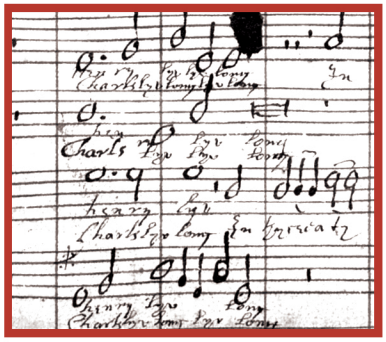


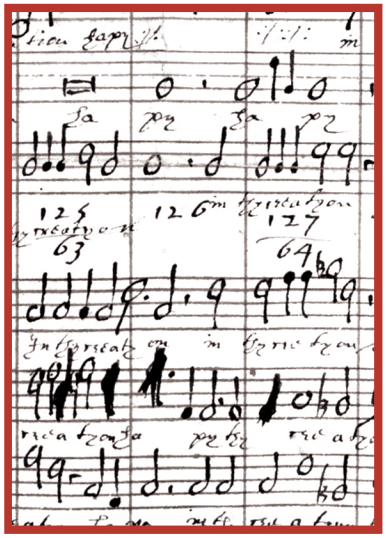
Spem in alium nunquam habui

THOMAS TALLIS SOCIETY EDITIONS

IN ASSOCIATION WITH
THE TAVERNER CHOIR
I FAGIOLINI

TALLYS · THOMAS · SUUS · NUMERUS
LXIX

MOTET IN 40 PARTS



BY

Thomas Tallis

EDITED BY **Hugh Keyte**

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

MMXX

Spem in alium

Thomas Tallis (1505-1585)

Hugh Keyte's edition of this famous motet, made freely available by the Thomas Tallis Society to celebrate the likely 450th anniversary of the first performance.

TALLIS' Virtual Voice

INTRODUCTION

By Hugh Keyte

This is very much a Work in Progress, and will be amended and amplified as and when necessary. It has been written in some haste, mostly during the 2020 lockdowns when library access was impossible, hence what readers may find most confusing, the way it tends to leap from topic to topic rather than pursuing a straight logical course throughout. This I intend to rectify in due course, though the list of Contents below may make this less of a problem. A formal analysis of *Spem* will be added to the Introduction when complete. Readers may want to have a print-out of one of the two versions of the edition to hand as they read: see 2.6 FICTA for an explanation of VERSIONS A and B.

PART I: THE WORK

PART II: THE EDITION

PART I: THE WORK

1.1 THE SOURCES AND THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION: A PRELIMINARY SUMMARY

Spem in alium is universally recognised as the outstanding musical achievement of 16th-century England, but its origins are tantalisingly obscure. It appears to have been quite unknown to the Elizabethan musical world, and what was possibly (but not necessarily) Tallis's autograph score remained undiscovered in the library of Nonsuch Palace in rural Surrey till long after his death. This was subsequently lost or destroyed, and our earliest source presents the version of the motet with the substituted English verse text 'Sing and glorify'.

An occasion for which *Spem* could have been composed has produced a wealth of speculation over the years, much of it initially concentrating on the number of parts: see 1.11 THE NUMBER FORTY, below. But not everyone has been convinced that there *was* such an occasion, taking *Spem* to be a mere technical exercise. Writing to a fellow musical antiquarian in 1718, the composer Thomas Tudway mentioned that he had perused a crude attempt at restoring the Latin text to the music, and judged that the work 'was not, we may be sure, to be performed, but to remain a memorial of the great skill and ability of the composer'. The score he saw was an 18th-century production by an unknown hand that is now in the British Library (Royal Music MS 4 g.1 – hereafter 'the Royal Music MS'). This was based upon what was already by that time the earliest surviving source, the English-texted score dating from 1616 (*sic*) that is also now in the British Library (BL Egerton MS 3512 – hereafter 'the Egerton score'). The restoration on which Tudway based his judgement is indeed crude, being cavalier and unsystematic in the extreme, but the Egerton score is itself highly problematic, so we can hardly blame Tudway for his judgement.

No doubts as to the nature of *Spem* had been entertained in 1609, when what is generally assumed to have been Tallis's autograph score was discovered in the Nonsuch library when the palace passed into the possession of Prince Henry, elder son of James I. It was immediately recognised as an unknown masterwork, and was performed the following year at the 'creation banquet' in the Tudor great hall of Whitehall Palace that followed Henry's Creation (or coronation) as Prince of Wales. Admiration was clearly undimmed in 1616, following Prince Henry's untimely death in 1612, when the motet was performed (twice) at the creation banquet of his 15-year-old younger brother, the future Charles I. Nor did the Victorians share Tudway's doubts. Sing-throughs and public performances

gradually proliferated, by amateur organisations such as Hullah's Singing Class[1] and the Madrigal Society.

In 1888 A H Mann published the first printed edition, a creditable attempt to restore the Latin that was marred by an over-reliance on the Royal Music MS. The same was true of the 20th-century edition that quickly established itself as standard. This began life as the final item in the 'Tallis' volume (VI) of the pioneering Tudor Church Music series of the 1920s, edited by Percy Buck and a stellar clutch of other musicologists. That edition was taken over for commercial exploitation in the same year by Oxford University Press, and was given a light revision by the young Philip Brett in 1965 (see below).

The crudity which Tudway observed in the Royal Music MS is largely a matter of bold and unidiomatic alterations to Tallis's vocal lines to fit the restored Latin text. But the Egerton score of 1616 on which this was based is itself scrappy, hastily made, and replete with errors, omissions and all kinds of fudges. The final line of its English text was made to match the defective Latin with which the poet had accidentally been supplied: it omitted the word 'ad' before the concluding 'humilitatem nostram' – hence the lack of the initial 'ad' in the Royal Music MS restoration[2].

The only other early source is a set of manuscript master parts dating from the early 17th century which are now in London's Guildhall Library (G. Mus. 420)[3]. These are now so decayed as to be virtually illegible, but were careful, meticulously neat copies of the lost performing parts of the 1616 'Sing and glorify' version. If these can one day be deciphered (by means of ultraviolet light, for example) they may clarify some of the many doubtful patches in the Egerton score, but they may equally likely have been subjected to further modification on purely musical grounds and therefore be at a further remove from what Tallis wrote. For this reason I have been content to make the Egerton score my basic source.

The Egerton scribe will have had access to the Nonsuch score, and no doubt also to the performing parts that had been made from it for Prince Henry's creation banquet of 1610, when the Latin-texted original had been sung. The availability is the more likely if I am correct in my suggestion (set out in 1.16 THE 'ENCORE' OF SING AND GLORIFY, below) that the first of the two renditions that we know *Spem* received at Charles's creation banquet in 1616 will have been of the Latin-texted original, the second of the 'Egerton' version with the newly commissioned English verse text 'Sing and glorify' substituted. We know that

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[1] See John Hullah, A selection of pieces to be sung at the only great Choral Meeting, for the season 1845 ...With an account of Tallis's Song of forty parts. June 4, 1845 (Harrison & Co, [1845]).

