

The accepted view of the Iberian polyphonic Mass repertory of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries has clearly established elements. Among these are: that the Iberian Peninsula ‘discovered’ the cyclic Mass unusually late; that the genre survived with unusual vigour long into the seventeenth century, i.e. that it enjoyed an unusually ‘late flowering’; that the Peninsula was an unusually fertile site for the composition of Requiem Masses; and that this Iberian Requiem repertory displays unique characteristics (such as prominent and unadorned presentation of the chant, and stylistic sobriety) firmly distinguishing it from equivalent repertories produced elsewhere in Europe. All of these elements of the view serve to highlight the separateness of Iberian musical culture. The first two – the origin-story and late-flourishing story – also accord with commonplace narratives of conservatism or backwardness in Iberian culture. The convictions concerning the Iberian Requiem connect both with elements of scholarly nationalism and with long-entrenched notions of Spain’s particular religiosity and religious orthodoxy, notions which are also manifest in some writing about the Iberian Mass more generally.

Several aspects of this view are ripe for renewed scrutiny within attempts to identify the extent to which ‘national’ elements may be distinguished in the Iberian early-modern Mass. In a study of the current scope one has, however, to be highly selective, and I shall not, for example, revisit here the ‘origin story’ of the Mass in Spain, seen as culminating in the Masses of Peñalosa: while there is doubtless room to extend our understanding of how Mass composition in the Peninsula during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries related to practices beyond the Pyrenees, significant issues within that field have been explored energetically in recent years by Kenneth Kreitner and others.¹ Instead, I shall focus on the repertory of Masses by composers born between 1500 and 1600 who worked in Spain and Portugal: the survey thus encompasses (for example) the Masses of Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, Vivanco, Alonso Lobo, Esquivel, Garro, and Bruceña, of the *capilla real* composers Rogier, Romero, and Patiño, and (among the Portuguese) of Duarte Lobo, Cardoso, and Magalhães. As test subjects for investigating the presence or otherwise of ‘national’ (i.e. Peninsular, in this case) elements and tendencies in this repertory, I shall consider, firstly, the treatment of the Agnus Dei in Mass Ordinary settings; secondly, the choice of models in the imitation/parody Mass repertory; and, finally, the Requiem Mass. In seeking thus to contribute – albeit very selectively – to the broader project of identifying ‘national’ elements within the early modern Mass, one should be aware of the risks of building upon or even contributing further to the problematically exceptionalist approaches to Iberian musical culture which have constituted an enduring and widespread part of narratives about that culture since the nineteenth century, and which have been subjected to robust criticism in recent times. But we need to strike a balance: our vantage point of hyper-alertness to what we perceive as past historiographical failings should not of course discourage the quest to identify – and refine our understanding of – compositional practices within the polyphonic Mass and its significant sub-genres which were distinct to the Peninsula or to particular regions within it, while simultaneously acknowledging complicating factors such as the international nature of the careers of both Morales and Victoria which render the pinpointing of geographical style-boundaries more difficult.

Before proceeding further, it is worth sounding a note of caution regarding specifically the picture of Iberian conservatism in Mass composition. The impression that the seventeenth-century Mass output by Spanish and Portuguese composers was so dominated by single-choir works in

¹ Kenneth Kreitner, ‘Spain Discovers the Mass’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139 (2014), pp. 261-302. See also, for example, Tess Knighton and Kenneth Kreitner, *The Music of Juan de Anchieta* (London, 2019).

