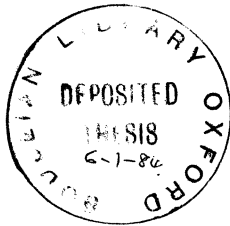


ENGLISH POLYPHONIC STYLE IN TRANSITION : A STUDY OF  
THE SACRED MUSIC OF THOMAS TALLIS

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Thesis submitted for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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**VOLUME I**

## ABSTRACT

### ENGLISH POLYPHONIC STYLE IN TRANSITION : A STUDY OF THE SACRED MUSIC OF THOMAS TALLIS

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This study is concerned with the style (as opposed to the function) of English vocal polyphony during the period ca.1525 - ca.1575. It focusses on the sacred works of Thomas Tallis (ca.1505 - 1585); but the aim is as much to come nearer to a full understanding of mid-Tudor stylistic evolution as it is to define the place of Tallis' music within the broad context. Tallis is therefore viewed both as an individual and as a representative of his time, and his music is assessed analytically rather than critically. The study takes as its premise the view that English music of the period is too often examined according to useful but unrealistic categories - sacred or secular, Catholic or Protestant, institutional or domestic, Henrician, Edwardian, Marian or Elizabethan - and that a sympathetic understanding of the evolution can only be reached when the period is considered in a broad, comprehensive and chronological sweep. It also argues that the evolution was largely stimulated by influences from abroad (the place of foreign music and musicians in mid-Tudor England is studied in detail), and that these influences can be sensed first and most deeply in secular music of the second half of Henry VIII's reign, rather than in contemporary liturgical music (the study includes a detailed discussion and full transcription of the late Henrician part-song repertory). The close stylistic identity between secular chamber style and that of Edwardian church music is emphasized, in particular their common reliance upon stretto lattices of declamatory imitation. Using Tallis' works as a touchstone, subsequent developments in musical substance and structure are investigated; and the study closes by demonstrating how Tallis' imitative practice changed rapidly and radically during the third quarter of the century, again almost certainly under the influence of foreign music.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A thesis that has been as long in the making as this owes more debts than it can possibly acknowledge. Tallis himself would have known the proverb that 'Many handes make a lyghte burthen', and the task of delving a little deeper into the mysteries of Tudor music has been eased enormously by the help of the many kind friends and colleagues who have provided information, advice and criticism over the years. I am especially indebted to those who have at various times watched over the work's progress in an official capacity: to Dr. David Brown of the University of Southampton and to Professor D.M. Arnold, Dr. F.W. Sternfeld and Dr. J.M. Harper of the University of Oxford. Others who have helped to direct its course include Professor P.M. Doe, Dr. I.A. Fenlon, Mr. J.R. Smart and Professor D.Wulstan; and I am also grateful to Mr. J.R.S. Wrightson for giving me access to his as yet unpublished work. Of the many librarians and library staffs who have provided invaluable assistance I should particularly like to mention those of the Students' Room and Music Library of the British Library, the Music Faculty Library of the University of Oxford, the Bodleian Library and the libraries of Christ Church Oxford, King's College Cambridge, Trinity College Dublin and York Minster. Above all, the nature of this thesis has been influenced by the ideas, advice and fellowship of Professor P. Brett, Professor J.W. Kerman and Mr. O.W. Neighbour. My especial debt to the writings of Joseph Kerman is evident from beginning to end; and to Philip Brett and

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Thanks of a different kind are due to Diane Chambers and Jan Smaczny, who lived through the agony of it all, and to my mother, for her constant support. Finally, I am warmly grateful to Jane Holtom and Roger D'Arcy for assisting so splendidly in the design and production of the book.

John Milsom  
Oxford  
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## PREFACE

The present study draws upon a large quantity of existing literature; Chapter 3 (Foreign Music and Musicians in Mid-Tudor England) in particular serves as much to synthesize prevailing views on the subject as to expand them. There are many references; and in order both to maintain continuity in the text and to improve the visual appearance of the page, footnotes have been avoided. A system of short-reference is used instead ('DoeT', for example, signifies 'Paul Doe, Tallis (2nd. edition, London, 1976)'), and all such symbols are expanded in the Bibliography at the rear of Volume 2 (listed alphabetically by short-reference symbol).

Reference to the works of Tallis are copious, especially in Chapters 5 (Tallis and the 'Art of Imitation', ca.1525-ca.1560) and 6 (Substance and Structure in Tallis' Late Works, ca.1560-75). It is assumed that the reader will have the following standard editions of his works to hand:

TCM vi                    Thomas Tallis (Tudor Church Music, vi), London,  
1928.

EECM xii                Thomas Tallis, English Sacred Music: I Anthems,  
edited by Leonard Ellinwood with revisions by  
Paul Doe (Early English Church Music, xii),  
London, 1973.

- EECM xiii            Thomas Tallis, English Sacred Music: II Service Music, edited by Leonard Ellinwood with revisions by Paul Doe (Early English Church Music, xiii) London, 1974.
- Dunkley & WulstanP    Thomas Tallis, Mass Puer natus est nobis, edited by Sally Dunkley and David Wulstan, second, revised edition, Oxford, 1980; available from Blackwell's Music Shop, 38 Holywell, Oxford.
- BrettL                Thomas Tallis, The Lamentations of Jeremiah, edited by Philip Brett, London, 1966.
- BrettS                Thomas Tallis, Spem in alium nunquam habui, edited by Philip Brett, London, 1966.

There are also many references to the international inventory of musical sources, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). Those which comprise a date followed by superscript number refer to Series B, volume 1 (Recueils Imprimés XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles, ed. François Lesure, München-Duisburg, 1960), those with an initial letter followed by a reference numeral to Series A (Einzeldrucke vor 1800, 9 vols, Basel/Tours/London, 1971-1981).

Manuscripts are also cited by short-reference sigla, following the system of RISM ('Lb1', for example, signifies 'London, British Library'). Class-marks have generally been abbreviated to a short but still easily recognizable form. A full inventory of manuscripts, and of early printed music editions to which specific attention is

drawn because of the hand-written additions they contain or the other kinds of evidence they supply, is given in the List of Primary Sources, preceding the Bibliography in Volume 2; this is arranged alphabetically by library siglum.

To improve further the continuity of the main text, all tables, musical examples, diagrams and select bibliographies are placed in the Appendixes, which constitute the bulk of Volume 2. These are arranged in order of reference, irrespective of the nature of the Appendix. Appendix numbers appear at the top right-hand corner of each page.

As editions of music in the series TCM (Tudor Church Music, London, 1923-9) lack bar-numbers, reference is made first to page, then to system, then to bar within the system; hence 'TCM vi, p.3/II/4' signifies 'TCM, volume vi, p.3, bar 4 of the second system'. Voices are indicated by Roman numerals (I, II, etc.), counting downwards from the highest voice of the texture.

Throughout the text, reference is made to the original note-values and pitch of contemporary musical sources, irrespective of the values and pitches of the editions to which the text refers. Discrepancies will most often be encountered in references to the series EECM (Early English Church Music, London, 1963- ) and MB (Musica Britannica, London, 1951-), in which halving or quartering of note-values and transposition are integral features of editorial policy.

All musical examples in the Appendixes are given in original note-values and at original pitch (for which reason prefatory bars indicate only source clefs; mensuration may be assumed to be  $\text{C}$  unless otherwise shown). For examples transcribed from existing editions,

acknowledgement of the source is made; otherwise, the music has been taken from the manuscripts or early printed sources indicated. Examples taken from existing editions restore the original note-values and pitch of the music where these have been changed, but in general retain the barring, verbal orthography and punctuation of the edition. In examples transcribed from original sources, the orthography and punctuation they present have been preserved; but for musical lines that have been underlaid editorially, these features have been modernized (so in the edition of anonymous partsong my ffreinds - Appendix 4.7, no. 13 - the editorial underlay is that of Lbl Eg.2711 (following Surrey(Jones)P, pp.34-5), modernized in both orthography and punctuation). Editorial policy is otherwise generally standard: superscript horizontal brackets indicate ligatures, superscript accidentals are used for editorial suggestions of musica ficta, accidentals enclosed in brackets are cautionary. Use has also been made of the 'dotted accidental' convention ( $\dot{b}$ ,  $\dot{q}$ , etc.) in the case of notes that in the editor's opinion are affected by an accidental placed earlier in the line, continuing to inflect the pitch of subsequent repetitions of that note, and also for notes that are affected by the disappearance - temporary or permanent - of a key-signature within the reading of the source. A dotted accidental is therefore to be understood as having been stated or strongly implied by the source, as opposed to a superscript accidental in which the editor's suggestions are indebted to current understanding of performance practice with regard to musica recta and musica ficta.

The style of critical reportage used in the Appendixes varies considerably. No attempt has been made to describe variant readings

in musical examples transcribed from existing editions; for these, the reader should consult the editions themselves. In the case of transcriptions or editions made from original sources, the style of commentary has been adjusted according to the task at hand. In general, variants and errors are described in footnotes; but for music that survives in a more complex state - as for example the songs of Lpro 1/246, edited in Appendix 4.7 - a full critical report has been required, the terms of which are explained at the relevant place.

In editions of works that set texts in verse, the original lineation of the verse has sometimes been indicated by subscript angle brackets (L J) for ease of recognition in the absence of editorial punctuation and capitalization. In a few works that lack underlay - notably those transcribed in Appendix 4.7 - angle brackets have been added below the music to indicate what may have been the lineation of the original (but now lost) verses. Round brackets indicate editorial expansion of underlay shown in the musical source by the conventional contraction 'ij'; square brackets enclose underlay that is added without the authority of the source but appears to be required.

All deviations from or additions to the referential and editorial principles outlined above are described where necessary within the text or the Appendixes.

**Chapter 1**

**TALLIS AND HIS CONTEXT**



## TALLIS AND HIS CONTEXT

Tallis is to us today primarily a body of music. We know almost nothing about his life, even less about his personality, outlook and beliefs; as a human figure he lies essentially beyond our imagination. Unlike Byrd, there is nothing about Tallis' conduct or way of life that suggests a career spent other than as a diligent craftsman in the service of choral establishments of the English church, in particular the Chapel Royal. Living as he did through decades of political unrest and the turbulent changes of religious outlook of mid-Tudor England, one might have hoped for some hint of nonconformity, of nostalgia for the old order or fervent support of the new. But there is none; whatever convictions he may have held himself, Tallis worked with the businesslike aim of providing his employers with the music they demanded, whether for services or secular entertainments. The contrast with Byrd is strong: Tallis does not emerge as a man fired by the fuel of oppression and dissent.

There is another reason why the 'essential Tallis' remains so elusive: the body of his surviving music is extraordinarily diverse, an issue that characteristically looms large in most existing studies of the man and his music:

In a sense, his surviving music is a mirror of its age. There is at least one example of every musical genre known to the English church in the sixteenth century...; and it reflects with astonishing clarity the bewildering changes of language

and liturgy, the cross-currents of musical style and technique, and the advent of a humanist aesthetic of subjective interpretation of liturgical texts. It is hard to think of any composer before 1600 who travelled such a distance stylistically, and almost incredible that such utterly different works as Ave rosa sine spinis, the seven-part Mass, the forty-part motet Spem in alium and the Lamentations (to mention only Latin compositions) could all have been written by the same person. (DoET, p.8)

The breadth of this range is largely the result of an exceptionally long career. We know that Tallis was writing music by 1530, and he was apparently still active some forty years later - there is evidence to suggest that Spem in alium and several of the motets included in the Cantiones sacrae, printed in 1575, were composed around or after 1570. None of his contemporaries can match this: Tye, blessed with an equally long life, seems nevertheless to have retired from music by the mid-1560s; Sheppard died young at about the same time; Robert White and William Mundy belong to a later generation. Not surprisingly, then, Tallis has come to be regarded as something of a touchstone, his works indeed as a 'mirror' of some forty years of mid-Tudor musical evolution. This is partly made possible by the relatively large quantity of music by him that is still extant, even if portions of his output have been lost. As well as an individual, Tallis attracts our attention as a representative of his age; no other composer serves to illustrate as vividly as he does the rapid evolution of musical idiom that was witnessed in mid-Tudor England.

The present study is as much concerned with the ways in which Tallis' music typifies this general evolution as with the

idiosyncracies that set his works apart from those of his colleagues. It is not in general intended to be a critical study; to re-direct a reproach aimed elsewhere, the question of artistic value is 'at the same time absolutely basic and begged, begged consistently and programmatically' (KermanA, p.40). To have done otherwise would have been to enlarge the scope of the work to unmanageable proportions, for just and enlightened criticism demands a sympathetic understanding of context, and this is something that we do not yet fully possess. The remark may seem exaggerated: historical studies of mid-Tudor music are legion, sources have been diligently scrutinized, biographies written and much of the repertory edited. But there are still gaps in our understanding - some of them wide - and inevitably there are weaknesses of connection: one gains the impression of there being a large number of valuable insights in individual studies that are somewhat hermetically sealed off from one another. No general theory of mid-Tudor music has ever been argued logically, systematically and at length, although the broad conclusions that such a theory would support have been stated clearly enough. The following extracts from the writings of Frank Ll. Harrison are typical in this respect:

English music was intimately bound up with the ritual tradition and held to its established styles and functions as long as the medieval liturgy remained. Though Renaissance features began to appear in English music, particularly in its secular forms, in the early sixteenth century, the transition from medieval to Renaissance concepts of structure<sup>and</sup> style, which took place on the continent in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was not fully accomplished in England until after the mid-sixteenth century.

By the early sixteenth century this late Gothic style was so firmly established that during the next fifty years it was able to absorb such typically Renaissance elements as imitative and antiphonal texture without suffering any fundamental change. The transition from late Gothic to Renaissance in English choral music, as in the other church arts, was not fully accomplished until the establishment of the English liturgy in 1549 abolished the ritual and ceremonial of which the florid style was one of the chief ornaments. (NOHM III, p.303)

... the change in musical style which accompanied the Reformation was anticipated in secular music and in some of the smaller forms of church music... Though the Renaissance techniques of imitative, antiphonal and homophonic writing played an increasing part in English settings of shorter liturgical forms, the persistence of the florid style and canto fermo method delayed until the mid-sixteenth century the arrival of the fully imitative style which continental composers had developed by the 1530s. (NOHM III, p.304)

The implications of such statements are clear: a general theory of mid-Tudor music must catch up in its net all kinds of available evidence, breaking down the useful but often unrealistic barriers that are so often used to distinguish sacred from secular, institutional from domestic, Catholic from Protestant, Henrician from Edwardian, Marian or Elizabethan, even English from foreign.

The fact that most of Tallis' surviving music is broadly 'religious' in function is of course no excuse for investigating it solely within the context of the English church; Tallis himself would have disparaged such a narrow angle of view. Nor is it really

necessary - or even justifiable - to discuss his works strictly by genre, considering the antiphons separately from the anthems or the ritual settings from the non-liturgical music. For they all spring from a single creative imagination, and it should be our goal to seek the connections that exist between them as much as the differences that separate. In other words, Tallis' music deserves to be studied chronologically rather than by genre, as it has so often been in the past. There has been too much categorization at the expense of synthesis, exploration of distinct facets rather than of the body as a whole.

To understand Tallis and his achievements, we have to start by taking a serious look at the broad context into which he fits. Aspects of this context are by now relatively well understood; we know, for example, that the Reformation had a profound effect on the scope and content of church music, that during Edward VI's reign composers were required to set English texts in a sober, declamatory manner that ensured intelligible delivery of the words. Tallis' Edwardian works meet this requirement; they seem to illustrate in graphic fashion a classic 'cause and effect' relationship, and few modern studies go beyond the level of observing this except perhaps to remark incidentally on the enormous stylistic gulf that separates, for example, Hear the voice and prayer from the earlier Salve intemerata. But are we to assume that the difference of idiom between these two pieces can be attributed solely to the Reformation? The musical qualities of the anthem certainly adhere to the directives laid down by those who commissioned it; but to what extent did these directives incline Tallis to experiment, to go beyond the bounds of convention? The answer is clear:

Whilst the liturgical reformation was undoubtedly a major event in the history of English church music, there is perhaps a danger that too much importance may be attached to it - that it may be seen as the primary cause of change rather than as the catalyst in a process that had been steadily at work since the middle of the fifteenth century.

(Le HurayM, p.135)

This 'process' might well bear the name of 'Continentalization'; it is far easier to make a comparison between Hear the voice and prayer and certain specific types of foreign music than it is to seek such connections with Salve intemerata. Later works by Tallis, such as the psalm-motet Domine quis habitabit or the two Lamentations, allow even closer parallels to be drawn. These similarities might of course be fortuitous, as at least one modern survey has suggested:

It remains unclear why it should always be necessary to recognize an 'influence' when it is possible that two different individuals in different countries may arrive independently at similar results, working entirely within their own traditions.

(MoroneyT, p.217)

But this interpretation falls into the trap of assuming that foreign music is not part of an English tradition. It takes the view that the historian can concern himself with 'Tudor music', whereas the more realistic researcher will address himself to the broader issue of 'music in Tudor England'. The difference is acute. That foreign music and musicians occupied an important place in Tallis' world has long been suspected, and serious attempts have been made in recent years to assemble and evaluate the evidence (many of their findings

are summarized, with supplementary information, in Chapter 3 below). These researches provide us with vitally important information about mid-Tudor taste; they suggest that as the century progressed it became more and more difficult for a composer such as Tallis to avoid prolonged and intimate contact with foreign music. What few of these studies attempt to do, however, is to enter into evaluations of the significance of their discoveries beyond the basic level of recording currency and circulation. There is an implication that ideas from abroad did help to stimulate the development of mid-Tudor musical style, but a general - and perhaps understandable - reluctance to go into the complex and pressing issue of influence. They leave us wondering about the relationship between the music that was imported into England and music that was written by English composers, about the extent to which foreign elements were gradually absorbed, either wilfully or as a result of continued exposure, effecting a gradual change in the character of English music.

As part of its search for Tallis' context, the present study attempts to go into this issue in the broadest possible way, avoiding the temptation to search for specific 'models' for Tallis' works. Instead it sets out to evaluate the properties of the foreign music that appears to have been most popular in mid-Tudor England, and to assess the similarity - or dissimilarity - of these properties with those of the music that English composers such as Tallis themselves wrote. This is probably a safer and ultimately more revealing approach than that of making one-to-one comparisons between individual works, parallels such as those that have been drawn, for example, between Taverner and Isaac (DoeL, pp.88-90), between Taverner and Josquin (BenhamL, p.5) or between Tallis and Gombert

(DoeT, pp.24-5). Such comparisons are unlikely to add up to a general synopsis of the situation as it actually was, and in any case not all have been made with the intention of exploring the issue of influence: some go no further than pointing out that 'these two works are similar', making no effort to argue that 'this work bears the stamp of experience; its composer clearly knew x or something very like it'. Even when the latter conclusion is drawn, there is rarely any attempt to prove that the kind of foreign model in question was actually known, widely circulated or valued in England at the time.

The concern, then, is with deep levels of indebtedness to foreign music rather than isolated examples of plagiarism, with the general evolution of English style (of which Tallis' works serve as useful examples) in relation to the currency of foreign music and the presence of foreign musicians in England. Inevitably this takes us well away from Tallis the individual, and even away from the field of 'church music' (inasmuch as such a concept is tenable in an age of increased musical literacy and the rise of religious music suitable as much for domestic use as performance in church). Inevitably its first concern must be with those kinds of music in which the influence of foreign styles can first and most readily be detected, rather than those in which English composers largely preserved what are essentially insular characteristics, whether wilfully or not. The basic argument that lies behind this line of investigation was proposed in 1958, again By Frank Ll. Harrison; astonishingly, it has never attracted the detailed investigation it so clearly merits:

It was in the smaller musical forms, both sacred and secular, that the Renaissance style of imitative polyphony in duple measure was first practised in England, [rather than]... in



works in the large florid style, which absorbed the techniques of imitation and antiphony without suffering any basic change. (HarrisonM, p.340)

Today, greater care might have been taken in the wording of such a thesis, especially in the use of 'Renaissance'; and it is certainly not the function of the present study to argue that Tallis' music in any way epitomizes a transition in English music from a 'medieval' phase into a 'Renaissance' one - that such terms are at least misleading if not completely invalid in music historiography is by now a commonplace. In other respects, however, Harrison's argument is a fascinating one, not least because he supports it with only a limited quantity of evidence - his view was, after all, expressed at a time when research into both the 'smaller musical forms' in question and the most likely external stimulus to their evolution (in the form of the foreign music that circulated in Tudor England) was still at a relatively unadvanced stage. The position has changed significantly over the past twenty years, particularly with respect to the latter topic. As regards the 'smaller musical forms', however, our state of understanding is certainly not as well advanced; whole repertoires remain barely studied or have only just begun to attract the degree of attention they demand. To take just two examples, the principal sources of small-scale liturgical music from the mid-Tudor Catholic and Edwardian Protestant repertoires - Lbl Add. 17802-5 and Ob 420-2 respectively - have long been plundered by editors of isolated works by specific composers, primarily those of so-called 'towering figures' such as Tallis, but only recently investigated in a genuinely repertorial fashion. Even now, the

contents of these two manuscripts are available only in a wide and scattered variety of modern editions - if published at all - rather than in their entirety.

The secular repertory has fared even less well, largely one suspects because of its extremely slender and fragmentary state of survival. There is a general awareness among those who research into and write about Tudor church music that such secular music existed, but this seems to be accompanied by an astonishing lack of curiosity about its extent and character, and certainly little concern about its relationship with contemporary sacred music. Isolated pockets of the repertory have been published - the partsongs in the 'Mulliner Book', for example (MB i; see also the complementary studies in Stevens(D)M, Stevens(D)P and Stevens(D)C), and the songs of Tallis (EECM xii; see also DoeT, pp.57-8); but other, more fragmentary works, such as those preserved in Lpro 1/246 and Lbl Harley 7578, have attracted little attention and as yet find no place in our general concept of what 'mid-Tudor music' actually amounts to. This is not to say that the more familiar portions of the song-repertory of the period have attracted no critical evaluation; on the contrary, it is relatively common to find value-judgements such as the following:

These partsongs aptly portray what C.S. Lewis called the 'drab age'. The vigour and raciness of those of Cornysh's generation has been suppressed by a sternly moral tone; nor is there yet much trace of the metrical control, poise, and variety of the music and verse of the madrigal era.

(DoeT, p.58)

In absolute terms, such criticism may be just; it is certainly true to say that Tallis' partsongs appeal to a modern aesthetic less than

those of Cornysh on one side or Byrd on the other, just as the verse of Surrey wins less admiration today than that of Skelton or Sidney. But this is not to deny the importance of the 'drab' phase in the evolution as a whole. Quite the opposite: Sidney's verse certainly builds (and in the process perhaps 'improves') upon the achievements of Surrey's, achievements which in the handling of iambic metre, of 'conceits' and imagery are not themselves at all insignificant; and in similar fashion, Byrd's consort songs are deeply indebted to the earlier partsong tradition, of which they are a natural extension.

Close scrutiny of the Henrician partsong and carol repertory suggests that its significance within the general stylistic evolution of mid-Tudor music has been severely underestimated in the past. There is evidence that the idiom of English secular music was more deeply and continuously indebted to foreign styles during the first half of the sixteenth century than was contemporary liturgical music, especially in its exploration of homophonic texture and what has been described as 'continuous full treatment in imitative style' (Harrison in NOHM IV, p.479). It also seems likely that the idiom of some so-called 'Edwardian church music' bears a close resemblance to contemporary or earlier secular music simply because it is itself partly secular in function, composed as much for domestic consumption as for performance in church and using texts that were published in English primers towards the end of Henry VIII's reign. There is certainly little doubt that much of the authentically liturgical repertory of Edward's reign draws upon the experience of setting English secular texts in an intimate, chamber style. This is not to suggest that the task of 'scaling down' English church music was not already well under way by the last decade of Henry VIII's reign; on

the contrary, it could be argued that the partsongs of the period offer us only exaggerated or concentrated evidence of what was a general trend towards more sober, intimate style. The process of 'Continentalization', of replacing the expansive and relatively chaotic floridity of the old melismatic idiom with the more logical and unified textures of declamatory imitation, can be discerned just as clearly in the late Henrician liturgical repertory, although admittedly more locally (Taverner's 'Meane' Mass is a work that commonly attracts attention in this respect: see for example the comments in BenhamL, pp.5 and 140-3; on the reduction of complexity in late Henrician liturgical music in general, see DoeL). In the partsong, however, the contact with a foreign model seems especially clear: its style gradually absorbs elements from the chanson repertory that appears have won popularity in courtly circles during the second half of Henry VIII's reign (the development is discussed in some detail in Chapter 4 below). Hence the difference between Tallis' Salve intemerata and Hear the voice and prayer (to return to an earlier point): the first work can be assessed and criticized most profitably within the context of the specifically English liturgical tradition to which it firmly belongs; but to understand Tallis' achievements in the second work we must first search out its ancestry, and this ultimately leads us back by way of the partsong to mid-Tudor taste for foreign music in general and the chanson in particular.

The need for a keen sense of overall context becomes especially clear when we enter the field of criticism. Some of Tallis' works have been faulted in the past because they seem in hindsight not to

have achieved a level of competence or made good use of a device or technique such as found in the music of later composers. The following account is typical:

Comparison of the freely composed pieces by the two composers [Tallis and Byrd] reveals Byrd's abler handling of the imitative style. In several cases, among them 'Absterge Domine' and 'Derelinquat impius', Tallis makes little or no attempt to create a flowing texture by continuing some voices while bringing in a new point; and he is apt to write a literal repeat of the working of a point rather than extend it. .... Tallis was not at ease with the technique of through-imitation, probably because of his early training in the differentiated style, of which his 'Gaude gloriosa' is one of the supreme examples. It is difficult to agree with Fellowes's opinion that the 'motets of Tallis published in the Cantiones sacrae of 1575 show a marked advance in style compared with the work of pre-Elizabethan composers'. [ref. to Grove's Dictionary, 5th. edn., v, p.296] It would rather seem that Tallis found some difficulty in adjusting his technique to changes in the style and function of church music which took place when he must have been nearly fifty.

(Harrison in NOHM IV, pp.481-2)

Much of the criticism here is unjustifiable. The opening comparison of Tallis with Byrd is unfair not least because the two composers belonged to very different generations and worked with different sets of aesthetic values (the fact that Byrd's comes closer to the implicit standard of Palestrinian imitative polyphony is beside the point). In any case, the essence of the elder man's career is the exploration of relatively new territory, the establishment of foundations of technique on which his younger colleague subsequently built. To find fault with the frequent stops and literal reprises in certain of Tallis' motets is to censure not only the bulk of

mid-Tudor music but also the models - primarily secular and French - from which part of its style ultimately derives. There is too much concern here with what Tallis 'makes little or no attempt' to do rather than with what he actually did achieve during his lifetime - achievements which, as Fellowes notes more sympathetically, were far from inconsiderable. The mid-sixteenth century was, after all, a period of research, experiment and rapid growth, of changes brought about by necessity (with the Reformation) or shifting taste (especially with the growth of interest in foreign music). Contrary to Harrison's opinion, one senses that Tallis experienced no difficulty whatsoever in 'adjusting his technique to the changes in style and function of church music when he must have been nearly fifty'. On the contrary, the transition appears to have been made extremely fluently, can be charted chronologically with relative ease, and possesses as much logic as the evolution of Byrd's technique. Tallis' achievements are different; the question of relative superiority in terms of value-judgements is irrelevant.

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What follows is, then, in a sense as much an attempt to come nearer to a general theory of the evolution of mid-Tudor polyphonic style as it is specifically a survey of Tallis' music. It treats Tallis both as a representative of his time and as an individual, and it seeks to investigate some of the principal trends and influences that characterize or helped to shape both his own works and those of his contemporaries. Its concern is largely with musical style rather than musical function; no attempt has been made to emulate those

studies in social and liturgical historiography that contribute so valuably to our general understanding of Tallis' context (principal among them are HarrisonM, WoodfillM and PriceP). The aim is to achieve what has been described as a 'close reading' of the musical evidence (see BrettF, p.348).

Relatively little mention is made of instrumental music. This is intentional; composition for keyboard draws upon different traditions, primarily improvisatory, and it is in any case limited by the capabilities of moving ten fingers along a horizontal plane. Its principles are in general essentially not the same as those of vocal polyphony, although correspondences can sometimes be found (between Tallis' vocal and keyboard hymn settings, for example, both of which explore the idea of working a single imitative point against a cantus firmus). Other forms of instrumental music - other than for dance - are generally lacking before the reign of Elizabeth. One assumes that instrumental consorts served as alternatives to voices (the In nomine repertory may well have served such a double function), but virtually no idiomatic music for them survives.

The works that come under scrutiny, then, are those written primarily if not exclusively with voices in mind, whether choral or chamber, sacred or profane. The survey acknowledges but is not constrained by the clearly demarcated monarchical 'periods' of the mid-century; instead, it seeks the connections that exist between them rather than the differences that differentiate one from the next. It is first and foremost a chronological study; and it begins, appropriately enough, with an attempt to place Tallis' surviving vocal music in some semblance of order.

**Chapter 2**

**THE CHRONOLOGY AND TRANSMISSION OF TALLIS' VOCAL MUSIC**



## THE CHRONOLOGY AND TRANSMISSION OF TALLIS' VOCAL MUSIC

Beyond its most basic outlines, the chronology of Tallis' music is, and will almost certainly remain, generally unknown. His career was an exceptionally long one, extending through five decades from the late 1520s or earlier until at least 1570, at which date he was still apparently capable of producing music of startling originality and quality. From this substantial span of time only some hundred vocal works have survived (we have no means of knowing how many have others have been lost), and almost none of these can be dated exactly. It is a corpus of music that invites - and has attracted - informed hypothesis and deduction, but not one that allows us to draw many firm conclusions.

The aim of this chapter is to construct a rather more detailed model of the chronology of Tallis' works than has been attempted before, using wherever possible the external evidence of sources in preference to the internal evidence of musical style. Particular attention is paid to those works that survive in several discrete 'versions', not so much with the aim of establishing a 'definitive' text but rather of tracing the history of the transmission of these works. Although it is clear that some of Tallis' music gradually came to circulate in a corrupt state (the Short Service is an obvious example), there are a few specific pieces which appear to have been revised by Tallis himself. In such cases, the various stages of the work's existence can sometimes be traced with reasonable fullness and

accuracy. There are, however, many other works whose state of survival tells us little or nothing about their date of composition. The palpably early Ave Dei Patris filia, for example, is found only in Elizabethan manuscripts, all of them probably compiled more than forty years after the work was written. Inevitably, our understanding of the context into which such music originally fitted is diminished by the filtering effect of Elizabethan antiquarianism and nostalgia; although some progress can be made by studying stemmata and the parallel transmission of groups of works, the chances of deducing even an approximate date of composition by such objective means alone is usually extremely remote.

Fundamental to the making of a model of the chronology of the music are facts concerning Tallis' career, and the political or doctrinal changes that affected his work. The biography remains sketchy: we know nothing about Tallis' upbringing, training and employment before 1532, nor is it possible to assign a single work specifically to his years at Dover Priory, St. Mary-at-Hill, Waltham Abbey or Canterbury Cathedral. Of his subsequent career, little is certain other than that he remained with the Chapel Royal from the early 1540s until his death some forty years later. Shortly after settling with the Chapel Royal, Tallis' work was deeply affected by the quick succession of doctrinal changes within the English church between the death of Henry VIII and the accession of Elizabeth. It is only after 1558 - by which time Tallis would have been in later middle age - that he enjoyed any long-term stability in his work. These basic facts, which form the backbone of the model, are summarised in Appendix 2.1. (This is drawn to scale in a time/space relationship, as are all subsequent tables relating to chronology.)

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Although we know next to nothing about Tallis' training and early years, the few works of his that we possess from this stage do at least tell us something about his musical diet. They are not in general works that display a strongly individual musical imagination, and the majority are indebted in one way or another to the music of established composers, that of John Taverner in particular. The link with Taverner is evident <sup>in</sup> as early <sup>a work</sup> as the antiphon Salve intemerata, which on grounds of its source (Lb1 Harley 1709, containing music by Davy, Cornysh, Fayrfax and Taverner) is likely to have been written by the mid-1520s (the text of the antiphon was in existence by 1527; see BenhamL, p.177). In its general style, structure and scope, the work has much in common with Taverner's Gaude plurimum; near the end, in the quasi-antiphonal exchanges at 'secundum humanitatem' (TCM vi, pp.157-8), there even seems to be some actual modelling on Taverner's work (see the corresponding passage, 'eundem igitur' in Gaude plurimum: TCM iii, pp.88-9 or EECM xxv, pp.60-2). Although it is possible that Tallis added this brief exchange to his setting 'as an afterthought' (DoeT, p.12), it is even more likely that he wrote the section in full awareness of its precedent. Another early antiphon, Ave Dei Patris filia, appears to follow Fayrfax's setting of the same text as its model (FordT); there are close structural similarities and a few correspondences of melodic material. Tallis' work is known only from the Elizabethan sources - one of John Sadler's partbook sets (T 1486/SP) and a wide variety of Paston manuscripts - but is always found in the company of music by Fayrfax and Taverner, and is almost certainly a very early work. A third antiphon, Ave rosa

sine spinis, is also likely to be extremely early: it is first encountered in Cp 471-4, flanked by the music of Fayrfax and Ludford on one side, that of Taverner and Aston on the other. Only one other work can be placed with certainty in the years before Tallis' move to the Chapel Royal: the derived Mass on Salve intemerata. This<sup>is</sup> also found in Cp 471-4, and must therefore have been written before ca.1540, the date by which the books are thought to have been copied (SandonP, pp.106-13). Several writers have commented on the stylistic advance of the Mass over its parent antiphon (see for example DoeT, pp.17-18; BenhamL, p.180), but we can only guess about the length of time that separates the two works. (The fragment Rex sanctorum in the late source Lbl Add.18936-8 may be part of another early antiphon.)

No other music by Tallis survives in Henrician manuscripts, and it is far from clear which of his works known from later sources were written before 1547. Paul Doe has argued persuasively for a general trend away from musical complexity in the liturgical and votive repertory composed during the last decade of Henry VIII's reign (DoeL, passim), and it is to this period that he assigns many of the works in Lbl Add.17802-5, a partbook set thought to have been compiled largely or exclusively during Mary's reign (a longer copying period is however proposed in BrayG). The music of Taverner in these partbooks bears a close stylistic identity to that by Tallis, Sheppard and Tye that they also contain; but this is not to be taken as evidence that the entire repertory dates from before Taverner's death in 1545, for his music almost certainly continued to provide younger composers with models for many years after. It is only with extreme caution, then, that the seven pieces by Tallis in

Lbl Add.17802-5 can be ascribed to Henry's reign: the Mass, the Magnificat for four voices (generally assumed to be an early work on grounds of style), the antiphon Sante Deus, the responds Audivi, Hodie ... Gloria and In pace, and Alleluya / Ora pro nobis]. (The fragment Euge caeli in the late source T 354-8, which is similar in style to the music in Lbl Add.17802-5, could well be contemporary.)