[2] The defective Latin text is set out at the foot of a number of pages in the Egerton score.

[3] These can never have been intended as performing parts, since a good number of the sheets have different parts on the *recto* and *verso*.

King James ordered the two performances, but the universal assumption that both will have been to the new 'Sing and glorify' text, with James spontaneously demanding an encore, may be wide of the mark. If both versions were indeed sung, then the Egerton scribe will certainly have had access to both the Nonsuch score and the 1610 performing parts, though we have no way of knowing which will have been his primary source.

There is an additional complication that the Nonsuch score may not have been Tallis's autograph but a MS version made after the first performance. Such a score might even have been in the same 'stacked' format as the Egerton score, ordering the parts not by choir but by clef - first the eight soprano (G2) parts, then the eight altos (C2) etc., with the organ bass placed centrally[4]. An editor basing a restoration on the Egerton score would then be faced with the possibility that his primary source is not only underlaid with a substitute text but might well be at two removes from Tallis's original autograph, so that the greatest circumspection is called for in working one's way back towards what he will have written. As for the TCM editors' choice of the Royal Music MS as their 'copy text', this – besides compounding the shortcomings of the Egerton score with the cavalier alterations of its 18th-century deviser - could have been at a worrying three removes from the original.

Perhaps the Nonsuch score and associated performing parts were jettisoned after the 1616 creation banquet, under the assumption that any subsequent performances would be with the new English text – hence the subsequent production of the Gresham parts, which seem to have been intended as templates for future performances: at the creation banquet of the future Charles II, for example, which in the event never took place. If only that score had come down to us, whether or not it was Tallis's autograph, a modern editor would not be obliged to struggle so unremittingly with the Egerton score in pursuit of (at best) an approximation to what Tallis wrote.

1.2 PAUL DOE'S ARTICLE

The 1610 and 1616 performances had long been forgotten in 1970, which saw the appearance of Paul Doe's ground-breaking article 'Tallis's "Spem in alium" and the Elizabethan Respond-Motet'[5] (see 1.11 THE NUMBER FORTY, below). Doe surveyed and assessed existing speculation as to origin, and was the first to

[4] This is unlikely, however. The reason for the rarely encountered 'stacked' format are obscure, but it may have been used for occasional performances of polychoral music in which the division into choirs was not observed – as it clearly was not at the 1610 and 1616 creation banquets. If we assume that the forces at the work's first performance were arranged choir by choir, so that Tallis's polychoral exchanges could make their intended effect, then the lost Nonsuch score is likely to have been in conventional multichoir format, whether or not it was the composer's autograph.

[5] Music and Letters Vol LI No 1, Jan 1970 pp 1 – 14.

make the connection with the Book of Judith, pointing out that Tallis's text was a Matins Responsory sung during the readings from that book each September-October in the pre-Reformation Use of Sarum. Responsories reflect upon, or gloss, the readings which they accompany, which in this case present the prayers of the Jewish heroine Judith and her fellow citizens as they reacted to the besieging of their (mythical) hill city of Bethulia by the (equally mythical) Assyrian general Holofernes: a conflict that would be resolved by Judith's beheading of Holofernes in an act of quasi-regicide that would save not only her city and its inhabitants but the entire Jewish people and - crucially - their faith. Doe pointed out that any English work of the time – poem, drama, or musical composition - that based itself upon the Judith and Holofernes story would automatically have aroused suspicions of being veiled regicidal propoganda by dissident Catholics, just as comparable works in the reign of Mary Tudor would have aroused similar suspicions of dissident Protestants. The one conclusion that Doe did not draw (perhaps he was too nice a man) is the one that I draw myself: that *Spem* may have been commissioned in connection with the Ridolfi Plot, a Catholic conspiracy to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, replace her with the Catholic Mary Stuart, and thereby restore the Old Religion.

1.3 THE WATERIDGE ANECDOTE

All this is considered later in this Introduction, but for the moment our concern is with something unknown to Doe, a game-changing event of 1981 that immediately set speculation about the motet's origin off in a new direction. This was the discovery[6] of the sole early account that we have of its genesis, a garbled anecdote which (being unravelled) suggests that Tallis was not composing in 40 parts for some recondite symbolic reason or to mark some national celebration, but was simply responding to the challenge of matching an Italian 40-part work - one that had been misremembered in the newly discovered anecdote as a 'song in 30 parts'. Entitled 'Of Prickesong', the account was recorded on 27th November 1611 in the commonplace book of one William Wateridge, who had heard the story in his chambers in the Middle Temple from his friend Ellis Swayne:

In Queene Èlizabeths time y^re^ was à songe sent into England of 30 pts (whence y^e^ Italians obteyned y^e^ name to be called y^e^ Apices of y^e^ world) w^ch^ beeinge songe made à heavenly Harmony. The Duke of [gap] bearinge à great love to Musicke asked whether none of our English men could sett as good à songe, and Tallice beeinge very skillfull was felt to try whether he would under take y^e^ Matter w^ch^ he did & made one of 40 partes w^ch^ was songe in y^e^ longe gallery at Arundell

[6] Rediscovery, in fact. Henry Fleetwood Shepherd wrote to the Musical Times in February 1878 announcing his discovery of the anecdote in Wateridge's commonplace book in the Cambridge University Library and quoting it in full, but this somehow escaped the notice of the musical world till it was disinterred by Elizabeth Roche: see her letter to the MT Vol. 122, No. 1656 (Feb., 1981), p. 85.

house w^{ch} so farre suppassed y^{e} other th^{t} the Duke hearinge of y^{e} songe tooke his chayne of gold fr^{m} of his necke & putt y^{t} about Tallice his necke & gave yt him./--./w^{ch} songe was againe songe at y^{e} Princes coronation.

The 'coronation' will have been the formal banquet in the Tudor great hall of Whitehall Palace in 1610 that immediately followed the Creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales, at which *Spem* (with its original Latin text) formed the climactic musical item. Following the tragic death of the 18-year-old Henry in 1612, it was again sung at the 1616 creation banquet of his younger brother, the later Charles I. It was sung twice on this occasion, in fact, with a new English text replacing the Latin for one or both performances.

For all the motet's splendour, it must have been realised in 1610 that the penitential Latin text was hardly suited to so joyous a celebration, hence the 1616 commission of the substituted verse text 'Sing and glorify' from an unknown poet – the madrigalist John Ward is one of several poet-musicians who have been suggested as author.

