tuo. **Requi**
escant in pace. **Almē.** **Pater** noster.
Incipit inuitatorium in vigilia de
functorum.

R. Ege cui omnia viuunt, hunc venite
adoremus

2 *Regem cui omnia*, invitational
antiphon, Matins for the Dead
(*Manuale Sacramentorum*
(Mexico City, 1556), f.96)

those manuscript sources that contain both antiphon and psalm.²² These copyists represented a practice in which the opening and closing statements were sung by the cantors and the choir chanted 'Venite adoremus'. This would maintain the contrast in the performance practice by replacing with polyphony all segments traditionally sung by cantors exactly as the settings of responsories had done. In addition, Morales set each segment of Psalm 94, *Venite, exsultemus*, which was also sung by the cantors. Thus, his concept for the invitational

complex was a complete translation of the music of the cantors into polyphony.

As with many other genres, there were a number of mensuralized versions of *Regem* that circulated in Spain and Mexico during the 16th century.²³ There is one such version published in Mexico City; see *illus.2*. As I have discussed, the melodies for Matins for the Dead in the *Manuale* and later publications by Pedro Ocharte are closely related to those in a number of early polyphonic settings from Spain.²⁴ If we compare Morales's polyphonic antiphon with the

mensural indications in Ocharte's *Manuale*, the two are quite similar. This similarity continues in the psalm *Venite exsultemus*. It is likely that Morales knew a similar mensural version of the melody. This would be yet another factor that he has incorporated in his polyphonic setting.

The sources for Morales's invitory *Regem* are found throughout Spain.²⁵ Table 1 includes all identified manuscripts containing any portion of Morales's invitory *Regem*.²⁶ Please note the sources that contain both the antiphon, either *Regem* version A or B, and the psalm *Venite* because these form the primary basis for discussing performance practices.

Versions and performance practice

As shown in table 1, the invitory consists of an antiphon, here the standard text *Regem*, and Psalm 94. One can deduce from the manuscripts transmitting his settings that Morales wrote at least two ver-

sions of *Regem*, referred to as A and B. Five sources contain solely antiphon A, without the psalm. These five may represent a later practice in which less polyphony was included in the Office.²⁷ Twelve manuscripts include some version(s) of the antiphon plus the polyphonic psalm: these are shown in boldface in table 1. The sources, with at least one version of the antiphon plus the psalm, are the basis for my examination of how Morales's works were performed. Seven sources, marked with an asterisk in table 1, include both antiphon versions A and B plus the psalm. Two of these seven manuscripts, SegC 3 and SilosA 21, contain an elaborate version with polyphony for the psalm and different music for the internal repeats of the antiphon that occur within the psalm. Because these two manuscripts both have antiphon A as the opening statement, they will be considered along with the five other sources with simply A and B and the psalm. Given the

Table 1 Manuscript sources for Morales's settings

Source	Invitatory		Lessons
	Antiphon Regem	Psalm 94 Venite	
Spain			
AvilaA 9, pp.24–5	A [†]	1	
*AvilaC 1, pp.203–27	A & B	X	1 (inc.)
*AvilaC 2, pp.100–121	A & B	X	1
*BurC s. s., ff.47r–54v	A & B	X	
CordobaC s. s., pp.1–20	A	X	1
EscSL 7, ff.0v–1r (modern foliation)	A		
EscSL 10, ff. unknown	A		
GranCR 2, ff.186r–187v	A		
*GranCR 7, ff.38r–44v	A & B	X	1, 2, 3
JaenC s. s., ff.1r–7v	A	X	1
LedesmaC s. s., ff.104r–105v	A		
*MontM 753, ff.1r–7v	A & B	X	
*SegC 3, ff.1r–7v	multiple internal repeats	X	1, 2, 3
*SilosA 21, ff.25v–29v	multiple internal repeats	X	
ToleBC 22, ff.124v–125v	A		
VallaC s. s., ?	B	X	1, 2, 3
ZaraP 18, ff.29r–30v	A	X inc.	
Mexico			
*PueblaC 3	B [‡]	X	

[†] Morales's *Regem* is paired with another composer's psalm.