Any other music Tallis may have written during Henry VIII's reign is now known only through (almost exclusively secular) Elizabethan sources, and perhaps also from the Cantiones sacrae published by Tallis and Byrd in 1575. The problem of assessing the date of the ritual and paraliturgical works contained in these late sources is virtually insoluble. One exception is the Mass 'Puer natus est nobis', which has been linked with Mary's supposed pregnancy in 1554 (DoeT, p.21); another may be Gaude gloriosa, also arguably written during Mary's reign. These two works are discussed in detail below. But it is far <sup>more difficult</sup> ~~less easy~~ to assign even an approximate date to much of Tallis' cantus firmus-based ritual music - the hymns, larger responds, and the fragmentary Haec dies (this last work, previously unpublished, is transcribed in Appendix 2.2). Several of these may even be Elizabethan motets that retain the structure and spirit of Sarum liturgical music, perhaps out of a sense of nostalgia; the fact that several of the hymns and responds were included in the Cantiones sacrae of 1575, more than fifteen years after the final suppression of the Sarum rite, proves that this type of music was still thought suitable for public show (the Cantiones were after all were dedicated to the overtly Protestant Elizabeth). This is an issue that requires a brief survey of the tradition to which the works belong.

The technique of improvising or composing polyphony around the steady measured progress of a plainchant tenor (known in Britain as 'counter' and abroad as 'contrapunctus') can be traced back to the late Middle Ages. It is already evident in its composed form in early Tudor sources such as Lbl Add.5665, Och Okes 253, binding fragments in Lbl Add.4900 and Llp H.890 L.35, and in Ob Rawl.45. By the generation of Taverner and Redford, and the repertory of Cp 471-4, the technique is used as the foundation of works for four, five and six voices, and continued to be used in such large-scale works by Tallis, Sheppard and their contemporaries. During the mid-sixteenth century, it also entered the world of instrumental consort music, especially in the form of the In nomine and Dum transisset. Even after the Reformation, composers continued to make sporadic use of the technique: Byrd and John Mundy in their motets, William Parsons in two English-texted prayers, published by John Day in 1563. It was also retained as a didactic method - a form of 'species counterpoint' - in tutors such as Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction of 1597.

At what stage in this tradition were Tallis' hymns and festal responds written? It is tempting to link them with similar settings by Sheppard, to envisage them as part of the cycle of Office music, perhaps written for the Chapel Royal, that has been proposed both for the final years of Henry VIII (DoeL, pp.93-4) and the reign of Mary (DoeT, p.34). Either suggestion seems possible, although it may be that the cycle in fact accumulated gradually over the course of several decades. But were any of Tallis' chant-based hymns and responds written even later, during Elizabeth's reign? Three works are particularly suspect, for they are not known to have circulated

in manuscript before their appearance in the 1575 Cantiones sacrae: [Candidi] facti sunt, [Honor] virtus and [Sermone blando]/Illae dum pergunt. Unlike [Dum transisset], which was also included in the Cantiones, these works are found only in the 1575 edition or in manuscript readings that clearly derive from it. It has to be admitted, however, that the principal manuscript source of chant-based works of this kind, Och 979-83, may exclude these pieces simply because it is bound with a copy of the Cantiones (although it does include a copy of [Dum transisset], with variants that are clearly independent of the print). It is possible, then, if by no means proven, that these three works - [Candidi], [Honor] and [Sermone blando] - are Elizabethan. This might help to explain their inclusion in the Cantiones sacrae, unlike [Dum transisset], which was clearly selected on account of its already widespread popularity.

Although our view of Tallis' early career is necessarily dominated by his Latin-texted music, it is important to bear in mind the fact that three of his settings of English words may also date from before the death of Henry VIII. One of these, O ye tender babes (Lb1 Add.30513), draws on a text published in 1542/3 (described in Stevens(D)M), though the version set by Tallis was almost certainly metrical, a pair of octosyllabic quatrains. There are also two works based on texts from the King's Primer of 1545, the Benedictus and Remember not, O Lord God; both of these are found in the very early Edwardian partbooks, Lb1 Royal App.74-6. (Remember not exists in a variety of later forms, of which one - the reading in Day's Certaine Notes - is conceivably a revision made by Tallis; see Appendix 2.3). It is also possible that the 'antems' contained in the Edwardian service-books Ob 420-2 began life as devotional songs and were

composed towards the end of Henry's reign; in the only known partsong source of the period, Lpro 1/246, there is an anonymous setting of the same If ye love me text as used by Tallis. Whether or not Tallis wrote any partsongs to metrical texts before 1547 (other than O ye tender babes) is unknown; the one work that may date from this early period, When shall my sorrowful sighing slake, is found only in Elizabethan and late-sixteenth-century Scottish sources.

It would seem then, that the quantity of surviving music by Tallis known to have been composed during the reign of Henry VIII is extremely small, and that a more substantial body of works can only very tentatively be placed within this period. A model of this portion of his output is given in Appendix 2.4. Conspicuously absent are any large-scale settings of the Magnificat (Tallis is one of the few composers not represented in retrospective Elizabethan sources of alternatim Magnificats such as Och 45, Ob 423 and T 807-11), and of festal Masses; if these ever existed, they have been lost without trace.

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The state of church music during the reign of Edward VI is considerably easier to assess than that in the final years of Henry VIII owing to the survival of three liturgical sources. Of these, Lbl Royal App.74-6 is certainly the earliest; it contains a number of settings of texts found in late Henrician primers, and is essentially a repertory of music composed in the mid- to late-1540s, some of which may have been written for private devotional or didactic use, and subsequently drafted into the service of the church (the fullest



account of these partbooks is BlezzardS; see also BlezzardL). Slightly later in date, spanning the publication of both the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books, is Ob 420-2. This is more specifically an Edwardian repertory, although again several of its texts appear to have been known (and might have been set to music) before Edward's accession (for an inventory and discussion, see Le HurayM, pp.172-81; I am grateful to James Wrightson for several useful suggestions about the music in these partbooks). The third liturgical source of the period, John Day's Certaine Notes, was apparently assembled during Edward's reign, though published only in 1565 (AplinO). Between them, these collections provide us with five English-texted works probably written by Tallis in his late 30s or early 40s: Remember not, O Lord God and the Benedictus (mentioned above), Hear the voice and prayer, If ye love me and O Lord in thee is all my trust.

A total of five further anthems, three Services and an isolated Te Deum setting are possibly also Edwardian, but occur only in Elizabethan or later sources (Purge me, O Lord, a devotional partsong, is discussed separately below). Of the anthems, one - Christ rising/ Christ is risen - is variously ascribed to both Tallis and Byrd in its exclusively seventeenth-century sources (see EECM xiii, p.viii), but is not especially characteristic of either, and is at best an opus dubium of both. The other four anthems - A new commandment, Blessed are those, the fragmentary Teach me thy ways and Verily, verily - can only be dated tentatively on grounds of style. A new commandment and Teach me thy ways are similar in structure and texture to If ye love me and Hear the voice and prayer, and might be contemporary with them, though absent from all the Edwardian sources. Rather different is Verily, verily, a rhetorical and largely

homophonic work which seems to be more characteristic of later Tallis: its thoughtfully varied pacing and bold declamation, underlined by abrupt changes in harmonic direction, have no real precedent in the authenticated Edwardian repertory (but see AplinF, p.262, where a case for an early date is put forward).

The fourth anthem of uncertain date, Blessed are those, has been variously described as an adaptation of an Henrician votive antiphon (Le HurayM, pp.194-5); as an Edwardian anthem (WulstanA, p.155), as a Marian work (DoeT, p.54; again, the case for a contrafactum is put forward) and as an Elizabethan anthem (EECM xii, pp.xii and 123). The fact that the text is taken from Coverdale's Great Bible allows us to place the work (in its English-texted form, at least) after 1539. But how likely is it to be a contrafactum? The argument for a Latin original rests on two points: that the texture is reminiscent of late Henrician antiphons, 'with duos, trios and antiphonal contrasts between the upper and lower voices' (Le HurayM, p.194), and that one source - SHR 2 - gives the work the Latin title of Beati immaculati in via. The first of these points is not especially strong; in its most compact and syllabic form, 'antiphon style' continued to be used alongside more continuously imitative and homophonic textures during Edward's reign (see for example the extended anonymous anthem O most merciful Jesus Christ in Ob 420-2), and it would be rash to conclude that Tallis could only have written in this idiom at a time when the Sarum rite was maintained. For Latin titles to English-texted works where adaptation of a Latin original is unthinkable, we need look no further than Lbl Royal App.74-6 and the slightly later Ckc 316. It should also be noted that the Latin psalm text lies no more easily under Tallis' music

than does the English. An adaptation therefore seems unlikely. But when was the work composed? Examination of the sources suggests that Blessed are those circulated with a miscellaneous group of five- and six-part pieces of the mid-century: Taverner's votive antiphon Mater Christi, which must date from before 1545, is structurally similar to Blessed are those and survived the Reformation in the form of contrafacta; van Wilder's Blessed art thou, a setting of one of Thomas Sternhold's metrical psalms of 1549, which must have been composed between that date and van Wilder's death in 1553; Sheppard's setting of the Lord's Prayer, which may have begun life as a Latin work and later been adapted to English; Sheppard's six-voice carol Of all strange news, possibly written for secular use and later brought into the church repertory; and Tallis' [Dum transisset], one of his most widely circulated and apparently popular works. (Details of the manuscripts in which these works are found are given in Appendix 2.5.) Although we cannot be sure, it is at least possible that the pairs or groups into which these works fall in Elizabethan sources are remnants of an older and now-dispersed repertory of five- and six-part music, part of it Henrician, part Edwardian and part possibly Marian. Technically, Blessed are those is one of the least advanced of these works, and is therefore conceivably one of the earliest; an Edwardian or possibly even late Henrician date seems most probable.

Even less can be said with certainty about the date of Tallis' three Services. Found only in sources of the seventeenth century or later, the Short (or 'Dorian') Service nonetheless contains a few text-elements from the 1549 Prayer Book and may therefore be an Edwardian work that was partly revised to meet the requirements of

later rites (this interpretation is considered in greater detail in EECM xiii, pp.vii-viii; in AplinF, p.262, a case for Edwardian date is made on grounds of the extensive use of 'Fourth kind' faburden, though there is a good possibility that this style of writing continued to find a place in early Elizabethan music). However, the absence of the work from all of the Edwardian liturgical sources does nothing to support the claim for an early date. Of the other two Services, only the bass parts survive. The first of these, the Service 'of five parts, two in one', again includes phrases from the 1549 Prayer Book text. It is a relatively compact work, and was almost certainly structured around a canon at either the unison or the octave, answered at the breve, a texture found in several of Tallis' Elizabethan works. Too little survives, however, to allow any conjecture about its date on grounds of style. The other fragmentary service, found only in SHR 1, principally follows the 1552 text, but with a few phrases not found in any Prayer Book. Like the canonic service, it appears to have been essentially for five voices (there is also at least one gimel passage), relatively compact and largely imitative; and again, it cannot be dated even approximately. The work by Tallis that it most nearly resembles is the five-part Te Deum - a setting which is itself something of a mystery. The sources of this latter work are exclusively mid-seventeenth-century, yet the text is principally that of the 1549 Prayer Book (which in turn derives from the King's Primer of 1545). In style it differs somewhat from Tallis' authentic Edwardian works; but then, no source of five-part music has come down to us from Edward's reign, and we have very little on which to form a judgement about the larger-scale music of this period. At best, we can do

little more than assign Tallis' two fragmentary Services and the Te Deum very tentatively the early years of the English rite, and place the Short Service a little after them.

Tallis may also have written three of his partsongs during, or shortly before or after, Edward's reign. One of these, O ye tender babes, has already been mentioned; the other two, When shall my sorrowful sighing slake and Purge me, O Lord, occur adjacently among a small group of four-part songs in Lbl Add.30480-3, preceded by Sheppard's O happy dames (adapted to the sacred words 'I will give thanks unto the lord') and followed - after one intervening work - by Johnson's Defiled is my name. This last song is traditionally linked with the downfall of Anne Boleyn, and may therefore be Henrician - as almost certainly is O happy dames, which is also found in Lpro 1/246. The two Tallis songs are very similar to them in style, and probably roughly contemporary.

Purge me, O Lord, a devotional partsong, is generally assumed to have borne an alternative text during Tallis' lifetime. This is suggested by the 'Mulliner Book' (Lbl Add.30513), where the work is headed by the words 'Fond youth is a bubble'. No further text is given, and no lyric with this incipit is known from sixteenth-century sources. A late-eighteenth-century score of the work, T 958, is underlaid with the 'Fond youth' text, and this has been followed in the edition in EECM xii, pp.95-7. But a marginal jotting in this manuscript notes that 'the words are adapted anew' - presumably by the compiler of the collection, Edmund Thomas Warren-Horne; the stanza given is certainly not at all characteristic of mid-Tudor lyric verse.

The other partsong of this period by Tallis, When shall my

sorrowful sighing slake, exists in a variety of conflicting states in its Elizabethan and contemporary Scottish sources. The majority of these, including Y M.91(S), Lbl Add.30513 and Wode, are essentially concordant. A second reading, in Lbl Add.30480-3, comes close to the first version in its upper voices but presents a bass that is not always stylistically credible. A third version is known only from its two inner voices, preserved in Lbl Royal App.74; these fit well with the treble and bass of the first version but not with the bass of Lbl Add.30483. Appendix 2.6 places these three versions in parallel score, the first reading (following Y M.91(S), supplemented by Lbl Add.30513 and Wode) placed in the centre of the page, the substantive variants of version two (Lbl Add.30480-3) below, and the two voices of the third reading (Lbl Royal App.74) above. Close scrutiny of these latter two voices reveals that their substance is not fundamentally different from that of the inner voices of the York version; rather, the material is distributed in a very different way (in Appendix 2.6 the crossing of parts is indicated by broken arrows, isolated by thick-lined boxes), and there are only a few truly substantive variants (enclosed in thin-lined boxes). Moreover, the appearance of the manuscript shows that the scribe was not always confident of his work, and that parts of his lines were arrived at empirically - this is suggested by frequent deletions and alterations. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the voices in Lbl Royal App.74 arise from an attempt to unscramble a keyboard reduction of the song of the kind contained in Lbl Add.30513, a reduction in which the voice-leading of the two inner parts is barely indicated. The result is certainly less sophisticated than the version in the York MS (compare the

reconstruction based on Lbl Royal App.74 and Lbl Add.30513 in EECM xii, pp.106-110 with the York version in Appendix 2.6): the lattice of imitative entries is less complex, with three paired entries (bars 11, 15 and 24-5) where York has a full four-voiced exposition; the dissonant entry at bar 11 is improbable, as is the clash at bar 29; and at bars 14-15 the momentum is temporarily broken, whereas York offers a convincing bridge between cadence and new musical phrase. There are also parallel unisons in bar 22 (corrected editorially in EECM xii, p.109), between the upper voice of Royal App.74 and the superius. These various features raise serious doubts about the reliability of Royal App.74 as a source for When shall my sorrowful sighing slake.

Equally unconvincing are some of the more substantive variants in Lbl Add.30480-3, shown at the foot of Appendix 2.6 (corresponding passages in the York version are boxed with downward-pointing arrows). In 30480-3, parallel octaves occur at bars 21-2, parallel fifths at bar 22, and an improbable  $\frac{6}{4}$  at bar 25; none of these readings are characteristic of Tallis. What Lbl Add.30480-3 and Lbl Royal App.74 do show, however, is that When shall my sorrowful sighing slake was already circulating in a corrupt form by the mid-1560s, mostly in the company of Henrician or possibly Edwardian music. It is therefore possible that the work was written in the 1550s or earlier.

Although the quantity of music by Tallis that can be placed within or around Edward's VI's reign is not great, it can at least be dated relatively precisely - more so than almost all the Latin-texted works that lie immediately on either side. A model of this Edwardian music is given in Appendix 2.7.

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At the accession to the throne in 1553 of Edward VI's half-sister Mary, Tallis would have been in his mid-forties and probably in his tenth year with the Chapel Royal. The restoration of the Sarum liturgy was accompanied by a revival of some of the Henrician service music suppressed during Edward's reign; the repertory of Lbl Add.17802-5 testifies to this. Several of Tallis' works in the partbooks may be Marian, as could be a number of the cantus firmus-based hymns and responds found in later sources, but only one of his surviving compositions can be attributed specifically to this period: the seven-part Mass 'Puer natus'. Another work, the six-part votive antiphon Gaude gloriosa, can only tentatively be placed there.

The Mass is generally (and very plausibly) thought to have been written in 1554 (see DoeT, p.21), and has the appearance of being an isolated, occasional work rather than a regular item in the Chapel Royal repertory. It is found only in Paston manuscripts, normally in the company of foreign music of later date, and is sometimes partnered by Tallis' seven-part motet Suscipe quaeso. The juxtaposition of these two works by Tallis has led to the speculation that they are of similar date (see for example DoeT, pp.40-1). Closer scrutiny of the sources, however, warns us against accepting this theory too readily. Although the Paston scribes clearly had access to some of Tallis' unpublished music, they also possessed a copy of the 1575 Cantiones sacrae (which includes Suscipe quaeso), and used the print as an exemplar. This is particularly clear in T 341-4, where the transmission of several works from the Cantiones is extremely accurate, even in details of text underlay, and there



can be no doubt that its reading of Suscipe quaeso - which is interpolated between extracts from the 'Puer natus' Mass - derives from the printed edition. The two works may well have been brought together only on account of their common author and very similar scoring; certainly there is no evidence that they circulated as a pair before the last decade of the sixteenth century. Stylistically they are not closely related: Suscipe quaeso lacks a cantus firmus, its imitative points are broad and leisurely, its texture more varied than that of the Mass. On the contrary, there are good reasons for placing it at the very end of Tallis' career (see Chapter 6 below).

Tallis' largest and most elaborate votive antiphon, Gaude gloriosa, is almost certainly the last he wrote. It has generally been placed in Mary's reign on account of its text, which 'seems to refer to the queen as much as to her divine namesake' (Doel, p.94). It has also been established that other large-scale votive antiphons were composed in the mid-1550s, including Mundy's Vox Patris, which is structurally and stylistically very similar to Tallis' work. The principal sources of Gaude gloriosa are either Elizabethan or belong to the Paston complex. These do not transmit the antiphon as part of a consistent group of works, although music by Tye and Sheppard, or other votive antiphons by Tallis, most commonly accompany it. The external evidence of these manuscripts therefore neither supports nor contradicts the view that Gaude gloriosa was written in Mary's reign. In 1978, however, a new and considerably earlier source came to light, a single contratenor partbook in which the work is underlaid not with its Latin text but with English words (Occ 566; see MilsomN; transcribed in Appendix 2.8). The date of this contrafactum is unclear; the paper bears a watermark similar to one

in use in about 1549, but this should not be taken as clear evidence that the adaptation is Edwardian. Nor does the use of the form 'so be it' rather than 'Amen' at the end of the text <sup>do</sup> more than suggest a very early date. What does seem likely, however, is that the adaptation was made at a time of liturgical turmoil, almost certainly following the death of either Henry VIII or Mary, and served as something of a stopgap in choral services. The English text has not been traced, and is evidently an unofficial one. Of the various possibilities, an Edwardian date for the contrafactum (and therefore a Henrician one for the Latin original) is perhaps the most likely; but an Elizabethan/Marian interpretation is also feasible.

Occ 566 is especially valuable as a source of the music of Gaude gloriosa because it differs in several important respects from the version transmitted by Elizabethan manuscripts. In the transcription in Appendix 2.8 - in which square brackets indicate lacunae - the equivalent line from the later version (TCM vi, pp.123-43) is shown in parallel (the lowest-sounding voice of the texture in TCM vi - normally voice V or VI - is also given). Variants between the Occ and TCM contratenors are isolated in boxes, and are of three kinds: first, the early version presents some melodic variants that are equally viable against the TCM bass and that suggest only a relatively incidental discrepancy (see for example Fragment A, bars 71-2); second, there are passages in which the Occ contratenor does not fit with the TCM bass and where a more substantial variant is implied, affecting several or all of the voices (Fragment A, bars 83-7; Fragment B, bars 1-5); third, there are two brief sections in which Occ appears to follow not TCM's voice III but rather its voice IV (Fragment A, bars 99-101 and 108-114). These latter variants are

too major to be attributed to scribal interference in the process of transmission; rather, they imply that the work was revised at some stage, perhaps by Tallis himself.

For all its intrinsic interest as one of Tallis' most impressive achievements, Gaude gloriosa is not a work that occupies a crucial place in his output. Whether Henrician or Marian, it serves principally to demonstrate Tallis' skill in handling inherited and essentially conventional musical techniques, and it breaks very little new ground. The 'Puer natus' Mass similarly has its roots in the relatively distant past, although in certain respects it does acknowledge a debt to more recent trends, especially the tendency towards sober, declamatory imitative writing and homophonic textures that emerged in the preceding decade. The place of these two works in the model is shown in Appendix 2.9.

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The final phase of Tallis' career spans the years between Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 1558 (at which time Tallis would have been about 50) and the publication of the Cantiones sacrae seventeen years later in 1575. None of his surviving music can be attributed to the last decade of his life, 1575-85. During this late period, Tallis continued to write Latin-texted works - some of which may have been intended for the Chapel Royal, others for domestic performance - as well as English service music, anthems and vocal chamber music: settings of metrical psalms and at least one partsong. Little of this music can be dated absolutely precisely; but a careful study of the sources does allow for a great deal of speculation

about chronology, in particular with regard to the Latin-texted music.

Elizabeth herself appears to have favoured a ritualistic form of service, and there is little doubt that the Chapel Royal made use of Walter Haddon's Latin translation of the Prayer Book, issued in 1560. Tallis' setting of the evening canticles was presumably written around this time, and preserves the outward appearance of Catholic ritual music by retaining the alternatim principle - the odd verses were presumably sung to one of the recitation tones of Sarum use. It may be that Elizabeth condoned the performance of other officially outlawed music in her own Chapel; the presence of six chant-based hymns and responds by Tallis in the Cantiones sacrae implies that such works continued to be heard and admired in the Queen's circle, and it has already been suggested that some of these settings may actually have been composed during her reign: [Candidi] facti sunt, [Honor] virtus and [Sermone blando] possibly, the two versions of [Te lucis ante terminum] almost certainly. The sixth chant-based work, [Dum transisset], if composed before 1558, certainly enjoyed a new lease of life after that date, and there is good reason to suppose that in preparing the work for publication in 1575 Tallis chose to modify it in several small details, a form of overhauling that can be seen in other motets from the Cantiones.

The principal source of the early version of [Dum transisset], and of several of his other Latin works, is Lbl Add.31390. This was apparently compiled in the mid-1570s, although 'nothing in [the manuscript] need be any later than... 1567' (KermanB, p.361; see also the discussion and inventory in NobleI). It is an important source of the works of Philip van Wilder, who died in 1553 (these are

discussed in Chapter 3 below), and additionally preserves a large corpus of mid-Tudor instrumental consort music, including a rich selection of In nomine and Dum transisset settings by Tye, at least some of which are likely to be Edwardian or Marian. It also contains a unique sample of works by foreign composers, the majority of which were in print by 1560. Byrd is barely represented. All of these features suggest that the manuscript's repertory mostly dates from the early years of Elizabeth's reign or before.

As a source of Tallis' music, Lbl Add.31390 is especially interesting - a fact that escaped the editors of TCM vi, who barely consulted it. The reading of [Dum transisset] presented here differs in many small and several significant respects from the one published by Tallis in 1575; and it is sometimes (although by no means always) supported by other early - though less complete - Elizabethan manuscripts, SHR 2 (fragment of voice II), Ckc 316 (III) and T 389 (III), sources that seem to fall mid-way between 31390 and CS 1575. All other manuscripts have readings that are either very close to the printed version or can be demonstrated to have been copied directly from it. Five of the most substantive variants between 31390 and CS 1575 are shown in Appendix 2.10 (it should be noted that 31390 is untexted throughout). Variants A and B are relatively incidental (B might even be the product of interference by the scribe of 31390), and are not supported by other sources. Variant C calls for special comment: the version of II in CS 1575 transcends Tallis' prevailing imitative point by briefly recalling the melodic idea used at the corresponding place in Taverner's [Dum transisset] [i] (see Abram/MilsonC); the early version does not have this reference. For variants D and E, both relatively incidental,

31390 has the support of other sources; in each case, the reading of CS 1575 allows for a more incisive statement of the repeated-note 'Alleluia' point. Minor as these differences are, they do invite some speculation about the process of transmission through which the work passed. There are two possibilities, expressed as stemmata in Appendix 2.11: either the work went through various stages of corruption and revision, arriving finally at the reading of CS 1575 (stemma i), or the texts of 31390 and allied manuscripts form part of a tradition that transmits a relatively corrupt version of the work compared with that found in CS 1575 (stemma ii).

With the exception of the Latin canticles, hymns and responds, Tallis' Elizabethan music to Latin text is not in general deeply indebted to compositional techniques and forms associated with the ritual music of the past. The remaining pieces fall into the general category of the 'free motet': works in which Tallis addressed himself to the working-out of a specific musical idea or technique, sometimes influenced by the sound, structure or meaning of his text, sometimes not. The wide stylistic range of this late music encourages the view that Tallis' outlook changed considerably during this period of his career, and demands classification into some form of spectrum. At one extreme are the tidily-organised, relatively continuously imitative works, dominated by more-or-less unbroken minim motion and generally setting texts that are relatively neutral in their subject-matter. Almost all of these are found in early Elizabethan manuscript sources; about half were eventually published in the 1575 Cantiones. At the other extreme is a small group of highly idiosyncratic pieces, several of them based on comparatively highly-charged texts. These motets are more varied in texture and

rhythmic flow, and usually introduce some abrupt turn of harmony, normally used in a rhetorical manner to underline a key point or word in the text. They appear to be late works; those that are included in the 1575 Cantiones are not known to have circulated in manuscript before publication, and another, the forty-part motet Spem in alium, is now thought to have been written around 1570 on grounds of external evidence. Other pieces fall between these two extremes, and may well be transitional.

Probably one of the earliest of the Elizabethan motets is O sacrum convivium, which is found in a wide variety of manuscript sources that ante-date its publication in the 1575 Cantiones sacrae. It is also clear that the work was known during Tallis' lifetime with an English text, I call and cry to thee O Lord. This fits the music very well indeed; so well, in fact, that there has been some speculation about which is the original set of words and which the adaptation. Moreover, 'the music is ... structurally very similar to an anthem like A new commandment, with an ABB form, a dovetailed repeat of the "B" section, and a brief "coda" ' (DoeT, p.54; see also EECM xii, p.128). But new evidence has come to light suggesting that the work began life neither as a motet nor as an anthem but rather as an instrumental piece.

The source on which this interpretation rests is Lbl Harley 7578, which preserves two voice-parts, lacking title, text and attribution, the higher of them marked 'v parts' (f.92v). These two voices are transcribed in Appendix 2.12. Portions of the music are familiar to us from O sacrum convivium/ I call and cry (sections A and C-E); another short passage is also found in Absterge Domine (section G); but there are also several passages that are not

encountered elsewhere in Tallis' output (sections  $\diamond B$  ,  $\diamond F$  and  $\diamond H$  , and which have the appearance of instrumental rather than texted music. This is especially true of the short-phrased sequential writing at  $\diamond F$  and from  $\diamond H$  to the end, which in style recall Tallis' pair of In nomine settings. Two explanations seem possible: either the work is a 'parody-fantasia', based on ideas from two of Tallis' vocal works with free interpolations, or it is an original piece by Tallis, the substance of which was subsequently dismembered and re-used. As Harley 7578 is an early source - earlier than any containing O sacrum convivium, I call and cry or Absterge Domine - the latter interpretation is highly probable; its close proximity in the manuscript to metrical psalms by Sheppard and a song by Robert Johnson [i] may even suggest that the work was in existence by the very early 1560s.

Between Harley 7578 and the 1575 Cantiones sacrae comes an 'intermediate' version of the work, found in Lbl Add.31390 and partly supported by other early Elizabethan manuscripts. In its length and scope, this is considerably more closely related to the 1575 motet than to the Harley 7578 'fantasia', as Appendix 2.13 - a parallel transcription of 31390 and CS 1575 - illustrates. Substantive variants are placed within thin-lined boxes. Many disagreements are over details, but there are two points at which the versions are wholly independent. At bar 12, 31390 introduces the new imitative point hard on the heels of the cadence, whereas the 1575 version allows a moment's rest; and at bar 21, the material of voices II and III is exchanged (the transition is isolated within a thick-lined box in Appendix 2.13), reverting only at bar 48. Comparison of these variants with the Harley 7578 'fantasia' is especially instructive.



The junction at bar 12 of 31390/CS 1575 (Appendix 2.13) brings together the close of section A and the opening of section C of the 'fantasia' (Appendix 2.12) - omitting the whole of section B. As to the exchange of voices at bar 21 of 31390/CS 1575, the 'fantasia' achieves this much earlier, at C (= voices I and III of 31390/CS 1575), maintaining the order at D (the point at which 31390 and CS 1575 exchange), but reverting at E (bar 31 in 31390/CS 1575).

The evidence of the sources points overwhelmingly to a single interpretation. Tallis' original work was long, very sectional and probably instrumental; only the two uppermost voices survive, in Harley 7578. He subsequently removed sections A, C, D and E, joined these together (redistributing the material of voices II and III in the process), and added a final section and a text - almost certainly 'O sacrum convivium'; this version survives (textless) in Lbl Add.31390. At a later stage he overhauled the work once more, extending the junction between sections A and C at bar 12 and further redistributing the material of voices II and III as well as introducing a number of minor alterations; this version was published in the Cantiones sacrae of 1575. Other sources may represent the work in an intermediate stage of evolution between the versions of 31390 and CS 1575: SHR 2 (voice I only), Ckc 316 (II only) and T 1464 (V only) largely agree with CS 1575, but in certain details concur with 31390.

What then of I call and cry? The English text fits well under the reading of 31390, as it does under the relevant portions of the Harley 7578 'fantasia'. But the sources that transmit the English-texted version unaminously come close in their music to the

reading of CS 1575 and admit only a few of 31390's less significant variants - sufficient, perhaps, to suggest that I call and cry was in existence before the publication of the Cantiones sacrae, but not enough to argue against the priority of the Latin-texted version.

Close scrutiny of the two readings of O sacrum convivium in Appendix 2.13 reveals that substantive variants are encountered more in the inner voices than in either the uppermost or bass parts. This is true of another of the motets found both in manuscript sources and the 1575 Cantiones sacrae, Salvator mundi [ii]. Like Gaude gloriosa, the earlier of the two versions is underlaid with an English text - When Jesus went into Simon the Pharisee's house - though it is highly unlikely that these were the original words. It is found in Lbl Add.30480-3, lacking its Quinta (in Add.30481, the work is headed '5 parts'; a few folios have almost certainly been lost from the start of the Quinta partbook, Lbl Add.30484). Of the four surviving voices, three are very similar to those published in the 1575 Cantiones as Salvator mundi: the treble/tenor pair (a canon at the octave, answered at the breve) and the bass. The fourth voice (Add.30481) occasionally comes close to III of the printed version but elsewhere is entirely different. For ease of comparison, the two readings - of Lbl Add.30480-3 and CS 1575 - are laid out in parallel score in Appendix 2.14. Voice II of the early version has a concordance, partly illegible, in SHR 3, without any obviously substantive variants; the only other manuscript source, Och 984-8, appears to derive from CS 1575 (Lbl Add.31226 is an eighteenth-century copy of Lbl Add.30480-3; the fifth voice, inked in over pencil, is clearly not authentic.)

There is no doubt that the substance of this work is the canon

with its bass; perhaps it was even conceived as such by Tallis and later provided with additional voices (this theory is proposed in EECM xii, p.129). Certainly voice II in 30480-3 and both voices II and III in CS 1575 are in general inessential: they rarely imitate the material of either canon or bass and appear to serve the function of enriching the texture. The most likely interpretation of the work's history is that Tallis made two attempts at expanding it from three voices to five, the first of which is known only with the underlay of When Jesus went; this was later superseded by the version ultimately published in the Cantiones sacrae. It would be implausible to attribute the version in Lbl Add.30480-3 to scribal interference with the published reading; its variants are too considerable for that.

By comparison with [Dum transisset], O sacrum convivium and Salvator mundi [ii], the two other motets found both in early Elizabethan manuscripts and in the Cantiones sacrae survive<sup>in</sup> a more consistent state, with fewer variants between sources. The reading of Absterge Domine in Lbl Add.31390 (in general supported by T 1464) does present a few small discrepancies, the most substantive of which are shown in Appendix 2.15 (again it is the inner voices that differ between the two versions). Here too, Tallis may have made a few adjustments to the work in readiness for publication. Like Salvator mundi [ii], Absterge Domine was adapted to English words during Tallis' lifetime, possibly before 1575, for several sources of the English-texted version, Wipe away my sins, contain readings that come closer to Lbl Add.31390 than to CS 1575 (Lbl Add.30480-4 is perhaps most extreme in this respect; surprisingly, however, the version in Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Music (1641)

appears to follow the Cantiones closely). Another of the 1575 motets, Salvator mundi [i], is not found in any pre-publication manuscript with its Latin text, but an adaptation to the words With all our hearts and mouths does contain a few relatively minor discrepancies with the 1575 text. This too is found in Lbl Add.30480-4. Modern editions allow for easy comparison between this and the 1575 motet (see EECM xii, pp.88-94, and TCM vi, pp.216-8). One further motet included in CS 1575 and related in style to the works discussed above, Mihi autem nimis, is not found in any pre-publication source; the contrafactum Blessed be thy name does in this case seem to be derived from the printed version of the motet.