The performing parts that will have been made from the Nonsuch Egerton score in 1616 do not survive, which is unfortunate in one way, since they must have been considerably neater and more accurate than the scrappy and error-filled full score. (They may even have been as clear and accurate as the now scarcely legible Gresham master parts that were later made from them.) From another point of view, we are fortunate that the 1616 parts are lost, since (as I explain in 2.2 RESTORING THE LATIN UNDERLAY, below) the very imperfections of the Egerton score – the rhythmic alterations, the crossings-out, the muddles and corrections - provide us (given the application of some hard logic) an invaluable means of recovering something very close to what Tallis must have written. With his Nonsuch score lost to us, the Egerton score is thus the next best thing.

1.4 HOW RELIABLE IS THE WATERIDGE ANECDOTE?

Hailed as revelation in 1981 and accepted ever since as trustworthy, though clearly garbled, Wateridge's account needs to be approached with the greatest caution.

Thomas Wateridge is otherwise unknown, and may simply have rented chambers in the Middle Temple. His friend Swayne had been admitted as a law student in 1607, but someone so junior, and from a relatively humble family of country lawyers, is unlikely to have had access to Henry's creation banquet: so how will he have heard the tale, and can it be trusted? I suspect that his story will have derived from a fellow member of the Middle Temple, Henry Howard, first Earl

of Northampton (1540–1614), the younger brother of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1538-1572), who was the unnamed duke of the anecdote who challenged English composers to match the Italian '30-part song'. Northampton had been a member of the Inner Temple since1604, three years before Swayne was admitted, so perhaps Swayne had heard – or overheard – the earl holding forth at – say – dinner in Middle Temple Hall; or perhaps he had it second-hand from someone who had done so: the kind of Chinese Whispers-like derivation that inevitably distorts what was originally said.

Norfolk, the richest man in England and the sole surviving duke, was the senior son-in-law of the accepted leader of the powerful and mostly Catholic Arundel clan, Henry FitzAlan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1557-1595). FitzAlan's principal residence was London's Arundel House, just south of the Strand, but he spent most of his time, when in England, at the family's country seat of Nonsuch Palace, near Ewell in Surrey, where his other son-in-law was in permanent residence, John Lumley, first Baron Lumley (c. 1533 – 1609), who also had other residences elsewhere. Built by Henry VIII as a show-piece Renaissance hunting lodge-cum-royal palace, Nonsuch passed into the hands of Arundel in 1557, and was returned to the Crown by Lumley in 1591 as repayment of a longstanding debt (see 1.17.1 THE PLOT, below), though Lumley was allowed to remain in residence for the remainder of his life. After this the palace genuinely reverted to the Crown. It was granted to Prince Henry, the score of *Spem* was discovered, and the palace's long process of neglect and decay began.

Wateridge's unnamed Italian was Alessandro Striggio, Mantuan nobleman and chief composer to the Medici, who made a fortnight's visit to England in June 1567. So if Northampton was indeed the source of Swayne's account, will he perhaps have been regaling fellow members of the Middle Temple with the tale of a family event of more than forty years previously?

That could make sense, but what was the misremembered Italian work? There are two possibilities. One is the 40-part motet which Striggio is believed to have composed for the reception of a pair of papal envoys in the Florence duomo in 1561 and which has come down to us with the later substituted text *Ecce beatam lucem*[7]. The other is his 40-part mass with the final Agnus Dei petition in 60 parts, the *Missa sopra Ecco sì beato giorno,* which is partly based upon the motet and dates from a little later. But there is no evidence that Striggio carried either work with him to England, and good reason to believe that neither was performed during his visit.

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[7] Recent researches by David Butchart have cast doubt on a great deal that has been believed about the motet, though it must indeed date from 1561 or thereabouts. All should be made clear in Butchart's forthcoming article, which has the provisional title *A Vision of the New Jerusalem: the Text of Striggio's Ecce beatam lucem.*

1.5 STRIGGIO'S WINTER JOURNEY

Striggio's English visit was the unplanned conclusion of a lengthy and arduous journey that began in the bitterly cold winter of 1556-7. We know a good deal about the journey from an article by David Butchart, which draws upon letters that Striggio sent back to his employer, the Medici regent Francesco, and upon other contemporary sources[8].

There is absolutely nothing in the letters or elsewhere to suggest that Striggio carried with him his 40-part motet. What the letters to Francesco do record in diligent detail is the delivery to three European courts of the music of his mass (which is thought to have been composed for Francesco's marriage to Joanna of Austria in 1565) and performances at two of them. The principal object of Striggio's journey was semi-diplomatic: to deliver the music of the mass to the Emperor Maximilian II, as a gift from Duke Cosimo, who was machinating with emperor and pope to be granted royal status. (He was successful, the title Grand Duke being eventually devised for him and his successors.) We don't know if the gift was merely a score or whether (more likely) there will also have been a set of performing parts, but we do know that Maximilian, when eventually tracked down in Brno, expressed regret that a performance was not possible because of a lack of available musicians at his winter quarters.

The mass was certainly performed at Striggio's next two ports of call. It was directed by Lassus at a high mass before the court of Duke Albrecht V in Munich, and directed by the composer himself in an outdoor 'concert' performance before the French court at the Château de Saint-Maur, not far from Paris. We don't know how many scores and sets of parts he will have carried with him: travelling with a servant, a mule and three horses, he may quite conceivably have carried three complete sets. Alternatively, parts could have been made in haste by a squad of scribes during his ten-day visit to Munich (from the score that Striggio was rather miffed at being required to give - or perhaps lend - to Albrecht), and more easily during the three weeks that elapsed between his arrival in France and the Saint-Maur performance.

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[8] David S Butchart, *A Musical Journey of 1567: Alessandro Striggio in Vienna, Munich, Paris and London* (Music & Letters vol 63 No 1/2, Jan-Apr 1982 pp 1-16.) The article appeared the year after Elizabeth Roche published her rediscovery of the Wateridge anecdote, but it must have been written a little earlier, since Butchart was not then aware of it. In all other respects, however, the article remains a definitive piece of scholarship. Francesco, later Grand Duke Francesco I, was effectively Striggio's employer, his father Cosimo I having stepped down from most official duties in 1564.