[‡] Morales's *Regem* A has here been replaced by another composer's setting.

limited dissemination of the internal polyphonic statements of the antiphon, I have hypothesized that it was not part of Morales's original work, but rather was possibly revised by a late 16th-century composer.²⁸ In addition to the few copies with this version, there is evidence that these internal polyphonic statements did not continue to be used regularly as did Morales's original versions of *Regem* A and B.²⁹ Illus.3 shows the opening segment of this version in SegC 3.

Was there a standard method of performing the invitory with polyphonic music during Morales's time? Twelve of the 18 sources for this item contain both Psalm 94, *Venite exsultemus*, and at least one of Morales's settings of the invitory antiphon, *Regem*, implying that this was the accepted version of the work that was transmitted most widely. Eleanor Russell mentioned the existence of *Regem* versions A and B in some manuscript sources she examined.³⁰ She also noted their placement, respectively, before and after the psalm, but she did not connect this placement to aspects of performance practice.³¹ This positioning of *Regem* A and B occurs in five sources—AvilaC 1, AvilaC 2, BurC s.s., GranCR 7, and MontM 753—in which version A is found before the beginning of Psalm 94, and version B, after.³² The presence of this version in two manuscripts from Avila is significant. I have drawn attention to the possibility that Morales may have composed the setting for exequies celebrated in Avila in 1530. In addition to those sources with the presentation of Morales's A and B, several others suggest that this format may have been found in exemplars from which the work was copied. PueblaC 3 has the same format, but the *Regem* A has been replaced by an anonymous setting *a7*. This suggests that Morales's A was replaced with the seven-voice work, unique to Puebla, and that this copy derived from one with Morales's A and B. In Cordoba, antiphon A is written out in full before and after the psalm thus creating a presentation similar to the five sources with A and B mentioned above. Likewise, the Valladolid Cathedral choirbook has *Regem* version B written out in full both before and after Psalm 94. The scribes of these books were aware of the liturgical form even though they seem to have had only one version of *Regem* available. As noted above, the

Segovia and Silos sources have A before and B after in addition to the internal repeats.

The fact that scribes who produced these manuscripts took care to copy the antiphon both before and after the psalm implies that this presentation reflects the point at which the polyphonic statements of *Regem* were to be sung. In the performance practice implied by these sources, the required internal repeats of the antiphon, the full text or its later half, were sung in chant with polyphonic statements only before the beginning and after the conclusion of the psalm. Just as in the monophonic practice, cantors sang the framing statements of the antiphon while the interspersed repeats were sung by the choir.

Some of the sources do contain indications of how the repeats were sung. Of the manuscripts surveyed, only JaenC s.s. includes cues that indicate that these repeats were sung polyphonically.³³ However, this is a very late source, copied in 1786. The Granada and Burgos choirbooks contain chant cues in the tenor part for the repeats of *Regem*, indicating that these internal repeats were sung monophonically. Three of the sources containing *Regem* A and B, Avila (Mss.1 and 2) and MontM 753 do not include cues for either internal polyphonic repeats or chant. Likewise, PueblaC 3, which includes the anonymous opening *Regem a7* and Morales's version B, does not indicate if polyphony or chant was to be used on the internal repeats. Given that there is no indication of polyphonic statements, I assume that these statements of the antiphon were sung monophonically. Two facts support this: (1) As mentioned, singing version A and B before and after the psalm simulated the monophonic performance practice of the invitory by replacing the statements of the antiphon sung by cantors with polyphony; (2) the turning of pages needed to sing the antiphon in polyphony each time it recurred would have been cumbersome, given the fact that the whole antiphon or the second half would have had to be sung after each of the five portions of the psalm plus 'Requiem aeternam'. The singers would have known the antiphon chant from memory, and singing this melody would not necessitate a cue or flipping of pages. Especially in cases where both version A and B were present, singers would require a cue, like the ones in the Jaen source, to determine which version was to be sung.