Appendix 2.16 summarises the state of survival in early manuscript sources of five works eventually published in the 1575 Cantiones sacrae. It is not a stemma, and makes no attempt to relate the various readings of the manuscripts to one another. What it does emphasize, however, is the importance of two sources, Lbl Add.31390 and Lbl Add.30480-4, as repositories of pre-publication versions, and it is to these that we may look for clues about dates of composition. 31390 has already been described, and its repertory - if not its actual date of copying - ~~suggested~~ as being 'very early Elizabethan'. The partbook set 30480-4 is however far less easy to assess. A wide variety of scribes contributed to it over what appears to have been a copying period of twenty years or more (the fullest description of the layers and hands in this manuscript is HofmanL, iii, pp.250-60, to which the present analysis is indebted). The set originally comprised only four partbooks, 30480-3, which are made up of printed music paper of a design that probably dates from the mid-1560s (Fenlon & MilsonP). The first layer, copied by

Hofman's scribe A, is devoted to English service music and anthems, and contains a few works with Edwardian concordances as well as many unica. About one third of the way through the books comes an interruption in the form of a group of partsongs, together with a carol and some five-part music. It is here that the Quintus partbook opens (Lb1 Add.30484, written on hand-ruled paper; the first few folios appear to have been lost), that scribe B makes a brief appearance, and that the Tallis contrafacta listed in Appendix 2.16 occur. The repertory, however, remains relatively stable in date; only in the last third of the manuscript does this diversify to include music by Byrd, Weelkes and Edward Johnson, as Hofman's scribes D and Q take over from A and B. By this latter stage we have certainly reached 1575 and later, for there are fair copies of works as printed in the Cantiones sacrae. But Scribe A was apparently active before this, and it seems reasonable to place his work in the mid- to late-1560s. (Hofman more cautiously assigns his layer to a longer copying period, perhaps up to 1580; but by this time the books could have been as much as fifteen years old, which would suggest either that copying began very late, or progressed extremely slowly, or was interrupted for a substantial period of time.) Although the date of 30480-4 is less easy to assess than that of 31390, the evidence does at least imply that its two settings of Salvator mundi, [i] and [ii], as well as Absterge Domine, were written some years before their publication in 1575.

Not all of Tallis' motets in the imitative, apparently early Elizabethan style went to the print in the Cantiones sacrae; others remained in manuscript. Of these, only O salutaris hostia (discussed below) is found in Lb1 Add.31390 and Lb1 Add.30480-4.

Domine quis habitabit makes its earliest appearance in Ckc 316, in the company of O salutaris hostia and a group of psalm-motets by Sheppard that can only date from the first few years of Elizabeth's reign or before (this manuscript is also written on printed music paper that appears to date from the mid-1560s; see Fenlon & MilsonP). Another psalm-motet by Tallis, Laudate Dominum, survives only in sources compiled after 1570 (Och 979-83, T 1486/SP and four Paston manuscripts). It was not transmitted as one of a stable group of works, occurring both in the company of Henrician music such as Salve in te merata and of motets by Byrd written in the 1580s, and is placed in the 'early Elizabethan' group of works only on grounds of musical style.

The state of survival of O salutaris hostia is one of the most complex among Tallis' works. Even the editors of TCM vi found it necessary to offer two 'versions' of the piece (pp.276-8 and 279-81) on account of a few substantive variants and rather more of an incidental nature. The mode of presentation they adopted is to some extent misleading, for one of the sources, Lbl Add.30480-4, falls somewhere between the two 'versions'. Another, Lbl Add.31390, which was not consulted for TCM vi, preserves a reading that stands apart from all others in several important respects. The line of transmission that led to this wide variance of readings is almost impossible to reconstruct, although the stemma shown in Appendix 2.17 is perhaps the most likely. In outline, this suggests (i) that the version unique to 31390, despite its many errors, is relatively close to Tallis' original (this version is transcribed as the upper system of Appendix 2.18); (ii) that the work was subsequently changed in several relatively minor respects (see in particular bar 48 of

Appendix 2.18), perhaps by Tallis himself, resulting in a second archetype from which all other surviving sources are descended; (iii) that an error found its way into voice III at bar 35, creating parallel unisons with II (bars 34-5), the eradication of which gives rise to several different lines of transmission, of which the one represented by Och 984-8 (and to a lesser extent Ckc 316 and Lbl (PB) K.3.b.15) is the least corrupt; and (iv) that various other errors and changes (such as the variants in I at bars 15-17, III at 22, II at 34-7, and the introduction of many small ornamental variants) eventually gave rise to the 'alternative version' of TCM vi, found in the Paston group and, in a less corrupt state, in one of the late layers of Lbl Add.30480-4. The introductory tutti chord, present only in a small number of sources, is not an especially telling feature as far as the stemma is concerned. Its absence from 31390 perhaps suggests that the work was conceived without it; on the other hand, the fact that it is found later in sources from different sub-traditions implies that the chord was added at a relatively early stage, perhaps, at the time of the major revision. Its subsequent disappearance may well point to scribal interference - the chord is, after all, a unique feature, having no equivalent in the contemporary repertory, and its authenticity or desirability might have been questioned by a number of copyists.

The complex state of its survival in manuscripts compiled by 1575 indicates that O salutaris hostia circulated very widely, almost certainly over a substantial period of time. Its presence in Lbl Add.31390 implies an early Elizabethan date of composition, as does its close stylistic similarity to O sacrum convivium. The work could well have been intended to be sung as a Communion motet for Haddon's

Latin Eucharist of 1560 (DoeT, p.38).

Only three further Elizabethan works by Tallis are found exclusively in manuscript: the two Lamentations and Spem in alium. In recent times there has been a tendency to view the Lamentations as though Tallis had conceived the pair of settings as a single work. In contemporary sources, however, they are as likely to be found independently as together. The earliest source, T 1464, contains only De lamentatione, as do two Paston sets (T 369-373, T 1469-71); John Merro's collections (Lbl Add.17792-6 and US-NYp 4180-4) have only Incipit lamentatio; another relatively early source, Lbl Add.32377, contains both settings, but separated by 25 folios. When the works are found adjacently, they tend to be accompanied by other Lamentation settings: Ferrabosco's in Och 979-83, White's in Ob 1-5 and T 341-4. Only in CHE Petre 1 do the works appear as a pair in relative isolation. The Lamentations are conspicuously absent from two of the earliest Elizabethan manuscripts, Lbl Add.31390 and Ckc 316 (less surprising is their omission from SHR 2 - probably a liturgical book - and the early layer of Lbl Add.30480-4, which contains only English-texted music). This may suggest a slightly later date of composition than the works of Tallis found in those sources, a view that is supported by the evidence of style. Of the two settings, De lamentatione comes closer in idiom to motets such as Laudate Dominum and Domine quis habitabit, and its solitary presence in T 1464 perhaps argues in favour of its being the earlier work. But in many respects these are obviously complementary compositions, and it is likely that they were written at approximately the same date, perhaps in the mid- to late-1560s.



For Spem in alium we are lucky enough to possess documentary evidence about events leading up to the work's creation. This is scrutinized in Stevens(D)S, which plausibly suggests that the work was first performed in 1571 (p.172). An earlier theory, linking Spem in alium with Elizabeth's fortieth birthday (DoeS), places the work only two years later; the idea is attractive, if lacking any firm factual basis. A date of ca.1570 seems to be inevitable.

Of the seventeen works by Tallis included in the 1575 Cantiones sacrae, twelve do not survive in any pre-publication sources. Four of these ([Candidi] facti sunt, [Dum transisset], [Honor] virtus and [Sermone blando]) have been discussed above. Two others are scored for seven voices, an unusually large number for the period, which may partly explain their absence from contemporary manuscripts (although Lbl Add.31390 contains music in as many as twelve parts). Suscipe quaeso is by Elizabethan standards the more conventional of the two works; its postulated association with the 'Puer natus' Mass has already been discussed, although in style it seems a much later piece. The seven-part multiple canon Miserere nostri is sufficient of a curiosity in Tallis' output to defy all attempts at dating on grounds of internal evidence. It may have been a show-piece specifically composed for the Cantiones sacrae, a demonstration to the world of the ingenuity of which English composers in the 1570s were capable.

The six remaining pieces found only in the Cantiones sacrae (or in manuscripts copied from the print) are all in Tallis' most advanced idiom, coming close to Spem in alium and the two Lamentations. Three of them, In manus tuas and the two alternatim settings of [Te lucis ante terminum], use Compline texts from the Sarum rite, and in their modest way may reflect a lingering nostalgia for the old order either

on Tallis' part or in Chapel Royal circles. The other three works are also based on liturgical texts, but freely chosen and freely set. O natalux, Derelinquit impius and In ieiunio et fletu may be the last works that Tallis wrote.

Very little English-texted music can be placed with certainty in Tallis' last years - although as noted earlier, several anthems and Services conceivably written between 1549 and 1553 may in fact be Elizabethan. The text of O Lord, give thy Holy Spirit was published in 1566; although this cannot be taken as evidence of the date of Tallis' setting, the texture, scoring and concluding pedal in the treble part are all more characteristic of Tallis' Elizabethan music than his Edwardian. The nine tunes contributed to Archbishop Matthew Parker's The Whole Psalter [ca.1567] might well have been composed specifically for this publication; although the readings of these pieces in Lbl Add.15166 - an important collection of Edwardian and early metrical psalms and anthems - do contain a few minor variants, it is Parker's verse rather than any other that is underlaid.

Also customarily assigned to this period are Tallis' two sets of Responses and his various festal psalms (EECM xiii, nos. 5-11 and 16-23; see also AplinF, p.252), largely because no such repertory of polyphonic settings is known to have existed during Edward's reign. The Litany may be of similar date. These works survive only in seventeenth-century sources, and in general are too slight of substance to allow any speculation about their date on grounds of style - though on occasions the accents of Tallis' most mature voice seem to ring clear (see for example the setting of Psalm cxix, vv.25-32, in EECM xiii, pp.138-140, which approaches the sound-world of O nata lux and In manus tuas).

Only one partsong, Like as the doleful dove, has any strong claim to being Elizabethan, partly on account of its absence from sources of an earlier repertory (lpro 1/246, Lbl Add.30480-3) and partly on account of its style, which comes closer to that of the tunes for Parker's Psalter than of anything else by Tallis. William Hunnis, the author of the stanza, was however already a colleague of Tallis during Edward VI's reign, and the setting may therefore date from any time after this.

By comparison with earlier periods, the Elizabethan phase of Tallis' career is well represented by contemporary musical sources, and these allow us to construct a relatively detailed model of the chronology (Appendix 2.19). The model is, however, noticeably dominated by Latin-texted works, not all of which are likely to have been written for the use of the Chapel Royal, and this must arouse our suspicions about the quantity of service music and the number of anthems that have been lost. Clear as it may be in certain important respects, the view that emerges of Tallis' final years, no less than that of his earlier career, is likely to be only a very incomplete one.

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It is now time to remove our model of the chronology of Tallis' music from the framework around which it has been constructed. Useful though it may be to distinguish between the works written by him during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, there is a real danger that the form of categorisation into 'periods' that this produces may assume a greater importance to us than it would

have to Tallis himself. The next task must therefore be to hang the entire model of Tallis' works on to other forms of framework, ones that emphasize the evolution and continuity of musical development rather than political distinction and doctrinal change. Of these, the largest, the most complex, and potentially the most significant concerns the place of foreign music in mid-Tudor England, and its impact on the nature of indigenous English music.

**Chapter 3**

**FOREIGN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND**

## FOREIGN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

From at least the time of his appointment as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal until the end of his career, Tallis must have been acutely aware of the presence of foreign musicians around him. Although the Chapel Royal appears to have recruited only English nationals to its membership during his lifetime, and may have performed a largely or exclusively insular repertory, it would be rash to use this as an evidence against foreign influence on the general development of English sacred music during the mid-sixteenth century. Other more oblique forms of contact certainly existed, and it is the aim of this chapter to describe and evaluate at least some of them.

The distinction between 'contact' and 'influence' is of course a crucial one. Relatively easy as it may be to suggest a variety of ways in which Tallis and his contemporaries would have encountered foreign music, it is quite another matter assessing the effect this contact would have had on the music they wrote themselves. Evidence of conscious modelling is almost entirely absent. To illustrate the point by a single case, it is tempting to see in Taverner's 'Meane' Mass a highly developed interest in foreign imitative technique, but the 'influence' is general, almost certainly cumulative, rather than attributable to any specific source. Inevitably, then, the outcome of this study can only be the identification of potential sources of influence; no single work by Tallis can be shown to owe its existence

to the imitation of a particular model.

Much of the material assembled in this chapter can only be interpreted with the greatest caution. It is highly probable that the surviving remains (and evidence of the former presence) of foreign music in mid-Tudor England only embody a small part of the truth, and perhaps a part that is not wholly representative of the whole. It is also clear that some of the material that lays itself open to scrutiny reflects the tastes or outlooks of donors, recipients, collectors and patrons rather than those of English composers. Some foreign music may have been widely known; but we cannot assume that the arrival of a Continental manuscript or printed book in England necessarily increases its potency as a source of influence. Its physical presence is no proof of its actual use, nor should we jump too hastily to the conclusion that its contents would automatically have become a focus of attention and respect, even assuming that the music was performed or read at all. Only when foreign music enters the English manuscript tradition do we have clear evidence of its having won some approval, however locally. With regard to foreign musicians resident in mid-Tudor England, it is rare to find anything more than a record of their physical presence; few left any music behind, and the repertoires they performed and helped to transmit or popularize are rarely easy to trace.

Containing as it does a high proportion of newly-researched material, the present survey inevitably draws upon a large number of existing studies; the aim has been to conflate, supplement and where necessary supersede these, and the result is inevitably only a very selective digest. Acknowledgement to specific sources of information is made throughout the text, and a preliminary bibliography of basic

literature on the subject given in Appendix 3.1.

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For information about the place of foreign music and the role of foreign musicians in England during Tallis's youth and early career, we are almost entirely dependent upon materials relating to the Tudor court. All of the foreign musicians who came to the country entered the service of secular employers, either royal or courtly. There is no evidence to suggest that Continental sacred music established an important place in the English liturgical repertory, even that of the Chapel Royal. As far as the early decades of the sixteenth century are concerned, only London is likely to have been exposed to appreciable quantities of foreign music, and it is certainly hard to imagine Tallis's ears ringing with the sound of anything other than his own works or those of his English colleagues during the years he spent at Dover Priory, Waltham Abbey or Canterbury Cathedral.

By the mid-1540s, when Tallis arrived at the Chapel Royal, a keen interest in foreign music had become established in court circles. This interest is in fact only one of many reflections, within the English arts of the period, of Henry VIII's cosmopolitan outlook in his foreign policy, an outlook that encouraged the collection and imitation of cultural models from abroad, whether from Burgundy, France or Italy. As far as music is concerned, much of this interest was fostered on home ground, through the importation of both foreign musicians and music books; but the diplomatic exchanges that took the English abroad almost certainly acted as powerful catalysts. Records of the latter unfortunately supply us with very few details about



music-making. Even the celebrated meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 is insufficiently well documented to allow more than a vague picture of the role played by music to emerge, although it does seem likely that the works of Fayrfax, Cornysh, Lloyd and their colleagues were heard alongside those of Mouton, Divitis and Claudin de Sermisy (see AngloC, KastR, BaillieM, all in JacquotF). At a similar meeting between Henry and Francis at Boulogne twelve years later, chansons were sung, presumably of the latest type published in Paris by Attaignant (Bernstein(J)C, pp.41-2).

Foreign music also reached the English in the form of gifts: finely-executed manuscripts exchanged in the cause of political diplomacy or expedience. Many of these would have arrived unsolicited, and it is unlikely that their recipients would have been consulted about their contents any more than their donors would have been aware of what they gave. The music itself, in other words, was less significant than the act of giving. At least two such presentation manuscripts, Lbl Royal 8.g.vii and the Newberry-Oscott partbooks, appear to have been diverted from other destinations to England at relatively short notice, and were certainly not compiled with Henry VIII specifically in mind. Two other such music books - Cmc Pepys 1760 and Lbl Royal 11.e.xi - arrived in England before 1520, a third - Lcm 1070 - in the early 1530s (the provenance of this latter book has however been disputed; LowinskyR argues that copying took place in England, probably by foreign scribes). Four further books may also have been received during the first few decades of the century - Lbl Royal 20.a.xvi, Lbl Harley 5242, Lbl Add.35087 and Ob Ashmole 831 - though their early history cannot be verified;

another two are believed to have been lost (see Stevens(J)MP, p.283). A full description of these presentation manuscripts is given in Appendix 3.2.

Receipt and impact are two very different issues. One of the most significant facts about the foreign music books presented to Henry VIII and his circle is that their contents appear not to have passed into the native English manuscripts tradition to any significant extent. This is especially true of the sacred music: liturgical sources of the period, such as Cu 27/Csj 234, Lbl Add.34191 and Lbl Harley 1709, contain none of the motets of the generation of Obrecht, Josquin, Isaac and Mouton found in the presentation manuscripts; even the (unattributed) Mass 'Adieu mes amours' in a now-lost choirbook from King's College Cambridge was more probably based on a song by Cornysh than a genuine foreign setting (see HarrisonM, p.433). Secular music fared little better, at least not before the 1520s: neither the 'Ritson' nor the 'Fayrfax' Manuscripts (Lbl Add.5665; Lbl Add.5465) contains foreign songs (a partial exception is noted in KempV), and it is only in Lbl Add.31922 ('Henry VIII's MS') of ca.1510-20 that we find any evidence of integration of a Continental repertory with an insular one. John Stevens has described the foreign items in this collection as 'international song-hits' (MB xviii, p.x), and it is certainly no real surprise to find such widely-circulated works as De tous biens plaine and Een vroylic wesen making their appearance in a manuscript closely connected with the early Tudor court (the foreign songs are transcribed in MB xviii, nos. 1-5, 36, 43, 83, 85, 95 and 99; see also nos. 7-10, 37, 42, 45-6, 78 and 81 in conjunction with the editor's critical commentary). Many of these songs had been moving around Europe for a

quarter of a century or more; only a very few pieces in Lbl Add.31922 testify to an active interest in more recent developments in Continental song.

Perhaps more symptomatic of the Early Tudor court's outlook on foreign music is the steady flow into the country of musicians from abroad, the majority of them instrumentalists. Some were visitors or only short-term residents: Dionysius Memo, for example, who is reported to have impressed Henry with his keyboard playing (see MumfordP), and Benedictus de Opiciis, apparently one of the protagonists in the preparation of the sumptuous manuscript Lbl Royal 11.e.xi; he too appears to have won favour at court (see Stevens(J)MP, p.265ff). Distinguished visitors such as these would have come supplied with their own native music repertoires, but surviving English manuscripts tell us nothing about what these might have been. A case has also been made for a degree of interest in frottole, with which the Venetian Ambassador and his colleagues apparently set out to impress the English court (MumfordP). Once again, tangible evidence of the repertory's presence is entirely lacking. A more permanent source of influence, however, must have been the band of foreign instrumentalists resident at the Tudor court. By 1540 Henry VIII had amassed a total of thirty-seven players and minstrels, the majority of whom were Italian (WoodfillM, p.178). Few of these men are likely to have been active in the performance and creation of anything more complex than dance music of the kind found in Lbl Royal App.74-6 (edited in MB xliv, nos. 76-111), and a repertory of simple lute songs and dances may also have grown up under them (described in BylerI). With its chordal basis, emphasis on regular periodic structure and strong cadential

articulation, the music they performed must have offered itself as a radical alternative to the polyphonically-minded English composers of courtly circles.

Of all the foreign musicians resident in England during Henry VIII's reign, Philip van Wilder appears to have occupied the most prominent position. He arrived in the mid 1520s, and by his death in 1553 had both risen to a highly influential position (as super-intendant of the King's private music) and won respect as a performer and composer of lute music. Very few of his lute works have survived, but we do possess some thirty polyphonic pieces, sacred and secular, the majority of them chansons for five or six voices. A full catalogue of his works found in English sources is given in Appendix 3.3, which conflates and supplements all previous lists. (Van Wilder's biography is described in greater detail in Bernstein(J)C, pp.236-50, HumphreysP and the entry 'Wilder, Philip van' by John Ward in The New Grove.)

Van Wilder's activity as a chanson composer at the Tudor court during the second half of Henry VIII's reign is of particular importance, for it supports the evidence of contemporary English manuscript repertories about the popularity of the chanson at court at about the time of Tallis' appointment to the Chapel Royal in the mid-1540s. The sources of this evidence are discussed below; but first, a few preliminary observations about the particular kind of chanson favoured in England need to be made. Small-scale, lighter forms were evidently preferred, works in which pithy, rhythmically animated musical subjects are worked in tight imitation to produce a succession of relatively short sections, punctuated by clear cadences. Unvaried restatement of material is common, normally in

the form of recapitulations (ABA). The word-setting is largely syllabic - or, in the case of untexted works, appears to have been so. There is little evidence of interest in dense, continuously polyphonic textures and expansive, weighty imitative points; the fashion leans more to compactness and short-term contrast. These are stylistic features of considerable interest, for they appear to have been taken up by English composers of the mid-century in their own repertory of partsongs. This connection - and its importance in the general development of later Tudor music - merits close attention, and is examined in detail in Chapter 4.

The earliest surviving English sources of such chansons date from the late 1520s or early 1530s, a period during which French fashions appear to have made a general impact on courtly taste following the marriage of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn. The two manuscripts in question, Lbl Royal App. 56 and 58, are both thought to reflect musical life at the Tudor court. Royal App. 58 contains the altus part of thirteen chansons from Attaignant's press, all lacking attribution and text, copied consecutively; the bassus of a fourteenth chanson occurs eight folios later, followed by a reduction of this work for keyboard. The same scribe also reduced the superius, tenor and bassus of five of these chansons for keyboard in Lbl Royal App. 56 (his exemplar was clearly a set of partbooks rather than one of Attaignant's own books of keyboard intabulations). Many of the chansons in these two manuscripts have been identified; a catalogue (which draws upon and supplements PartonK and WardL) is given in Appendix 3.4. Significantly, these works do not derive from any single printed source but rather bring together music published in a wide variety of Attaignant's songbooks. This may imply that a

large number of Attaignant's publications came over to England, although the absence of surviving copies in British libraries does nothing to support this view (see HeartzA, p.129); or it may be that Lbl Royal App. 56 and 58 derive from manuscript songbooks from the French court, possibly even ones that antedate the appearance of Attaignant's publications.

A period of some twenty years separates Lbl Royal App. 56 and 58 from the next surviving English songbook, Lpro 1/246 (described with list of contents in Stevens(D)P; it is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 below, and its contents transcribed and partly reconstructed in Appendix 4.7). This small partbook, the bassus from a set of four, is chiefly devoted to songs by English composers, a number of them untexted and unattributed. It does however contain at least two chansons, as well as a Latin grace, Benedicite Dominus (no. 19), that may be the work of a foreign composer. The first of the chansons is van Wilder's Las que ferai, adapted to the English words Shall I dispair thus sodeynly (no. 8); the other, Jay content (no. 17) is anonymous, untexted after its incipit and has not been identified. A compact work with a sectional ABAA structure, it too may be by van Wilder.

Approximately contemporary with Lpro 1/246 is Lbl Royal App. 41-4, a set of partbooks that appears to have been compiled in the region of Bruges, probably in the 1540s (the fullest description and inventory is in Bernstein(J)C, pp.54-80; this proposes Mary as the most likely recipient). The fourteen four-part chansons included here are of the semi-serious type favoured by Attaignant in his publications of the 1540s; in style they come close to the works of van Wilder.

By far the most important source of information about English taste in foreign music during the mid-sixteenth century has only recently come to light, and demands closer scrutiny than it has yet received. Y M.91(S) is an anthology of vocal music in score, with certain works reduced for keyboard or lute; there are also various additions in a second, later hand. It was copied in England, possibly by the 'Sawyer' who signs himself on f.60. To judge by its repertory, the manuscript was most likely copied by or during the 1560s. Like Lpro 1/246, it contains music by both English and foreign composers; but in this case, French, Italian or Latin-texted works from abroad far outnumber the English songs. A full inventory of the manuscript's contents is given in Appendix 3.5.

This unique collection supplements our view of the currency of foreign music in mid-Tudor England in several useful ways: it confirms the popularity of chansons, in particular those of a relatively light, unextended type; it provides us with the first evidence of the transmission of madrigals in the English manuscript tradition; and it is the earliest secular source of foreign motets. These various categories of work intermingle in an almost haphazard fashion in the manuscript, suggesting that the scribe either made use of a wide variety of exemplars, printed and manuscript, or copied from some already miscellaneous intermediate source or sources. The presence of four works by van Wilder argues in favour of the latter interpretation; they suggest that this is, in part at least, a body of music related to the repertory of the court. This view is further supported by the inclusion of partsongs by Sheppard and Tallis, both of whom are likely to have had connections with the court through their association with the Chapel Royal. Several of the foreign

works included in the collection have concordances in later English manuscripts, and much of the music is of the kind that appears to have been in circulation in England in printed form by the 1560s.

Most closely related to Y M.91(S) among slightly later sources is Lbl Add.31390, a table-book generally assumed to have been intended for instrumental use; it bears the date of 1578. 31390 is another key English source of mid-century foreign music. It contains what might be called an 'old corpus' of works published in the 1540s and 50s, some of which could have been circulating in English collections of the kind represented by Y M.91(S) for several decades, and pieces from more recent foreign prints, such as Merlo's Non pur d'almi splendori, first published in 1561. A catalogue of the foreign music in Lbl Add.31390, including the many works by van Wilder preserved in the manuscript, is given in Appendix 3.6; this draws upon and in several respects supersedes the inventories given in NobleI and Bernstein(J)C.

The 'old corpus' of foreign music in 31390 is easily recognised. First, there are the nineteen pieces by Philip van Wilder: 16 chansons, 2 motets and a madrigal. Second, there are three works also found in Y M.91(S): two madrigals (Verdelot's Madonna somm' accorto and Arcadelt's Il bianco e dolce cigno) and a chanson by Crecquillon, Un gai bergier (three of the chansons by van Wilder in Y M.91(S) also occur in 31390). Contemporary with these, although not found in any English source before 31390, are Crecquillon's Deus virtutem, Hollander's Dum transisset, Clemens' Qui consolabatur, le Coq's Le bergier, Maillart's Ascendo ad Patrem and Janequin's Or vien ça, vien, all of which appear in Continental publications. Six anonymous chansons and two madrigals have not been traced, and may be



the work of van Wilder or one of his foreign colleagues at court (the pieces in question are on ff.14, 15, 19, 51, 106, 111, 116 and 118). Not all of the foreign music in 31390 is transmitted in its original form; at least three pieces are reworkings in five or six parts of originally four-part music (Arcadelt's Si grand'è la pietà, Clemens' Frisque et gaillard, Arcadelt's Il bianco e dolce cigno), and another, Janequin's Or vien ça, vien, has a pars ad placitum (as do several of the In nomine settings in the manuscript). This is, in other words, a 'living corpus', a body of music reworked or enriched by other musicians. It is even possible that van Wilder was himself responsible for some of these changes; several of his own chansons are 'parodies' of works by other composers (see HumphreysP, p.18 ff.) in the same way that the three anonymous 'parodies' mentioned above might be described as being 'after' Arcadelt, Clemens and Janequin.

The 'new corpus' of foreign music in 31390 is much smaller. It comes as no surprise to find a work each by Lassus ('the foreign composer most admired by the Elizabethans': KermanT, p.302) and Alfonso Ferrabosco [i], nor one by Derrick Gerarde, who appears to have to have been in the service of the Earl of Arundel during the 1560s. It is likely that the copy of Gombert's Si mon travail (f.19) also derives from Gerarde's circle, for the work was never published and is now known only from one of Gerarde's own partbook sets, Lbl Royal App.49-54 (discussed below). Merlo's Non pur d'almi splendori can only have been copied from RISM 1561<sup>10</sup>, of which it is the initial work.

Like Y M.91(S), Lbl Add 31390 contains a broad cross-section of mid-century Continental music, and it is clearly in general several

stages removed from the foreign printed editions that must have served at some stage as exemplars. If the works by van Wilder are included, foreign music makes up some 40% of the manuscript's contents, with chansons far outnumbering either motets or madrigals. Van Wilder's prominence strongly implies a close connection between this repertory and the court - as does the other outstanding feature of the manuscript, the large body of In nomine and Dum transisset settings by Tye. As van Wilder and Tye were almost certainly colleagues at court during the reign of Edward VI, it is even possible that 31390 contains an essentially royal repertory of the mid-sixteenth century. If so, it is a body of music with which Tallis is likely to have been familiar.

By the 1580s, the body of foreign music represented by collections such as Y M.91(S) and Lbl Add.31390 had begun to disperse, replaced by the newer fashions of Ferrabosco, Lassus and the madrigal. A few Elizabethan manuscripts contain odd remnants of the older repertory; these are listed in Appendix 3.7 (lute and keyboard books are excluded; the Gerarde manuscripts, which constitute a special case, are discussed separately below). Van Wilder continues to be well represented, and a few mid-century works - such as Verdelot's Madonna somm' accorto - circulated widely. Certain other works of similar date make their first appearance - the motets by Crecquillon and Clemens in T389/James and later layers of Lbl Add.30480-4, for example - and it may be that these arrived by way of an English manuscript tradition rather than from printed exemplars. Accretions to the repertory include music by William Daman, who arrived in England in 1562, Derrick Gerarde and the elder Ferrabosco. The group of Introits by Constanzo Porta in Lbl Add. 47844 can only have been

copied from the 1566 edition of his Musica in introitus missarum.

Berg and Neuber's five-volume Thesaurus musicus (RISM 15641-5) is another recognizable copy-source for certain works. Philippe de Monte's Super flumina arrived, of course, by a less conventional route (see KermanM, pp.44-5).

The evidence of these later Elizabethan manuscripts must, however, be interpreted with a degree of caution. If the quantity of foreign music they contain is often surprisingly low, this may in fact be a reflection of the outlooks of their scribes rather than evidence about the distribution of foreign music in England at the time. A sense of nostalgia and nationalism runs through the music books of (for example) John Baldwin (Och 979-83), Robert Dow (Och 984-8) and John Sadler (Ob 1-5; T 1486/SP), and it is clear that the themes of their collections are determined by their particular connoisseurship. Only certain kinds of English music are admitted, and only the most select works of Continental composers have been allowed to pass through the net. Och 979-83, compiled after 1575, illustrates the point: it contains almost exclusively Latin sacred music, most of it by Englishmen, some of it written as much as fifty years earlier; Byrd, a colleague of Baldwin's, is well represented, and there are a few pieces by van Wilder, Daman, Gerarde and Ferrabosco. Hollander's Dum transisset (also found in Lbl Add.31390) is admitted as part of a collection of settings of this text; Ubi est Abel, actually by Lassus, may have been accepted in the mistaken belief that it was by Douglas, to whom it is attributed. Only three (apparently foreign) works fall outside the scheme, all of them unascrbed and as yet unidentified: Confitebor tibi (no. 64) and the two settings of Ecce nunc benedicite (nos. 102 and 103).

There may however be another reason why the quantity of foreign music in many English manuscripts is so small. By the 1560s the flow of music books from the presses of Susato, Phalèse, Scotto, Gardano and many other publishing houses had become steady. These books were cheap and relatively easy to come by. This new degree of accessibility lessened the need for transmission by hand, and the quantity of foreign music entering the English manuscript tradition generally declined - with many obvious but relatively localized exceptions, such as the Paston group or Tregian's anthologies. Nicholas Yonge was certainly not alone in having '[music] bookes of that kinde yeerly sent me out of Italy and other places' (preface to RISM 1588<sup>29</sup>; quoted in PattisonM, p.7); on the contrary, by 1575 the English appear to have been importing substantial numbers of foreign printed music books. It was presumably in order to take advantage of this that Tallis and Byrd had the following clause included in their privilege granted by Elizabeth in 1575, and printed in the preface to their Cantiones sacrae:

Also we [Elizabeth] do straightly by the same forbid all printers booksellers subjects strangers, other than is aforesaid [Tallis and Byrd]... to bring or cause to be brought out of any forren Realmes into our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, to sell or put to sale, upon pains of our high displeasure.

Convenient and welcome as the printed music book may have been to the mid-sixteenth century English purchaser, it makes the task of assessing the circulation and impact of foreign music during Tallis' career infinitely more complex. To begin with, the printed book - like the presentation manuscript - is almost too easily acquired;

casual purchase, especially by the increasingly musically-literate English aristocracy and educated classes, is no equivalent to the painstaking transmission of music by hand, an act that implies a higher level of selection, discrimination and taste than does the acquisition of the printed 'package deal'. Second, ownership of a printed music book is no guarantee of the fact that it was used for performance: the simple fact of having the subject represented on the library shelf might be reason enough for purchase, just as the quality of the binding might have appealed as much as the musical contents. Put another way, unless a printed music book serves as an exemplar for copying, its importance as a potential influence except at a local level is severely lessened. Manuscripts such as Y M.91(S) and Lbl Add.31390 belong to part of an active line of transmission, one in which a body of foreign music has been desired, admired, presumably heard and therefore well absorbed by English ears. A printed music book can only influence when it falls into receptive hands.

Despite these limitations, the evidence that can be amassed about the circulation of foreign printed music in mid-Tudor England is unlikely to tell us nothing about changing patterns of taste among music-lovers in the country at large. Viewed with caution, their evidence suggests that the level of interest in foreign music already well established in courtly circles by 1550 gradually spread, and that a general trend can be sensed that eventually links the fashion for chansons in the 1530s and 40s with the madrigal boom some forty years later. The trend is only vaguely implied by the contents of the few surviving English music manuscripts of the period; printed music adds a great deal of substance to this argument.

Literary sources tell us disappointingly little about the availability and circulation of foreign publications in England. The few surviving English booklists of the period make no mention of music, and it may be that purchases were largely made abroad or through foreign agents, or even casually. Sir Thomas Chaloner's accounts of 1552 record the following transaction: 'Given to a Flemish musician who teaches my daughter for song books Italian in four parts, 10s' (cited in WoodfillM, p.256). Tallis and Byrd's patent clearly set out to terminate the dealings of all retail outlets in England, though it could not of course prevent the traveller returning from abroad with whatever music he chose. Library catalogues of the period yield very little information - with the major exception of the Nonsuch inventory, which is discussed a little later - and will tell us nothing specific about music books (see JayneC for information on library lists). Household accounts make far fewer references to the purchase of music than they do to payments relating to instruments, tuition or performance (see WoodfillM, pp.252-79; PriceP, passim, esp. pp.67-152).