No trace remains of any of this material, but a score and/or parts must have been retained in France, from which will have derived – directly or at one remove - the set of impressively accurate early-17th-century parts that Davitt Moroney tracked down in 2005 (by a remarkable piece of musicological sleuthing) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where they were catalogued as a mass in four parts by A. Stusco[9]. Given Striggio's care in reporting back to Francesco with news of his activities, his failure to mention any kind of performance in England is significant (as is his failure to so much as mention his motet). We know that he met the queen, since he reports having received 'infinitissimi favori' from her - a conventional diplomatic term that may mean no more than that she received him. He subsequently composed a six-part madrigal in her honour, *D'ogni gratia e d'amor*. (Celebrating the red-headed Elizabeth as a tawny pantheress zealously guarding her island kingdom, this was given pride of place in his 1571 collection.)

No doubt Striggio also achieved his stated ambition of meeting English composers, Tallis inevitably among them as the revered 'father' of the chapel royal. But his visit can hardly have caused much of a stir. There is no mention of it in surviving court records. And, as Butchart notes, his very presence in England went unrecorded by three Florentine residents who sent reports back to Francesco in 1567. Since one of these was the merchant and papal agent Roberto Ridolfi, a long-term confidant of the Arundel clan and their co-conspirator in the plot to assassinate the queen in 1571, we may surely assume that no such performance of the mass occurred.

Nor, indeed, does Ellis Swayne's anecdote imply that Striggio directed an English performance of a multi-part work, as successive commentators have assumed. The '30-part song' by an unnamed Italian (certainly Striggio) was 'sent into England' and 'beeinge songe made à heavenly Harmony'. 'Sent', not 'brought': the implication is that the work was sung in England, at some unspecified and presumably later time, and in some unspecified place, with no suggestion that the composer was directly involved.

The 'song sent into England' could have been either the motet or the mass. The mass is the prime contender as the model for *Spem*. All the continental technical features that Tallis imitates, hitherto unknown in England, are to be found in both works, but Striggio's mass and Tallis's motet have comparable, though not identical, layouts of forces. The mass is for five eight-part choirs, each notionally

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[9] See Moroney's magisterial article *Alessandro Striggio's Mass in Forty and Sixty Parts* (Journal of the American Musicologcal Society, Vol. 60. No. 1, 2007, pp1 – 70). A shorter and less technical account by Moroney is available on-line, his 2007 Gresham Lecture *The Pope, the Emperor and the Grand Duke: the rediscovery of a musical masterpiece from renaissance Florence.*

sub-divided into two four-part sub-choirs. *Spem* is for four ten-part choirs, each sub-divided into two five-part sub-choirs: just the kind of calculated variation that we should expect in an admiring emulation. The 40 parts of Striggio's motet, by contrast, have no regular division, but are constantly splitting into a great variety of choirs, of eight parts upwards. Another major Florentine work of the 1560s could have been an additional model for Tallis's division into choirs and sub-choirs – though probably only if he visited Italy: see 1.7 TALLIS IN ITALY?, below.

We need to ask ourselves whether there was any truth at all in the initial part of Swayne's anecdote, and whether his source may have had reason to conceal the true origin of Tallis's motet. If I am right in my conjecture (above) that the Earl of Northampton is likely to have been his ultimate source, the earl would have had every incentive to conceal the fact that *Spem* was not – or not only - the result of a performance of 'a song sent into England' and a ducal challenge, but was planned by Arundel, perhaps in conjunction with Norfolk and Ridolfi, and was most likely an actual commission. Given the work's connection – as I believe - with the Ridolfi Plot and Northampton's reputed status as the *éminence grise* behind it, and given also Northampton's rise from constant suspicion of treachery under Elizabeth to public eminence and royal favour under James, the spinning of an innocuous yarn of a ducal challenge and national pride would have served to divert any renewed suspicion that might have been aroused by the connection between the recently discovered motet and the Ridolfi Plot.

1.6 THE ARUNDEL CONNECTION

We may dismiss the conventional picture of Tallis, Arundel and Norfolk hearing Striggio direct his motet in the long gallery of Arundel and turn our attention to the the Earl of Arundel, as the most likely person to have been responsible for the sending (or bringing?) of the 'song' to England – or, at the very least, for bringing it to Tallis's attention.

Moroney (JAMS article p31) speculates that Arundel could have coincided with Striggio in France in 1567 as he made his way slowly home from a 14-month stay at a spa near Padua where he had been taking the waters for his gout. Moroney does not speculate about a commission, but he does point out that the two men could perhaps have met in Paris at the beginning of April, when the earl could have persuaded Striggio to extend his journey to take in England - with (I would suggest) the plan already in mind of arousing the interest of the life-long Catholic[10]

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[10] The widely-held belief that Tallis was a life-long, though quiescent, Catholic has recently been questioned by John Milsom, who points to the absence of any direct contemporary evidence for this. But evidence would

Tallis and commissioning from him a multi-voice work of penitance and intercession that could form the focal point of a ceremony of self-dedication for the group of would-be regicides that we know as the Ridolfi plotters. Moroney suggests that an intervention by Arundel could explain why Striggio, most uncharacteristically, went back on the assurance he had given Francesco in a letter of 3rd March, just before he arrived in France, that he would return to Florence according to plan by Midsummer's Day 1567. But then in a letter of 18th May he claims that such things as an injured horse and excess baggage have now made that impossible. 'I have [therefore] thought that...now that I am near England, a week's journey away, I should go and visit that realm and the virtuosi in the profession of music that are there.'

Moroney's suggestion reads quite plausibly, though we don't know that Arundel did in fact pass through Paris, let alone meet Striggio in France. The earl was highly musical (he commissioned a book of madrigals from an Italian composer during his stay at Padua) and might have been able to recognise the stature of Striggio's mass from the mere sight of the score. He arrived back in London on 17th April, and the Saint-Maur performance was not until the 11th May, so we might wonder whether the earl, having seen a copy of the mass in France, persuaded Striggio not only to visit England but to send a copy of the score of it in advance. This would have had to be copied in France, and performing parts would then in turn need to have been made from that copy in England if Striggio were to direct a performance there and inspire the Duke of Norfolk to issue his challenge to English composers. But this notion, appealing as it is, does not hold water, since we can be virtually certain that no such performance took place, given the lack of any mention in communications to Francesco mentioned above. And we know that it is even less likely that a score of the motet that we know as Ecce beatam lucem could have been sent to England from France, since Striggio does not appear to have carried the work with him on his winter journey.

But could Arundel perhaps have made contact with Striggio at an earlier stage, during his 14-month stay at Padua, or during one of his previous trips to Italy, and have similarly arranged for a score of mass and/or motet to have been copied in Florence and sent to England? In that case the two noblemen would have colluded to deceive Francesco, and Striggio would have lied outright to his employer in his letter of 3rd March. And again there is the stubborn fact that Striggio seems not to have directed one of his works in England, which would have been the natural objective of such a scheme.