Regem celi omnia vivunt. g. Venite adoremus.

Venite exultemus domino iubilemus de o salu-
tati nostri preoccupemur faciemus in confessione et
in psalmis iubilemus. Chorus

Regem celi omnia vivunt. Venite adoremus.

Regem celi omnia vivunt. Venite adoremus.

Venite exultemus domino iubilemus de o sa-
lutati nostri preoccupemur faciemus in confessione et in psal-
mis iubilemus. Chorus

3 Morales, Invitatory, Matins for the Dead (SegC 3, ff.1v-2r)

V Regem cui omnia viuunt. Venite adoremus
 Venite exultemus domino iubilemus de o salu
 tati nostro preoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et in
 salmo iubilemus i Chorus
R Regem cui omnia viuunt. Venite adoremus.

R
V Regem cui omnia viuunt. Venite adoremus
 Venite exultemus domino iubilemus de o salu
 tati nostro preoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et in
 salmo iubilemus i Chorus

Although this was the version of Morales's works that seems closest to his intent, the other copies may offer clues to the changing nature of polyphony in this Office.

As mentioned above, there are five manuscripts that contain only antiphon version A without the psalm: EscSL 7 and 10, GranCR 2, LedesmaC s.s. and ToleBC 22.³⁴ One can infer from these manuscripts that the antiphon was sung to frame the monophonically recited psalm. Such a performance would require the same repeat structure for the text as presented above. What these manuscripts do not make clear is whether or not the antiphon was used only to frame the entire psalm—as I have proposed for the polyphonic psalm—or if the interspersed repeats of the antiphon were also sung in polyphony. As in those places with Antiphon A and B and the psalm, it is likely that in these institutions only the opening and closing statements, those by cantors, were sung in polyphony, with the interpolated responses sung monophonically. This would, once again, duplicate—by contrast—the monophonic performance practice by maintaining the traditional contrasts of performing media among these portions of the text.

There is another question raised by the sources with only the antiphon: did the use of Morales's works change over the period between 1530 and 1700?³⁵ The presence of the antiphon without its psalm in choirbooks at two institutions, the Capilla Real in Granada and El Escorial, implies that it did in these places. At the Capilla Real the antiphon along with the psalm was available in GranCR 7, an early 17th-century manuscript. The decision to include only the antiphon in Ms.2 when it was copied in the 18th century implies a change in the use of polyphonic music in Matins. Since there is no liturgical use for this antiphon other than as the invitatory for Matins for the Dead, the copyist's inclusion of only the antiphon in GranCR 2 probably resulted from the discontinued use of the polyphonic psalm. This presumably had happened at some date since the copying of the earlier manuscript. Given the smaller number of the copies containing only the antiphon and the dates at which the majority were copied, it seems that the practice of singing Morales's polyphonic *Regem* to frame the monophonically sung

psalm was generally a later practice and less widely done than using the polyphonic antiphon and psalm together. This change may have been prompted by the downturn in economic support of choirs that some institutions faced in the 17th century.³⁶ It is also possible that, in some places where copies of both the antiphon and psalm were available, choirs after 1600 began to sing only the polyphonic antiphon, thereby reducing the amount of polyphony.

To return to the primary question: was there, in fact, a 'norm' in celebrations of Matins for the Dead that incorporated polyphony in Spanish cathedrals in the 16th century? From the manuscript tradition, the majority of institutions with polyphonic settings in the service included at least the invitatory antiphon, its psalm, and the first lesson. Many of these sources also include at least one responsory setting, which would have been sung in Matins as well as other ceremonies. It is clear from descriptions and from the contents of numerous choirbooks that Nocturn 1 was the most important. Both the detailed account from the 1559 Mexico City ceremonies and the appearance of the invitatory and psalm together in so many manuscripts support the idea that they were normally sung together in the 16th century.³⁷ It is this version of the work with the polyphonic statements, A before and B after the psalm in the statements done by cantors, with the portions of psalm followed by the internal repeats sung monophonically that I offer as closest to Morales's concept of the work. Ex.4 contains the invitatory and opening segments of the psalm. If we accept that Morales's goal, as Russell stated, was to represent the 'ancient method' of the invitatory in a polyphonic setting, this contrast of the polyphonic and monophonic texts would make this performance practice quite clearly delineated. Furthermore, this would allow the involvement of all those present just as the singing of the responsories had roles for the cantors as well as for other members of the choir. The relationship of Spanish Renaissance sacred music, particularly that of Morales, to liturgical chant is probably its single most important defining quality: such is the care taken by the composers to incorporate the monophonic traditions in their new polyphonic works. Morales and other composers of sacred