The richest sources of information we possess about the circulation of foreign printed music in England during Tallis' lifetime are actual surviving copies. These almost certainly amount to only a small and possibly unrepresentative sample of what was originally extant, but they do nonetheless tell us a great deal. Some are signed with English names, or bound and stamped in ways that indicate their provenance; others contain markings of a kind that can only have been entered during rehearsal or performance - corrections of printing errors, added accidentals, barlines, or small marginal marks that may indicate that a work has been tried, learnt or

rejected. (In only a few cases do markings of this kind extend through an entire book; more often they are applied only to one or several pieces.) Many of the partbook sets that can be traced back to Tudor ownership contain two or more publications bound together in tracts, and in several cases it is clear that the books were acquired when already in this state. The purchaser, in other words, may not always have been responsible for the choice of items making up a tract volume; retailers may have played a large part in assembling 'packages' of this kind. For this reason, the contents of a tract volume are sometimes to be taken only as evidence of the purchaser's general interest in foreign music rather than a record of his personal discrimination. It is also clear that all of the surviving foreign music prints from Tudor England were owned by private individuals; we know nothing about the collections that may have been amassed by court musicians or for use in Chapel Royal services, nor can any be linked with cathedrals, parish churches or private chapels. Again, the sources are entirely secular, and mostly from amateur musical circles. A cumulative list of books discussed below is given in Appendix 3.8.

Information about the circulation of foreign printed music in England before ca.1540 is almost entirely lacking. Mention has already been made of Nicholo Sagudino's request in 1515 for new books of frottole to be sent to the Tudor court, and of the sources that are likely to have served as exemplars for English manuscripts such as Lbl Royal App.56, 58 and Y M.91(S). Six unbound fragments of music books published by Antico, Gardano and Scotto between 1533 and 1539, now in the Harding collection at Oxford (Appendix 3.8, no.1), may possibly be of English provenance, although the evidence is very

slight indeed - the name 'Thomas' is added twice by hand (on items 2 and 6). In its mixture of chansons and madrigals, however, the resemblance with the repertory of Y M.91(S) is very close, even if the quantity of madrigals in the Harding books is proportionately higher.

From the early 1540s comes Och 341, a bassus partbook from a set of four, containing three tracts of motets and madrigals published in Venice between 1539 and 1542 (Appendix 3.8, no. 2). The binding is contemporary, almost certainly English, and incorporates parchment fragments from a liturgical book. There is no indication of the original owner, but by the mid-seventeenth century it had passed into the hands of Christopher Gibbons, whose signature it bears. Of similar date is a small library of five partbook sets, bound separately, from north European presses, now in the British Library (Appendix 3.8, no. 3). Each book is numbered as 'Li.[=Liber/Livre]1', 'Li.2', etc., and uses the symbols †, ‡, Λ and P to distinguish Superius, Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus partbooks respectively. ('Li.4' has not been traced in the British Library). Two of the sets, 'Li.2' and 'Li.5', contain manuscript additions on blank pages of madrigals by Sebastiano Festo and Verdelot, which contrast with the French- and Latin-texted music of the prints themselves. Only one of the sets, 'Li.1', can be traced back to early English ownership with certainty on grounds of marginal jottings and the signatures 'Thomas Payer [or Proyer] 1616' and 'Anthony Dixson 1641'; the provenance of the other books is uncertain, but their similar date - all published between 1541 and 1543 - and collector's numbers and signs do suggest that the books maintain their original state as a small music library. Also of



uncertain, though probably Tudor, provenance is Och 297-300 (Appendix 3.8, no. 4), a copy of Domenico Ferabosco's madrigal book of 1542.

By far the most interesting item from this period is Dtc B.1.27-31 (Appendix 3.8, no. 5), a complete set of five partbooks containing ten tracts of madrigals, motets and chansons published in Venice by Gardano between 1543 and 1553. They were owned in 1610 by Peregrine Hoby of Bysham, and might well have been passed down to him by way of his natural father, Sir Edward Hoby, from Sir Thomas Hoby, translator of Castiglione's Il cortegiano (The Book of the Courtyer, London, 1561); Sir Thomas had travelled through Padua in 1554 and Frankfurt in 1555, and might easily have acquired the books at that time. The original covers are intact, and contain fragments of a liturgical book in the spine of the binding, which may imply that the partbooks were assembled in their present form in England rather than abroad. If these books did indeed belong to Sir Thomas Hoby, they would show that the translator of this influential courtesy book did at least aspire to the level of musical literacy that his text advocates.

Following on chronologically from the Hoby books is Och 508-9 (Appendix 3.8, no. 6), a pair of partbooks from a set of five containing thirteen tracts of motets and chansons published by Phalèse between 1554 and 1560. These books were certainly put together in England, for the binding contains parchment fragments from a London will dated 'the xxiii day of march in the first [year of the] raigne of quene Elisabeth'. The covers are stamped with the initials 'H.B'. In its range of music, this set contains a repertory very similar to that transmitted by Elizabethan manuscripts - largely Franco-Flemish, mostly for five or six voices. But 'H.B' also possessed a set of madrigal books, Och 306-9 (Appendix 3.8, no. 7),

containing six of Scotto's publications from a similar period, 1559-61; these too are stamped with his initials, and also contain the signatures of 'Henry Ashlye' and 'Henry more'. Other madrigal collections of similar date can be traced back to English ownership: a copy of Gardano's Il terzo libro delle Muse a cinque voci (RISM 1561<sup>10</sup>) was used by the scribe of Lbl Add.31390, and three other sets are still extant. The first of these, Lbl (PB) K.3.b.15 (Appendix 3.8, no. 8), published in 1564, has Tallis' O salutaris hostia entered by hand in its blank staves; the second, Lbl (PB) K.2.d.19 (Appendix 3.8, no. 9), containing two tracts published in 1557 and 1564 respectively, was originally owned by 'Michel Whiler' and later passed to one 'Geo Pearson'; the third, Dm Z4.3.1-5 (Appendix 3.8, no. 10), an eleven-tract set of Scotto madrigals from the period 1566-71, bears the inscription 'Jane Molyner is my sister' (the first tract, Adson's Courtly masquing ayres of 1621, was clearly bound in at a later date). Roughly contemporary with these is Och 318-19 (Appendix 3.8, no. 11), a collection of three-part motets and chansons published by Phalèse in 1569, which bears the signature of 'Rich. Forster'.

Perhaps the most important fact to emerge from a study of the foreign music publications listed above is that the range of music contained in them is extremely wide. Madrigals as well as chansons appear to have been in at least some demand by the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and motet books were being imported not apparently for church use but rather for domestic music-making. This diversity is not altogether apparent in contemporary manuscripts, which contain few madrigals. It is, however, reflected in what is without doubt the richest source of information about the place of foreign music in

early Elizabethan England: the library assembled by Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley.

As a high-ranking and especially prominent figure at the Elizabethan court, Arundel's taste in music is of particular interest, for it can almost certainly be taken as an indicator of courtly fashion in general - fashion about which we are otherwise poorly informed, owing to the shortage of surviving contemporary sources and total absence of other music books that can be linked directly with royal circles. Arundel was a cultured, well-read and widely travelled man, with keen interest in antiquities and a passion for collecting books of all kinds. He entertained lavishly, both at his London house and at his magnificent country residence, Nonsuch Palace, and there is no doubt that music featured prominently in his life and that of his family, both publicly and in private. Evidence of this comes partly in the form of an inventory of his collection of musical instruments - and an extraordinary large and varied collection it was (listed in WarrenN, p.50); but even more revealing is a catalogue of the music books that he owned. This catalogue was prepared in 1596, seventeen years after Arundel's death, by which time the library had merged with that of Lord Lumley and was kept in its entirety at Nonsuch. The original 1596 document has itself been lost, but an accurate and slightly up-dated copy survives from 1609 (edited with a detailed commentary in JayneL).

Arundel's music collection can be classified in four categories. First, there would have been books of domestic music - for keyboard, lute, viols and perhaps voices - of which virtually none survive; it is, after all, hardly surprising that working books used daily for music-making should in general have failed to find a place on the

library shelves. Second, there are manuscripts compiled by the musicians whom Arundel appears to have maintained - notably Derrick Gerarde and possibly also Clement Morel, both of them foreigners by birth. Third, there are manuscripts acquired from other sources, in England or abroad. Finally, there is printed music, all of it Continental. Lumley also possessed some foreign printed music of his own, and later added publications of works by Tallis, Byrd and (possibly) Palestrina to the collection.

The six manuscripts apparently assembled and written by Derrick Gerarde are of particular interest. Virtually nothing is known about Gerarde's career, and even his identity remains something of a mystery (see Charles Warren, 'Gerarde, Derick', The New Grove). Perhaps the most tangible evidence we have of his physical presence in England is the fact that one of the manuscripts containing his music, Lbl Royal App.57 (assumed to be autograph; not included in the 1609 Nonsuch catalogue), is written on printed music paper of a kind almost certainly manufactured in England during the 1560s (Fenlon & MilsomP). The Nonsuch library contained at least six further manuscripts of his (JayneL, entry no.2588 - now Lbl Royal App.17-22, 23-5, 26-30 and 31-5; no. 2600 - now Lbl Royal App.49-54; no. 2607 - now lost), and this is generally taken as evidence that he at least benefitted from Arundel's patronage, even that he served as musician-in-residence to Arundel's household. The high incidence of pastedown cancels bearing major revisions of sections of works or even of entire pieces in these books suggests that they were the composer's personal copies, and that much if not all of the unascribed, unique music they contain is by Gerarde himself, especially in view of its stylistic similarity to his authenticated

music (see WarrenG). Motets and chansons dominate these manuscripts; the only madrigals are apparently by Gerarde himself, as are the two English-texted pieces. (For a list of his works, see The New Grove; virtually all of the madrigals, villanellas and instrumental dances listed there come from Lbl Royal App. 59-62, which is not obviously connected with Gerarde, and are unlikely to be by him.) Gerarde's music appears not to have been widely disseminated in England: few of his works are found in contemporary sources, and his name is included neither by Thomas Whythorne nor Thomas Morley in their lists of composers active in England (WhythorneA, pp. 300-3; MorleyP, pp. 319-21).

Another foreign composer, Clement Morel, also appears to have been closely associated with Arundel. His canonic 'Songe of the Garter' (JayneL, no. 2608; now bound into Lbl Royal 8.g.vii), a setting of the motto of the Order of the Garter, is dedicated to the Earl, and several works by him among the music prints from Nonsuch are annotated with comments on the connection between composer and patron (see Jane Bernstein, 'Morel', The New Grove). Again, however, there is no evidence of the circulation of his music outside Arundel's circle.

In addition to the items copied by or linked with Derrick Gerarde and Clement Morel, the Nonsuch library contained a wide variety of music manuscripts, the majority of them copied abroad or containing at least some foreign works. These are listed in Appendix 3.9. Only three are of certain English provenance: a set of songbooks, possibly Henrician in date (Appendix 3.9, no. 1); the so-called 'Lumley' partbooks (Appendix 3.9, no. 2), with their added repertory of instrumental dances probably emanating from the royal band and

possibly partly copied by Gerarde (HolmanR); and a copy of Tallis' Spem in alium (Appendix 3.9, no. 3), perhaps a score or set of parts used at the first performance (see Stevens(D)S, p.175). Three other items may have been copied in England: the anonymous five-part Lamentations, probably the work of a foreign composer (Appendix 3.9, no. 4; described in WarrenM); the books headed by Dulcis amica Dei (Appendix 3.9, no. 5), probably the setting by Prioris found in Cmc Pepys 1760, Lbl Add.35087 and Lbl Add.31922 as well as many foreign sources; and the books headed by Que ce d'Amours (Appendix 3.9, no. 6). A further three appear to have been imported: the 'Galliardes and Neapolitane songs' (Appendix 3.9, no. 7; the dances are discussed and edited in LPM DM 2/3); the set of madrigals by Innocenzo Alberti commissioned by Arundel during a visit to Padua and dated 1564 (Appendix 3.9, no. 8; described in ObertelloV, p. 76); and the 'manuscript Italice' of madrigals (Appendix 3.9, no. 9), possibly the Newberry-Oscott partbooks (suggested in SlimG, i, p.10). Further foreign music may have featured among the 'Divers imperfect bookes' (Appendix 3.9, no. 10).

Even more numerous in the 1609 Nonsuch catalogue - 28 entries out of a total of 45 music items - are printed music books. Of these, only five are English (JayneL, nos. 2575 and 2596-9, all of them publications of music by Tallis and Byrd), leaving a total of 23 entries relating to foreign works. Even at this size, the collection would have been remarkable; but close scrutiny of the surviving books reveals that its true extent was considerably greater. Many of the partbook sets contained not a single publication but several - in a few cases, as many as fourteen - bound together in tracts; and of these, only the top tract is described in the 1609 catalogue, this

being sufficient to identify the volumes from all the others. Shortly after their arrival in the British Museum in ca.1753 the books were split up, rebound by publication and shelved in a rationalized order, thus obscuring the original extent of the partbook sets. It has however been possible to reconstruct a number of these, sometimes by reference to early British Museum catalogues, often through physical evidence - bookworm holes, library stamps, foliation, stains, offsets and other signs - and in a few cases by reference to transcriptions made by Charles Burney and Edmund Thomas Warren-Horne at a time when the partbooks were still bound in tracts.

A catalogue of the surviving printed music from the Nonsuch library is given in Appendix 3.10. A box designates the original extent of a tract volume, of which the uppermost tract is described in the 1609 catalogue. Within the box, each tract is assigned a number, and identified by its present pressmark in the British Library, followed by an abridged form of its title, its publisher and its date, with RISM number-siglum. To the extreme left of each box a descending bar represents the degree of certainty with which the order of the tracts can be established: a double line for absolute certainty, single for high probability and dotted for strong possibility. Short horizontal bars indicate identifiable top and bottom tracts. In only one case - Appendix 3.10, no. 8 - do single and dotted lines occur in sufficient quantity to raise any serious doubts about the general succession.

The tract volumes are of two types: series and miscellanies. To the first category belong Appendix 3.10, no. 1 (Phalèse's Cantiones sacrae), no. 2 (Berg and Neuber's Thesaurus musicus), no. 4 (Susato's Livres de chansons, apparently followed by two Gardano publications),

nos. 5 and 15 (Susato's Libri ecclesiasticarum cantionum), no. 7 (Susato's Libri sacrarum cantionum) and no. 14 (Phalèse's Livres de chansons). The miscellanies comprise three sets unified by publisher (nos. 8 and 11, Gardano and Scotto; no. 10, Petrucci) and one from minor houses from Milan and Venice, which is also unified by date (no. 6). Willaert's Musica nova (no. 3) is bound on its own on account of its upright quarto format and sheer bulk. All of these books bear Arundel's signature, and subsequently passed to Lord Lumley. The remaining three sets - nos. 9, 12, and 13 - bear Lumley's signature only, and appear not to have belonged to Arundel; they are madrigal books published around 1560, and seem not to have extended beyond a single tract.

On the strength of evidence gleaned from these surviving partbooks, it is possible to speculate about the original nature of the foreign prints listed in the 1609 catalogue that have not survived. The relevant entries (from JayneL) are listed in Appendix 3.11: the third column reproduces the 1609 description, the fourth identifies this where possible with a RISM number-siglum, the fifth speculates on the likelihood of the item having been a tract volume, ranging from three stars (certain) through two (probable or possible) to one (unlikely). This has been calculated on the assumption that Arundel was the original owner of the earlier items and motet books (Appendix 3.11, nos. 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7), and that the three madrigal publications from the 1560s (nos. 1, 3 and 8) were more probably the property of Lumley; Arundel's surviving books are almost without exception tract volumes, Lumley's are not.

The size of Arundel's music collection can partly be attributed to his general bibliomania; some of his books may have been acquired



'either incidently, or simple for the sake of having the subject [music] represented on [his] shelves' (KingB, p.7). Others may have reached him by way of Derrick Gerarde or Clement Morel. It is also unlikely that Arundel was actively involved in the compilation of tract volumes: these would probably have been bought ready bound (the binding of Willaert's Musica nova - Appendix 3.10, no. 3 - has been identified as Flemish by Mirjam Foot of the British Library). Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that Arundel's interest in foreign music was sincere; his association with Gerarde, Morel and Alberti testifies to this, and his impressive collection of manuscript and printed music serves as supporting evidence. Exceptionally large as this music library may have been by early Elizabethan standards, it is typical in the breadth of its range, with a significant number of madrigals and lighter Italian forms as well as a wide variety of chansons, motets and even Masses. Belonging as it did to one of the leading courtiers of the time - and a man who actively pursued Elizabeth's hand in marriage - it can almost certainly be taken as a general guide to attitudes towards foreign music in the Queen's circle.

Another indicator of courtly taste at the time is WCc 153 (the so-called 'Winchester partbooks'; studied in RittermanW, to which this account is indebted). This partbook set was compiled in 1564, apparently abroad, and was almost certainly a gift to the Queen. The collection originally contained 81 Italian songs - mostly villotte and canzoni villanesche rather than madrigals proper - and sixteen chansons, mostly in four parts. Like the earlier presentation manuscripts, however, its contents may reflect the tastes of the (unidentified) donor rather than those of the recipient.

Later library catalogues tell us little about the circulation of foreign music books in England during Tallis' lifetime; by 1600, interest in the Italian madrigal and in contemporary sacred music by Victoria, the Gabrielis and others of their generation had replaced that for the repertory of the mid-sixteenth century. A few early prints or manuscripts may have been owned by the Kytsons of Hengrave Hall, although an inventory of their music books made in 1602-3 is tantalizingly vague (see Wilbye 1598, p.x). By 1605, a large collection of music had been amassed by the Cavendishes of Chatsworth, but this comprised only fashionable madrigal books (PriceP, pp.116-7). Even the library of William Heather, bequeathed to the Music School at Oxford in 1627, contained nothing earlier than Tallis and Byrd's Cantiones sacrae of 1575 (Crum0). The scribes who compiled the many partbooks belonging to Edward Paston from the 1590s clearly had access to a wide variety of foreign prints, but the taste was now for the music of Palestrina, Marenzio, Giovanni Gabrieli, Croce, Lassus, Vaet, Philips, le Jeune and especially Victoria; earlier Continental music is rare (see BrettP). Similarly the huge collection of music copied by Francis Tregian between ca.1609 and 1619 (Lb1 Eg.3665 and US-NYp 4302) is dominated by recently composed foreign works. The nostalgia for English music of the past, evident in the manuscripts of Baldwin, Dow, Sadler and others, was clearly not accompanied by a continuing respect for foreign music of the early and mid-sixteenth century.

More positive information about the place of foreign music in England during Tallis' lifetime comes from literary sources, of which the earliest and most explicit is one of the commendatory verses prefaced to Tallis and Byrd's Cantiones sacrae of 1575. Here Sir

Ferdinando Heybourne ('Ferdinandus Richardsonus') speaks of the accessibility (especially in printed form) of music by four foreign composers:

Orlandum numeros divina voce sonare,  
 Edere & immensae posteritatis opus,  
 Suavia Gombardum modulamina fundere dulcem,  
 Clementum placidos concinuisse modos,  
 Temporis Alphonsum nostri Phaenica creare  
 Carmina, quae Phoebus vendicet esse sua ...

Orlando [Lassus], singing with his heavenly voice and composing his works for the ages, Gombert pouring out his dulcet measures, Clemens harmonizing his gentle strains, Alfonso [Ferrabosco, I], the Phoenix of our time, creating songs that Apollo might well claim as his own ... (translation from BoydE, pp.289-91).

Ferrabosco's inclusion in this list is hardly surprising in view of his close association with the English court; and Lassus' name also comes as no surprise. Gombert and Clemens, on the other hand, are less well represented in English manuscript sources of the period, although their works do feature prominently in Derrick Gerarde's collections and many foreign printed editions (see for example Appendix 3.8, nos. 5 and 6; Appendix 3.10, nos. 1, 4, 5, 7 and 14; Appendix 3.11, no. 25). Heybourne's choice of words suggests deep-rooted respect for this foreign music - and Heybourne was himself a pupil of Tallis.

By 1591 - the date of John Baldwin's concluding poem to his commonplace book, Lbl RM 24.d.2 - Italian music in the form of madrigals had begun to arrive in England in substantial quantities, and the names singled out for commendation are rather different:

Yet must I speake of moe even of straingers also;  
 And first I must bringe in Alfonso Ferrabosco,  
 A strainger borne he was ain Italie as I here;  
 Italians saie of him in skill he had no peere.  
 Luca Merensio with others manie moe,  
 As Philipp Demonte the Emperours man also;  
 and Orlando by name and eeke Crecquillon,  
 Cipriano Rore: and also Andreon.  
 All famous in there arte, there is of that no doute;  
 There works no lesse declare in everies place about ...

(transcription taken from BoydE, pp.310-11)

Ferrabosco remains prominent; Marenzio and Philippe de Monte, two of the leading madrigal composers, are high on the list, and Rore and 'Andreon' - presumably Andrea Gabrieli - are also recent discoveries for the English. Crecquillon, on the other hand, represents an earlier generation of chanson and motet composers; like Clemens and Gombert, his music is found in a few English manuscripts and was readily accessible in printed form. Curiously, four of the composers listed by Baldwin - Lassus, Crecquillon, Rore and 'Andreon' - are not represented in the musical contents of Lbl RM 24.d.2.

Thomas Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke of 1597 includes as an appendix a list of 'Authors whose authorities be either cited or used', including the names of many foreign composers (see MorleyP, pp.319-21). It appears, however, that in compiling this list Morley drew heavily upon Glareanus' Dodecachordon, and there is nothing to suggest that he had first-hand knowledge of the many theorists and 'practitioners' whose work he quotes. Omissions from his list are as significant as inclusions: he mentions no composer earlier than Ockeghem and omits the names of

Obrecht, Isaac, Crecquillon, Verdelot, Arcadelt, Willaert, virtually all French and German composers of the mid-century, most Italians before composers of the Musica transalpina generation, and Spanish composers altogether. The names of van Wilder, Gerarde, Morel and Daman are also missing. Morley's attention is clearly focussed upon English music and recent development in the Italian madrigal.

One final (and oblique) source of information about the availability of foreign music in mid-Tudor England comes in the form of Scottish manuscripts. Although Scotland's political and cultural independence during the period cannot be overemphasized, two music books appear to have some connection with English repertories, even if written north of the border. One, Thomas Wode's partbook set, compiled between 1562 and ca.1590, includes a small group of foreign pieces (listed in Appendix 3.12A) as well as music by English composers and works by Robert Johnson (i) 'set in England' (Appendix 3.12B). Whether or not the foreign works also derive from English sources is unclear, although the existence of English concordances for two of them - Clemens' Qui consolabatur and Lassus' Susanne un jour - is suggestive of this. The other Scottish partbook set with possible English connections is Eul 64 (the so-called 'Dunkeld' or 'Douglas-Fisher' partbooks), compiled around 1550. This contains sixteen motets for between six and eight voices, most of them by French composers and apparently copied from publications of Attaignant (see ElliottD for discussion and inventory). Only one - van Wilder's Vidi civitatem - cannot be traced in any foreign printed edition, and this raises the possibility that the entire repertory may have come to Scotland by way of England - as did one of the later additions to the partbooks, Ashwell's Mass Jesu Christe.

Whatever its provenance, Eul 64 stands apart from all British manuscripts described so far on account of its apparently liturgical status; it is even possible that its contents come from the repertory of the Scottish Chapel Royal. No English liturgical source of the period can match this - although it must in fairness be admitted that the number of such sources that survive is extremely small, and even these may not be representative. Only one English liturgical music book of the period is of interest for the foreign sacred music it contains: the 'Peterhouse' partbook set (Cp 471-4) of ca.1540, which includes two Continental works, Jachet of Mantua's Aspice Domine and Lupus Hellinck's Mass Surrexit pastor (discussed in LockwoodC; see also SandonP), amidst a repertory of otherwise exclusively English ritual and votive items. No other source contains anything equivalent: Lbl Add.17802-5 admits only two pieces by van Wilder, while Ob 376-81 (the 'Forrest-Heather' partbooks), the various Ludlow partbooks (described in SmithL) and the English-texted service books (Lbl Royal App. 74-6; Ob 420-2 and John Day's publications) are exclusively devoted to music by British composers. No surviving foreign publication can be shown to have been owned or used in any English church or chapel; even the fragments of four-part Masses by French composers published by le Roy and Ballard in 1558 and recovered from bindings of books in Merton College, Oxford (RISM 1558<sup>1</sup> and 1558<sup>2</sup>; now Ome P.3.12) are of unknown provenance, and may have been used for domestic music-making - as was a similar set of du Chemin Mass publications of Scottish origin, Eul JZ.28. The true place of foreign music in the English liturgical repertory of the mid-sixteenth century is now impossible to calculate.

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Although Tallis may not have encountered foreign music on a regular day-to-day basis in the course of his work with the Chapel Royal, other forms of contact were inescapable. By the time of his arrival in London in the mid-1540s, foreign music was well established at court, especially in the form of dances and the chanson. Philip van Wilder, prominent in court music-making, may have been one of Tallis' closest colleagues for some ten years. Other aliens - mostly performers - surrounded him. The mid-1550s saw the arrival in London of Philip II's chapel and musicians, among them Antonio de Cabezón and the young Philippe de Monte (see WardS). A few years after Elizabeth's accession, Ferrabosco took up residence in London; if 'neither a very inspired composer nor a very modern one, he was certainly an extremely competent technician' (KermanE, pp.92-3), and his music appears to have both attracted widespread interest and won him general commendation. English taste for foreign music rapidly matured: other foreign composers such as Gerarde and Damán arrived; foreign printed music was imported in ever-increasing quantities, and one London printer, Thomas Vautrollier, even went so far as to publish a volume of music by Lassus, the Recueil du Mellange of 1570, in anticipation of a ready English market (see SternfeldL, KermanL). As well as chansons and motets, madrigals had begun to attract interest by at least the 1560s, even if 'most in account with them that understand that language [Italian]' (Nicolas Yonge, preface to Musica transalpina, 1588).

What effect did this foreign music and these musicians from abroad have in the development of English church music during Tallis' lifetime? The question - if it can in fairness be asked at all - clearly does not invite a simple answer, for the process of change was long, complex and continuous. During Henry VIII's early reign, some fairly rudimentary kinds of indebtedness are apparent: the English, for example, almost certainly borrowed the idea of basing a Mass on an existing polyphonic model ('parody' technique) from the French, just as they surely discovered in foreign music the method of elaborating a chant melody equally in all voices of the texture ('paraphrase' technique) rather than confining it to a single voice as a cantus firmus. But these are superficial points of contact: at a deeper level, most Henrician church music retained a deep-rooted allegiance to insular tradition for as long as its spacious, impersonal, sensuous and superbly public qualities continued to provide church authorities with a form of music which they could approve. Only towards the end of Henry's reign do we find a body of works in which flamboyance begins to give way to sobriety, melisma and loosely-worked imitative points to a texture dominated by passages of strict and declamatory imitation, broad and expansive musical paragraphs to shorter, self-contained sentences distinguished from one another by strong cadences. But even the most 'advanced' church music of the 1530s and 40s, as found in Cp 471-4 and Lbl Add.17802-5, bears only a slight resemblance to contemporary sacred music from abroad; the Masses, Magnificats and antiphons of Taverner, Tye, Tallis and Sheppard cannot really be said to be made of the same stuff as equivalent works by Willaert, Richafort, de Silva, Festa, Verdelot or Gombert. It is not until the 1550s and 60s - and in



particular the early Elizabethan motet repertory - that the dissimilarities of style become markedly less apparent and the effects of 'foreign motet influence' somehow more tangible.

In secular music, however, the divide was closed more rapidly. It was in the smaller musical forms of Henry VIII's reign - chamber music of a private, intimate kind - that English music first began to shed some of its more insular characteristics, to acquire an 'international' quality; and there can be no doubt that foreign models stimulated this change. The development of Henrician secular music is of central importance to our understanding of the general mid-century stylistic evolution; for if at first it stands apart from church music as an independent sub-tradition, its achievements were ultimately of the greatest significance in shaping the nature of English church music at the time of its greatest crisis: the Reformation.

Chapter 4

THE EVOLUTION OF VOCAL CHAMBER STYLE: STUDIES IN  
THE HENRICIAN PARTSONG

**THE EVOLUTION OF VOCAL CHAMBER STYLE: STUDIES IN  
THE HENRICIAN PARTSONG**

The crucial significance of the Reformation in shaping the character of English music of the second half of the sixteenth century has never been in doubt. One need look no further than to the various directives issued by church leaders during the reign of Edward VI to sense the force of authority that led to the establishment of a new kind of church music, distinguished from the repertory it replaced by its sobriety and attention to clearly audible declamation of the text. It is however also crucial to remember that many characteristics of this new music do not owe their existence solely or even primarily to the Reformation. Official church policy was concerned first and foremost with music as a medium for the communication of a verbal message, a medium that transmitted words to the listener in a clear and comprehensible manner without assuming an importance of its own sufficient to distract from the message. Beyond this, the reformers expressed only limited concern about musical texture (there was clearly some disapproval of counterpoint), and none at all about broader aspects of structure and form. Yet even a cursory glance at the surviving repertory of Edwardian anthems and service music reveals that many of the formal, structural and textural conventions that we associate with late Henrician liturgical music have also been abandoned.

This break with tradition did not of course take place overnight, nor was it a complete one. Plainchant and faburden, for example, continued to be used as structural foundations in a few early Edwardian settings of canticles (see AplinG, AplinP); several anthems of similar date are also indebted in one way or another to Sarum ritual items (MilsomS, pp. 35-6); and the existence of contrafacta testifies to the continued acceptability - as music - of a few Henrician antiphons and liturgical works (see DanielC, MilsomS, pp.34-35, MilsomN). But it would be futile to try to argue that the tradition of pre-Reformation music in general extends naturally into the Edwardian repertory.

There is, however, another context in which we can assess the evolution and achievements of the earliest music of the reformed rite: that of secular music. The importance of the Henrician secular tradition has in fact been seriously underestimated in the past, perhaps because of its extremely fragmentary state of survival, but also to some extent because its plain, sometimes severe style attracts our attention less readily than does the richness and complexity of the Latin church music with which it is contemporary. It is in fact relatively easy to overlook this secular music altogether. But the part-song, the carol, the solo song, dance music and other instrumental forms all have evolutions of their own, evolutions that draw in many of the composers better known to us today for their Masses and Magnificats, responds and antiphons. Careful scrutiny of this secular tradition shows that many features that we regard as characteristic of (and new to) English church music of Edward VI's reign were in fact well established by 1547; in spirit, scope, structure and style, the new liturgical repertory is

little short of being an extension of an existing secular one.

The bulk of the Edwardian liturgical repertory is, then, remarkable not so much for the novelty of its musical structure and style but rather for the new application of what are essentially chamber music features to sacred texts. Here, however, we run into the additional question of the use for which some of this sacred music was originally intended: the contents of at least one of the principal Edwardian sources, Lbl Royal App.74-6, may in fact be largely secular in origin, composed for performance in private households rather than churches. Many of its texts can be traced back to the various primers and books of private devotion that were issued during the last twelve years of Henry VIII's reign. The music, in other words, does not so much grow out of a chamber tradition: it is actually a part of it. Earlier songbooks furnish us with plentiful examples of non-liturgical religious pieces - carols, graces, psalms, devotional songs, even a few works that might be (and in the past have been) classified as anthems.

If the achievements of Tallis' music of the 1540s and early 1550s are to be fully appreciated, then, it becomes necessary to place it against a second background - not only that of the foreign music that circulated in England at the time but also that of the smaller musical forms of the period - the partsong and carol - in which the influence of specific types of foreign music can be traced more positively and continuously than in contemporary liturgical music. Small and intimate in scope, word-dominated, increasingly dependent upon homophony and strict imitation as principal textural elements, short-phrased with little melisma, and regularly punctuated by well-defined cadences, the partsong had become by the end of

Henry VIII's reign one of the most advanced and 'Continentalized' forms of English vocal polyphony.

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The sources of Henrician secular music are few in number, scattered in date and in general fragmentary in nature. For the period between ca.1520 and 1547 they provide us with little more than a glimpse into what was certainly a flourishing tradition of secular music-making, especially at the Tudor court. Whole repertoires have been lost: we know next to nothing, for example, about keyboard music other than that written for the liturgy; lute music has also virtually disappeared without trace, although it is possible to deduce a certain amount about its original nature (BylerI); and other than dances, little consort music has survived (the earliest known English dance repertory, in Lbl Royal App.74-6, is transcribed and discussed in MB xliv, pp.137-77 and 195-208). Of solo song we have almost literally nothing; and even the sources of polyphonic songs and carols - profane, amatory, didactic or devotional - are almost invariably insubstantial or incomplete, and at times transmit works of uncertain date. Problematic as they are to interpret, however, these secular sources demand our keenest attention, for they partly reveal to us the evolution of a wealth of ideas and techniques - formal, structural, textural and word-orientated - that continued to occupy the minds of English composers throughout the second half of the century. In many respects, the partsong repertory is the most telling of all, for it absorbed elements from a variety of sources, instrumental as well as vocal, foreign as well as indigenous.

Because of its intimate connection with later forms of vocal music - in particular the anthem and motet - it has been chosen here as the principal object for scrutiny.

Before entering into a detailed study of the surviving partsong repertory, however, a few words are required about the general characteristics of Henrician song-style, and the evolution through which these characteristics passed; and this inevitably takes us back to the point at which the composers themselves would have begun: with the words they chose (or were required) to set. This in turn invites two lines of enquiry, the first concerned with the social function of polyphonic song, the second with the development of English lyric verse during the first half of the sixteenth century. The first of these topics lies beyond the scope of this enquiry; unlike the contemporary liturgical repertory, it is rarely possible to trace the provenance of a partsong, to explain why its text should have been chosen for setting, to speculate about the kind of audience to which it would have been sung, about the place of performance or the manner of delivery - vocal or instrumental. Even the assumption that the partsong is genuinely a form of 'vocal chamber music' ultimately cannot be tested; some songs may have been intended for very public delivery. However, the high proportion of love lyrics among the verses set to music does at least imply that the partsong repertory was primarily the property of private gatherings, and that the texts form part of a broader courtly or social intercourse of a relatively intimate kind. The second topic, however, is a central issue, for the structure and sound of English lyric verse underwent radical changes during the 1530s and 1540s, changes that inevitably had an effect on the composer's outlook. Two songs from opposite ends of

the period - the first written before ca.1515, the second probably after 1540 - serve to illustrate this.