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seem to have been supplied by Kerry McCarthy's discovery in a Cambridge University Library MS of the complete epitaph that was on Tallis's lost gravestone in the graveyard of St Alfege's parish church, Greenwich. McCarthy demonstrates that the author was almost certainly Henry Stanford, a Catholic poetaster employed as tutor to the recusant Paston family, which strongly suggest that the old assumption is correct. (See Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis's epitaph revisited*, Early Music Vol XLVI/I, Feb 2019 pp 57 – 64.)

So – a last-gasp suggestion - might an arrangement have been made with Striggio during his English visit that he would send a copy of his mass and/or his motet when he had returned to Florence? And could whichever 40-part work he sent have been 'heard' making a 'heavenly Harmony' in England at some later date? That is perhaps the least unlikely scenario, but faced with so many imponderables and so much speculation the temptation is to apply occam's razor, and conclude that we simply cannot trust the first part (at least) of the Wateridge anecdote and should seek for a neater solution to the puzzle.

1.7 TALLIS IN ITALY?

It is my conviction that Tallis could not possibly have composed his motet without first having made a fairly lengthy stay in Italy, ideally in Florence, during which he could have met Striggio and other composers of multi-part and polychoral music, absorbing the techniques that they used which were unknown in England. That could have been arranged by the earl during Striggio's English visit, and the known details of Tallis's life are so sketchy that we could not definitively rule out an unrecorded Italian trip. (Tallis would no doubt have had to obtain permission from the queen, but court records of the period are far from complete.)

Among the unfamiliar techniques to be learned abroad would be the use of a thorough bass, a novel device by which the most extravagant contrapuntal fantasy could be anchored upon a solid, often slow-moving, harmonic foundation. Another (to be found in the tutti passages of *Spem*) is the tight-packed deployment of staggered arpeggio figures – a kind of pseudo-counterpoint, almost cheating, that was much favoured by Italians up to the time of Monteverdi and beyond: it gives an exhilarating aural impression of immeasurable complexity while requiring comparatively little effort, and it hugely reduces the likelihood of inadvertent illicit parallel intervals. (See Appendix IX for an example.) A third technique – favoured by some, but not all, of the early polychoralists - is the use of leading voices, which combine with the thorough bass to produce a great clarity of utterance, even in the most complex of passages.

All these continental techniques – and others – are prominent in *Spem*, but I know of no reliably datable continental precedent in the 1560s for Tallis's deployment of antiphonal tenor (C3) and soprano (G2) leading voices. Inner parts as leading voices are common in Venetian polychoral music a little later in the century, so perhaps he imitated the device from some pioneering Venetian work that has not survived. Or perhaps it was his own innovation to deploy C3 leading voices in the idiosyncratic way that they feature in the extended 'Domine

Deus' section, in which the calling and answering soprano and tenor leads leap from choir to choir with a lack of any discernible pattern in a way that seems designed to create pleasurable confusion in the listener. I know of no parallel for this either earlier or later.

Aside from Striggio himself, a meeting with Stefano Rossetto, organist of the Florence duomo in the 1560s, could have been influential if he had already composed his 50-part Christmas motet *Consolamini, consolamini*[11]. Rossetto's forces have a comparable layout to those of Striggio's mass and Tallis's motet: three of his four choirs are in 12 parts, subdivided into 6 & 6; the fourth is in 13 parts, subdivided into 6 & 7; and (seemingly uniquely) the 50th part is an independent bass at 16-foot pitch.

Access to large-scale non-Florentine works during a putative Italian trip might have been harder to obtain. One that he might have encountered is the 24-part triple-choir mass by Annibale Padovano, which we know was directed by Lassus during the Munich wedding festivities of 1568. Venetian-born Padovano may have composed this while an organist at St Mark's in the earlier 1560s, or perhaps for the chapel of Archduke Karl II at Graz, where he was employed from 1566. But this mass has little in common with *Spem*. The three eight-part choirs have no subdivision, and there are no dominating leading voices. Moreover, Padovano's Choirs I and II have high and incompletely texted top parts in G2 clef that are clearly instrumental – very much in the burgeoning Venetian tradition of Andrea Gabrieli, Padovano's successor at St. Mark's: a technique of which no trace is to be found in *Spem.*

1.8 OTHER 40-PART WORKS

We cannot assume that the tradition of composing in 40 parts began with Striggio. Tallis might just possibly have seen two other 40-part works, provided they were not chimeras (which seems unlikely). Both are now lost, both unnamed, both presumably motets, both mentioned by Davitt Moroney in his JAMS article (footnote 8). Emperor Maximilian II (recipient of Striggio's mass in 1566) wrote to Albrecht V at Munich in June 1564 saying that a 40-part work – composer unnamed - had been sent to him from Rome by the Cardinal of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo, a notable patron of music[12]. In response, Albrecht sent

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11 Moroney, who has edited the work and supplied the missing 18 parts, points out that Rossetto would probably have played the organ for Striggio's mass in c1565, and suspects that his own motet will have postdated it.

12 Given the casual way in which works were often misattributed in the 16th century, it is not out of the question that the work Cardinal Madruzzo forwarded to Duke Albrecht was Striggio's motet of 1561 – an unattributed copy that he had somehow acquired. But that would still leave the Lassus work as genuine, since Albrecht (highly musical and on the friendliest terms with his maestro) would have known for certain that Lassus was the composer of the work he sent to the emperor, and that it as not the one that he had received from Madruzzo. That still leaves the mystery of how such a major work by so prominent a composer as Lassus could have remained

Maximilian one that he said Lassus had 'well composed' (gutz componiert), which the emperor returned a month later. Moroney speculates that the lost Lassus motet, if it existed, might have been the first of this succession of 40-part works.

That line extended into the early 17th century. In the second part of his *Prattica di musica* (1622) Lodivico Zacconi mentions another lost 40-part work, an unnamed canonic motet by the Tuscan composer-cleric Biagio Pesciolini, written in honour of the baptism in 1610 of a Medici heir, the future Franceso II, and 'devised on the prince's coat of arms'[13].

For the possible significance of the number, see 1.11 THE NUMBER FORTY, below.

1.9 ARUNDEL HOUSE

If there really were a performance of Wateridge's 'song sent into England' we have no clue as to the venue. But the anecdote states unambiguously that Tallis's motet was performed in the long gallery of Arundel House. It is possible, therefore, that both works, Striggio's 40-part motet or his 40-part mass with 60-part final Agnus, and (later) Tallis's 40-part *Spem in alium*, were at some stage heard in Arundel House, the London home and official seat of Henry FitzAlan, 12th Earl of Arundel.