relatively 'traditional' polyphonic styles is a distortion resulting from patterns of publication and survival. Crucially, the choirbook-format *Liber missarum* remained the standard way in which Iberian composers issued their Masses in print, from Morales's two volumes of the 1540s, via the collections of Guerrero (1566 and 1582), and Victoria (1576, 1583, 1592), to those of Alonso Lobo, Vivanco, Esquivel, and Bruceña in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Among the Portuguese, the practice was sustained still longer, in the collections of Duarte Lobo (1621, 1639), Magalhães (1636) and Cardoso (1625, and two volumes in 1636). Partbook format was a much rarer means of publishing Masses by Iberian composers, and rarer than is the case with Italian repertory. While (for example) Alessandro Gardano turned to choirbook format during his Roman period to a significantly greater degree than did Angelo Gardano in Venice (symptomatic of a Roman tendency to use choirbook format for Mass publications), no fewer than five of his relevant Roman prints are in fact of Victoria's and Guerrero's music. Since choirbook format is much less amenable to the publication of multi-choir music than is partbook format, it is unsurprising that Masses for between four and six voices predominate in the published Iberian repertory. The few partbook publications of Iberian Masses – Victoria's 1600 collection, one of the two collections of Francisco Garro issued in 1609, and the 1628 *Libro de misas* of Sebastián López de Velasco – are all devoted to multi-choir repertory: Garro, for example, assigned only works for 4-6 voices to his choirbook publication of 1609, while in his partbook-format collection of that year all the works are for 8 or 12 voices. Lest we conclude from this imbalance between choirbook publications with single-choir repertory and partbook collections with multi-choir works that Iberian composers had few of the latter type of Mass available to publish, we might note that (for example) while none of Manuel Cardoso's published Masses – distributed over three choirbook collections – is for more than six voices, all five Masses by him which King João IV of Portugal owned in manuscript and which are listed in the King's music library catalogue were for eight or more voices.² More broadly, the degree to which the nature of the printed collections hides from view the very substantial multi-choir Mass production by Iberian composers in the first half of the seventeenth century is vividly revealed by João's catalogue, where the Masses are overwhelmingly dominated by multi-choir works. João was an tireless and avid collector of both Iberian and international repertoires, including for example substantial numbers of Masses by composers belonging to the Spanish royal chapel, and the catalogue is a correspondingly invaluable (and still under-exploited) resource for enriching our understanding and ability to contextualise internationally the tendencies in Iberian Mass composition.³

Agnus Dei

Of the five sections of the Mass Ordinary constituting the polyphonic cyclic Mass, the Agnus Dei is the most subject to substantial variations of treatment and therefore a prime site when seeking markers of local traditions and ritual practices and signs of influence. The most obvious parameter which varies is whether composers provided settings of one, two, or all three of the sections into which the Agnus Dei text falls, the first two being textually identical. Besides this, the Agnus Dei was a potential site for use of canon or other special devices, particularly in the final Agnus.

² *Primeira parte do index da livraria de musica do muyto alto e poderoso rey dom loão o IV nosso senhor* (Lisbon, 1649).

³ See for example Rui Vieira Nery, 'The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', PhD diss., U. of Texas at Austin, 1990.

A survey of Agnus Dei settings in the Iberian Mass repertory from Morales onwards reveals some striking threads of common practice and equally striking variability in other areas. One should note first that Morales's Masses, in this aspect of Mass composition at least, did not act as a fundamental model among his Iberian successors with regard to the number of sections set: more than half of his Ordinary settings have a three-section Agnus, i.e. the complete Agnus Dei text is set, but among his Iberian successors such an approach is vanishingly rare. Even his pupil Guerrero, whose emulation of Morales is apparent in both his Mass and motet output, eschewed the threefold Agnus: of the eighteen relevant Masses by Guerrero, thirteen have a twofold Agnus and the remaining five a single-section setting. In this respect, Iberian tradition moved in concert with (for example) Roman practice: the twofold Agnus setting is the norm in Palestrina's Masses (Palestrina being a very near contemporary of Guerrero's). To cite a northern-Italian parallel (and another near-contemporary of Guerrero's), eight of the eleven relevant Masses in Costanzo Porta's *Missarum liber primus* of 1578 have a double Agnus, and the remainder a single setting. Victoria – some two decades younger – favoured single Agnus settings (found in eleven of the eighteen relevant Masses) over twofold ones, reversing the picture found in Guerrero's output. The use of single- or two-section Agnus is one of the starkly distinguishing features between Palestrina's and Lassus's Masses: all but one of the 62 relevant Masses by Lassus have just a single Agnus. This approach alters, of course, the 'balance' of a polyphonic Mass: the average length of Lassus's Agnus settings is just 27 breves, and that of Victoria's single-section Agnus settings is 31 breves,⁴ whereas Morales's three-section settings are almost all well over 100 breves in length. However, Guerrero preferred to create more extended structures even when setting just a single Agnus, the longest being that of his *Missa Sancta et immaculata*, at 57 breves.