The anonymous three-part song My thought oppressed, found near the end of 'Henry VIII's MS' (Lb1 Add.31922; MB xviii, no. 106), is a setting of four rhyme royal stanzas; each of the stanzas is through-composed. Typical of the early Tudor courtly lyric, the verse is only loosely iambic, and extremely phrasal in structure; the first four lines give a fair impression of the hesitant, uneven flow that is maintained throughout:

My thought oppressed, my mynd in trouble  
 My body languisshyng, my hart in payn  
 My joyes distres, my sorows dowble  
 My lyffe as one that dye would fayne

In setting the lyric to music, the composer supports the view that 'in order to read such verse successfully it is only necessary to remember that it should be read phrase by phrase and not line by line' (SouthallC, p.137); he allows the lyric to dictate musical structure, carefully mirroring its phrase structure and remaining faithful to speech patterns in his choice of musical rhythm (Appendix 4.1A). The music that results is, in other words, as short-winded and phrasal as the lyric; imitative points are insubstantial, uncharacterized and underdeveloped, and the progress from one to the next is rapid. When the composer chooses to extend a phrase or line - as he does later on in the setting - he resorts to end-of-word melisma.

During the course of the following three decades, a number of changes in prosodic style and versification in English lyric poetry seriously affected the work of the composer. New stanzaic forms were



introduced, forms that in Wyatt's circle at least 'derive almost exclusively from Franco-Flemish practice' (KiplingT, p.145), with Molinet, Jean Lemaire de Belges, Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Jean Marot the most obvious models (the development may have been stimulated to some extent by the rise to prominence of Anne Boleyn, who had been steeped at an early age in the court culture of Queen Claude of France). Rhyme royal remained popular, but there was a marked growth of interest in shorter lyric forms, and by the generation of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (d.1547), structures such as the quatrain, quatrain-with-couplet and poulter's measure had become entirely standard. Hand in hand with the rise of these forms was the emergence of strictly regular iambic metre as the rhythmic foundation of lyric verse, a development that was well under way by the final decade of Henry VIII's reign. This is especially evident in Surrey's verse, where 'the principle of the iambic metrical pattern is perfectly clear. He does not have Wyatt's interest in maintaining speech-patterns of stress in strong contrast to the metrical pattern' (ThompsonF, p.29); symptomatic of the trend are the metrically regularized versions of Wyatt's verse that were published in Tottel's Miscellany of 1557. A third aspect of the evolution, closely linked to the changes in stanzaic form and metrical structure, was a new trend towards more continuously linear (as opposed to phrasal) verse: the emphasis falls increasingly on the integrity of the line as a single unit, often separated from the ensuing line by a heavy end-stop. No longer do lines commonly divide into short, discrete segments, broken by internal pauses. (The distinction between phrasal and linear verse is discussed in SouthallC, Chapter xi, passim and especially pp.134-5).

The outcome of this evolution can be seen - and heard - in one of the few lyrics by Surrey to have survived in a contemporary polyphonic setting, O happy dames. Here is the first stanza as published in the first edition (1557) of Tottel's Miscellany; original orthography, lineation and punctuation have been retained:

O Happy dames, that may embrace  
 The frute of your delight,  
 Help to bewaile the wofull case,  
 And eke the heavy plight  
 Of me, that wonted to reioyce  
 The fortune of my pleasant choyce:  
 Good Ladies, help to fill my moorning voyce.

By comparison with the earlier lyric, My thought oppressed, this verse possesses a continuity, a steady forward motion, achieved not only by the rhythmic and syntactic unity of whole lines but also by the manner in which the lines lead on from one to another. Despite Tottel's lineation and punctuation, the stanza in fact divides into only three grammatical units: the opening entreaty (lines 1-2, running together to make a 'fourteener'), the principal exhortation (lines 3-6; another 'fourteener', with enjambement into the following octosyllabic couplet) and the secondary exhortation (line 7). The only fully emphatic pause in the entire setting comes before the final line, which is conceptually and rhythmically self-complete. Sheppard's setting of the verse mirrors its sound and structure, no less than the anonymous composer of My thought oppressed responded intelligently to the speech-patterns of his lyric; but in Sheppard's song, we need look no further than to the music of the first two lines to see the extent of the difference in musical result (Appendix

4.1B; the sources of this song are discussed below). Having chosen to open the work imitatively, Sheppard has little option but to set the initial 'fourteener' as a single musical idea. He does this by devising a naturalistic, speech-like point, characterized by its steady pulsation of minim beats - this regular strong/weak pattern is of course nothing more than a correct observation of the steady metre of the lyric, a steadiness that is ultimately responsible for the 'drab' quality of both verse and music (the epithet is here borrowed from literary criticism, but on the understanding 'that "Drab" is not a pejorative term': LewisE, p.227).

There can be no doubt that the new linear quality of late Henrician lyric verse encouraged composers to experiment with longer imitative points in their partsongs, points that are in general highly declamatory and which often feature groups of repeated notes. The changes, in other words, are essentially of rhythm and extent, and not of intervallic structure. We need only compare the opening of My thought oppressed with that of O happy dames to see that an identical four-note melodic cell has been radically altered in character by its rhythmic content, bearing only four syllables in the earlier song and eight in the latter (Sheppard's point, of course, extends beyond this opening cell). Even more striking, however, are the different lengths to which these points are worked. In My thought oppressed, the exposition is as curt as it could possibly be, the first in a succession of tiny imitative gestures, all of them building upwards from the bass, and most of them variable in their exact intervallic structure. The brevity and variability of these melodic cells, the rapidity with which they are abandoned after their brief, stretto expositions, and the lack of sharp melodic

contrast between them are all characteristic of early Tudor imitative technique - a style that is studied in some detail in Chapter 5 below. Imitation has not yet become a challenge to the composer, a device for building; rather, it serves the function of distinguishing a new word or set of words from the end of the previous phrase (this is as true of imitation in the more florid, largely melismatic polyphony of the period - sacred or secular - as it is of an especially compact work such as My thought oppressed). In O happy dames, on the other hand, the increased length of the melodic subject is matched by an extension of the imitative lattice to include a counter-exposition (Appendix 4.1B, bars 5-11), so maintaining the four-note cell that opens the work for almost four times the duration it occupies in the earlier song. This new exploration of the possibilities of extended, declamatory imitation as a basic structural foundation of text-setting is a distinctive feature of the late Henrician partsong, and one of its most significant contributions to English polyphony.

The other characteristic texture of the Henrician partsong is of course homophony, a texture that barely found its way into composed liturgical music until the eve of the Reformation. With homophonic song, traditions of various kinds - vocal and instrumental, popular and sophisticated - tend to merge. The dance music that arrived in quantity from abroad - in particular from France and Italy - may have had a significant impact on the development of simpler forms of strophic chordal song, although few examples survive of what must essentially have been a tradition of extempore singing. A rare exception is Tak hede by tyme wylle youth doth rayn, a 'moralized' version of Wyatt's Take hede by tyme leste ye be spyede, the melody

of which is preserved in Lbl Harley 7578 (transcribed in Appendix 4.2A, with a hypothetical reconstruction of the accompanying bass); the galliard-like rhythm here takes precedence over the iambic metrical structure of the lyric. Another important tradition was that of popular song, which would have provided a stock of tunes suitable for chordal accompaniment, although the extent to which such tunes were wedded to the courtly lyrics of Wyatt and his circle in the 1530s and 40s is open to question (for two recent views, see Stevens(J)MP, pp.132-9 and SouthallC, pp.8-10).

The earliest substantial corpus of composed homophonic songs occurs as part of the courtly repertory Lbl Add.31922 ('Henry VIII's MS') of ca.1515. At least one of these, Helas madame (MB xviii, no. 10), had a separate existence on the Continent both as a monophonic chanson and as a basse dance; several others of apparently English origin are broadly similar in scope and style. One of the shortest of these is Henry VIII's own Whereto shuld I expresse (Appendix 4.2B), which 'takes its shape entirely from the shape of the poem - there are no extensive roulades, no repetition of words, no counterpoint between melodies' (Stevens(J)MP, pp.17-18) - and which at the same time recalls the stately progress and clear phraseology of the pavan. At least one such song, Cornysh's Blow thy horn, hunter (MB xviii, no. 35), outlived its use as a courtly 'forester' setting and was adapted to a devotional text, O Lord our Lord how marvellous (Lbl Royal App.74-6; see BlezzardL, p.129).

For a more acute awareness of the rhetorical potential of homophony, however, we have to look to later sources. One of these - a flyleaf in Occ B.4 - preserves a setting of another lyric from Wyatt's circle, The sight [recte 'knot'] which first my hart dyd

strayn; this is transcribed in Appendix 4.3 (on the lyric, see WyattCP(Muir), no. CLXXII; Wyatt's authorship is rejected in HarrierC, pp.45-9 and 68). The principal advance here over the songs of Lbl Add.31922 is in the pacing of the declamation: the lengthening of notes bearing syllables stressed within the prevailing iambic metre; the unstressed setting of upbeat groups that lead to accented syllables (bars 5-6, 'when that your servant'; bars 13-14, 'always your owin'); the additional emphasis given to a chain of stressed syllables (bars 19-2, 'by iust iugement'). In short, the composer has responded sympathetically both to the underlying metre and the specific rhythm of the verse, and subsequent stanzas (not given in Occ B.4; see WyattCP(Muir), pp.183-4) fit the music adequately but not as well as the first.

Another striking feature of The sight which first my hart dyd strayn is its overall structure. The setting adheres to the convention of breaking between the fourth and fifth lines of the rhyme royal stanza (Appendix 4.3, bars 15-16); but in addition, the scribe explicitly directs that the second part of the song should be sung twice. Here we see an early example of what soon became a standard feature of the late Henrician partsong - and in turn of the anthem, the consort song, the lute song and even a small number of Elizabethan motets: the literal reprise of a final section or line, serving both to emphasise the conclusion or climactic phrase of a text and to round the setting off in a musically satisfying manner. The origins of this convention are uncertain; a number of songs in Lbl Add.31922 have their final phrases marked by signa congruentiae, which may signify the point at which repetition commences (see for example MB xviii, nos. 15, 16, 22-4 etc.), and one - Henry VIII's

Adieu madame et ma maistresse (MB xviii, no. 9) - was subsequently published in ca.1539 with the specific instruction to repeat the second half (see Time to pass goodly sport, MB xviii, no. 9A). Other forms of block repetition are rare in the partsong repertory.

The rise of the reprise section, the exploration of the structural possibilities of declamatory homophony and of extended imitation, above all the composer's response to the speech-patterns and structure of his text: these are themes that constantly recur in the study of late Henrician song. It is to the sources themselves that we may now turn.

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Unlike the earliest years of Henry VIII's reign, the period ca.1525-47 is extremely poorly represented by sources of polyphonic song. This is partly due to the change in format of the songbooks themselves: whereas the three principal sources of early Tudor song (Lbl Add.5465, 5665, 31922) are choirbooks of some size, virtually all later collections are in partbook format, flimsy in material structure and vulnerable to loss. Of the few sets known to us, all are now represented by only a single partbook. Several small sources preserve or allow us to reconstruct complete Henrician songs, but the bulk of the repertory survives today only in the most fragmentary of forms.

Entirely characteristic in this respect are two collections compiled in ca.1530. Of the 'XX songes' published 'in London at the signe of the black mores' in 1530, only the bassus part survives (Lbl (PB) K.l.e.1); the other source, Lbl Royal App.58, also for the

most part contains single voice-parts from polyphonic works, sacred and secular, although the presence of a few complete three-part pieces and of music for keyboard and lute gives it the appearance of a commonplace book. Both of these manuscripts contain a wide diversity of material, and both have close links with the repertoires of the earlier Tudor songbooks.

The connection with Lbl Add.31922 is especially strong in Lbl Royal App.58. Simple strophic songs of the kind found in quantity in 31922 dominate the opening portion of the manuscript (ff.3-11). Many of these are compact, syllabic settings of quatrains, occasionally with refrains; a few draw upon popular court songs - Blow thy horne hunter, for example, and possibly the well-known Westron wynde - and most appear to have been essentially homophonic. As the collection progresses, strophic songs give way to longer and more sophisticated carols and refrain-songs, this time recalling the repertory of Lbl Add.5465 - and it is in fact possible that many of these are a good deal earlier than the manuscript itself: at least one, a substantial, through-composed setting of Dunbar's Now fayre fayrest off every fayre, may date from the first decade of the century, celebrating as it does the marriage of James IV of Scotland in 1503. The other carols and refrain-songs, even if written later, show little evidence yet of a change in style: imitation is clearly not an essential feature, end-of-word melisma is common, and the settings retain the leisurely expansiveness typical of earlier works of this genre. The English songs in this collection are, in other words, strongly contrasted with the group of chansons by Claudin and his contemporaries that features so prominently in the latter part of the manuscript (see Chapter 3 above, and Appendix 3.4); in these, formal



symmetry, careful balance between homophonic and imitative writing, sophisticated lyricism and strong, regular cadences are the norm.

'XX songs', published in 1530, contains a few pieces of a more experimental nature. Large-scale carols and refrain-songs, mostly by court composers, again make up a substantial part of the anthology, and several are exceptionally florid and complex, with extended passages of melisma and tripla. Taverner's The bella the bella (partly reconstructed in JosephsonT, pp.181-93) is perhaps the most extreme in this respect, and extended ornamental runs of the kind shown in Appendix 4.4A (from no. 3, Pygot's By by lullaby) are locally common. Other songs, however, are almost entirely syllabic, some spectacularly so: the anonymous Bewar my lytel fynger (no. 4) is unprecedented in its forthright, declamatory patter - and, to judge by the bass, in its rapid speed of chord-change and firmness of cadential progression (Appendix 4.4B; this gives the opening of the setting and the final phrases of the fifth stanza). Most advanced of all are two devotional pieces by Cornysh. The four-part grace Pleasure yt ys (no. 15; transcribed in Appendix 4.4C) might well have opened homophonically, but almost certainly progressed into a succession of imitative points, the last of which - to the words 'and thank hym than' (bars 38-55) - appears to have been an extended, fully developed exposition. Even stronger contrast between passages of homophony and imitation must have been the outstanding feature of Cornysh's other vocal setting in 'XX songs', the Pater noster (no. 1). This was evidently a setting for high voices, perhaps of the kind that might have been sung by the boys of the Chapel Royal. The bass line contains so many clues about the original character and texture of the work that an extremely hypothetical reconstruction is

possible (Appendix 4.4D; the original note-values are of course four times as long as those a modern edition of the work might offer, and are not to be taken as an indication that the work moved at a leisurely pace). The extreme compression of the opening section, entirely syllabic and without text-repetition or rests, almost certainly points to homophonic texture (bars 1-19); but both the shape of the phrase 'fiat voluntas' and the presence of rests preceding the entry point to imitation - and indeed a lattice of entries is easy to deduce (bars 20-27). Homophony appears to return at 'sicut in celo' (bar 28), leading into a second imitative point at 'da nobis hodie' (42-8); and so the work continues.

A more delicate balance between homophony and imitation is found in one of the very few songs from the 1530s to have survived complete. This is the anonymous 'ballet on the deth of the Cardynall' - presumably Wolsey - preserved in Lbl Add.50856, of which the first section (out of four) is transcribed in Appendix 4.5. A few remnants of earlier song-style persist - the end-of-word melismas, for example (bars 17-20, 23-6), and the general brevity of the imitative points; but the speech-like, narrative quality of the word-setting is striking, as is the assurance in the handling of the final section, a relatively extended and partly developed imitative exposition, which serves both as a climax and an end-stop to the section.

At this point, the trickle of sources of Henrician partsongs dries up completely; the next surviving music source dates from the very end of the reign, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that any picture whatsoever can be built up of the intervening period. One document does however provide us with a foundation for hypothesis.

This is a collection of lyrics that was apparently compiled by composers and musicians associated with the court, the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's Cathedral during the 1530s and 40s, Lbl Add.15233. The manuscript is well known as a source of liturgical keyboard works, but supplies no music for the song-texts it contains. The authors of these lyrics, where identified, are almost all known to us as composers: John Heywood, John Redford, John Thorne and [Thomas] Knight. Heywood and Redford feature especially prominently, suggesting that at least some of the songs may have been intended for use in choirboy plays; three of them certainly belong to Redford's own Wyt and Science, which is also included in the manuscript (for a complete transcription of 15233 - excluding the keyboard music - see HalliwellM; the lyrics occupy pp.55-121).

Fortunately, a number of these verses survive with music in later sources, allowing at least a partial reconstruction of the repertory to be made. There are three distinct categories: first, songs associated with popular or ballad tunes of the kind passed down through an essentially oral tradition; second, songs with authentic mid-Tudor settings, whether fully vocal or for solo voice and lute; third, songs that appear to have been re-set at a later date and which therefore fall outside the scope of the present survey. This third category can be dismissed quickly: Edwards' In youthfull yeares (possibly a later addition to 15233), for example, which survives with music - also by Edwards - in Lbl Add.15117, and Lett not the sluggish sleape, which was set by Byrd (published in Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets of 1611). Only one song raises serious questions of date, the carol Nolo mortem peccatoris. In 15233, the words are attributed to Redford; the four-part setting in the early-

seventeenth-century partbooks Lbl Add.29372-5 is given to Thomas Morley. This connection between two generations of composers from St. Paul's might be of limited interest but for the fact that the style of the setting 'is sufficiently archaic for a shadow of doubt to linger around Myriell's ascription of the piece [in Lbl Add.29372-5] to Morley' (Philip Brett, 'Morley', The New Grove; the setting is printed in MorleyA, pp.16-21). The suspicion cannot be verified, however, and it has to be admitted that certain features of the music, such as the final cadential phrase, point strongly to an Elizabethan date of composition.

Two lyrics in 15233 can be linked with popular tunes. The first is a 'moralised' version of The hunt ys up by John Thorne, the melody of which survives in a wide variety of forms (see WardH). All a grene wyllow, attributed to John Heywood, also belongs to an extensive and complex network of lyrics and melodies, and ultimately derives from a popular tradition (see SternfeldS, pp.23-52). There appears to be nothing more than an oblique connection between this verse and that of a slightly earlier polyphonic setting (in US-NYp 4180-4; see SternfeldS, pp.49-52); the texts are not concordant and are in different metres.

Most interesting of all are the four lyrics in Lbl Add.15233 for which settings of apparently contemporary date survive. Three of these are known only from a single voice-parts; the fourth, a work for solo voice and lute, may be an adaptation of a partsong. Fragmentary as these remains are, however, they allow us to deduce a certain amount about later Henrician song-style.

Of John Heywood's Yf love for love of long tyme had we possess only one of the inner voices, preserved on a flyleaf in Ctc 0.1.30;

this is transcribed in Appendix 4.6A. With careful scrutiny, however, the single line of music reveals a great deal about the nature of the missing parts. Immediately striking is the rhythmic pattern of semibreve-minim-minim given to the opening four syllables - one of the hallmarks of the early 'Parisian' chanson. A plain, homophonic texture is implied. Strong cadences appear to have occurred at bars 7 and 13, dividing the work into three sections, each of which sets two lines of the quatrain-with-couplet stanza (bars 1-7, 8-13, 14-22). The third section, with its initial bar's rest, can only have opened imitatively (bar 14ff.) - and, judging by the melodic material in the remainder of the part, was the only genuinely contrapuntual passage in the work. The lattice of entries can in fact be reconstructed without difficulty - as indeed can the entire song, at least in a very hypothetical manner (Appendix 4.6B). Even allowing for a wide margin of error in this, the strong chanson-like character of the song cannot be questioned.

The second work, Aryse Aryse Aryse I say, is more than usually incomplete, for much of the surviving voice-part - this time the superius - is made up of rests (Lbl Harley 7578; transcribed in Appendix 4.6C). Lbl Add.15233 tells us a little more about the work (though not about its author; both music and lyric are presented anonymously). This is a devotional carol, comprising a refrain and twenty stanzas, the first two of which are set in Harley 7578. The texture, however, was clearly that of a dialogue - of an extremely compressed and declamatory kind. Here is the opening of the lyric as preserved in Lbl Add.15233 (the first line of the initial stanza differs from that of the music source); passages that were presumably sung by a lower pair or group of voices (represented by rests in

Harley 7578) are enclosed in square brackets:

Aryse Aryse Aryse I say  
Aryse for shame yt ys fayr day

After mydnyght when dremes do fall  
[Sum what before the morning graye  
Me thought a voyce thus dyd me kall  
O lusty youth] aryse I say

O youth he sayd lyft up thi hed  
[Awake awake yt ys fayr day]  
How canst thow slepe or kepe thy bed  
[This feyre mornynge] aryse I say

The refrain appears to have been at least loosely imitative; but in the body of the song there is no room for anything other than the most severe homophony, and the extreme brevity of the first section (bars 13-21) strongly implies that a phrase of music or group of rests has been missed out. Again, there appears to have been a succession of strong cadences.

Although late Elizabethan in date, Lbl Add.4900 almost certainly preserves an authentic setting by Heywood of his moralistic carol What hart can thynk or toong expres. To judge by its almost continuous three-part texture, the accompanying lute part is nothing more than a reduction of three vocal lines (Appendix 4.6D). Here the music of the refrain, first stated independently, is subsequently set to the final couplet of the rhyme royal stanza (bars 19-25), implying that the refrain itself is not to be repeated between stanzas. Again, there is little space for anything other than homophony; a brief staggering of entries may have occurred at bars 10-11 (the treble and alto perhaps leading the lower two voices), but this is only incidental.

The fourth lyric in 15233 for which a contemporary setting survives, Redford's Walking alone, introduces us to the last as well as the most substantial and important source of the late Henrician partsong repertory, Lpro 1/246. A single partbook is all that<sup>8</sup> is extant, but luckily this is the bassus, the voice that implies most about harmonic and cadential content. The works here are of sufficient interest to merit a full transcription of the manuscript (Appendix 4.7; earlier studies of Lpro 1/246 and its repertory include Stevens(D)P and Stevens(D)M).

Although Lpro 1/246 has been officially described as belonging to the second half of Henry VIII's reign or only a little later (L&P.H8), the exact date at which it was compiled cannot be deduced on grounds of external evidence. Two composers are named, both of them active beyond the reign of Henry VIII: John Sheppard (Informator Choristarum at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1543; d. ca.1560) and William Parsons (fl. mid-sixteenth century). Another three can be identified: John Redford (d. 1547), Philip van Wilder (d. 1553) and Robert Johnson (in England by ca.1535; d. ca.1560). Several of the texts can be linked with late Henrician court circles. Viewed as a whole, it seems highly probable that the manuscript contains a selection of songs typical of the 1540s.

Although itself incomplete, Lpro 1/246 presents a number of works that survive in later sources, and these allow a partial reconstruction of the repertory to be made. The concordances are as follows:

No. 2      With hevye hart I call and cry.      The tenor part (opening 'with cleane hart') is found in SHR 4, making possible a

hypothetical reconstruction of the entire song (Appendix 4.7, no. 2). A version of the lyric, with additional stanzas, is found in the Arundel Harington MS (see HugheyA, i, pp.368-9).

- No. 8**      Shall I dispaire thus sodeynly. This is essentially the same work as Philip van Wilder's Las que ferai, a five-part chanson found only in textless English sources (see Appendix 3.3). The song in Lpro is clearly a contrafactum, but apparently of a four-part work; however, Lbl Add.31390 contains several reworkings as of four-part pieces, and it may be that Lpro is in fact an adaptation of van Wilder's original chanson rather than a compression of the larger version. The reconstruction in Appendix 4.7 (no. 8) draws on and to some extent redistributes the music of the four upper voices of 31390, leaving the Lpro bassus virtually intact. A later source of the chanson, Lbl Add.30485, bears the incipit of the English contrafactum text as its title, but is a keyboard reduction of the five-part version.

- No. 13**      My ffreinds. All four voices are preserved in a keyboard reduction in the 'Mulliner Book' (Lbl Add.30513), from which the reconstruction is made. The text, by Surrey (d. 1547), has been supplied from the reading of Lbl Eg.2711 (following Surrey(Jones)P, pp.34-5, which gives three further stanzas); it derives from Martial's epigram Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem.



**Nos. 14-15** Walking alone / Sodeynly me thought I hard a sownde.

These two pieces, both anonymous and textless after their incipits in Lpro, are in fact settings of the first two stanzas of a lyric by Redford in Lbl Add.15233, and it is highly probable that the music is also by him. The underlay has been reconstructed.

**No. 16** Benedicam Domino. Attributed to Robert Johnson in all other sources. The reconstruction is based on the keyboard reduction of Lbl Add.30513 and the reading of the treble part in Ckc 316 and Lbl Add.4900 (the lute accompaniment in 4900 has not been consulted). A second stanza, in triple metre, is found in all sources other than Lpro, but is almost certainly a later addition and has been excluded from the edition (for a transcription of this stanza see MB i, p.63).

**No. 24** O happy dames (Sheppard). The words are again by Surrey. All four voices are found in Lbl Add.30480-3, adapted to a prose text beginning 'I will geve thanks unto the lord'; the top voice also exists in a moralized version, 'O happie man if thou repent', in Lbl Add.15166. SHR 4 contains a fragment of voice III; and a reduction of the full four-part texture is found in Lbl Add.30513. There are five further stanzas (see Surrey(Jones)P, pp.21-2).

**No. 25** The bitter swete. The upper parts are reconstructed from the keyboard reduction in Lbl Add.30513. Jasper Heywood

may have been the poet (see Stevens(D)P, p.165).

Lpro 1/246 appears to contain three foreign works: two chansons (no. 17, Jay content, and the contrafactum based on van Wilder's Las que ferai, no. 8), and a three part Latin grace, Benedicite Dominus (no. 19), anonymous here but suspiciously Continental in idiom; all three of these may in fact be by van Wilder. Jay content (no. 17) almost certainly dates from the period ca.1530-45, and includes a typically 'Parisian' recapitulation of the opening material at bars 42-8, immediately repeated (49-56). The texture appears to have been continuously imitative. Similar in texture, if differing in the rhythmic style of its prose-based lines, is Benedicite Dominus (no. 19); the principal points appear to have been at 'in te sperant' (bar 10ff.), 'et tu da illis' (19ff.), 'in tempore' (25ff.), 'aperis' (30ff.), 'et imple omne' (35ff.), 'ab eterno' (45ff.), 'et dicit omnes' (50ff.) and 'et himnum Deo' (55ff.). In most cases the point is stated twice, implying a succession of short, fairly saturated expositions. Most interesting of all, however, is Shall I dispaire thus sodeynly (no. 8), the adaptation of van Wilder's Las que ferai. As a partsong, the result is undeniably makeshift; the underlay neither fits the music especially well nor makes the most satisfactory lyric verse:

Shall I dispaire thus sodeynly  
 not so sence ther is remedy  
 by proof I may attayne  
 or ells renewe my payne  
 to end my wery lief  
 that hath nothing certain  
 but here to live in strife

But the simple fact of the adaptation's existence is of the greatest interest, for it testifies to the compatibility of chanson style with that of the late Henrician partsong.

The closeness of resemblance between the two genres is perhaps best illustrated by comparing Shall I dispaire with another song in Lpro 1/246, this time an authentic English setting: Sheppard's O happy dames (no. 24). In overall structure, the two works are virtually identical: of equal length (45 bars as against 44), they both begin with an exposition and counter-exposition of the opening imitative point (bars 1-11, 1-10), proceed through a continuous succession of further short points, the last of which is repeated - literally in van Wilder's piece (34-end), with new words and slight rhythmic modifications in Sheppard's (25-end; the music repeat begins at 34). All points are consistently declamatory, bear a high density of syllables in a short space (often repeating pitches), and are built into tight, stretto-like lattices. There is neither homophony nor extended melisma. The almost obsessively continuous minim motion even overrides cadence-points; variety and relief are provided largely by changes in the text and the intervallic structure of the different imitative points.

Continuously imitative texture is - or appears to have been - a feature of at least four other works in Lpro 1/246. No. 13, My ffriends, a setting of a regularly iambic octosyllabic quatrain by Surrey, passes through its opening pair of lines at speed (bars 1-8), but expands into a fuller exposition of the point devised for the second couplet (7-16); this second section is then repeated literally (17-end), resulting in a balanced ABB format. Less compact than this, and more varied in the intervallic contrast between its

imitative points (even if bordering on the monotonous on account of the unrelieved minim motion) is no. 11, When may. This appears to have been a setting of octosyllabic lines, possibly a quatrain-with-couplet, a rhyme royal stanza or a pair of quatrains (the probable lineation is shown below the music). Again, there is a full reprise of the music for the final couplet (from the signum at bar 27). The following piece, The fierce and wanton colt (no. 12) appears to have been similar in idiom; the text was apparently made up of fourteeners, or of alternating lines of eight and six syllables.

Also consistently imitative is the one 'anthem' in the collection, If ye love me (no. 7), which is identical to the partsongs in all respects other than the rhythm and subject-matter of its (prose) text. All points are syllabic and minim-based, and most are repeated before giving way to the next. The second half of the setting (from 'that he may bide', bar 19) is repeated literally. No particular effort is needed to reconstruct the imitative lattice of the opening (see no. 7A).

At the opposite stylistic extreme from the continuously imitative pieces are works apparently written throughout in homophony. There are three of these, two in triple metre - With hevy hart (no. 2) and the dance-like carol (or refrain-song) Hey downe downe (no. 5); the third, Wavering and wandering are womens wits (no. 22), appears to alternate between triple and duple time.

Equally numerous are works that achieve a degree of contrast and variety through the alternation of homophony and imitative polyphony - a structural principle that is basic to the Edwardian anthem repertory, and equally common in devotional and didactic works of the

period such as Tye's The Actes of the Apostles (1553). The attraction of the scheme is clear: continuous and unvaried homophony, while kind to the text, is wearing on the ear; brief bouts of declamatory counterpoint provide relief, add a degree of intensification and make an effective culmination. The scheme is seen at its simplest in Iudg as ye list (no. 3), where the first couplet is set to what must have been an essentially chordal texture (bars 1-3; note the initial chanson-like rhythmic pattern once again); the second couplet is treated to imitation (bar 6-end). Here too a reconstruction is possible (no. 1A). In larger songs, the contrast is maintained throughout the setting: William Parsons' Vayne is the fleeting welth (a setting of a lyric in poulter's measure) provides the most extended example (no. 6). The design is almost schematic: homophony is implied at the opening, imitation at bar 6 ('sith stalking tyme'), homophony again by bar 23 ('Of youth the lusty flower'), imitation at 27 ('shall vanish quite'), homophony in the concluding triple section (34-end). In Robert Johnson's carol Benedicam Domino (no. 16), homophony serves to point the opening of the verse section (bars 22-7), preceded and followed by relatively expansive and developed imitative expositions - the last of which is stated twice (38-47) before the re-introduction of the refrain (1-22).

Most subtle and sophisticated of all in its textural variety is the final song in the book, The bitter swete (no. 25), an anonymous setting of a decasyllabic quatrain-with-couplet. After a strict chordal opening, the composer has devised a semi-imitative texture in which all expositions but the last contain at least one paired entry (see bars 4-5, 8-9, 12-13, 15-16, 19-20). Strong cadences are used

to emphasize line-ends (bars 4, 8, 11, 18-19), but continuity is ensured by overlapping each of these with a new imitative entry. The work as a whole possesses a lyricism, coherence and balance that brings to mind not so much the clipped, stretto-imitative style of van Wilder's Las que ferai but rather the delicate courtly chansons of Claudin de Sermisy.

Rather less can be deduced about the original nature of the remaining ten songs in Lpro 1/246. Several are reminiscent of the early Henrician repertory: Fortune alas (no. 18), for example, with its central fermata and short melismas, recalls the song-style of Lbl Add.31922, and Yf I had space (no. 23) is similar if more syllabic. The setting of Redford's Walking alone / Sodeynly (nos. 14-15) appears to have been at least partly imitative, and highly compressed in relation to the length of the text set, with virtually no word-repetition (there are echoes of an older tradition, however, in the triple-time passage at bars 49-53). Also bluntly compressed are Marvel must I (no. 20) and Is it not suer (no. 21), both possibly for three voices; their texts belong to the world of Wyatt rather than Surrey. Even less can be said about the four songs that lack underlay: Who list to here this song (no. 9), in triple metre, is almost certainly a setting of lines in poulter's measure, and therefore originally entirely syllabic; Who list to lerne to thrive may have been a carol, with a refrain in poulter's (bars 1-8) and a triple-measure verse of octosyllabic lines; but O heaped head (no. 1) and Yf writes words (no. 4) defy analysis altogether. Few of these ten songs possess the modernity of idiom and clearly defined sectional structure found elsewhere in Lpro 1/246. This fact, together with their absence from later sources, perhaps implies that

they are among the earliest works in the collection.

Moving on from Lpro 1/246, we reach a small group of post-Henrician manuscripts that preserve a number of songs similar in idiom to the more advanced works discussed above, but of uncertain date. As the compact, chanson-like scope and spirit of the partsong appear to have been maintained well into Elizabeth's reign, it is impossible to be sure which works deserve to be placed before 1547. As these sources have not in general received detailed scrutiny in the past, a few words of introduction to them may be useful.

The most interesting (and fragmentary) of these is Lbl Harley 7578. Although itself of Elizabethan date, the partbook includes a broad cross-section of Tudor music, sacred and secular. Three carols open the collection (only one is attributed, Aston's Ave domyna sancta maria), all of them long, sectional works after the manner of the more elaborate settings in 'XX songs'. There follows a group of four metrical psalms by Sheppard (concordant with versions in Lbl Add.15166), and three textless works, the first two possibly chansons - both are in a simple ABA form - and the third the early version of Tallis' O sacrum convivium (Appendix 2.12). The last and most substantial layer of the manuscript is also the most miscellaneous: it contains a wide variety of songs and carols, an English Te Deum and one motet each by William More (d. ca.1559) and Clemens non Papa (Erravi sicut oves, first published in 1559). At least two of the songs are post-Henrician: William Mundy's carol Prepare yow (preserved intact in Lbl Add.30480-3) and the epic Durham song Alone walking, which at the end invokes the name of Queen Elizabeth (the text is transcribed in ColegraveE). Only two other composers are named, Heath (fl. ca.1550) and Johnson (d. ca.1560); their songs,

long and sectional, have a reasonably good claim to being Henrician (Heath's Hey downe downe brings to mind the character of Bewar my lytel fynger in 'XX songs'). Other works recall the simpler chordal pieces in Lpro 1/246.