The house lay just south of old St. Clement Danes in the Strand, with Somerset House to the west and Essex House to the east (see Appendices I – III). The long gallery was the upper storey of what was known as the Great Brick Building (or House), an early-16th-century two-storey structure that ran through the gardens from the main residential block to the river, where it culminated in a pair of seemingly identical riverside banqueting houses, one atop the other[14]. Not particularly wide, though with sizeable bay windows projecting at regular intervals on each side, the gallery itself (in which the teenaged Princess Elizabeth had once worked at her Latin and Greek exercises of a morning) would have been a strange

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unknown, apart from this single reference by Albrecht. But publishing a setting on so gigantic a scale would have been a daunting financial undertaking, so perhaps the motet simply lay around in manuscript after the composer's death and was eventually lost or destroyed.

13 The motet is mentioned on page 312 of Bonnie J Blackburn's chapter Two Treasure Chests of Canonic Antiquities (*Canons and canonic techniques, 14th-16th centuries: theory, practice, and reception history* , ed. Schiltz and Blackburn, Peeters 2007) as being given by Zacconi. Alas, even musicological Homers can occasionally nod: Dr Blackburn later discovered that she had misread some hasty notes in an Italian library, and the work is in fact only *referred* to there, and awaits discovery. (Perhaps Dr Maroney might oblige?)

14 References to 'the long gallery' seem always to refer to the upper storey. The lower storey was divided in two by a passageway between the east and west gardens, and may or may not have incorporated a second, smaller long gallery: but the interiors of the Great Brick Building are entirely a matter of conjecture: see Note to Appendix I.

choice of venue for any of these works. Far more likely is one or other of the banqueting houses, which were rectangular and very likely of an adequate size: so perhaps Wateridge's 'the long gallery' was shorthand for 'one of the banqueting houses attached to the long gallery', or perhaps it was a simple misrembering.

1.10 NONSUCH PALACE

We cannot rule out performances in Arundel House, but the performance of a large-scale Catholic Mass in London would have been a dangerous venture, and the evident unreliability of the Wateridge anecdote is such that it is worth considering alternatives. I am by no means alone in believing that by far the most likely venue for the first performance of *Spem* will have been Nonsuch Palace, the Arundels' country seat – where, after all, the manuscript score of the motet was eventually found. Arundel and Lumley were normally in residence at Nonsuch, which in its prime is believed to have boasted a musical establishment second only to the chapel royal. An anonymous eulogy on Arundel that appeared shortly after his death[15] mentions among his proudest possessions 'his solem Queer/By vois and Instruments so sweet to hear'.

This is borne out by the impressive list of musical instruments in an inventory of Lumley's household goods made in 1596. The inventory was of the contents of all Lumley's various houses, but most, if not all, of the instruments listed are believed to have been kept at Nonsuch. The singers and instrumentalists of the 'solem Queer' are similarly not specified as resident at Nonsuch, but may well have been among the 450 'gentlemen and yeomen' mentioned in an account by Arundel's chaplain, which ties in with the '200 persons, gentlemen or yeomen, over and besides all such persons as daily attend [Arundel] in his household' allowed to the earl in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for 20th November 1553[16].

The list of instruments reads:

GREAT standing wynd Instruments with stoppes [i.e. organs].....viii
VYRGYNALLES paires v
RYGALES paires ii
IRISHE harpes ii
LUTES viii
HOWBOYS [shawms].....x
BUMBARDES ii

[15] 'A Moorning ditti upon the Deceas of the Most Noble Prins Henry Earl of Arundel', a broadsheet printed in London by John Allde: quoted in Charles W. Warren, 'Music at Nonsuch', The Musical Quarterly, Jan. 1968, Vol. 54 No 1 pp 47-57

[16] See Warren op cit pp 52-3.

CRUMPhornes iiii
RECORDERS xv
VYOLENS xiii
VYOLS xli
SAGBUTTES* iiii
CORNETTES xii

* The small number of sackbuts (trombones) is puzzling. Perhaps the players preferred to retain their own instruments.

Besides all this the library contained 45 musical items, ranging from Petrucci's 1516 print of Josquin's masses to the first book of Byrd's *Gradualia* of 1605, plus a set of part books that constitute the earliest source of Tallis's English church music – and among all this was what the library catalogue records as the 'songe of fortie partes, made by Mr. Tallys'. There also exists a long list of composers, some entries referring to works contained in miscellaneous prints in the library, but others clearly referring to uncatalogued items, since a note at the end of the catalogue states: 'Ther are besides various songs, madrigals, and motets with the most elegant music, of which the names are not recorded here'[17]. This may refer to the music library of the 'solem Queer', a performance facility that must surely have existed independently of the general library of the palace, and would naturally have contained numerous musical prints and manuscripts.

Among the manuscripts were six sets of part books, of which four survive, that were copied for Nonsuch by the Netherlander Derrick Gerarde (probably with associates). They contain a wealth of sacred and secular works, mostly by Netherlandish composers and many by Gerarde himself. There is no evidence that he directed the 'solem Queer', as has often been assumed, but for that matter there is no surviving list of the palace's musicians, so we cannot rule out the possibility.

The largest-scale work in the part books is a ten-part *Laus Deo patri*, which – together with the lack of polychoral works in the books listed in the library catalogue – suggests that really large-scale music making did not normally occur at Nonsuch, so that our putative performances of 40-part works by Striggio and Tallis *Spem* will have been notable exceptions.

There has been a deal of speculation as to possible venues for a performance of *Spem* within the palace and its grounds. Much of this is ill-informed, and I am

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17 Sunt preterea cantiones variae, madrigali, et moteta musicorum elegantissima, quorum nomona hic non habentur. See Warren op cit p50 for the list of instrumemts and details of the library's music. He also cites the published edition of The Lumley Inventories, from the MS copy of 1596.

immensely grateful to Professor Martin Biddle for advice on the subject[18]. As regards Striggio's mass, if it really were 'heard to make a heavenly Harmony' in England, an intriguing possible venue at Nonsuch would be the inner (southern) courtyard. That would have mimicked the open-air 'concert' performance of the mass that Striggio directed in the Château de Saint-Maur immediately before coming to England in 1567. The acoustics in the inner court are likely to have been ideal for such expansive music, and there would have been no lack of space for musicians and audience[19].

On the other hand, so public a performance of a Catholic mass would have been a hazardous undertaking in the fiercely Protestant England of the time, even in so secluded a spot; and as for *Spem*, secrecy would have been of the essence if I am right in associating it with a ceremony of self-dedication and penitence by the Ridolfi plotters. We therefore need to look for a less public part of Nonsuch where either work could have been performed without attracting too much attention.