Ex.4 Morales, Invitatory for Matins for the Dead

Re - gem cu - i o - mni - a vi - vunt.

Ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus. Ve - ni - te, ex - sul - te -

- mus Do - mi - no, ju - bi - le - mus De - o sa - lu - ta - ri no - stro: prae - oc - cu - pe - mus

fa - ci - em e - jus in con - fes - si - o - ne, et in psal - mis ju - bi - le - mus e - i.

Chant: *Regem cui omnia vivunt, venite adoremus*

Ex.4 continued

Quo - ni - am De - us ma - gnus Do - mi - nus, et Rex ma - gnus su - per o - mnes de - os:

quo - ni - am non re - pel - let Do - mi - nus ple - bem su - am, qui - a in ma - nu e - jus sunt o -

- mnes fi - nes ter - rae, et al - ti - tu - di - nes mon - ti - um se con - spi - cit.

Chant: *Venite adoremus*

Quo - ni - am ip - si - us est ma - re, et ip - se fe - cit il - lud, et a - ri - dam fun - da -

- ve - runt ma - nus e - jus: ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus et pro - ci - da -

- ve - runt ma - nus e - jus: ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus et pro - ci - da -

- ve - runt ma - nus e - jus: ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus et pro - ci - da -

- ve - runt ma - nus e - jus: ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus et pro - ci - da -

music in late 15th- and 16th-century Spain wrote polyphonic music that cannot be understood outside of its context created by the ancient liturgical performance traditions of monophonic chant. There is evidence that liturgical performance practice evolved in the 15th century to include improvised polyphonic music on certain chants in the Office for

the Dead. This means that the reasons for having polyphonic music originally included accentuating the contrast in performance forces in different items of the liturgy. Because of this, our modern performances of the works by composers such as Morales should, whenever feasible, include the necessary contrasts.

1 The importance of Morales's works in the royal chapel around 1600 is established in L. Robledo, 'Questions of performance practice in Philip III's chapel', *Early music*, xxii (1994), pp.198–221, at 207–12. Robledo does not, however, probe the connections of these settings from the Office for the Dead to chant performance practices or to the earlier polyphonic traditions.

2 Research on many aspects of Morales's life and works is ongoing: see, for instance, three articles in *Early music*, xxx/3 (Aug 2002): A. S. McFarland, 'Within the circle of Charles V: new light on the biography of Cristóbal de Morales', pp.324–38; M. Noone, 'Cristóbal de Morales in Toledo, 1545–6: ToledoBC 25 and "new" works by Morales, Guerrero, Lobo, Tejada, and Ambiel', pp.341–63; and B. Nelson, 'Was Morales in Valencia?: new light on the origins of the *Missa Benedicta es, caelorum regina*', pp.364–79. A number of topics related to Morales's compositional approach and chronology of his works were discussed in the Oxford Symposium *Cristóbal de Morales: new interpretations, works, influences, reception* organized in September 2003

by Bernadette Nelson and Owen Rees.

3 See n.30 below.

4 The copies of these works in TaraC 2/3 are examined in T. Knighton, *Music and musicians at the court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474–1516* (PhD diss., Cambridge U., 1983), pp.13–44. See also the overview of music in the Catholic Courts: T. Knighton, 'The Spanish court of Ferdinand and Isabella', *The Renaissance, from the 1470s to the end of the sixteenth century*, ed. I. Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1989), pp.341–60.