While the comparison of Morales's, Guerrero's, and Victoria's habits might suggest a straightforward chronological trend towards abbreviation of the Agnus Dei from three to two to one invocation as the norm among Iberian composers, the position in the Peninsula in the later sixteenth century and at the start of the seventeenth was much more variegated than this, perhaps reflecting local practices and institutional traditions in some cases and simply composers' preferences and influences in others. It is possible that the composition of single-Agnus settings became the norm at the Spanish *capilla real* at this time. All of the surviving Masses by Philippe Rogier have just a single Agnus, including all of those published in his posthumous *Missæ sex* collection of 1598, as does the *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria* by Géry de Ghersem (Rogier's deputy) incorporated in that collection. There may be some connection between this and the fact that all five of the Masses in Victoria's last printed collection to contain Mass Ordinaries, issued in 1600 and likewise dedicated to Philip III, are single-Agnus works, given that Victoria served in Madrid within the orbit of the Spanish royal household following his return from Rome in the 1580s.⁵ (Rogier's predecessor as royal chapelmaster, George de la Hèle, who was a close contemporary of Victoria's, adopted the single-Agnus approach in only one of the Masses published in the *Octo missæ* of 1578 – two years before he returned to Spain to take up the

⁴ The average length falls to 29 breves – i.e. close to that found in Lassus's Masses – if one excludes the Agnus of the *Missa pro victoria*, which (uniquely within Victoria's output) sets both the first and third sections of the Agnus Dei text, as a continuous musical unit, and is consequently significantly longer than are Victoria's other single-Agnus settings.

⁵ I discuss some relationships between the works in the 1600 publication and the royal household in chapter 1 of *The Requiem of Tomás Luis de Victoria (1603)* (Cambridge, 2019).

capilla real post – and dedicated to Philip II.)⁶ The fashion – if that is what it was – for single-Agnus Masses at the royal chapel in the period when Rogier and Victoria were both in Madrid was not, however, mirrored in the other royal chapel maintained by the Spanish Hapsburg monarchs at this time, namely the Portuguese *capela real* in Lisbon. (Portugal had been ruled by the Spanish Hapsburgs since 1580.) The chapelmasters there, the Spaniard Francisco Garro (who held the post from 1593) and the Portuguese Filipe de Magalhães (who succeeded him), both heavily favoured twofold Agnus settings. Likewise, Pedro Rimonte (or Ruimonte), chapelmaster to the Hapsburg court of Albert and Isabella in Brussels, consistently employed the twofold Agnus model in the five relevant Masses of his *Missæ sex* (1604). There is thus abundant evidence for the healthy survival of the twofold Agnus practice among Iberian composers who were younger than Victoria. For example, Juan de Esquivel, born in the 1560s, favoured this approach to approximately the same degree as had Guerrero, and the same is true of the Portuguese Duarte Lobo, born in the same decade as Esquivel. On the other hand, we have the cases of Sebastián de Vivanco (a near-contemporary of Victoria's), Diego de Bruceña (b. 1567), and Manuel Cardoso (b. 1566), in whose Mass outputs single-Agnus settings are the norm. It is intriguing that Cardoso thus stands apart from Duarte Lobo and Magalhães, given that these three Portuguese contemporaries are so entangled in terms of training (all were pupils of Manuel Mendes in Évora), long careers in Lisbon, and prominent membership of the patron-client circle of musical patronage from (and close musical engagement with) Dom João, Duke of Bragança. One wonders if the Carmelite milieu (Cardoso was sub-prior at the Convento do Carmo in Lisbon) is relevant here.