A much-touted suggestion has been one of the extravagantly windowed octagonal rooms that topped the towers flanking the south front of the palace, but these were much too small for either work. Access, moreover, was by narrow external spiral staircases up which the larger instruments could only have been carried with the greatest difficulty – and great standing any wynd instruments would have had to have been permanent fixtures. (These rooms were in any case surely designed as miniature banqueting chambers, allowing privileged views of the privy garden, the inner court, the maze on the western side of the palace, and the grounds beyond the boundary walls.)

Oddly, there was no chapel in the palace as built by Henry VIII. One of the large rooms on the first floor will probably have been fitted up as a Catholic chapel by Arundel and Lumley, perhaps the same room that would later be used by Anne of Denmark, a Catholic convert, who was granted the palace as a residence upon the accession of her husband, James I. But once again none of the likely rooms would seem to have been quite large enough, and by far the most likely location is the banqueting house.

Erected either by King Henry or by the Arundels when they first took possession[20], this took the fanciful form of a miniature fort, surrounded by trees

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18 Prof Biddle was in charge of the excavations of the foundations while still a Cambridge undergraduate: of the palace in 1959, and of the banqueting house in 1960. He has worked with Ben Taggart on his superb wooden model of the palace which was unveiled in 2019 (see the rear cover of our *Spem* edition), has published several articles about Nonsuch, and is at present (2020) engaged upon a major study that will cover every aspect of the palace and life within it.

19 The large central fountain would have been no hindrance.

20 The first record of its existence dates from 1550.

and situated at some distance from the palace within the extensive grounds. It affected to be an ancient motte-and-bailey structure, surrounded by a supposedly defensive octagonal wall - which even had gun apertures for defence against attack. (See APPENDIX V for a plan of the surviving foundations and a speculative view.) There is no record of the appearance of the banqueting house itself, of which only the foundations survive. The surrounding wall will certainly have been of stone, as may the central banqueting house have been if the conceit of a medieval castle extended to the entire complex. But a convincingly medieval central structure would necessarily have been scantily windowed, preventing the views out over the curtain walls that were surely intended. More likely would have been a structure that was medieval in shape but was in the well-windowed style of the palace itself – the crude sketch in Appendix V is an attempt at imagining the entire structure. There will have been two, even three, stories above the surviving basement remains, and each storey may have been divided into two rooms, larger and smaller, as was the basement. The larger rooms could have accommodated 40-part works, but there is a possibility that the top storey could have comprised a single large room, measuring some 38' by 32', which would have been ideal.

To modern Disney-corrupted eyes the banqueting house would have been a 'fairy-tale castle', hidden away in the woods: to Elizabethans it would have been (like their tilt-yards) Arthurian, redolent of medieval chivalry and ancient British romance. John Milsom was the first to suggest the banqueting house as the venue for *Spem*, though he eventually abandoned his original conception of *al fresco* performance, with the eight sub-choirs standing on the eight sections of an internal walkway projecting from the curtain wall, and the listeners standing at open windows on (presumably) the topmost floor. It was an intriguing idea, but impractical on a number of grounds, not least the area of the courtyard, which was so extensive that opposing choirs would have been inaudible to each other. Communication would have been a nightmare, too, and listeners standing at open windows of the central banqueting house could only have heard a selection of the choirs. But in any case, if *Spem* was, as I believe, sung at a ceremony of penitence mounted by the Ridolfi plotters, then such open-air junketings would have been singularly inappropriate.

It will have been in the banqueting house that most of the eight 'great standing wynd Instruments with stoppes' are likely to have been housed. It was there that a spectacular masque was performed before Queen Elizabeth on Sunday 6th August 1557, with drums, flutes and 'all the music that could be'[21]. For the kind of performance of *Spem* that I envisage the room would have had a very different aspect, perhaps hung in black; and there would have been ample space for a

[21] This was the first of many visits by the queen. Fancying his chances of winning her hand in marriage, Arundel laid on the most extravagant of entertainments during her six-day stay – to no avail.

small stage if Paul Doe was right in his idea that the motet could have formed the climax of a Judith and Holfernes drama – see 1.22 A JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES DRAMA?, below.

1.12 THE ORIGIN OF *SPEM*: MORE SPECULATION

So little to be relied upon is the Wateridge anecdote that the true genesis of *Spem* is inevitably a matter of speculation. We may doubt whether Tallis was really 'felt to try whether he would undertake y^e^ Matter' (i.e. was sounded out to ascertain if he would respond to the ducal challenge following a performance of the unnamed Italian's '30-part song'), though it is perfectly conceivable, as I assume above, that the song (most likely Striggio's mass) was at some point 'sent into England' and was 'heard' – though not during the composer's stay in England, nor under his direction. The occasion could have been set up by the Arundels with a view to inspiring and commissioning a comparable work from Tallis, and a chain may indeed have been presented by Norfolk on the subsequent occasion when *Spem* was first heard – though no such object is mentioned in Tallis's will[22].

On balance, something of the following order seems to me worth considering. The commission of *Spem* could have been planned well in advance, for performance at a penitential ceremony mounted by the Ridolfi plotters, the text carefully chosen to reflect the morally ambiguous position of these would-be regicides (see 1.17 THE RIDOLFI PLOT, below). A musical climax to such a ceremony would have had a strong appeal to the music-loving Arundel in particular, with the scale of the setting mirroring that of festal items that he would have been likely to encounter in Catholic Europe: during his ambassadorships in the Spanish Netherlands, perhaps, or during his not infrequent trips to Northern Italy.

Had the plot succeeded, it would have been a turning-point in English history as momentous as the Henrican and Edwardian Reformations which the conspirators so bitterly regretted, and *Spem* would no doubt have been widely performed in the aftermath. But in the short term there was danger, and the remote palace in then still-rural Surrey would have been a sensible choice of venue for such a ceremony, far from the eyes of William Cecil and his ever-widening network of anti-Catholic spies.

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[22] Would it have been acceptable for Tallis to have sold the chain, or even had it melted down? In the aftermath of the Ridolfi Plot, with Norfolk beheaded, perhaps it would.

1.11 THE NUMBER FORTY

Until the rediscovery of the Wateridge anecdote in 1981 the number 40 naturally dominated speculation as to the motet's origin. Thereafter such speculation largely ceased, but perhaps we should think again about its possible connotations. 40 is a good round number, of course, and there may often have no particular reason for choosing it: the 40 days' *quarantenam* imposed by medieval Venice on newly arrived ships during outbreaks of the Black Death, for example, or the 40 Knights of the Bath that were created to honour Prince Charles upon his own creation as Prince of Wales. In his 1970 article *Tallis's 'Spem in alium' and the Elizabethan Respond-Motet* (see ftnt 3) Paul Doe had reviewed many possible reasons for Tallis's choice of 40 parts, though he was unaware of one particular association of the number 40, as he was of the double association of the number 69 - both of which may be more significant than any of those that he considered: see 1.20 NUMBER SYMBOLISM, below.