More unified in its contents - and complete - is Y M.91(S), which contains two songs in score and at least four others in keyboard reductions (see the inventory of this source in Appendix 3.5). Date is again uncertain; at least one work is post-Henrician ('81 Psalme', a setting of Sternhold and Hopkins, based on a tune first published in 1562), but there is no reason why the bulk of the repertory should not date from the mid-1540s. The first of the songs in score, following on from the collection of chansons, madrigals and motets that makes up the body of the manuscript, is Tallis' When shall my sorrowful sighing slake (Appendix 2.6); the other, As I deserve so I desyr (also found in Lbl Add.30513, arranged for keyboard) is transcribed in Appendix 4.8A. Their similarity to the more advanced works in Lpro 1/246 such as Sheppard's O happy dames and The bitter swete (Appendix 4.7, nos. 24 and 25) is immediately striking. Also possibly Henrician is Sheppard's carol Vaine vaine (Appendix 4.8B; the treble part survives with a variant text and further stanzas<sup>in</sup> Lbl Add.15166).

Many of the earliest partsongs in what is chronologically the next source, the 'Mulliner Book' (Lbl Add.30513), have been encountered already: four occur in Lpro 1/246, a further two in Y M.91(S). Three others may be Henrician: Tallis' O ye tender babes (a version of the text was published in 1542/3; see Stevens(D)A), Johnson's Defiled is my name (edited in MB xv, no. 44; the words are traditionally linked with Anne Boleyn) and When Cressid went from Troy (MB i, p.66; this



is almost certainly a setting of a lyric preserved in the Arundel Harington MS, transcribed in HugheyA, 1, pp.349-51). Other songs in the collection are apparently of later date.

Two further Elizabethan manuscripts mark the end of the transmission of Henrician partsongs. Lbl Add.30480-4 is the earliest source of Tallis' Purge me, O Lord, entered here in the company of both apparently Henrician songs (O Happy dames, When shall my sorrowful sighing slake and Defiled is my name) and later pieces - William Mundy's Prepare yow and the early consort song Without redress (MB xxii, p.45). Also varied in the date of its repertory is Lbl Add.4900, a collection of adaptations of vocal music for solo voice and lute. Here we find arrangements of Henrician liturgical works (by Taverner, Tallis and Sheppard), a chanson by van Wilder, songs by Heywood (What hart can think, Appendix 4.6D) and Johnson (Benedicam Domino, Appendix 4.7, no. 16), and a variety of unique works, two of them settings of lyrics published in Tottel's Miscellany of 1557. Just how many of these are Henrician it is impossible to say.

All of the songs discussed so far can be assumed to belong to a tradition of domestic music-making; this is as true of works with devotional texts as it is of those of a moral, amatory or profane nature. Several of the religious songs, however, may have subsequently found their way into church services - Johnson's Benedicam Domino, for example, which is included among a group of antiphons and motets (some of them adapted to English texts) in Ckc 316. A few other carols in a more elaborate style may similarly have served a double function. At least five such works are known, all of them now fragmentary; the manuscripts in which they survive -

principally Ckc 316 and Lbl RM 24.d.2 - are not otherwise sources of the mid-Tudor partsong repertory (see MilsomS, pp.36-7; 24.d.2 includes a single partsong, Taverner's two-part In women in rest, discussed in JosephsonT, pp.169-74).

There is, however, one further manuscript which does deserve to be closely linked with the Henrician partsong tradition: Lbl Royal App.74-6. This is generally regarded as a source of early Edwardian liturgical music, and there is little doubt that its contents were used in church during the first few years of Edward VI's reign, before the publication of an official liturgy in the form of the 1549 Prayer Book (see FrereE). But many of the texts are themselves Henrician, published as early as 1535, and there is no reason why some of the settings should not date from the final decade of Henry VIII's reign - metrical psalms and 'anthem'-like works (such as Tallis' Remember not, O Lord God) in particular.

Whatever their date and original function, one thing is certain about the works in Lbl Royal App.74-6: in scope and style they bear direct comparison to the partsongs written towards the end of Henry VIII's reign. The extreme clarity of text-declamation that they achieve (and that the reformers demanded) was nothing new to English music in 1547, nor were the characteristic textures of homophony and short-winded, stretto imitation. Free melismatic writing, a basic ingredient of Henrician Latin service music, has no more of a place here than in the songs of Lpro 1/246. There is, in other words, no question of a pair of discrete traditions, one of the partsong, the other of English-texted church music, but rather the divergence in function of a single, chamber music tradition, with one branch still firmly maintained by the English household, the second extending into

the service of the reformed church.

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By way of a postscript, a few final remarks about the relationship between the Henrician partsong and the contemporary French chanson need to be made. It is surely more than coincidence that the idiom of English polyphonic song draws near to that of the chanson at exactly the same time as chansons themselves appear to have begun to arrive in quantity in England - during the 1530s and 40s. Even if the partsong maintained properties that are genuinely indigenous, owing to the structure and sound of English verse and the preservation of melodic and harmonic features inherited from earlier Tudor music, its indebtedness to contemporary French models is also deeply felt.

English song was of course not alone in owing such a debt to the chanson: in the Scottish partsong repertory, the connection is equally apparent. This is hardly surprising, for the political ties that bound France and Scotland inevitably resulted in a significant degree of influence on the cultural life of the smaller nation, in particular during the reign of James V (1528-1542), who in 1537 took as his consort Madeleine, Princess of France, and on her death in the same year married Marie de Lorraine. The emergence of a 'Franco-Scottish' style of music and poetry during this period has been well documented (ShireS, passim), and it takes little effort to sense the impact of Clément Marot, Claudin de Sermisy and their colleagues on a Scottish courtly song such as Richt soir opprest (MB xv, pp.160-1). Nor can there be any doubt about the striking resemblance between

this and similar Scottish songs and the vocal chamber works of contemporary Tudor England.

Chapter 5

TALLIS AND THE 'ART OF IMITATION'

ca.1525 - ca.1560

## TALLIS AND THE 'ART OF IMITATION'

ca.1525 - ca.1560

In this chapter we return from the general to the specific, from Tallis' context to Tallis' music. In doing so, it is perhaps as well to begin by recalling a number of points that are fundamental to the survey. First, there is clearly a pressing need to regard Tallis' surviving music as the product of a single creative imagination, rather than to categorize and discuss it strictly according to liturgical genre; it is essential that we break down the convenient but misleading classification of his career into four monarchical 'periods' - Henrician, Edwardian, Marian and Elizabethan - and also the distinction between works with English and Latin text. Equally important is the need to see in his works the convergence of various previously independent traditions, Continental as well as English, secular as well as ecclesiastical, during the crisis years of the mid-sixteenth century, years in which established conventions of musical substance and structure were abandoned, either by necessity (with the Reformation), or in response to changing patterns of English musical taste (due to the more widespread importation of and admiration for foreign music), or through a more personal element of choice. Obstructed as the path to such a biographical 'overview' may be by uncertainties of chronology and the loss of material for scrutiny, especially from the earlier part of his career, there is no doubt that at least the general course of Tallis' steps can be

retraced, and that it possesses a degree of continuity rather than facing us as a flight of steep and barely connecting steps.

The underlying spirit of the mid-century is one of research and experiment. Irrational, essentially decorative idioms gave way to more logically unified and word-dominated music, in which the structural possibilities of repetition, homophonic texture and above all pervasive imitation began to preoccupy the minds of composers. Only by attempting to sense and relive this spirit of adventure can we hope to gain a genuine understanding of the achievements of the period; and in making such an effort it is essential that we remain wary of entering too quickly into value-judgements about the 'success' of certain works, judgements that are all too easily made with reference to later music that profits by being able to draw upon the experience of earlier experiment. The degree of struggle that goes into a work which strikes us retrospectively as a 'primitive' example of its kind may in fact separate that work more fundamentally and crucially from its ancestors than the gap between it and its more sophisticated progeny.

Such a sympathetic outlook is especially vital to the study of that most central technique of the mid-century, imitation. Here a particularly acute degree of historical insight is required by the analyst or critic, for it is not enough simply <sup>to</sup> record its presence or note its function as a 'unifying device' in a work. During the mid-century, imitation increasingly engaged the imagination and tested the skill of the composer; it became an object of research in itself, and a fundamental building-block of musical substance. Considering its central importance, it is surprising to find how poorly focussed and ill equipped the language of analysis remains in

dealing with the phenomenon. Not only do we rarely pass beyond the level of simple identification, of stating that a work or passage is 'imitative', 'loosely imitative' or 'not imitative', or that a point is 'flexible' or 'strict': we have also yet to see more than the isolated attempt to establish a means of describing the actual structure of an imitative exposition, and the way in which a succession of such expositions - usually of varying natures - are fused together to make up an entire work (the most serious attempt to overcome this deficiency with regard to English music is Kerman's, to which the present study is deeply indebted). If the achievements of mid-Tudor composers in the development of imitative technique are to be fully appreciated - and the sources of foreign influence correctly identified - then a more precise and informed analytical method is required.

By the late 1520s - the period at which Tallis probably moved from apprenticeship into full employment, and from which his earliest work survives - English music had already evolved its own characteristic forms of imitation. As far as practice in large-scale votive and liturgical music is concerned, the state of development is well illustrated by Tallis' early and largely conventional antiphon Salve intemerata. In order to understand its structure and content, it is as well to reconstruct as best we can the various stages of conception and realization through which the work passed.

The text that Tallis chose (or was given) to set is not only in prose but also at another level undeniably prosaic: a continuous and unrelieved invocation to the Virgin, lacking any shape other than that of its sentence and phrase structure. It runs to some 465 syllables. Tallis accepts the standard practice of dividing this



text into a number of paragraphs - seven in this case - and of setting each for a contrasting combination of voices, either reduced (a2 or a3) or full (a5). At first the paragraphs are abutted to form 'major sections' (the term is taken from BenhamL, pp.38-9); latterly they are set independently, separated by pauses (the overall grouping of the paragraphs - 1-3/4-5/6/7 - is almost certainly modelled on Taverner's very similar Gaude plurimum, which runs 1-3/4-5/6). Each of these paragraphs sets a portion of text that is of roughly equal length - 70 syllables is the average - and within each paragraph the text is carved up into smaller units, either single words or short phrases, ranging from four syllables ('sine fine') to twelve ('alias longe superasti virgines'). There are some seventy such text-units in the work as a whole. Tallis gives to virtually every one of these a characteristic melodic shape, both of rhythm and contour (in longer units a shape may be given only to the first few syllables). In rhythm he follows natural speech-patterns; almost all of the shapes are minim-based, and many open with a minim upbeat. Contour similarly reflects the quality of speech: if a principal stress comes early in the phrase, it tends to be given musical accentuation by an upward leap followed by a gradual descent; when on the other hand the main stress comes later, other types of contour (such as a stepwise ascent) which lead to a climactic note are produced. The shapes, in other words, grow out of the sound of the spoken text, and only rarely possess a purely abstract musical interest; this is reserved instead for the freely melismatic continuation lines that follow on from them, lines that conventionally assume an ornamental prominence of their own, syncopating against further statements in other voices of the word-music 'heads'. The two types of material co-exist and

are played off against one another.

One hesitates to describe these opening shapes as imitative 'points': many are extremely short-lived, and in most the interval-content is open to wide variation - an upward leap, for example, is nothing more fixed than that, and might as well be a fifth or fourth as contracted into a rising step. The rhythmic configuration is similarly open to alteration. Despite this mutability, however, the ear acknowledges at least a family resemblance between entries; it is hard to agree with the view that 'In Salve intemerata the texture is seldom imitative' (DoeT, p.15). On the contrary, it is shot through with imitation of a particular kind, albeit in a game whose rules, by later standards at least, are fairly flexible.

Just as the word 'point' seems inappropriate to describe many of these word-music ideas - 'gesture' might be a more satisfactory label - so 'lattice' is an inadequate term for most of the sets of entries that Tallis builds. Many of the gestures are so short-lived or spaced so well apart from one another that the effect is of a succession of statements rather than a superimposition. When entries do overlap, they are often of the 'rota' type: canon-like answers at the octave or unison (Appendix 5.1A; 3 examples), sometimes culminating in a statement that peaks at or nudges the entire process on to a higher pitch-class than the one that generally prevails (Appendix 5.1B; entries contributing to the rising effect are marked with an asterisk). Certainly there is little evidence that Tallis was concerned with building symmetrical imitative lattices in which pitches of entry and peak-note in the lattice as a whole outline the interval of an octave subdivided into a fourth and a fifth - the

classic 'tonal answer' structure of later decades. Nor is he particularly interested in constructing neat terraces of entries. Appendix 5.1C brings together the three most 'modern' expositions of this kind, the first two using gestural subjects, the third a short and malleable point. And it is also clear that Tallis operates according to the principle of 'one entry per voice'; expositions are minimal, sometimes involving only select voices, and are extended only by the use of melismatic continuation lines, which eventually tail into a context suitable for the next set of entries to be made. The overall pacing is therefore empirical, a matter of style and convention rather than of careful forward planning - except perhaps at a basic numerological level, where the overall lengths of paragraphs and major sections may have been calculated in advance.

To sum up, the imitative technique in Salve intemerata grows out of and is intended to emphasize the text, not so much as a continuous flow of prose but rather as a succession of discrete words and phrases. Tallis adheres to established English methods of building up sets or lattices of entries, expositions that can be described as 'structural' only inasmuch as they provide moments of audible unity in contrast to the non-repetitive variety of free melisma. But they are not yet used as primary building blocks; Tallis can do very well without them if he chooses (as he does, for example, in much of the four-part Magnificat; TCM vi, pp.64-72), and only rarely do they control the progress of more than a few consecutive measures. Although certain objections might be made to the sweeping statement that the technique is 'unsystematic' and that 'no scheme controls the spacing or pitch-placement of the entries', there is certainly some truth in the observation that 'Imitation does not seem to have been

viewed yet as an architectural device' (KermanI, p.520), at least as far as the votive antiphon is concerned. Nor did it necessarily become so for all kinds of work as the century progressed: later antiphons such as Gaude gloriosa and William Mundy's Vox Patris show little change in external design or internal content, even after the structural possibilities of more rigorous forms of imitation had been more than tentatively explored.

When working with a cantus firmus, Tallis had little option but to rely on gestural imitation - if indeed imitation was to be used at all as a basic principle of organisation. It is also clear that hymns posed a very different kind of challenge to that of the respond. In the hymn, a problem was raised by the rapid passage of the words in what are essentially syllabic chants. Having chosen to present the chant in relatively short note-values, invariably in the top voice of the texture, there is the question of what kind of imitative procedure best accompanies it. In general, Tallis opts for a monothematic solution in which a single gesture is maintained throughout a verse, irrespective of the changing text, and fits in sets of entries as best - and at whatever pitch - he can. (A similar principle operates in most of Tallis' keyboard hymn settings; see MB i, nos. 86, 97-102 and 104-6). At its simplest, the gesture may be no more than a leap of unspecified interval or a series of ascending steps, with or without a final fall (see for example the three verses of [Salvator mundi Domine]; TCM vi, pp.242-5); or it may take on the appearance of a characteristic but extremely flexible sentence-shape, as in the verse 'Tu libens votis' of [Quod chorus vatum] (TCM vi, pp.262-4), where the point is presented in a free dialogue between voices IV and V, the latter assuming the quality of

an ostinato on account of its consistent octave range. Significantly, the only hymn setting that explores other systems of imitation is [Sermone blando], found only in the 1575 Cantiones sacrae and arguably the last to have been written. In the (musically identical) verses 'Illae dum pergunt' and 'Claro paschali', Tallis builds up increasingly complex prefigurations of the chant contour in the lower voices in anticipation of the entry of the cantus firmus (Appendix 5.2); and for the last verse, he extends the ostinato principle of the earlier hymns by varying the shape of the gesture as the chant progresses (TCM vi, pp.195/III - 197). Whatever the technique, however, the concept of building sets of imitative entries in these hymns is essentially different from that of the votive antiphons, and serves a different function. Though still gestural in style, the technique fulfils a broader unifying role, and does not owe its existence primarily to the sound and structure of the words. The cantus firmus may act as the foundation of the setting, but imitation has assumed greater importance as a superstructure.

Melismatic chant posed a very different kind of challenge, especially when laid out as a monorhythmic cantus firmus. Not all English composers chose to meet it by producing continuously imitative accompaniments; Redford, for example, devised extended passages of florid, sequential melisma for much of his [Sint lumbi] vestri praecinctorum (Och 979-83 and T 389/James). But Taverner's settings of [Dum transisset] sabbatum appears to have created a precedent for tightly imitative settings of cantus firmus responds (TCM iii, pp.37-45), and it is to this tradition that Tallis' six works belong. The technique here falls mid-way between those of the votive antiphon and the hymn: the cantus firmus controls the broad

progress of the work, but its relatively expansive melismatic nature allows for more extended sets of entries, and the composer has scope to create gestures or points that grow naturally out of the speech-patterns of text-units, allowing for a degree of contrast and variety as the setting proceeds.

The imitative structures that Tallis builds in his six <sup>choral</sup> responds range from the routine to the ingenious. Least sophisticated in this respect is [Videte] miraculum, in which most of the gestures are extremely malleable (see for example the idea at 'quae se nescit' - TCM vi, p.297 - with its opening interval varying between an upward step and a leap of a fifth). Even in this work, however, there is evidence that Tallis examined his cantus firmus fairly carefully in the hope of finding a place for some form of more structured repetition. He found such a point at the start of the second repetendum of the chant, with the words 'et matrem se laetam': the first twelve semibreves of the cantus firmus divide into three four-note groups that can be partly superimposed (Appendix 5.3A; transcribed from Dtc B.1.32 with underlay supplied from Ob 948), around which an accompanying rota can be built with relative ease (Appendix 5.3B; transcribed from Och 979-83 and Dtc B.1.32). In [Loquebantur], another respond in which the imitation is mostly gestural, Tallis uses the technique more extensively, taking advantage of a pair of repetitious melismas (Appendix 5.3C) to create a sort of mass rota - which to the listener has, of course, the quality of an antiphonal exchange (Appendix 5.3D; transcribed from Och 979-83 and Lbl RM 24.d.2). The other responds use similar techniques. If the effect of a genuinely imitative texture is more apparent in them, this is largely due to the greater length of the

points that Tallis succeeds in devising. [Homo] quidam fecit cenam magnam is especially distinctive in this respect: for the repetendum, he manages to work a six-note cell extracted from the chant (Appendix 5.3E) in a succession of adjacent entries, culminating in a prominent rota between treble and bass (Appendix 5.3F; transcribed from Och 979-83 and US-NYp 4180-4) - a rota which is then almost immediately repeated without changes, made possible by the literal reprise of a seven-note group within the chant itself. An even longer reprise towards the end of [Honor] virtus allows Tallis to make a varied restatement of the entire polyphonic fabric (TCM vi; 239/I/3 repeats at 239/III/1).

For all his cunning, however, Tallis hands remain firmly tied by the chant as far<sup>as</sup> the making of imitative lattices is concerned. Only by delaying the entry of the cantus firmus does he give himself a place for entirely free invention, and it is hardly surprising that the most regularly spaced (and pitched) expositions occur at this point. In all four responds where the plainsong entry is held back, the accompanying voices invariably anticipate its opening contour ([Homo] quidam also introduces a counter-subject); but Tallis is content to let these expositions extend no further than a single statement of the point per voice, and only in [Dum transisset] does he terrace the entries in a systematic fashion. Perhaps the most significant feature of these expositions, though, is the choice of pitch of entry: in all cases the lattice is built on answers a fourth or fifth apart, an orderliness that is conspicuously lacking in the gestural imitation that follows in each respond. The four expositions are shown in Appendix 5.3G.

Tallis' two short responds Audivi and In pace are constructed according to very different principles. Here the chant is evenly distributed between the four voices, each segment provided with a characteristic rhythm and a degree of melodic ornamentation. As these chants are neumatic rather than syllabic, the segments tend to bear only a few words, and in their elaborated form become even more melismatic. Consequently their rhythmic shapes are entirely Tallis' own, and lack the declamatory content of speech-influenced gestures in, for example, Salve intemerata and the cantus firmus responds.

The two works are similar in their proportions (In pace is longer only because it includes a setting of the doxology, as required liturgically), as well as in their general structure and pacing; and similar too are the intervallic contours of the points they contain, which reflect the predominantly stepwise motion of the chants. Tallis builds these points into lattices which by comparison with the gestural expositions of his other ritual and votive works are impressively sophisticated. (It is tempting to attribute the assurance of his technique to foreign influence; van Wilder was of course close to Tallis, and his own Pater noster - preserved in the same source as In pace and Audivi, Lbl Add.17802-5 - has a good deal in common with them.) Audivi is the more varied and in a sense less developed work: its opening paragraph, for example, abandons the chant after a basic (if neatly symmetrical) exposition in favour of a second, more gestural point, albeit derived from the initial one (Appendix 5.4A; chant notes are indicated by superscript crosses); at 'clamor factus est', Tallis reverts to a cantus firmus foundation (TCM vi, p.91/I-II); and a second gestural exposition rounds off the work. In pace, on the other hand, maintains a close allegiance to



the plainchant model throughout, and presents a number of lattices that are as striking for their development of the point as they are for their saturation of entries. The climactic exposition at 'dormitacionem' is both the most extended and the most skilful in the work (Appendix 5.4B), with its finely calculated shift of pitch-entry from G and C to C and F.

Ingenious as it is, the imitative structure of these two responds is barely characteristic of Tallis' work in general. Neither the daintily ornamented points nor the leisurely, varied expositions are typical; rather, they arise from the specific challenge of paraphrase technique, a method that is otherwise confined to passages in a few of the cantus firmus-based hymns and responds, and which the English never adopted with the enthusiasm so evident in the rest of sixteenth-century Europe. What does seem to have caught Tallis' imagination, however, is the general idea of extending and rationalizing the principle of entirely free gestural imitation, of creating tighter and more regularly repetitive lattices of entries, as a basic structural ingredient of church music. This had of course become a standard feature of vocal chamber music by the 1540s - both the chanson and the partsong - and it is also in the 1540s that it begins to assume prominence in liturgical forms as well.

The points used in this particular imitative style are not radically different from the gestural type of the votive antiphon: they have the same dependence on the rhythm and stress-patterns of speech (whether the text is in Latin or English), and are often both short and variable in their interval content. What is new is the stretto-like nature of the expositions - stretto either at the semibreve or, for points with words that can bear statement in either

accented or unaccented position, at the minim. There is a distinct tendency to aim for answers a fourth or fifth apart - 'tonal' if necessary - that between them outline an octave, subdivided centrally; but climactic entries that extend the lattice upward by a step are relatively common, and the principle of rotation on a single pitch of entry continues to be used.

All of these features can be found in one of the works by Tallis that belongs as much to the church as it does to the domestic household, the four-part Benedictus, which was written between 1545 and ca. 1550 (Lbl Royal App.75-6; edited in EECM xiii, pp.102-19). As in Salve intemerata, the text is a long and relatively unvaried one, running to a little over 300 syllables. Tallis divides this into three major sections, and within each section into shorter units; but unlike the earlier antiphon, these units tend to be full sentences and clauses rather than phrases and isolated words (there is a clear analogy here with the move from phrasal to whole-line setting in the contemporary partsong). Each text-unit is distinguished from its predecessor by a change in musical idea, achieved not only by contrasting imitative points but also - in true chamber style - by alternating passages of homophony and polyphony (there are eight such chordal passages scattered among a total of 28 text-units in the work). Nonetheless, the texture is fully contrapuntal for some two-thirds of its total duration, and with the general absence of melisma the effect is of a continuous succession of brief imitative expositions, densely packed together.

Of these twenty expositions, almost all are constructed out of short, gestural points strung together in the tightest of strettos. Most sets of entries are minimal in duration - a single statement per

voice - whether of the 'divided octave', 'rota' or 'climactic' type (Appendix 5.5A, B, C); and many points tail into continuation lines which, by maintaining a steady minim motion, tend not to divert attention from the prevailing imitation. To open and close major sections, however, Tallis constructs something of greater length - an expansive exposition, for example, or a second set of entries that raises the peak-note for climactic effect (Appendix 5.5D and E). The work becomes, in other words, a show-piece for a wide variety of structures, a sort of 'Art of Imitation' in miniature, even if few of the expositions assume an intrinsic musical interest sufficient to distract the listener from the words that are being set.

Analogous to the Benedictus among Tallis' settings of Sarum liturgical texts is the four-part Mass (Lbl Add.17802-5; TCM vi, pp.31-48), another work written in an essentially declamatory style; it was almost certainly composed at approximately the same time. Here an even balance is maintained between homophonic and polyphonic passages, the latter principally but not exclusively imitative - it is as though Tallis has chosen to bring together and contrast the entire spectrum of his textural resources. Certainly it comes as something of a surprise to find as gestural and expansively melismatic a passage as the 'Benedictus' (TCM vi, pp.43-4) in close proximity to the extraordinarily tidy and methodical second 'Hosanna', which is by far the longest and most sophisticatedly 'Continental' set of entries in all of Tallis' surviving pre-Elizabethan music (Appendix 5.6). The length is in fact achieved by the simplest of means: a literal counter-exposition of the principal terrace of entries (the two statements are marked A and B in the example). Perhaps the most surprising feature of the passage

is its lack of a climactic statement of any kind, of an entry that raises the level of peak-note as the lattice proceeds. But in fact this is entirely in character by the standards of Tallis' later practice: the counter-exposition becomes a means of consolidating and adding bulk, a statement which if anything reduces rather than heightens tension. In early Elizabethan motets such as O sacrum convivium, Absterge Domine and O salutaris hostia, Tallis extends the principle to cover not merely a single exposition within the work but several or even all.

The hybrid quality of the four-part Mass can be heard in even more exaggerated form in the five-part psalm Blessed are those, which again probably dates from the 1540s (EECM xii, pp.1-10; the edition in WulstanA, pp.94-105, is however more authoritative). Tallis opens the work in typical votive antiphon style with a succession of contrasted passages for groups of two or three voices, gestural in imitation but lacking melismatic extensions. On reaching the point at which an antiphon would conventionally move into full five-part texture, Tallis does indeed introduce all the voices, but in a way that immediately banishes the sound-world of the older form. Instead of gestures, we are now presented with a short, characterful point, worked in the most tidily terraced of stretto expositions, which is then extended by a second, varied and eventually climactic set of entries (bars 25-37; 'For they who do no wickedness walk in his ways'). Tallis follows this by reverting to antiphonal exchanges between reduced voice-groups, eventually moving through a short three-part rota (bars 63-9; 'while we have respect unto thy commandments') to arrive at full-choir homophony for the start of the doxology. For the end the work, however, he creates a second

terraced stretto exposition, complementing the first by working upwards through the texture rather downwards as before (bars 79-84; 'and ever shall be'), which this time is repeated literally en bloc (84-9). A final, pedal-based 'Amen' is tacked on at the end, quite independent of the rest of the work. All this happens in a continuous sequence (there are no divisions into 'major sections') and in rapid succession, a startling array of contrasted textures that if anything fails to convince on account of the sheer variety of idioms.

Tallis never repeated this experiment in setting short, anthem-like texts; instead, he appears to have moved even closer to the contemporary partsong in choosing regular, almost schematic alternations of homophony and imitative expositions, invariably with a final reprise of some kind. He was of course not alone in adopting this song-like style and structure; no fewer than eighteen pieces in the Edwardian 'Wanley' partbooks (Ob 420-2) conform to these general principles, some of them tiny (such as no. 10, Happy are those servants), others reasonably substantial works. There is a similar degree of variety in the length of Tallis' four surviving anthems from the period. If ye love me (EECM xii, pp.16-8), the shortest of them, divides into four brief sentences, the first pair (13 bars) breaking from homophony into a brief, rather gestural exposition, the second two (also 13 bars, but sung twice) consistently imitative. Only in the last of these expositions does Tallis go beyond the minimum of four entries; and in doing so, he neatly steers the music away from a medial cadence in G towards the finalis C by lowering the peak-notes of his entries from D and G to G and C, a sophisticated resolution of tension made possible by the choice of a particular

kind of imitative point - one that essentially falls from its note of entry (Appendix 5.7A). Teach me thy ways appears to have been similar in design to If ye love me, if a little longer (the sole surviving voice, in Lbl Add.15166, is transcribed in EECM xiii, p.178). Hear the voice and prayer (EECM xii, pp.11-15) reverses this textural scheme by opening imitatively - with an exposition very similar to that of Audivi, both in the shape of its point and in the spacing of entries - and moving to homophony for its second sentence. The latter (repeated) portion of the work is more substantial and internally varied on account of its lengthy text; the idiom is essentially that of the 'Lumley' Benedictus. For the last point, Tallis devises a double (partly stretto) exposition, the second part of which achieves a climax by the raising of entry-pitch in all four voices (Appendix 5.7B). Here the effect is entirely appropriate; the anthem is large enough to support as strong a culmination as this, where If ye love<sup>me</sup> demanded a lesser climax within its more limited scope. The fourth (apparently) Edwardian anthem, A new commandment (EECM xii, pp.19-24, transposed a fourth above original pitch), lacks its bass part, but was clearly a more continuously imitative piece. The structure is unusual: although essentially in 'ABB' form, the 'A' section is extremely compressed - five bars of homophony - and the 'B' portion recurs in the earliest source (Lbl Add.15166) with a second set of words (compare bars 5-28 and 28-51). Most of the points are worked minimally, but the last - 'that even so ye love one another' (bars 16-28) - is exceptionally well developed, at least as implied by the three surviving voices: it features three phrases, the first an expository set of entries, the second partly climactic, the last a resolution (Appendix 5.7C).

Using the evidence of these authenticated late Henrician and Edwardian works, it is possible to enter a little more deeply into the question of date for those English-texted pieces whose place in the overall chronology of Tallis' music cannot be determined either on grounds of the sources in which they survive or the words they set. Four of these demand careful scrutiny: the five-part Te Deum, the Short Service and the anthems O Lord give thy Holy Spirit and Verily, verily.

Of these, the Te Deum (EECM xiii, pp.78-101) comes closest to the mid-century idiom. In overall structure it resembles the 'Lumley' Benedictus, proceeding as it does in a sequence of alternating homophony and imitative expositions, although worked on a larger scale and including a significant number of block repetitions. The antiphonal exchanges of material that feature so prominently at the start of the second major section (bars 85-99) recall similar contrasts of texture in Blessed are those. In its imitative style, there is little in the Te Deum that is unfamiliar from the Edwardian works: minimum expositions of gestural points, worked in close stretto ('the Father of an infinite Majesty', bars 55-8; 'Thou art the everlasting Son', 80-5; 'in the glory of the Father', 104-7; etc.); slightly extended sets of entries that maintain entry-pitch and add bulk rather than increase tension ('Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth', 22-8; 'in glory everlasting', 128-37); one broad exposition that staggers the lattice of entries over a more generous span of time ('Heaven and earth are replenished with the Majesty of thy glory', 28-39, analogous to 'That we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies' in the 'Lumley' Benedictus, Appendix 5.5D); one literal counter-exposition of an initial, minimal, stretto set of

entries ('thy honourable, true and only Son', 58-68, corresponding to the terraced 'and ever shall be' at the end of Blessed are those, EECM xiii, pp.9-10, bars 79-89); and one longer imitative passage - predictably the last in the work - in which the lattice contains an element of development, achieved through changes both of pitch of entry and of peak-note ('let me never be confounded', 179-92; despite the variety added by paired entries in thirds or sixths, this is essentially a set of rotas, peaking first on A and C, latterly on G). Only a few features go beyond the known range of Tallis' mid-century technique: the antiphony of a cantoris/decani deployment of voices, the occasional short-lived echoing exchanges that this layout of resources allows (see in particular the section opening 'Day by day', bar 145 ff.), and the use of one particular texture that we associate more specifically with Tallis' later works: that of a single voice entering with a melodic shape which is immediately answered by the remaining parts in homophony, with the bass imitating the contour of the leading voice ('Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin', 151-9, and the matching 'O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us', 164-72; in BenhamL, pp.193-4, the technique is aptly termed 'one against four' antiphony). None of these features can be used specifically as evidence against an Edwardian date of composition, of course; on the contrary, their presence may imply that Tallis' stock of textural and structural resources grew as he rose to the challenge of constructing substantial, freely-composed and word-dominated church music during Edward's reign.

Unlike the Te Deum, Tallis' Short ('Dorian') Service (EECM xiii, pp. 1-62) is no easier to date on grounds of the internal evidence of its style than from its sources. The texture is almost continuously



homophonic, yet possesses a continuity and symmetry of phrase-structure, not to mention an effective use of sequence, that implies an advance over Tallis' one authenticated mid-century homophonic setting of a prose text, Remember not, O Lord God (EECM xii, pp.43-50; the variety of bar-lengths used in this edition of the anthem is symptomatic of the music's hesitant, phrasal progress). There are no imitative lattices at all, and only in two sections - one each from the Creed and the Nunc dimittis - does Tallis choose a texture that could be described as genuinely contrapuntal in its conception. Both are canons of sorts. In the Creed this canon occupies the outer voices of the texture, varies in interval from octave to fifth and back to octave as the setting progresses, and answers not at two or four minims but at three, displacing the accent in the comes (Appendix 5.8A; the other two voices, not transcribed in the example, do no more than echo ideas from the canon in a gestural manner and are otherwise freely-composed). This is quite unlike anything in the authenticated Henrician and Edwardian works. A canonic principle, this time stretto at the semibreve, also operates through much of the Nunc dimittis, although here the superius (acting throughout as the dux) is answered in turn by various voices, and always by a texture that is fundamentally homophonic (Appendix 5.8B). Here the only possibly Edwardian precedent is the five-part Te Deum, and even then only to a very limited extent. These canons, together with the absence of regular imitative expositions, perhaps imply a relatively late date of composition, just as the absence of the work from Edwardian sources suggests that it is Elizabethan; but further than that it is impossible to go.

Of the anthems, O Lord give thy Holy Spirit is the more perplexing work (EECM xii, pp.25-8). In form it is a classic example of simple ABB structure, and the gestural nature of certain points is reminiscent of the late 1540s ('in the fear of thy name', bars 10-14; 'and Jesus Christ', 21-8). But the work is far less neatly sectionalised than (for example) If ye love me or Hear the voice and prayer, and its use of the 'one against three' antiphonal principle is certainly not characteristic of the Edwardian anthem repertory in general. Again, the fact of its survival only in Elizabethan or later sources may genuinely reflect its date of composition. Verily, verily might also just pass as an Edwardian work, certainly on account of its almost exclusively homophonic texture and partly from its formulaic cadences. Harmonically and rhythmically, however, it is an advanced and idiosyncratic work; precocious, perhaps, for Edward's reign, but more likely to be Elizabethan.

After the Edwardian music, the next work by Tallis that can be dated with any confidence is the 'Puer natus' Mass of ca.1554. Stylistically this comes as something of a shock: it draws only very selectively on the compositional techniques of earlier Tudor music, and even less - despite frequent statements to the contrary - on Continental models. It is, in fact, clearly an enormous experiment. The various stages of its evolution are relatively easy to reconstruct, and by attempting to envisage these we can improve our understanding of the work's essential nature.