In all five Masses where he does include a second Agnus, Cardoso employs canon in that concluding section. He is thus unusually consistent in utilising the final Agnus as a site for this particular type of technical display, but more generally the practice was quite widespread among Iberian composers from Morales onwards. Morales adopts it in approximately one quarter of his Masses, while it appears in seven out of eighteen relevant Masses by Guerrero and ten out of eighteen by Victoria, a frequency which approximately matches Palestrina's practice and again contrasts starkly with Lassus's, where such canons are almost entirely absent.⁷ A particularly prominent desire to impress is apparent in Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* (which was, in fact, his only such published collection) of 1602, in which four of the six Masses employ canons. There is an overlap between the population of Iberian Agnus settings using canon and the smaller group of those which feature a *soggetto ostinato*. Here the best represented composers are Morales, Guerrero (although his consistent habit was to place the ostinato in the first Agnus setting rather than the final one), and Vivanco.

Imitation Mass models

One signal of how insular or cosmopolitan were the traditions of Mass composition in the Iberian Peninsula is the choice of model works on which Spanish and Portuguese composers based their

⁶ Although two other Masses in this collection, the *Missa Præter rerum seriem* and the *Missa Benedicta es*, set the Agnus text as a continuous musical unit, they incorporate two and three (respectively) of the textual sections of the Agnus within this, and employ a change of mensuration for the final section.

⁷ See the discussion of the contrasts between Palestrina's and Lassus's practices in David Fallows, 'The Last Agnus Dei: or: The Cyclic Mass, 1450-1600, as forme fixe', in Andrea Ammendola, Daniel Glowotz, and Jürgen Heidrich (eds), *Polyphone Messen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Funktion, Kontext, Symbol* (Göttingen, 2012), pp. 53-64.

imitation (/parody) Masses. In terms of popularity for such choices measured in the crude terms of numbers of Masses drawing on their works, two composers win hands down – Guerrero and Palestrina – while conversely it is striking how rarely pieces by Morales and Victoria were selected. Although his pupil Guerrero wrote three imitation Masses on motets by Morales, there is only a small handful of other such works, and Victoria's representation is smaller still.⁸ Guerrero's motets were particular favourites of Esquivel, Alonso Lobo, and Duarte Lobo as parody models, and Guerrero's five-part canonic *Ave virgo sanctissima* held a particularly high status: there are imitation Masses on this motet by Esquivel, Géry de Ghersem, and Pedro Rimonte, besides which we can be confident that the (apparently lost) *Ave virgo sanctissima* Masses by Manuel Leitão de Aviles, Estêvão Lopes Morago, and Manuel Tavares listed in the *Index* of João's music library were based on Guerrero's motet. Palestrina's influence as measured in such terms seems to have been significantly more circumscribed, and is dominated by Duarte Lobo and his Lisbon-based compatriot Cardoso. One wonders if the influence of their patron D. João left its mark here: João penned a treatise in defence of Palestrina's music.⁹