5 These versions of the Office will be examined in my forthcoming book *Music, death and ritual: Cristóbal de Morales and the Requiem traditions in sixteenth-century Spain and Mexico*. In the Reformed Roman liturgy promulgated after the Council of Trent, the second verse 'Requiem' was added when this responsory is sung as the third of the second nocturn. This additional verse was not added to responsories in this position in the Pre-Tridentine Spanish local liturgies. *Ne recorderis* was the fifth respon-

sory—second in nocturn 2—in the liturgy of Seville and Toledo as opposed to responsory 6 in the Reformed Roman Office.

6 It remains unclear what music Guillaume Du Fay composed for this liturgy, but there are no surviving works outside Spain earlier than these two responsories. Furthermore, there is documentary evidence for music in Spain that would be as early as any items for this Office by Du Fay. See G. Wagstaff, *Music for the dead: settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American composers before 1630* (PhD diss., U. of Texas at Austin, 1995: UMI 9603974), pp.75ff.

7 Bruno Tuner has been very gracious to share with me his study of this setting. The identified copies of Torre's work are listed in Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.138–40.

8 This work is attributed to Morales in at least one source in Toledo, and has been recorded under his name. I follow the attribution in TaraC 2/3 to Torre. This attribution is strong because of

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the setting's close association and 'paired' transmission history with the *Libera me* by fellow court composer Juan de Anchieta. *Libera me* was the ninth responsory in Matins for the Dead and was often used in processions and other ceremonies as was *Ne recorderis*.

9 As discussed below, this second verse was probably not part of Torre's work; it may have been added by a later composer after the reforms of Trent, when this verse was added to responsory 6.

10 This manuscript presents the Litany to be sung either at the grave or in processions with the body. This practice, which seems to have been emphasized more in Spain than elsewhere, included the list of saints invoked broken into categories. In the account from Jaen each grouping is labelled a nocturn, and each one is followed by a great responsory from Matins for the Dead.

11 References to music in these services are examined in K. Kreitner, *Music and civic ceremony in late fifteenth-century Barcelona* (PhD diss., Duke U., 1990), pp.334–87.

12 This practice of singing an oration and a responsory at such pauses in the procession is confirmed from later accounts in Mexico and Spain.

13 *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo: cronica del siglo XV*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, Colección de Crónicas Españolas, iii (Madrid, 1940), pp.234–51. See also Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.103–11. Alonzo de Iranzo was dean of Toledo Cathedral at the time of his death. His brother Don Miguel Lucas had been advisor to the king.

14 For an examination of the different formats in which Torre's and Anchieta's works were copied, see Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.154–7, 169–70. Some sources contain text cues when repeats were necessary.

15 Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.154–7, 169–70. There are a number of manuscript copies of the early responsories that have the full form of the item with the repeat of the repetendum copied out after the verse.

16 This version is classified as part of the 'family' 14-72-82, with responsories 'Credo quod', 'Qui Lazarum' and 'Requiem aeternam' in nocturn 1, in K. Ottosend, *The responsories and versicles of the Latin Office for the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993), p.170.

17 The seminal study of the liturgical formularies of the Requiem Mass is C. Gay, 'Formulaires anciens pour la Messe des Défunts', *Études grégoriennes*, ii (1957), pp.83–129. The term 'Requiem' is anachronistic because there were a number of other introits employed in various places for the Mass for the Dead, but I have found no evidence in Spain after 1400 for introits other than 'Requiem'.

18 On the liturgy at the Cathedral of Granada, see J. López-Caló, *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada, 1963), pp.32–9. The Spanish performance practice of the responsories, with only the small portions sung by cantors (not the longer segments sung in Roman practice), seems to have been used in Granada even though the Cathedral's liturgy was based on Roman Curial practices. On Matins for the Dead in Granada, see R. J. Snow, 'An unknown *Liber Matutini et missae pro defunctis* at the Cathedral of Granada', *Revista de musicología*, xvi/5 (1993), pp.2734–40.