Tallis was almost certainly set the task of writing this Mass. The probable date and possible conditions of its first performance are by now well known (see Dunkley & WulstanP, p.i). He may also have been given the cantus firmus. The decision to lay the chant out

in the distinctive manner that Tallis adopts - two statements only, one extending through the Gloria and Credo, the second through the Sanctus and Agnus (correctly described in BenhamL, pp.183-4) - may be as pregnant with meaning as the chant itself, for the (fictitious) puer was of course brought about by the union of two monarchs, Philip and Mary. Whatever its symbolic significance, however, Tallis ended up with the task of building a large festal Mass around a relatively short cantus firmus, and so set himself the challenge of composing a huge six-part texture around a series of long plainchant notes, notes that remain stationary for periods of time totally unprecedented in English Mass settings (even at a brisk tempo, the held F at 'tu solus Dominus... Jesu Christe' in the Gloria lasts for half a minute, and the Agnus contains one pedal note that extends through some 31 bars, broken only by short rests).

Given this backbone, there was clearly no possibility for Tallis to exercise his accumulated skill in creating large, regular lattices of imitative entries, except at moments when the cantus firmus was temporarily absent (unfortunately we still know nothing about the way in which Tallis made his decisions about the presence or disappearance of the chant, or the duration or occasional repetition of individual chant-notes and ligatures; there is probably some truth in the view expressed in Dunkley & WulstanP, p.1, that the pattern is 'cabbalistic'). There are two major expositions, at 'Qui tollis' in the Gloria (Dunkley & Wulstan, p.7) - a spacious set of entries, four out of six peaking rota-like on C - and at 'Pleni sunt caeli' in the Sanctus (ibid., p.21), which is made up of several small groups of strettos. On the two other occasions when the cantus firmus is delayed in entering, Tallis opts for a different style of imitative

point, one that anticipates the contour of the forthcoming portion of chant. In the Benedictus (p.25), this gives him a shapeless, repeated-note figure barely suited to contrapuntal working, and the result is a kind of parlando choral chant that barely passes as imitation at all. The oscillating motif at the start of the second Agnus (p.37) makes for a more arresting set of entries; but Tallis uses the exposition only as a springboard from which a canon for the two sopranos arises, a canon that persists to the end of the Mass.

The choice of a canonic texture for the second Agnus is perhaps the most overtly 'Continental' feature of the entire work. Foreign precedents are legion, although it is not so easy finding one that combines a free two-part canon with an independent cantus firmus (Josquin's L'homme armé sexti toni manages to do this and more in its last Agnus Dei, but in a very different idiom). But Tallis was not in need of any specific model, and the very nature of his solution betrays both its insular background and a degree of empiricism. Worked as it is in the top two voices and at the unison, the dialogue has more the character of a rota than of an ingenious canonic structure. This is partly due to the 'busy' quality of the lines, which are minim-dominated, short-winded and regularly punctuated by rests - the effect is often of voice-exchange - and partly due to the internal repetition of melodic cells, both within the canonic pair of voices and by other parts, which at times sets up large-scale ostinato repetition (see for example the passages on pp.40-1, bars 101-9 and 109-end, with their almost mesmeric reiterations of small melodic figures).

Elsewhere in the Mass, the imitation is almost entirely gestural, rarely employing points of any length (although their contours may be

striking: see for example 'Miserere nobis', pp.7-8; 'in gloria Dei Patris', pp.15-17; 'Dominus Deus Sabaoth', pp.18-20) and never organised in regular lattices, although stretto entries - rotas in particular - are common. All of these features can be attributed specifically to the presence and nature of the cantus firmus: the expositions are extensive simply on account of the sheer length of the chant notes, and the lattices are as concentrated or as regular as Tallis can make them - he opts, of course, for some variety within each Mass movement. There is no question of his being deliberately 'Continental' here; the style of the imitation is idiosyncratically English, having already absorbed the fundamental principles of foreign practice at an earlier date and developed them into something relatively insular; and it is this insular style that Tallis modifies for this unique and experimental work. At a deep level, 'there is unquestionably Continental influence here' (DoeT, p.24), but any affinity that appears to exist with any specific foreign Mass setting is likely to be coincidental. Certainly Gombert's Mass 'Quam pulchra es', which has been cited as an analagous work (DoeT, pp. 24-5, supported in BenhamL, p.183), is only obliquely related and surely inconceivable as a model. If the direct influence of a foreign Mass is to be detected anywhere, it is in Tallis' decision to place the Agnus canon in the top two voices (compare for example Crecquillon's Mass 'Domine da nobis auxilium' (CMM LXIII/4, pp.39-42), first published in 1568 but written much earlier and, as part of the Imperial repertory, a work that might easily have found its way into the choirbooks of Philip II's Chapel). In general scope and style, however, Puer natus has closer cousins in English instrumental music of the mid-century, in particular settings of the In nomine cantus firmus.

The five years of Mary's reign offered English composers the opportunity to rekindle their skill and invention in writing substantial, extended works, an extravagance that appears to have been phased out of late Henrican liturgical music and was actively discouraged by the Edwardian church. There even appears to have been a deliberate attempt to recapture the idiom of early Tudor grandeur, discernable in the music of William Mundy and White, and perhaps also in Tallis' Gaude gloriosa. Whether or not this nostalgia grew from the hearts of composers themselves or can be attributed more to the minds of those who commissioned the music it is impossible to say. Whatever its motivation, however, its force lingered only locally and intermittently in Elizabethan music. The works that Tallis wrote during the late 1550s and early 1560s show an interest in developing formal structures and textural schemes of the kind evolved in the 1540s, worked now on a larger scale (there was clearly some demand for relatively extended settings of Latin texts in Elizabeth's Chapel Royal services) and increasingly absorbing ideas from foreign sources.

Tallis' outlook on musical structure and substance in the early years of the period is admirably shown by the early ('fantasia') version of O sacrum convivium (Appendix 2.12; see also Appendix 2.13 for sections  $\diamond A$  and  $\diamond C - \diamond E$  in full five-part texture). The work runs continuously, but is made up of strongly differentiated sections, most of which are imitative throughout. There is an obvious interest in constructing compact lattices of stretto entries that are immediately repeated, either fairly literally (see bars 13-16/17-21; 53-8/58-63; 70-9/79-88) or climactically (21-33; 33-41), and of maintaining almost constant minim motion throughout - the

'drab' iambic quality of mid-Tudor rhythm, as characteristic of music as it is of contemporary verse. This neat sectionalism, sharply defined by strong cadences and readily audible junctions, still betrays a deep indebtedness to the chanson and partsong; Tallis is clearly doing little more than stretching their resources in building longer, more continuously imitative and richer-textured works.

The two vocal works that grow out this 'fantasia' retain a close family resemblance to it. Absterge Domine (TCM vi, pp.180-6; see also Appendix 2.15) is almost certainly the elder sibling: it adheres fairly strictly to the principle of following each minimal stretto exposition with a literal reprise, the latter occasionally - but very selectively - climactic in nature. Tallis pushes the technique to what is for him a new limit, for there are some sixteen such expositions, many with identical counter-expositions (other composers had experimented a little earlier with the extension of this principle to an entire work; see for example three of Tye's anthems in EECM xix, all of them settings of texts from the 1545 Primer: no. 4, From the depth I called on thee; no. 9, I will exalt thee; no. 13, Praise ye the Lord, ye children). The short-windedness of Absterge Domine is partly attributable to the nature of the prayer-text it sets, which is itself entirely phrasal. But the decision to separate each of the expositions from its neighbour by a strong cadence (and on many occasions a full clearance of the texture), and to make these cadences almost continuously on G or D throughout the work, is Tallis' alone, as is the choice of points which in scope, rhythm and contour bear a strong resemblance to one another. It is symptomatic of Tallis' as yet limited outlook on

imitative structure that he relies almost exclusively on stretto expositions.

O sacrum convivium, through considerably shorter than Absterge Domine, is in fact a much more varied work (see the transcription in Appendix 2.13, to which all subsequent references below are made). Tallis retains the initial exposition/counter-exposition of the 'fantasia' (bars 1-12), but follows this with two further imitative lattices that achieve climaxes through the raising of the peak-note (12-25; 24-35), so effecting a quality of intensification that is generally absent from Absterge. At this point, Tallis abandons the 'fantasia' and writes entirely new material (35-end; sung twice, and so conforming to the partsong/anthem reprise-structure of ABB). In doing so, he also goes beyond the bounds of unvaried stretto imitation and creates something entirely novel - a leisurely, extended exposition not of a single musical idea but of two, a principal point and a secondary, gestural accompanying figure.

This exposition is reproduced in Appendix 5.9 (following the reading of Lbl Add.31390 in Appendix 2.13, upper system). From the very start, the two ideas co-exist, one rising (the principal point, exposed systematically in all voices, bars 32-6), the other falling (a loose figure, often worked into the continuation lines that grow out of a statement of the principal point). From bar 37, the emphasis is on the two outermost voices of texture, which alternate in an almost canonic exchange of the rising figure; the inner parts serve to accompany, and make no reference to the principal point. During the course of the exposition, the peak-note of the treble rises to D; and there is a climactic moment when, on the threshold of the final cadence, the treble leaps on to this note for its only



explicit statement of the secondary, falling subject. The entire process is then repeated.

This exposition goes far beyond the stretto lattices so characteristic of mid-Tudor music. In it we can sense a relaxation of the rigid constructional principle that pervades Absterge Domine, the first sign of a desire to explore an alternative and less pithy kind of imitative material. Other works of the period show a similar trend towards the investigation of new structures, although in none of them is the characteristic 'English stretto' discarded altogether.

O salutaris hostia (Appendix 2.18, to which all bar references below are made) is perhaps the least developed work of this kind. Here Tallis adopts for the first time a seamless flow of expositions and counter-expositions, the tails and heads of which are continuously overlapped rather than abutted. He also adheres fairly rigidly to the principle of terracing his entries in neat, descending sequences - which means that the point is, in effect, functioning for much of the time as the bass of the texture, a mode of presentation that Tallis exploits to greater length and advantage in later works. The reprise system is much as in Absterge: almost entirely literal and without climactic entries (the sequence of entries runs 1-7/7-12; 12-17/16-23 (with climax); 22-7/26-31; 31-6/35-40; 40-end). The final point rises little above the level of a rota, although admittedly an extended one.

In the Latin Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, however, there are some real surprises (see TCM vi, pp.73-87). In certain respects, this is a piece built on standard models: points are mostly short, minim-based and worked in short stretto lattices, often strictly terraced. There is also a certain amount of looser, gestural

imitation. But never before had Tallis (or any other English composer, for that matter) produced a strict set of entries that systematically rotated around a circle of fifths in its pitches of entry (Appendix 5.10A; transcribed from Och 979-83 with voice IV reconstructed editorially), nor devised as broad and thorough an exposition as that to the half-verse 'Esurientes implevit bonis', where entry-pitch again revolves, although here in a less startlingly rapid fashion (TCM vi, pp.79-80). Tallis even applies fifth-rotation to a homophonic sequence, in the three statements of 'et gloriam plebis tuae Israel' in the Nunc dimittis (pp.86-7).

Terracing of entries here assumes a prominence hitherto unknown in Tallis' works; and it is clear that, in choosing to pass the point downwards through the texture and to space the entries more widely than in standard stretto latticing, the structural principle has in fact subtly changed: what Tallis is producing here is not so much a set of imitative entries as a sequentially repeated bass-pattern, albeit one that repeats on a variety of pitch-levels and possesses two pitch-classes of entry. As the 'point' moves downwards, so the upper voices are liberated and assume the quality of ornamental accompaniments. But the ear remains sharply focused on the descending entries, simply on account of their prominent position. Appendix 5.10B illustrates two of the most spacious terraces in the work; they differ as much in sound as they do in essential function from the curt, gestural, stretto terraces of more conventional kind that occur elsewhere in the work (see for example 'et in saecula' in the Magnificat, TCM vi, p.84, or 'saeculorum' in the Nunc dimittis, p.87/III).

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As Tallis extended the range of his imitative practice during the 1560s, so the character of his music began to change in a number of fundamental ways. It is as though, having acquired a skill in handling certain types of imitative technique during his early maturity, his late career is characterized by the expansion of those idioms and eventually by his discarding of some of them altogether. The transition is of course a gradual one. Just as the tendency to explore alternative structures is locally evident in works that in general continue to rely on well-tried forms of imitation, so his late works retain some allegiance to older conventions, even if such passages are now increasingly interspersed among more experimental types of structure. The difference in style between early Elizabethan pieces such as O sacrum convivium, O salutaris hostia or the Latin Magnificat and Nunc dimittis and contemporary or slightly later works such as Salvator mundi [i], Domine quis habitabit or even the Lamentations is not so marked that one would wish to set them apart in different categories; the changes are often slight, if significant, and the ancestry always evident. But just as the development of regular, stretto imitation in England during the mid-sixteenth century can be examined as a relatively self-contained theme, so the emergence of alternative imitative practices - or even the abandonment of imitation altogether - in Tallis' late works demands separate scrutiny.

These changes of the 1560s almost certainly reflect a new response in England to certain types of foreign music of the time, in particular the motet and madrigal. If developments in Tudor music of

the 1540s and 50s were to a large extent stimulated by the fashion for chansons and the physical presence at court of a classic chanson composer, Philip van Wilder, so the 1560s are characterized by the increased flow into England of the motet books of Susato and Phalèse or the madrigal publications of Scotto and Gardano, and the arrival in London of Alfonso Ferrabosco. This is not to say that English music radically changed direction under the influence of new Continental models; one hesitates in any case to speak of 'influence' of any specific kind when the evidence is as slender and unconnectable as it is, at least before the Byrd-Ferrabosco connection. But there is probably some truth in the view that Tallis' musical idiom changed in sympathy with a general swing of taste, one that in part arises from the growth of musical literacy in Elizabethan England and the increased demand for (and currency of) foreign music publications. It is probably no coincidence that many of Tallis' most idiosyncratic late works cannot be linked unequivocally with the Chapel Royal but have equally good claim to being intended for secular or ceremonial use. It is not easy to imagine performances of the Lamentations in more than one or two ecclesiastical buildings - recusant chapels apart - and we now know that Spem in alium both arose from a secular commission and was intended for performance out of church. It is possible that the conditions of patronage under which Tallis worked changed significantly during the last decade of his career, and that the nature of his late music reflects as much the cosmopolitan musical interests of those who commissioned his work as Tallis' personal admiration for the music of Lassus or Ferrabosco, or enthusiasm for recent developments in the Italian madrigal.

These are thoughts that lead us into the next chapter. Before moving on to explore them in greater detail, however, we need to appraise in general terms the achievements of the mid-century in the development of the art of imitation in Tudor England. It is clear that existing views of this development, and criticisms of its accomplishments, are not always as sympathetic as we should like: they neither take into consideration the many kinds of evidence that are demonstrably central to such a study, nor necessarily see matters through the eyes of mid-century composers (or rather, hear them through their ears). Even in an apparently sharply-focussed statement such as the following, deficiencies in awareness of historical context, of the traditions and conventions that mid-Tudor composers established, result in a view that is not entirely enlightening:

Imitation in "full" sections of the votive antiphons tends to be flexible and unsystematic. Individual lines often run into long melismas, and no scheme controls the spacing or pitch-placement of the entries. Imitation does not seem to have been viewed yet as an architectural device, but rather as another form of rich decoration to the leisurely flow of alternating sections - as though an invisible cantus firmus were still assuming structural responsibility. With the psalm settings, however, a very marked change takes place towards terseness of material and towards regularity, even squareness, of imitative technique. A probable impetus for this came from much smaller, simpler four-part motets, which circulated increasingly during Henry VIII's reign, and which absorbed something from the Franco-Netherlandish tradition. Tallis and Mundy, in any case, tightened their imitative style as they turned from the votive antiphon to the psalm and to the smaller motet. When they thought that imitation had to bear the weight of the structure, they could only

think to make it as rigid as possible. Or so one is tempted to suppose: these composers extend phrases by means of strict, symmetrical repetitions of one kind or another; very rarely indeed do they significantly develop a contrapuntal idea within the course of an imitative section.

(KermanI, p.520)

As a statement about effect, this is observant; but it is made without sufficient sense of the causes that led to this effect, of the necessities, influences and aesthetic outlook that worked together to shape its character. There is no doubt that the art of imitation as developed by English composers before 1560 was in many respects a limited, primitive one, and that only during the course of Elizabeth's reign was it extended or replaced to produce quantities of music that rise above the routine or pedestrian. But this 'drab' phase of English music, no less than that of mid-century English verse, demands our respect and a genuinely sympathetic understanding, if only on account of the foundation it succeeded in laying for a later and richer period.

Chapter 6

SUBSTANCE AND STRUCTURE IN TALLIS' LATE WORKS

ca.1560 - 1575

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Like Byrd after him, Tallis appears to have an extraordinarily fertile 'late period' towards the end of his career, a period characterized as much by growth and exploration as it is by consolidation. Just as the works of his early maturity collectively bear witness to his exploration of pervasive imitation as a basic ingredient of musical design, so the products of the last fifteen or so years of his active life evince a fascination in techniques that go beyond the established norm. By the early 1560s, Tallis was perfectly capable of writing in what has been described as 'continuous full treatment in imitative style' (Harrison in NOHM IV, p.479), of producing works that are governed by the 'general principle of regularity' (KermanI, p.524); motets such as Absterge Domine and O sacrum convivium testify to this. In his late music, however, Tallis began to move in a new direction, by rejecting at first selectively and in the end absolutely the idea that all voices of the texture should contribute continuously in an equal and equivalent manner to the prevailing musical discourse. There is no place for the tidy, chanson-like lattices of overlapping imitative entries so characteristic of his mid-Tudor music in the dark, idiosyncratic world of In manus tuas and In ieiunio et fletu.

The process of rejection that reaches its ultimate conclusion in these two works was of course a slow, gradual one. The central



importance of pervasive imitation was eroded only by degrees during the 1560s, as Tallis began to explore the structural possibilities of other types of repetition-scheme: canon, for example, sequence and ostinato. In a limited way, he also began to recognise the usefulness of what has been described as the 'cell' principle, in which a block of material for two or more voices - homophonic or contrapuntal - is passed around the texture, either at pitch or in transposition (on 'cell' technique in Byrd, see KermanM, p.88 and passim). In addition, some of these late works suggest a degree of genuinely harmonic conception - works in which the move away from and return to a specific tonal centre are as much a part of the music's argument as any repetition-scheme of the imitative or canonic kind. Tallis even makes tentative forays into the territory of chromaticism, and tries his hand at writing cadenceless music of the kind championed by Lassus and his circle, music that confounds the modern ear (not to mention the principles of functional harmonic analysis) by its 'atonality'. As these various techniques and preoccupations assume increased prominence, so the various types of imitative latticing evolved during the mid-century are gradually and systematically overshadowed.

This shift in emphasis can already be heard in some of the earliest Elizabethan motets, settings that were almost certainly written within a year or so of the continuously imitative works discussed at the end of the previous chapter. Closest to them are Salvator mundi[i] and Mihi autem nimis which in scope and basic design bear a strong family resemblance to O salutaris hostia and O sacrum convivium. The differences are, however, marked. Salvator mundi (TCM vi, pp.216-8) opens with an imitative exposition - and

slightly compressed counter-exposition - that is relatively conventional by mid-Tudor standards: the point is exposed in a tidy and somewhat mechanical descending terrace of entries, closely adjacent but not in stretto, and then repeated literally with minor rhythmic modifications. Tallis 'even stresses the symmetry by leaving the bass silent in measure 9, so that this measure corresponds exactly with measure 4' (Kerman I, pp.520-1). What happens in the middle section of the motet, however, does not fit the description of 'continuous full treatment in imitative style' (the passage is transcribed in Appendix 6.1A; bar numbers follow TCM vi). For the text-section 'qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos', Tallis opts first for a brief snatch of canon at the octave between voices I and IV, with at best pseudo-imitation in the other parts, and then engages three of the voices in a small lattice (immediately repeated) of gestural entries, using the same melodic contour - heightened - of the preceding canon. This is followed without a break by a second, more extensive canon ('auxiliare nobis'), this time at the fifth between the outer parts, and within itself sequential; the remaining three voices are free except inasmuch as they repeat material in response to the sequence of the canon. For the final phrase, 'te deprecamur Deus noster' (Appendix 6.1B), Tallis returns to the principle of involving all voices equally in the imitative process. But he does not create a 'lattice' in the strict sense of the term; the nine entries of the point (arranged as an exposition and counter-exposition) are placed adjacently rather than overlapping, and in all but one case - the statement in the top voice - function as the bass of the texture. Against this, Tallis works a looser, contrasting subsidiary shape, descending hesitantly, as an

integral element in the continuation lines (the technique is foreshadowed in O sacrum convivium: see Appendix 5.9 above). What results both here and earlier in the work only obliquely deserves to be branded as 'streamlined Flemish technique' (DoeI, p.49); more correctly, it is an idiosyncratic extension of established English practice, retaining both the regularity of the opening exposition and the convention of repeating entire sections en bloc, but extending the range of unifying procedures to include small-scale canon, sequence and the simultaneous working of two independent melodic ideas.

As in Salvator mundi, expositions involving all five voices of the texture are confined to the top and tail of Mihi autem nimis. Here, however, Tallis steps beyond the norm by choosing to open the work with a rota: four equally-spaced statements on D, answered by a fifth on G (which functions as the bass). The entire exposition is then repeated in compressed format (TCM vi, pp.204-205/I). The next point, 'amici tui Deus', is more in the mid-Tudor spirit, although here too four of the five entries answer one another in rota-like fashion on A (voice II does not participate). For 'nimis confortatus est principatus eorum', Tallis devises a short two-part canon at the octave between the outer voices of the texture - I and IV - followed by a third, free, entry in the bass (virtually all of this takes place around or below a pedal D); then both of these statements, canon and free bass entry, are repeated literally. The last section, a re-setting of the phrase 'principatus eorum', is less tidily organized and more reminiscent of the past, an extended stretto exposition of a gesture-like point, peaking constantly (and again rota-like) on G or D.

The short-term canonic exchanges that feature so prominently in the middle sections of these two motets are symptomatic of Tallis' steadily growing interest in the polarization of imitative exchanges into select voices of the texture. Previously, canon had been reserved for special occasions: the climactic Agnus Dei of the 'Puer natus' Mass, for example, and the hymn [Iam Christus astra ascenderit], where the plainchant melody is coaxed into canon with itself without too much squeezing and pushing (see Tallis' first two polyphonic verses, TCM vi, pp.285-7). In the Elizabeth works, however, canon becomes a key ingredient, whether maintained throughout an entire work (as in Salvator mundi [ii], the Service 'of five parts, two in one', the eighth tune from Matthew Parker's Psalter and the seven-part multiple canon Miserere nostri) or employed only locally. Tallis' canons are idiosyncratic: usually answered at a short distance, busy in motion, almost invariably at either the unison or octave, and always involving the uppermost voice of the texture, their presence is in general immediately audible, unlike the more complex, learned and expansive canonic structures that preoccupied foreign minds from the late-fifteenth century and eventually found their way to England - by way of the works of Ferrabosco and perhaps Philippe de Monte - into the music of Byrd.

Also relatively new to Salvator mundi [i] and Mihi autem nimis is the method of placing imitative entries adjacently rather than in superimposition. When the point so used is a short one, as in the concluding 'te deprecamur Deus noster' of Salvator mundi [i] (Appendix 6.1B), the effect is of a succession of small cells related to one another by the invariable presence of a single melodic idea, stated though it may be at a different pitch-level on each

reappearance. In the <sup>most</sup>extended of his early Elizabethan works, Tallis explores more thoroughly the structural usefulness of this technique; like canon, it gradually assumes importance as a viable alternative to genuinely pervasive imitation.

The two large psalm-settings of <sup>this</sup> period, Domine quis habitabit and Laudate Dominum, illustrate with clarity Tallis' new concern in the 1560s for varied rather than consistently imitative textures. In Domine quis habitabit the long text is divided and set as two independent partes after the fashion of Continental psalm-motets. Tallis bows to convention by opening each half with what are seemingly full, regularly imitative expositions. In the first of these, 'Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo' (TCM vi, p.246), the entries are equally spaced at six semibreves' distance from one another. This is presumably done with the intention of accompanying every new entry of the point with a regular 'counter-subject', for the setting of 'in tabernaculo tuo' remains as stable as that of the opening three words. The result is, in other words, a two-part cell of invertible counterpoint, stated at various pitch-levels according to the degree of initial entry (Appendix 6.2A).

This makes for a strong opening: but Tallis clearly recognized that the next clause of text, 'aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo', was too long, shapeless and similar in sound and structure to the first to merit as full an exposition, and opted instead for a setting that is by comparison decidedly low-key. The 'point' as exposed by the top voice (p.246/III/2-3) is answered by a literal restatement - adjacently - in the bass, but only some rather half-hearted pseudo-imitation in the other three voices. For the next two text-phrases, 'Qui ingreditur sine macula' and 'et operatur

iustitiam', Tallis reverts to authentic imitation, even if the latter has at times the ring of a rota about it (p.247/II/3ff.).

What follows in the remainder of the prima pars of the motet is not genuinely 'imitative' at all, although all four sections depend upon the restatement of similar or identical melodic material in various voices of the texture. In the first of these sections, Tallis exploits a phrasal symmetry in the text: he carves it up into three four-syllable groups ('qui loquitur / veritatem / in corde suo ≠ o'), sets each to a four-minim 'point' of characteristic shape - either rising or falling - and plays them off against one another in a sequence of tiny cells (Appendix 6.2B). The next section, to the text 'Qui non egit dolum in lingua sua' (p.248/III/2), is also sequential: the point is here stated first in isolation by voice I, then in canon by III and V, which cadence in such a way as to allow I to re-enter not at its original pitch but at one step below; and the canon is itself then stated a second time at the lower pitch. Tallis races us through the third set of words ('nec fecit proximo suo') in a pair of tiny canons at the octave (p.249/II/2; voices I and IV on C, V and III on F), and so brings us to the final phrase of the primapars, 'et opprobium non accepit'. This he sets to an unusual, syncopated descending line which is worked as a strict three-part canon in voices I, II and IV (Appendix 6.2C); the other voices 'make good' the harmony and engage in pseudo-imitation as best they can (p.249/III/2ff.). To round off the first half of the motet, Tallis adheres to the convention of stating this entire last section a second time.

The secunda pars depends even less upon continuous pervasive imitation. Admittedly the first two points are worked fairly

rigorously: the expansive lattice built on the words 'Ad nihilum deductus est in conspectu eius' (pp.250-1) complements and balances the opening exposition of the motet's first half, and is followed by an extended and contrastingly busy set of stretto entries on 'timentes autem Dominum' - the most characteristically 'English' lattice in the whole work. For the remainder of the setting, however, Tallis reverts to alternative textures, starting with a long (and perhaps too long) sequence of adjacent cells, which accommodate first the words 'qui iurat proximo suo et non decipit', then 'Qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram' and finally 'et munera super innocentem non accepit' (p.252/II/1 - 254/I/3). In each of these cells, at least one voice - and sometimes two or three in loose imitation - states the principal point, a parlando monotone on some five or six syllables that then twists and subsides into a cadence. There is no real order in the pitch of entry, although the first three statements revolve around a tonal centre of D, the next three around G or D and the final set F (the last three entries, 'et munera super innocentem non accepit', answer one another at the octave). Tallis closes the passage by re-setting the words 'non accepit' as a two-part canon (p.254/I/3, voices I and III), raising the point climactically in the process, and halting rhetorically on a major chord of A, remote from the work's overall tonal centre of F (p.254/II/3). This is done for a purpose: the final point (to the words 'qui facit haec' or 'non movebitur') is sequential, moving as a free canon between the top two voices through a circle of fifths (Appendix 6.2D), and gradually 'unwinding' as the point cadences first on D, then on G, C, F and B-flat. Here the work might have ended; but Tallis elects to repeat this final section, and so needs

to 'rewind' the music back to the opening major chord of A. He does this by stating the 'non movebitur' point once more, cadencing on G then recalling the entire passage originally set to the words 'non accepit', but now bearing the last two words of the text, 'in eternum' (p.255/II/1 - III/1). The circle of fifths sequence can then be repeated, and is extended slightly to consolidate the F tonality.

The two partes of Domine quis habitabit are thus entirely complementary. Each opens with a broad imitative point, proceeds through contrasting material built largely out of short canons or cell repetition, and closes with a curiosity - a three-part canon in the prima pars, a sequence in the secunda - stated twice to achieve a sense of finality. In its scope and degree of textural contrast, the setting does at last seem to be directly indebted to Continental motet models, and it is even possible that Tallis was following the example of Clemens, Crecquillon and their contemporaries in choosing to end with a sequential passage, which functions as a genuine climax (by comparison, the rotation of entries through a circle of fifths in the Latin Magnificat and Nunc dimittis - Appendix 5.10A - serves no obvious purpose and is incidental in effect). The sheer variety of material, not to mention the length to which it is worked, places Domine quis habitabit in a league altogether different from that of the chanson-like stretto-imitative motets such as Absterge Domine and O sacrum convivium.

Laudate Dominum (TCM vi, pp.266-71) is broadly similar to Domine quis habitabit, if a little more compact and constructed in a single pars. It was probably written at about the same time. Tallis chooses closely related melodic material for the two opening points,



presumably to emphasize the similarity of their texts ('Laudate Dominum omnes gentes' and 'laudate eum omnes populi'), and the effect is of a single, developing exposition (pp.266 - 267/II/1; the setting of 'omnes populi' gradually assumes the status of an independent counter-subject). At 'quoniam confirmata est misericordia eius', Tallis moves into canon, first at the octave between the top voices, then (extremely loosely) between IV and V (p.267/II/lff.); and 'misericordia eius' is extended into a loose, gestural, five-part lattice. This is followed by a tightly canonic cell setting the words 'et veritas Domini manet in eternum', given first to two contrasted four-voice groups and finally to the full five-part texture, the three statements cadencing on G, C and G respectively (p.268/I/3ff.). The last of these statements is extended by the creation of a new melodic point for 'manet in eternum', which Tallis passes between the top part and internal voices in a series of short canonic exchanges at the octave. The first half of the doxology is terse and phrasal, nothing more than a succession of small gestures ('sicut erat in principio' is worked as a brief stretto canon in V, IV and I). For the concluding 'et in saecula saeculorum', however, Tallis takes us through a long exposition of entries, almost all of them placed adjacent to one another rather than overlapping, and most shadowed in thirds by a second voice. There is no literal reprise (although the exposed entries of II and III at 271/I/1 recall the opening of the passage, 270/I/3); instead, Tallis achieves a climax by raising the peak-note of his G entries from C to D (see I at 271/I/1, III at 271/I/2, V at 271/II/2, etc.). This final exposition is by far the longest in the entire motet, amounting to a third of its total length.

These two psalm-motets, probably written during the early 1560s, appear to have been Tallis' first exercises in large-scale organisation using a wide variety of contrasting structural procedures after the manner of Continental models. Most of his works from the second half of the decade build upon them, largely by achieving greater contrast between sections, both in length and substance, and by roving farther afield from the overall tonal centre. Most closely related to the psalms are the two Lamentation settings and three motets, Dereelinquit impius, Suscipe quaeso and Spem in alium.

Of these, perhaps the least developed is De lamentatione (BrettL, pp.17-40, to which all subsequent references are made). Here Tallis brings together an impressive array of techniques ranging from pervasive imitation and canon through sequence, ostinato and pedal to bold homophony. The work opens conventionally enough with a broad exposition, using the 'combinatorial' principle first tried in Domine quis habitabit (Appendix 6.2A): entries are consistently spaced five breves apart (references are to original note-values, which are halved in BrettL), so that the second half of the subject - 'Ieremiae prophetae' - functions as a regular and invariable counter-subject to the next statement of the point ('De lamentatione'); the effect is of a succession of (variously transposed) five-semibreve cells. The five-part exposition is immediately repeated in its entirety, with some reallocation of entries among the parts (BrettL, pp.17-19). Much the same principle operates in the ensuing setting of 'Ghimel', although the 'counter-subject' is here sometimes dropped and there is no counter-exposition.

By contrast with these opening paragraphs, the first Lamentation verse is set more tersely and pervasive imitation temporarily abandoned. For 'Migravit Iuda propter afflictionem', Tallis makes three adjacent statements on different pitch-levels of a single bass line (bars 44-55, successively in III, IV and V); above this he introduces 'ac multitudinem servitutis', which is never granted any more solid shape than a gestural head-motif of a rising third. The next phrase, 'habitavit inter gentes', passes rota-like from I to IV and back to I, all three times on F; and 'nec invenit requiem' also opens as a canon at the octave, this time between V and I, culminating in another brief exchange of the rota variety between the same two voices, shadowed here at the lower sixth and upper third respectively by III and II (bars 75-8). The antiphonal effect this produces is mirrored in the setting of the ensuing Hebrew letter, 'Daleth', where the exchange is again at the octave.

For the opening of the next verse, Tallis moves on to a more substantial type of two-part cell, itself partly imitative ('Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias', bars 88-97). This he repeats in the lowest two voices (bar 98ff.), the upper parts only loosely imitating the cell until 'inter angustias', at which point a brief exposition of the old-fashioned stretto kind breaks out as a culmination. The following phrase ('Lugent eo quod non sunt qui veniant ad solemnitatem') is treated in similar fashion: the 'point' is stated first by the bass (111-16), then a twelfth above by the top voice (116-21), and finally reduced to its last two words and passed as a two-part cell between various pairs of voices ('ad solemnitatem', 122-8).

At this point, Tallis begins to increase the pace of the setting. Recognizing the identical phrase-lengths and rhythm of the next two text-units ('Omnes portae eius destructae' and 'sacerdotes eius gementes'), he sets them succinctly to virtually identical music, echoing the contour of the topmost line in the bass and engaging the inner parts in a form of free voice-exchange(128-37). This leads quickly into a pair of close canons between the outermost parts, first at the octave ('virgines eius squalidae et ipsa oppressa', 137-42), then at the twelfth ('amaritudine'), repeated in order to strengthen the sense of finality at the end of the major section. Again, the Hebrew letter that follows picks up the prevailing technical procedure: 'Heth' is set as a three-part canon at the octave and unison (I, IV and V, bars 151-6).