Besides the case of Palestrina, composers working in the Peninsula made little use of works from beyond the Pyrenees when composing imitation Masses, but there are four notable exceptions to this picture. The first is that of Morales (in part reflecting the nature of his international career), whose parody model choices include pieces by Févin, Gombert, Josquin, Mouton, and Richafort. The second is constituted by royal chapel musicians from the north: Rogier drew on works by Clemens (in two works, one lost), Crecquillon, Gombert, and Lassus; Jean Dufon (who arrived in Madrid with other northerners such as Géry de Ghersem and Mateo Romero in 1586) likewise made use of a Lassus chanson (*Un jour l'amant*) for a Mass, and both de la Hèle and Romero employed this same chanson, while Romero chose Manchicourt motets for two other Masses. The Madrid royal chapel was, besides this, notably 'in-bred' in terms of parody models, with Géry de Ghersem, Romero, and Patiño all drawing upon motets or chansons by Rogier, and Patiño also making use of a Romero motet. The third exception, that of Magalhães, is superficially more difficult to explain, and is certainly more striking, given that he thereby stands firmly apart from his Portuguese contemporaries Cardoso and Lobo. Magalhães's *Missarum liber* of 1636 (containing his only surviving Masses) includes six parody Masses, of which no fewer than four use models by northern composers: Pierre de Manchicourt (in two cases), Christian Hollander, and Clemens.¹⁰ Given that Magalhães dedicated his volume to Philip IV of Spain, the choice here may again be linked to the northern connections of the Spanish Hapsburg chapel, and more directly to the fact that Manchicourt had been royal chapelmaster in Madrid. It is notable in this regard that one of the other two imitation Masses in the book, the *Missa O soberana luz*, is based on a sacred madrigal by another Spanish court musician, Stefano Limido.¹¹ The fourth exception to the general lack of Iberian imitation Masses on non-Iberian models is the specific case of the *batalla* Masses drawing on Janequin's chanson *Escoutez tous gentilz*, generally known as *La bataille de*

⁸ It seems that Vivanco's use of Victoria's motet *Doctor bonus* for his Mass of that title has not hitherto been noted.

⁹ *Respuestas a las dudas que se pusieron a la Missa Panis quem ego dabo de Palestrina* (Rome?, 1655?).

¹⁰ See the present author's 'Some observations on parody Masses by Magalhães, Cardoso and Garro', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 7–8 (1997/1998), pp. 7–23.

¹¹ The identification of this model was made by Francesc Villanueva Serrano, who discusses the ways in which Magalhães's Mass may be linked with the Spanish royal court in 'O soberana luz: A Spiritual Madrigal and a Mass for Philip IV, Monarch of the Hispanic Kingdoms', *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 307–32.

Marignan or *La guerre*. Iberian contributions to this sub-genre of Mass included works – not all of them extant – by Esquivel, Francisco de Santiago, Guerrero, Patiño (more than one work), Romero (likewise, more than one), and Victoria (the *Missa pro victoria*). Unsurprisingly given such works' suitability as prayers for and celebrations of victory and Spanish Hapsburg emphasis on their role and status as defenders of the faith, one sees here a concentration on works by royal household composers (Romero, Patiño) or connected with the court (Victoria's).

If we take just the printed Iberian Mass repertory into account, then the *batalla* Masses seem to represent a rarity in being based on a secular and vernacular-texted polyphonic composition. Other such Masses are extraordinarily few in the published books by Iberian composers younger than Morales, in contrast to the output of musicians who were members of the *capilla real*, as just mentioned. By Guerrero we have just the *Missa Dormendo un giorno*, on a Verdelot madrigal, and there is not a single Mass in this category among the printed works of Bruceña, Cardoso, Esquivel (apart from his battle Mass), Garro, López de Velasco, Alonso Lobo, Duarte Lobo, Rimonte, Victoria (again apart from his battle Mass), and Vivanco. Of more than fifty Masses within published collections by composers based in Portugal (Garro, Cardoso, Lobo, and Magalhães) there is just one based on a vernacular-texted model (the *Missa O soberana luz* by Magalhães, mentioned above), and not a single Mass drawing on a secular-texted polyphonic composition (since Magalhães's model was a sacred madrigal). This Iberian situation contrasts with the flourishing production and publication of such imitation Masses on secular and vernacular models in Italy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which Jeffrey Kurtzman has highlighted.¹² Kurtzman's and Anne Schnoebelen's catalogue of sacred music printed in Italy includes about fifty Masses on vernacular models printed there just during the three decades or so between the boundary dates of these Portuguese Mass publications, 1609–1636;¹³ Stephen Miller listed over twenty Roman Masses in this category from approximately the first half of the seventeenth century,¹⁴ and Kurtzman's totals for such Masses in Italy is nearly one hundred between the conclusion of the Council of Trent and 1600, and some 125 from the seventeenth century.¹⁵