19 The only published edition of the invitatory and lessons is F. Pedrell, *Hispaniae schola musica sacra* (Barcelona, 1894), i, pp.1–18.

20 G. Wagstaff, 'Morales's *Circumdederunt me*, an alternate invitatory for Matins for the Dead, and music for Charles V', *Encomium musicae: essays in honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. D. Crawford (Hillsdale, NY, 2002), pp.27–45. In Spain there were local liturgical traditions that allowed texts to be substituted for *Regem* when a monarch, royal family member, ecclesiastic or other important person died. Morales set *Circumdederunt me*, the most widely found of these alternate texts. The repeats required when *Circumdederunt me* was used would be exactly the same pattern of full and second-half repeats used for *Regem*.

21 On the monophonic repertory and performance practice, see R. Steiner, 'Invitatory' *New Grove* (1980).

22 As is discussed below, there are five sources with only the antiphon *Regem*, not the psalm. I hypothesize that these represent a later practice in which less polyphony was included in Matins.

23 On the evolution from 'incipient' to more sophisticated mensural indications, see J. M. Hardie, *The Lamentations of Jeremiah: ten sixteenth-century prints* (Ottawa, 2003), lxix; and the earlier study J. M. Hardie, 'Proto-mensural notation in pre-Pius V Spanish liturgical sources', *Studia musicologica academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, xxxix/2-4 (1998), pp.195-200.

24 *Manuale sacramentarum* (Mexico City?, 1556?). The version of the Office for the Dead found in this book is identical to those later published by Pedro Ocharte in Mexico City. As I have discussed elsewhere, the version of Matins, which is only one nocturn, does not match those found in either Toledo or Seville.

25 In addition, the invitatory psalm and lesson *Parce mihi* were sung at exequies in honour of Charles V in Mexico City in 1559, indicating that a copy of this lesson must also have been disseminated in the New World. At this event, Morales's psalm *Venite exsultemus* was joined with the antiphon *Circumdederunt me*, an alternate invitatory used in some cities in Spain when a particularly important person died. See Wagstaff, 'Morales's *Circumdederunt me*'.

26 There are other extant manuscripts that may contain this work; see Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.326-32. In addition, there are several documentary references to this work in sources that no longer survive. On one such inventory, see D. Kirk, 'Churching the shawms in Renaissance Spain: Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1' (PhD diss., McGill U., 1993), pp.81-2.

27 AvilaA 9 contains Morales *Regem A* paired with another composer's psalm.

28 Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.341-8.

29 A portion of one of the internal repeats was torn away in SegC 3 and never replaced. The page containing the antiphon A was repaired. Therefore it would have been possible to perform *Regem A* before and B after the psalm as I propose for the primary version of Morales's work. I will omit further discussion of this version from this study.

30 Russell, 'A new manuscript source for the music of Cristóbal de Morales: Morales's "lost" *Missa pro defunctis* and early Spanish Requiem traditions', *Anuario musical*, cccxxxi-cccxxxv (1978-1980), pp.9-51, at pp.12-14.

31 Russell, 'A new manuscript source for the music of Cristóbal de Morales'.

32 MontM 753 is believed to have originated in Madrid.

33 In JaenC s.s. there is a cue in each voice part indicating the repeat of the full antiphon after the first portion of the psalm, and of its later half after the second portion.

34 AvilaA 9 includes Morales's *Regem A* paired with a psalm setting by Pallares.

35 See Wagstaff, *Music for the dead*, pp.313-24. I have hypothesized that Morales wrote these items around 1530 for Matins before he left for Rome, and not in the period after his return, when he composed the four-voice Requiem.

36 The changing emphasis in Spanish music during this time is examined in L. K. Stein, 'Spain', *The early Baroque era, from the late 16th century to the 1660s*, ed. C. Price (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1994), pp.331ff.

37 Wagstaff, 'Morales's *Circumdederunt me*'. The account by Cervantes de Salazar describes the different performing forces but is not specific about the performance of the invitatory.

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