For the final verse, Tallis at last returns to something approaching full imitation. Even here, however, the structure is essentially cellular: a pair of entries (IV and V) answered adjacently an octave above (I and II), the two pairs welded together by the fifth voice ('Facti sunt hostes eius in capite, inimici illius', bars 158-70). But the effect is undeniably expansive after the compression of the previous verse, and Tallis maintains this breadth - after two statements of the brief cadential cell 'locupletati sunt' - in a leisurely three-part rota to the text 'quia Dominus locutus est super eam', passed at the octave between voices V, I and IV (173-9); this is immediately repeated, the two free voices exchanging material (180-6). As if to echo this double statement, Tallis also presents his next (shorter) section twice, first as a brief snatch of canon ('iniquitatum eius', I and III at bars 188-90), then as a tiny stretto exposition (191-5). For a

moment, the sound-world of Absterge Domine seems to be recalled: the redundancy of these second statements slows down the forward motion, and with immaculate control Tallis pulls the verse even more securely to a halt by introducing - for the first time in the work - full five-part homophony, a matching pair of phrases during which the uppermost voice moves gradually down to the bottom of its register.

Like the Hebrew letters earlier on, the concluding invocation 'Ierusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum' grows out of the end of the preceding verse by echoing its primary characteristics - in this case, homophony and phrasal repetition. The brief antiphonal exchanges between high and low voices are maintained throughout the section (as is the loose canon between the outermost parts); but there are two - identical - moments of intensification during which all five voices sing, giving the passage a neat overall form of ABCB (the nodal points occur in bars 206, 212, 216 and 220). By the time we reach the coda, with its firmly anchored pedal G, the earlier momentum of the work has been almost completely arrested.

No previous work by Tallis can match De lamentatione for the skill of its pacing. Even in Domine quis habitabit and Laudate Dominum, in which repetition is used sparingly and sections are judiciously contrasted with one another in both length and content, the effect is less finely calculated and impressive. As regards the shorter early Elizabethan motets such as O salutaris hostia and O sacrum convivium, they seem to grow from an entirely different aesthetic outlook, one in which symmetry and consistency are held as ideals. With De lamentatione we step beyond the threshold of the chanson, of Philip van Wilder and of the mid-Tudor part-song into a world teeming with younger foreign voices.

Tallis' other Lamentation setting, Incipit lamentatio (BrettL, pp.1-16), is a smaller but structurally similar work to De lamentatione. In other respects, however, it moves into entirely new territory: for here we see Tallis exploring for the first time the possibility of building a piece around what might be described as a 'tonal argument', of ranging widely away from and returning confidently to the nominal E phrygian modality in a series of carefully calculated and paced stages. This is not to say that in his earlier works Tallis never sought to introduce variety by changing and contrasting tonal centres during their course. His mind was, for example, fully aware of the connection between 'relative major/relative minor' tonal relationships, even if his vocabulary lacked terms with which to describe the phenomenon; most of his early Elizabethan motets (including Absterge Domine, Salvator mundi [i] and De lamentatione) make effective use of this procedure. Nor was his ear unaware of what we would describe today as 'modulation to the dominant'; even in a work conceived in as linear a fashion as the canonic Salva\_tor mundi [ii] the shift from a cadential (and tonal) centre of C to that of G is spaced at such regular and seemingly well-calculated intervals as to leave little doubt that Tallis had planned the effect of long-term contrast with the greatest care. In Incipit lamentatio, however, the argument of departing from and coming back to a specific tonal area is far more complex and sophisticated, the means itself barely indigenous to Tudor music. It is tempting to interpret this new concern for wide-ranging tonal contrast as certain evidence of foreign influence. Even if this were the case, however, there is little chance of identifying Tallis' precise models. If anything, the sound world of Incipit lamentatio

may owe some debt to the music of Lassus and his circle - which might be stretched to include Alfonso Ferrabosco; but it is impossible to go beyond this extremely tenuous suggestion.

The tonal scheme of Incipit lamentatio was clearly devised with the intention of communicating a sense of insecurity and instability, of disconcerting the listener's sense of equilibrium. Tallis had done this before, as early as in Marian or even possibly late Henrician works, but always incidentally and with far less obvious justification of motive. One of the most conspicuous devices in his stock of disruptive elements can in fact be traced back to his very first works (and to even earlier Tudor music): the subsidence of a major third above the bass into the minor, a transition that most commonly occurs at cadence points as a means of punctuating between musical or textual sentences. In Salve intemerata this form of direct chromaticism is brought into play at many of the principal structural divisions in the music (although it has to be admitted that sources tend to conflict in their provision of the accidentals which produce the effect); two typical examples are shown in Appendix 6.3A. In Incipit lamentatione, however, Tallis commonly heightens the chromaticism of this progression, and additionally undermines the prevailing sense of the work's tonal stability, by succeeding it with a bass note compatible with the minor but not the preceding major third; the disruption, though local and often short-lived, is here clearly intended to serve an expressive function in a way that the earlier progression did not (Appendix 6.3B; two examples). Tallis had very occasionally toyed with the idea before - in Gaude gloriosa and the 'Puer natus' Mass, for example (Appendix 6.3C) - but never with such sense of purpose. Equally characteristic of Incipit

lamentatio are mid-sentence (as opposed to post-cadential) changes of tonal direction that induce forms of short-term indirect chromaticism, changes that are commonplace in the language of Rore or Lassus but rare in English music until the mid-1560s (Appendix 6.3D; two examples). Never before this work had Tallis roved so freely around the circle of fifths, sometimes avoiding cadences in the process, as a means of extending tonal range (Appendix 6.3E) - another stock-in-trade of Lassus, who was capable of revolving in this way through as many as six successive points of the compass in a matter of only a few breves. Also increasingly evident in the Lamentations is Tallis' interest in direct or indirect false relationships - the so-called 'English cadence'. This is a misnomer if there ever was one, for the device comes straight from Franco-Flemish practice and is a routine feature in the works of Gombert, Clemens, Crecquillon and even van Wilder but seldom seen in the music of Fayrfax or Taverner (the sparse provision of sharps and flats specifically indicating this kind of clash in mid-century foreign prints is no proof against their existence, for the basic laws of musica ficta demand them, and contemporary lute intabulations add supporting evidence: see the transcriptions in BrownL for some explicit examples).

Most impressive of all in Incipit lamentatio, however, is the superbly controlled arch of the overall tonal design, which spans a tritone from the opening and closing E to the central B-flat - an arch in which the 'tonal climax is made to coincide with the most highly-charged words in the piece' (BenhamL, p.194). This close relationship between tension, resolution, overall architecture and text has no precedent in Tallis' earlier music; by comparison, the



revolutions through circles of fifths and sudden shifts of direction in his previous works possess little more than curiosity value within the overall contexts of the pieces to which they belong, and their significance extends no further than that of experiment for its own sake.

In texture, Incipit lamentatio goes one step further than De lamentatione in replacing pervasive imitation as the primary constructional material. Only in the early stages of the work does Tallis opt for fully-fledged lattices - presumably in deference to convention. For the first Lamentation verse - 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas...' (BrettL, p.4, bar 37ff.) - he not only abandons imitation but virtually banishes all forms of internal melodic repetition beyond the level of incidental exchanges between the lowest two voices. In the text-units 'princeps provinciarum' and 'facta est sub tributo', however, he moves on to cell construction - the same cell for the two sets of words, which are identical in syllable-count if not in accentuation (bars 50-60). In the service of the overall tonal design, the four statements of this cell successively cadence a third lower on each occasion, moving from C to A to F and eventually, after a brief extension of the words 'sub tributo' in the form of a set of gestural entries, to D.

With 'Beth', the second of the Hebrew letter-interludes (bars 69-75), comes the first canon, an antiphonal exchange after the fashion of 'Daleth' in De lamentatione. Here the intention is clearly to break with the discourse of the preceding verse (the distinction is achieved not only through textural contrast but also by the abrupt shift into the 'relative major' of F) and to connect with what follows; for Tallis' oscillations between F and B-flat in

the bass-line of 'Beth' finally come to rest on the latter, and in the next verse - 'Plorans ploravit' (p.9) - he goes further by nudging us one more stage around the circle of fifths to E-flat (having done so, he then proceeds to disturb the tonal equilibrium even more by juxtaposing E-flat/B-flat and C/E-natural configurations in that form of indirect chromaticism so typical of the work: Appendix 6.3F). The texture here is of 'one against four' antiphony, something not heard since the five-part Te Deum and 'Puer natus' Mass. For the ensuing passage Tallis returns to cell-like construction, and as in the first verse uses a single melodic shape for two successive and rhythmically-compatible text-units ('non est qui consoletur eam' and 'ex omnibus caris eius').

What happens next is in a sense more predictable, at least after scrutiny of the partner work, De lamentatione. Drawing near as he now is to the end of the setting, Tallis opts for material that bears immediate block repetition, pairs of echoing statements that gradually arrest the motion. The first passage to be stated twice is a short lattice, centering on an exchange between voices III and I ('omnes amici eius', bars 108-11 and 111-14), the second - following the tiny, cadential setting of 'spreverunt eam' - a slightly more extended exposition, 'et facti sunt ei' (bars 116-24).

As in De lamentatione, the setting of 'Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum' that closes the motet also aims to achieve musical finality through the literal repetition of material. Here, however, Tallis faces the problem of settling effectively on his elected home modality of E phrygian. He does this by making his repetitions not on a single pitch-level but on two, dropping as it were into deeper gloom by a full fourth for the second statement (bars 131-8,

corresponding to 124-31; 138-43 serves as a consolidating coda). Where the conclusion of De lamentatione acted as a secure anchor, that of Incipit lamentatio remains an integral part of the drama. Again, we are reminded that for all their many similarities the two works belong to essentially different expressive worlds.

Close to the Lamentations in substance and structure, if nearer to Salvator mundi [i] in length, is Derelinquit impius (TCM vi, pp.189-92), a work that seems to have attracted attention more for the fact that its opening imitative point 'is not only highly errant melodically but also enters on all sorts of unexpected degrees of the scale' (DoeT, p.45; see also Kerman I, pp.521, 524) than on account of what follows in the rest of the setting. The use of pervasive imitation is in fact relatively short-lived, for this is another piece built largely out of cells, canons and adjacent entries, as well as one that pays little allegiance to its theoretical tonal centre of C before the final cadence. The forsaking of the ways begins, of course, with the suggestive opening words ('Derelinquit impius viam suam'), but it is only at the end of the exposition that Tallis pushes the music completely off course in an extraordinary sequence of direct or oblique chromatic changes. He untangles the knot, however, in what is by now a familiar manner: by taking the bass through a sequence of fifths, from A to D, G and finally C (the entire process is shown in Appendix 6.4A). There is room here only for gestural imitation; but a more regular exposition ensues, starting appropriately enough on the nominal tonal centre of C, to the words 'et revertatur ad Dominum' (TCM vi, p.190/I/2ff.).

The middle section of the motet is full of contrasts: first a rota ('et miserebitur eius', passing from I to IV, back to I and

finally - transposed - to II: p.190/II/3 - III/4), second a set of canons ('benignus et misericors est', first between I and IV, then a fifth lower between V and III, last between I and IV again: p.191/I - II) and third a pair of statements of a two-voice cell ('et praestabilis super malitia', II and V answered a fifth above by I and IV: p.191/II/3 - III/3). But the climax - and triumph - of the motet is its final sentence, an extended series of ornamental and melismatic two-part canons to the words 'Dominus Deus noster'. This is no more a specimen of sensitive word-setting than it is an example of word-painting, for Tallis' concerns here are purely musical, much as in the more elaborate settings of the Hebrew letters in the two Lamentations. The passage falls into two phases, labelled  $\diamond A$  and  $\diamond B$  in Appendix 6.4B. In the first - a series of loose octave canons of the principal point followed by a solitary statement in III - there seems to be no escape from A as the prevailing tonal centre, and the work might easily have come to an end on that degree. But there is still some fight left in the point: as the C-sharp subsides to C-natural at letter  $\diamond B$  the music gradually revolves once more around the circle of fifths, from A to D, G and finally C, held together by a continuous free canon at the octave between I and IV. Unlike the upper voices, the bass plays no part in the contrapuntal interplay; its function is quite literally that of a bass line. In its slow rate of chord-change and clearly harmonic conception, this closing passage brings us close to the spacious sound-world of Spem in alium.

Close; but not yet to the threshold. For this we need to turn to a work by Tallis that has almost certainly been entirely misinterpreted in the past, the seven-part motet Suscipe

quaeso. The case for linking this piece with the 'Puer natus' Mass has already been questioned (Chapter 2 above): there is no evidence that the two works circulated together before the 1590s, nor that Suscipe quaeso was transmitted in manuscript until after the publication of the Cantiones sacrae in 1575, and the similarity of its scoring to that of the Mass could easily be fortuitous (Tallis' other seven-part work, [Loquebantur], is written for exactly the same combination of voices, and no-one would claim that this too was connected). Thus we are left with the evidence of the music itself, and the general view that 'the style certainly shows considerable similarities to that of Puer natus' (BenhamL, p.195) - a view that just as certainly has to be rejected if the work is given the careful scrutiny it demands. For if Suscipe quaeso bears comparison with any other work by Tallis it is with one of his very last, Spem in alium.

Like many of the other late motets, Suscipe quaeso (TCM vi, pp.222-36) contains very little music that is genuinely imitative in the accepted sense. Only at the opening of the prima pars is there a fully-fledged exposition, structured in much the same way as 'Aleph' in Incipit lamentatio and 'Facti sunt hostes eius' in De lamentatione: a paired entry (voices II and IV) followed in this case by single ones, placed adjacently (V, then VII), a repetition of the initial pair (I and III) and a final single one (VI). Having made its statement, each voice moves into free continuation - six lines of it above the final entry (p.224/I/1 - II/1). The second text-unit, 'scelera mea non defendo', is treated as a rota, passing at the unison between the uppermost pair of voices and culminating in a modified entry that raises the peak-note from C to D (voice I at p.225/II/1); echoes of the rota pass in gestural fashion through the

remainder of the texture. For 'peccavi' there is a sudden shift of bass from C to E (and a direct chromatic move from G to G-sharp in V: p.225/II/3-4), followed by an unwinding through the circle of fifths (voice VII progresses E-A-D-G). Then come four adjacent statements of an identical imitative two-voice cell, always stated at the same pitch-classes, to the text 'Deus miserere mei'; the first voice leads on D, the answer replies on A (IV and I at 226/I/2; VI and II at 226/I/4; IV and V at 226/II/2; VII and I at 226/II/3). After a pair of homophonic interjections repeating the word 'peccavi' comes a further point stated adjacently rather than in a lattice ('dele culpas meas gratia tua'), the last two words of which are always mirrored either a third or sixth above or below (p.227/I/4ff.); and this same 'gratia tua' idea is finally given a free exposition of its own, passing cell-like as an antiphonal rota amongst the seven voices to bring the prima pars to a close.

The second half opens with another set of adjacent two-voice cells, much as in the earlier setting of 'Deus miserere mei': the point, imitative but this time not invertible, passes from III/VI to I/IV, V/VII and finally II/III ('Si enim iniquitates', p.230), and pitch-class again remains constant. 'Quis sustineat?' is also set as a cell, this time homophonically and in antiphony (p.231/I/3 - II/1); and choral parlando - with repetitions - is maintained for the following 'quis enim justus qui se dicere audeat'. The first outburst of 'sine peccato' lasts no time at all (p.232/I/2), but its point returns in a more substantial exposition shortly after - the only set of entries remotely reminiscent of mid-century texture in its gestural nature and stretto pacing. For the next text-phrase, Tallis adopts the 'combinatorial' principle: the points are equally

spaced four semibreves apart, each second half ('in conspectu tuo') serving as a regular counter-subject to the first half ('nullus est enim mundus'; p.233/II/2 - 234/II/1). The passage finally tails off into free statements of the counter-subject. To end the work, Tallis goes over this text-phrase again, the first half now set to homophony (p.235/I), the second to a melodic idea sung a total of eight times, always adjacently and invariably shadowed by another part either a third above or below (the entries are at first on G - in voices V and I - then C - VI, II, VII and V - and finally on G again - II and I).

'Puer natus' contains little to compare with this; the cantus firmus prevents it, and even the free expositions at moments when the chant is temporarily absent are essentially different in structure. Stylistically, the motet seems to belong quite firmly to the 1560s; 'neutral' as its effect may be for such a date (BenhamL, p.173), in structure it is closely related to Tallis' most advanced late works; and its nearest cousin is Spem in alium.

By comparison with the lavish quantity of space devoted to its history and function (in, for example, DoeS, Fenlon & KeyteS, Stevens (D)S), the musical content of Spem in alium seems to have been almost entirely passed over and taken for granted, a neglect that has been lamented by at least one other recent writer (see BrettF, where the view that Spem in alium bears any comparison on stylistic grounds with Striggio's forty-part Ecce beatam lucem is firmly refuted). There is of course little to dispute in a summary description such as the following:

Both structurally and technically, Spem in alium is unquestionably the most stunning achievement of all. Tallis' handling of the eight five-part choirs in massive imitative

expositions, spatial antiphony, and dramatic tutti entries on unexpected chords, is for once without known precedent anywhere in Europe. (DoeT, pp.47-8)

But this takes us no nearer to the most intriguing question of all: how did Tallis go about the actual task of making this huge and extraordinary work, and how exactly does it hang together?

Careful scrutiny reveals that Spem in alium is in essence no more complex a work than Suscipe quæso, and in many respects bears direct comparison with the seven-part motet. The most fundamental difference lies of course in the sheer number of voices that have to be kept in play, non-structural lines that are required to sing above or around the prevailing imitative discourse, which itself rarely involves more than half a dozen voices at any given time, and in the exploitation of antiphony, the echoes and exchanges that Tallis seems to have conceived with spatial contrast in mind (the physical layout of the choirs in performance is a matter to which we will return later). Ironically, the chief impediment to understanding the motet's inner structure is the score itself, which confuses the eye a good deal more than the sound of the work does the ear. To overcome this difficulty in analysis, Spem in alium has been reduced to its basic skeleton in Appendix 6.5. (The source of the reduction is BrettS, to which reference is made throughout the following account; voice-parts are denoted first by choir, then by voice, so that 1/I and 3/V signify respectively 'choir 1, voice I' and 'choir 3, voice V'. 'G.B.' is used to show general bass progressions of a non-imitative kind, conflated from the various choirs.)



From the beginning, Spem in alium manages to do very well without 'massive imitative expositions', even if the ear is deceived into thinking that they exist. The opening lattice is in fact made out of two virtually identical eight-bar cells, each divided into two four-bar units, and preceded by a related four-bar introduction which exposes the principal point (Appendix 6.5, bars 1-4, 5-12, 13-20). As these statements occur consistently on the same pitch-classes, the effect is essentially that of a rota, though Tallis partly conceals this by placing many of these most structural entries in inner voices and populating the texture with pseudo-imitation at other pitches in the remaining parts. There is however no question of his having arrived at full twenty-part counterpoint in a single compositional stage; the foundation lines must have been conceived first and the accompaniment built around them. Nor can there be any doubt about the close parallel that exists between this exposition and that from the start of the secunda pars of Suscipe quaeso, 'Si enim iniquitates' (TCM vi, p.230), another rota-like cell structure.

Having opened with mass repetition of similarly-pitched material, Tallis now turns his attention to the bass line. After a brief cadential extension (bars 21-2), he begins to rotate through the circle of fifths, introducing as he does so both the second imitative point ('praeter in te, Deus Israel) and the first of the four remaining choirs (23-5; in Appendix 6.5, progressions of fifths are joined by lines, solid when moving in the flat direction, broken when in the sharp). Only in the final entry of this initial lattice, however, does he introduce a melodic shape that he means to repeat (5/IV at bars 24-7, identified by an angle bracket in Appendix 6.5; the rotation of fifths is by this stage complete); and this is

accompanied by a counter-subject which also subsequently remains regular (5/I; marked with a descending horizontal bracket). This two-part cell is then laid aside as further voices enter - gesturally - with the 'praeter in te' motif, their pitch of entry continuing to explore the chain of adjacent fifths. Tallis in fact manages to maintain this effect of rotation without straying too far away from home, for on two occasions he 'breaks back' by shifting from a 'relative major' to its 'relative minor' (bars 28 and 30-1), only to use these as the starting-points of renewed spiralling. The second of these rotations is protracted by the insertion of four identical cadential 'cells', their material extracted from the opening of the exposition (bars 24-6); they close in turn on A, D, G and C (bars 33, 36, 38, 41). In its looseness of imitative structure and tonal variety, this second section serves as a foil to the more rigid opening of the motet. Tallis had of course experimented with this kind of sectional contrast before: the tonally-unstable setting of 'peccavi' serves a similar function in Suscipe quaeso (TCM vi, p.225/II/3ff.).

With all forty voices now in play, Tallis indulges in a brief tutti, settling the music firmly on G - the principal tonal centre (bars 40-5) - before reversing the spatial motion and swinging back from choir 8 to choir 3. This he does in what is more obviously a genuine 'massive imitative exposition', though even here whole blocks of material are repeated literally. There are in fact essentially only two lattices, though these overlap, share material and are open to some internal variation (bars 44-63; the lattices, enclosed by broken-lined cages, occur in the order A1, A2, B1, B2, A3). Gestural in its melodic substance and built in continuous stretto,

the passage differs little from the setting of 'sine peccato esse' in Suscipe quaeso (TCM vi, pp.232-3) except in the more expansive rhythm of its subject.

For the next text-unit, 'et omnia peccata hominum', Tallis moves to a style of writing that is primarily harmonic in conception - even if the second statement echoes the first in the contour of its bass line (bars 65-9 and 70-4). The words of course suggest - and receive - a tutti setting, balancing that of the earlier full forty-part statement of 'praeter in te' (the diagram in WhittakerS neatly illustrates this symmetry). Tallis also chooses to write essentially non-imitative music for 'in tribulatione dimittis', set first for full choir, then as three adjacent statements of an arching phrase, mirrored for the most part in thirds on each occasion, passed between contrasting groups of voices at different pitches (bars 74-83). Building on these now-established features - homophony, antiphonal contrast and brevity of phrase-length - Tallis next embarks on what is, in spatial terms at least, the high point of the motet: the dramatic exchanges on 'Domine Deus' and 'creator caeli et terrae' (bars 87-108). Here again, pairs or groups of adjacent fifths in both long and short term relationships seem to control the harmonic motion, and there are few cadences, either melodic or harmonic. Arriving at the final chord of C at bar 108, the music is still conspicuously open-ended.

For the first 'Respite' entry, Tallis indulges in a true sea-change. The function of this mutation - the fall of bass from C to A, the direct chromatic rise of the C above to C-sharp and its almost instantaneous subsidence back to C - is clear: Tallis winds up the harmonic tension in exactly the same way as in Incipit

lamentatio, Derelinquit impius or Suscipe quaeso, and true to form allows it to unravel through the circle of fifths (bars 110-21). The imitation here is sophisticated. Opening as a rota on E, the peak note rises from G to A as the rotation begins to gain momentum, and with its new leap of a fourth rather than a third the point is stated at a variety of pitch-levels in the subsequent exposition.

The second 'Respite' opens on home ground of G; but Tallis is not content to settle yet, and in another essentially harmonic conception now explores the flatter regions of the circle of fifths. The B-flat he reaches at bar 127 is of course in a sense climactic, coming as it does only some thirty semibreves away from the E-natural chord of 112. But this only adds to the tension; for a release, the process has to be reversed, and this Tallis quickly does, arriving at a genuine culmination in the fully-fledged cadence in bars 130-1. The final bars merely consolidate this resolution.

As a musical structure, Spem in alium is far less of an oddity in Tallis' output than might be imagined. It draws upon and in some ways extends principles well established in his earlier works, and in outline (if not in detail) must have been conceived relatively easily - Tallis might even have set out with a master-plan of imitative lattices and bass progressions not unlike that in Appendix 6.5. The distribution of this material between the forty voices, on the other hand, could well have taxed him considerably, and it is difficult to be sure about the motives that lie behind his choice of scoring. This is partly due to the fact that we know nothing for certain about the layout of choirs that he had in mind, the spatial contrasts that his broad sweeps of imitation and rapid antiphonal exchanges were intended to exploit. Although evidence exists to suggest that the

motet received an early performance in the long gallery of Arundel House (see the account of 1611 cited in Stevens(D)S, p.172), certain features of the music imply that Tallis may have had a very different kind of venue in mind, a venue in which the audience rather than being confronted with a line or an arc of performers was in fact surrounded by them on all sides.

The passage that most obviously calls for this kind of layout - of a square of ten-part or octagon of five-part choirs - is the central antiphonal exchange, from 'in tribulatione...' (bar 77) to 'caeli et terrae' (bar 108). Sung with the forty voices in a line, this contains a number of exchanges between choirs placed respectively at the centre and at extreme ends of the chain - an asymmetrical distribution that might just as well have been chosen at random by Tallis and could even be re-allocated without essentially disturbing the spatial 'argument' of the work. In the square or octagon layout, on the other hand, these exchanges acquire a more structural significance, for they take on the quality of a pair of intersecting 'cantoris/decani'-like dialogues, the first operating between left and right, the second between front and back.

Interpreted in this way, the overall format of the motet can be seen to owe a great deal to very specific considerations of spatial distribution. It opens with a full rotation - which for the sake of illustration we might take to be clockwise, with choirs 1-2 forward, 3-4 to the right, 5-6 at the rear and 7-8 at the left. The first imitative subject gives way to the second as the music arrives at the 'back', the point diametrically facing that of the starting-point (bar 23). After a further rotation, the last side of the 'square' (extreme left) enters into dialogue with its opposite (extreme right:

bars 35-9). This is followed by a tutti; and then the process is reversed, anti-clockwise from the extreme left, closing with choirs 1-2 alone, mirroring the start of the motet (bars 65-9). This two-choir setting of 'et omnia peccata hominum' thus serves both to complete the process of counter-rotation and to expose a new musical idea, which is then echoed by the full complement of the 40 parts (69-76). With this, the first, neatly symmetrical portion of the motet is complete. Then come the antiphonal exchanges, first from back to front (78-84), second from right to left and back again (88-90), third among two L-shaped segments (91-9) and finally in a more chaotic peroration. Following the first tutti 'Respice', a new rota-like point opens at the rear and gently swings clockwise to the front (110-21). The final section is continuously full.

If Tallis did indeed conceive the work for performance 'in the round', what building might he have had in mind? The long gallery of Arundel House could hardly have been ideal; but the Earl of Arundel's other residence, Nonsuch Palace, might well have provided a more suitable venue, and could even have inspired Tallis' choice of an eight-choir disposition. Octagons featured prominently in the architectural design of the palace buildings, most noticeably in the great towers that flanked the south face of the inner court (see DentN, plates 1, 4a, 5, 6 and 11b). These contained several storeys, each of which probably comprised a single octagonal room (DentN, p.104), and might easily have provided a 'chamber venue' for the motet. Set apart from the main palace, however, was a second and more imposing octagonal space: the mound on which the banqueting hall was situated. Excavation shows that this 'was, fundamentally, a 50 ft. promenade all round the building, and it would have been quite

adequate for outdoor musical and dramatic entertainment', paved as it was 'in flags or cobbles or both' (DentN, p.126). The shape of this space corresponds exactly with that suggested by the design of Spem in alium: eight sides subtly divided into four pairs (see the ground-plan in DentN. p.127). As regards the centrally-placed banqueting hall itself, this was essentially a rectangular building; but 'at first floor level a balcony juttred out of each corner', and there was also some form of parapet, which 'consisted of a painted wooden lattice, posts and rails' (DentN, p.129).

Could Spem in alium have been written for Nonsuch? The work's connection with the Earl of Arundel seems to be irrefutable, the presence of a copy of the work in the 1609 Nonsuch library inventory highly suggestive (these points are discussed in greater detail in Stevens(D)S); and in an age of private rather than public performance, the limited size of audience that the palace tower-rooms or banqueting hall might have accommodated would have had no bearing on the extravagance of producing such a great multi-dimensional spectacle. Most interesting of all, however, is the knowledge that Tallis' compositional decisions may have been made to at least some extent in response to the challenge of the physical space for which he was writing. If it is indeed 'octagonal' in conception, Spem in alium falls little short of music theatre, for it possesses at the same time a spatial and purely musical argument.

Radically experimental as it may be in certain respects, much of Spem in alium is in musical terms relatively traditional, at least by Tallis' standards in the 1560s. Pervasive imitation retains its usefulness as a starting-point for the setting; simple cell technique provides contrast; sudden harmonic shifts, if temporarily

disorientating, are inevitably resolved in orderly fashion. In a motet that is certainly contemporary and possibly even later in date, In ieiunio et fletu (TCM vi, pp.198-201), Tallis moved significantly beyond these conventions. Here, standard imitative technique is finally abandoned altogether, to be replaced entirely by cells and canons. On a smaller scale, he had already attempted this in In manus tuas (TCM vi, pp.202-3), a brief ABB structure in which canon - strict or free, at the octave or fifth, invariably featuring at least one of the outer voices - binds the entire setting together. In ieiunio, however, additionally denies us a firm tonal centre, at least until its concluding paragraph. Instead, all of Tallis' resources of chromatic transmutation, abrupt shifts of harmonic direction and rotation through the circle of fifths are brought into play in a concentration that has no precedent in his earlier music. If the tonal structure of Incipit lamentatio or Spem in alium can be said to possess a degree of 'argument', In ieiunio sets out to perplex the ear with its paradoxes and sophism.

One of the most unusual features of much of the work is its panconsonance. Texts of this nature - 'Fasting and weeping, between porch and altar, the priests cried: Save thy people' - had been set on the Continent for decades before In ieiunio, and by the 1560s generally elicited a stylized kind of response in the form of chains of suspended dissonances (seconds and ninths as much as fourths and sevenths), sometimes piled on top of one another or sounding with their notes of resolution (as for example in Morales' Lamentabatur Jacob, MME xiii, pp.102-14; [attrib.] Crecquillon's Job tonso capite, MME xx, pp.126-34; Jacquet of Mantua's Florabant sacerdotes, published 1539 - no modern edition). Tallis



does nothing like this. His opening cell simply drifts, without imitation or obvious tonal direction, through a succession of relative major/minor shifts, chains of fifths and direct chromatic alterations, and without a single vertical dissonance for its first forty-two semibreves. If any foreign precedent comes to mind, it is the sound-world of Lassus, whose chromatic Prophetiae Sibyllarum were written within a few years of In ieiunio.

So dislocating is this opening that in the first two-thirds of the work there is never a genuine 'resolution' on the nominal tonal centre of G; even those phrases that finally come to rest on G sound open-ended, and the music quickly moves on elsewhere. In fact, the motet's middle section studiously avoids G: 'parce populo tuo' cadences successively on A and E (p.199/I/2 and II/1), and F is for a while firmly established in the canonic cell 'hereditatem tuam in perditionem'. At 'inter vestibulum et altare' (200/I/1), centred on A-flat, the ultimate goal could hardly be further away. But Tallis uses the same resources as before to at last swing round to G, largely through fifths that move gradually into 'sharper' regions (see especially the F-C-G-D bass progression at 200/II/1-2).

As a counter-balance to this expansive tract of tonal incertitude, Tallis ends the work in very different style with an exposition of eleven adjacent entries of 'Parce populo tuo'. This is partly terraced, and half the statements function as the bass of the texture, a procedure that brings to mind Salvator mundi [i] and even earlier Elizabethan works. The system itself may not be new, but the application most certainly is; for where the long concluding exposition of Salvator mundi served only to add bulk and therefore finality, the function of the corresponding passage in In ieiunio is

to tranquillize and resolve - admittedly still with a disturbed air (the syncopated rhythms hardly lull us into that most soporific of metres, the English iamb), but at least gradually falling in contour (note the descent of the peak note in I from B-flat - 200/II/3 - to A - 201/I/1 - to G - 201/II/1). By its final cadence, the motet's early volatility has been effectively stabilized.

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How did Tallis conceive such a work as In ieiunio et fletu? With earlier motets such as Absterge Domine, Domine quis habitabit or even Incipit lamentatio it is not too difficult to imagine him painstakingly building up lattices of entries line by line, of creating, transposing and redistributing small cells, of devising snatches of canon and adding other non-structural voices around them. In Spem in alium and In ieiunio, on the other hand, we come nearer to hearing the products of a mind that 'thinks in harmonies' (the phrase is borrowed from LowinskyC), harmonies that go beyond the narrow (if for their time sufficient) bounds of mid-Tudor tonality, and expressed in textures that increasingly abandon the principle of pervasive imitative repetition. It is as though the music were organized much of the time from the bass upwards, the higher voices serving as an elaborate superstructure in which another level of discourse takes place. However motivated, it is certainly the work of a musical imagination that is fundamentally different from the one that conceived Salve intemerata some forty-five years earlier.

There was a proverb in Tallis' time, still familiar to us today in tidier form, which observed that 'The dogge must lerne it when he

is a whelpe, or els it wyl not be; for it is harde to make an olde dogge to stoupe' (ODEP, p.805). For old dogs such as Tallis, however, stooping had positively become part of the profession; to ignore current taste and fashion was to invite neglect and the decline of patronage. Tallis' adaptability is graphically illustrated by the fact of his being chosen to compose a great motet for Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, a man well versed in Italianate culture; for Spem in alium must have been written when Tallis was in his early sixties, and at a time when there was no shortage of younger talent around or of foreigners happy to meet the commission. The work Tallis produced is (to sustain the imagery) undeniably something of a mongrel, for its pedigree owes as much to Continental lineage as to a thoroughbred English tradition. And in being precisely that, it serves to encapsulate the essence of English music of the mid-sixteenth century. If Tallis, no less or more than his colleagues, 'found some difficulty in adjusting his technique to changes in the style and function of church music which took place when he must have been nearing fifty' (Harrison in NOHM IV, p.482) - a criticism that is itself of questionable validity - there is no doubt that his outlook was still open to suggestion, his scope capable of broadening, and his imagination still sufficiently vivid to conceive truly remarkable music in the most modern vein.

One might go even further and say that, in In ieiunio and parts of his other late works, Tallis entered compositional territory into which even the boldest of his younger English contemporaries were reluctant to follow. Even with his profound respect for his teacher, Byrd never ventured into the volatile chromatic world of Tallis' motets of the late 1560s and early 70s, and in a sense seems to have

attained a far deeper sense of nostalgia for the past than the older man possessed. It is perhaps surprising to find that it is Byrd and not Tallis who chose to include in the Cantiones sacrae of 1575 a motet that harked back to the sound-world of the early Tudor votive antiphon (Tribue Domine; see Kerman<sup>0</sup>). Or perhaps not so surprising; 'magno dignus honore senex' as he may have been by 1575, Tallis was no less prepared than ever before to contrive music in the newest manner for the new times.