The almost complete absence of such works from the printed Mass repertory by Iberian composers might seem to bespeak different attitudes to the polyphonic Mass in the post-Tridentine period – among the institutions and patrons that they served – than those found in other Catholic areas of Europe. The image of the Mass in Spain and Portugal shaped by these printed collections is, however, incomplete (as is the case with the issue of multi-choir Masses, mentioned above) if we exclude from view the Masses listed in the catalogue of the great music library of D. João, published in 1649. Admittedly, the overall picture provided by that catalogue is

¹² Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'The Effect on Italian Liturgical Music of the Council of Trent (1962), the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568) and the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* (1600)', ch. 9 of Kurtzman *Studies in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham, 2014), p. 23.

¹³ Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnoebelen, 'A Catalogue of Motets, Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516-1770', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, JSCM Instrumenta, Volume 2, <https://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2/>. See also the index provided there, under 'Indices of Search Terms', of Imitation Masses on vernacular models.

¹⁴ Stephen Miller, 'Music for the Mass in Seventeenth-Century Rome: *Messe piene*, the Palestrina Tradition, and the *stile antico*', PhD diss., U. of Chicago, 1998, Appendix 1.

¹⁵ Kurtzman, 'The Effect', pp. 23–4 and Appendix A.

obscured by the frequent practice of labelling Masses by their mode only, as indeed was commonplace in the musical sources of Masses,¹⁶ but in other cases the catalogue explicitly states the model of an imitation Mass.¹⁷ While this information is not given for the four (lost) Masses by Duarte Lobo listed in the catalogue, these entries do hint at the extent to which this catalogue may modify our view of the use of vernacular models by Iberian composers: two have Italian titles, *Tirsi morir volea* and *La bella luce mia*, and two Castilian titles, *Llammaisme villana* and *Pastor divino*. Of the more than twenty-five settings of Guarini's *Tirsi morir volea* that exist, the most likely candidate for Lobo's model is Marenzio's, since it was much the most famous, appearing in his first book of madrigals originally issued in 1580 and frequently republished, and it is worth observing that a copy of this collection was in D. João's library. Of the two Castilian texts among Lobo's Mass titles, *Llammaisme villana* is a popular song, on the commonplace theme of the *malmarida*. Juan Vásquez set it as a four-voice *villancico*, published in his *Recopilacion de sonetos y villancicos* of 1560, and the song is also cited by Francisco de Salinas in his monumental treatise *De musica libri septem* of 1577, but the melody given there does not correspond with the melodic material of the *villancico* by Vásquez. In considering the alternative possibilities that Lobo's Mass was an imitation Mass on Vásquez's song or was based on a version of the orally transmitted song melody, it is worth noting that another song by Vásquez from the same 1560 collection, *Qué razón podéis tener*, was employed by Mateo Romero for an imitation Mass, as indicated in another entry in D. João's library catalogue.¹⁸ Finally, a very likely candidate for the model used in Lobo's *Missa Pastor divino* is the sacred madrigal with that incipit which stands at the head of Stefano Limido's *Armonía spiritual*, published by the royal press in Madrid in 1624, and of which D. João owned a copy. The likelihood that Lobo used this piece is increased by the fact that, as noted, Magalhães likewise made use of Limido's collection for the model of his *Missa O soberana luz*.

Requiems

In a recent monograph concerned with Victoria's *Officium defunctorum*, I proposed modifications to the established view of the extent to which the Spanish polyphonic Requiem tradition displayed consistent and 'unique' characteristics – particularly an emphasis on undecorated presentation of the chant in the topmost voice, and more generally a distinctive sobriety of style – and I pointed out the connections between such descriptions of the Spanish Requiem and the broader traditions of writing which emphasises Spanish religiosity and spirituality.¹⁹ I suggested there that impressions of stylistic sobriety in this repertory were quite often the consequence of the mensuration and notation (i.e. the use of *proportio dupla*, with the tactus operating at the level of the breve, and with a consequent preponderance of longer note values), and advanced the idea that an important and distinctive compositional practice within the Iberian Requiem tradition was the exploiting of contrast between sections written under *proportio dupla* and *integer valor* (with

¹⁶ This is abundantly apparent, for example, from perusal of the catalogues provided in Cristina Urchueguía, *Mehrstimmige Messen in Quellen aus Spanien, Portugal und Lateinamerika ca. 1490-1630*, Répertoire international des sources musicales B XV (Munich, 2005).

¹⁷ For example, the manuscript which is item 763 in the catalogue states the models of the Rogier Masses which it includes, and provides copies of those model pieces.

¹⁸ This Mass is within item 766 in the catalogue, a book of Masses by Romero which – like item 763 – states and includes a copy of the item on which each Mass is based.

¹⁹ *The Requiem of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, pp. 173–94.

semibreve-level tactus) signatures, with corresponding differentiation in musical behaviour, including typical use of the chant. The *proportio dupla* movements tend to encompass the Ordinary texts (Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus), and the *integer valor* movements the Proper texts, such as the Gradual, Offertory, and Communion.

The works which clearly display such contrasts include rather more Requiems by composers working in Portugal than those of Spanish origin. Among them are the Requiem by Manuel Mendes, the teacher in Évora of Cardoso, Duarte Lobo, and Magalhães, and within those composers' settings one finds this techniques in both of Cardoso's (for four and six voices respectively) and both of those by Lobo (for six and eight voices). Magalhães's Requiem is the only exception in this group of Requiems by composers belonging to the so-called 'Évora school', since the Requiem of Estêvão Lopes Morago – who studied in Évora under Magalhães – does adopt the approach of employing mensural distinctions. Of the settings by Spanish composers, both Requiems (for four and five voices) by Esquivel, and Vivanco's Requiem, exemplify this procedure.

Conclusion: towards a fuller contextualisation of Iberian Mass traditions

In assessing the relationship between traditions of Mass composition in the Iberian Peninsula and those in Italy and north of the Alps, we have available rich resources which remain only partially tapped. Among these, the catalogue of D. João's vast and cosmopolitan collection, which was particularly rich in seventeenth-century Iberian works transmitted in manuscript, can cast light on the types of Mass being written, among its tantalising lists of hundreds of lost works. João's music library itself perished in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, and the other principal repository of royal chapel repertory was lost in the fire at the Alcázar in Madrid in 1734, so that the store of surviving Masses from the seventeenth century in the Peninsula – and particularly the repertory of the royal households – is significantly curtailed, but more than enough remains to allow us to undertake fruitful comparisons between Iberian and (for example) Roman and other Italian traditions of Mass Ordinary composition during the period,²⁰ beginning with the (more easily accessible) printed repertory, and thus calibrating and refining considerably our identification of local, regional, and even national compositional dialects and patterns of influence within each of the principal types (e.g. those employing 'observant' styles and textures; multi-choir works), sub-genres (e.g. Marian Masses, Requiems, *missæ breves*), and groups (e.g. *batalla* Masses) of cyclic Mass Ordinaries.

²⁰ Noel O'Regan has explored, through the lens of Victoria's life and output, relationships between Roman and Spanish sacred polyphony, in several studies including 'From Rome to Madrid: The Polychoral Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria', in Juan José Carreras and Iain Fenlon (eds), *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World* (Kassel, 2013), pp. 35-50.