Curiously, Doe made no mention of the frequent recurrence of periods of 40 days and 40 years in the bible. Obvious examples include the 40 days of rain that produced Noah's flood; the Israelites' 40-year wanderings in the desert; Moses' 40 days on Mount Sanai receiving the Law; Christ's 40 days in the wilderness. In all these cases (unbeknownst to 16th-century Christians) the reference is really to 'a long period of time', for which '40 days' and '40 years' were common circumlocutions. (The church, unaware of this, incorporated several precise 40-day periods into the liturgy, most notably the 40-day fast of Lent[23].) Striggio and the other Italian composers of 40-part works may conceivably have been influenced by the biblical 40-day/40-year spans, but Tallis was essentially imitating the number of parts of his Striggian model(s): and if (as I suggest above) he will have encountered Striggio's 40-part mass (whenever and wherever that may have been) then, as I observe above, his distribution of forces in *Spem* is the very much kind of alternative line-up of forces that was conventional with admiring imitations: four 10-part choirs, in response to the five 8-part choirs of Striggio's mass.

Doe dismissed Denis Stevens' suggestion that a payment of £40 by the queen to Tallis in the household accounts of 1558/59 might have been in recognition of the motet's composition, pointing out that she regularly disbursed sums of this kind in repayment of semi-enforced loans[24]. The date was in any case too early

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[23] Some biblical periods of 40 days were precise, such as that between childbirth and the mother's purification, and this is reflected in the church calendar in the 40-day gap between Christmas Day and the feast of the Purification. (In parts of Latin America mothers are still expected to observe a 40-day period of strict quarantine - *la cuarentena* – after childbirth.) The numbers 7, 10 and 40 were all seen as having peculiar power, hence their recurrence in, for example, the seven days of Creation, Moses' stipulated seventh-year Jubilees, the Ten Commandments, the birth-purification interval, and much else. But the circumlocutory '40 days/years' was a separate phenomenon.

[24] MGG 'Tallis' entry, col 69.

for so mature a work. More suggestive was Joseph Kermann's observation that the 17 motets by Tallis and 17 by his pupil William Byrd in their joint collection of motets of 1575, *Cantiones Sacrae*, were a numerical tribute to the seventeenth anniversary of Elizabeth's accession. Could the 40 parts of *Spem*, unprecedented in English music, have been a similar tribute, Kermann speculated, composed for some royal occasion on which the number 40 will have been meaningful?[25]

Kermann's idea resonated with Doe, who wondered whether *Spem* could have been Tallis's tribute to one of the succession of monarchs whom he served during his long career as a prominent Gentleman of the chapel royal. Could it have formed part of the public celebrations of royal birthdays or Accession Days? Doe discounted the 40th anniversaries of the accessions of both Mary Tudor and Elizabeth, the one too early for a work of such obvious maturity, the other too late for an aged composer to contemplate such a challenge, and tended to favour Elizabeth's 40th birthday in 1574 – when there were, he noted, exactly 40 singers available in the chapel royal. (Like virtually everyone of the period, he took *Spem* to be a purely vocal work.)

Sovereign's birthdays were indeed marked with public rejoicings, but so extraordinary (and costly!) a tribute could hardly have been mounted without leaving behind any trace in court records, musicians' accounts, courtiers' memoirs etc. None is known, none to be found even in John Nichols' painstakingly assembled publication of court records, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* (1788-1823), which catalogues many events that would have caused much less of a stir – and Nichols *does* record the performances of *Spem* at the creation banquets of the Princes Henry and Charles in his companion publication of Jacobean records.

1.13 THE CREATION BANQUETS

Despite this lack of contemporary evidence, the popular notion obstinately persists that *Spem* must have been composed for Elizabeth's 40th birthday or for the 40th anniversary of her accession[26]. That fails to account for an important respect in which Tallis's motet is unique. Of all the mammoth-scale works of the

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[25] Joseph Kermann, The Elizabethan Motet: a study of Texts for Music (Studies in the Renaissance ix, 1962)

[26] Elizabeth's accession on the 17th November 1558 was still being celebrated as a triumph of Protestantism in 1680 by an annual 'Solemn Mock Procession' through the streets of London. The enormous pageant culminated in the trial and condemnation of the triple-crowned and crossed-key-bearing papal ANTI-CHRIST before statues of Elizabeth and Charles II on either side of Wren's Temple Bar (then still in its original position dividing the Strand from Fleet Street) after which the figure of the pope was toppled into a huge bonfire and consumed. A comparable pageant survived in Dublin till 1821. (See William Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, 1823, pp242ff.)

late-fifteenth to early-seventeenth centuries[27], it stands alone in having a penitential text, and in the powerful musical expression of that penitence. We are so accustomed to thinking of the motet as a splendid piece of celebration – and the opening entries do indeed express unshakeable faith in an all-powerful Deity – that it is easy to forget that the great bulk of the work sets the earnest plea of a penitant sinner for divine mercy. The final phrase, 'respice ad humilitatem nostram', might best be translated as 'have regard to/have pity on our wretchedness', which is hardly the kind of peroration one might expect of a work marking the sovereign's birthday or Accession Day; nor, for that matter, of the proud assertion of national compositional skill that the Wateridge anecdote records. (See also the AFTERWORD, below.)

This obvious point seems to have gone entirely unremarked, and once the belief that *Spem* was composed for Elizabeth's 40th birthday had taken root, it was only strengthened by the eventual discovery of an undoubted royal connection, the performance of *Spem* at Prince Henry's creation banquet in 1610, more than forty years after Tallis's death.

Here again there has been misapprehension. It has been universally assumed that the English verse text 'Sing and glorify' was substituted for the Latin on this occasion, but that cannot be the case. The English text is, certainly, underlaid to the music in the earliest surviving source, the British Library's 'Egerton' manuscript score, but a striking and much misunderstood feature of that score discussed below reveals beyond all reasonable doubt that it was in reality made for the 1616 creation banquet of Prince Charles. It follows that in 1610 Tallis's Latin original setting will have been sung.

That need hardly surprise us, since Tallis's manuscript score had only been discovered the previous year. The account of the 1610 banquet in Nichols' *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (1828) makes no reference to the language of the text:

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[27] Early examples are Ockeghem's 36-part canon *Deo gratias* and what is believed to have been Josquin's response, his 24-part canon *Qui habitat in adjutorio*. The two 40-part works exchanged by Maximilan II and Albrecht V in 1564, the one anonymous, the other by Lassus, are lost. Annibile Padovano's 24-part triple-choir mass was performed on the same day and in the same room as Striggio's motet at the 1568 wedding festivities in Munich. Later 40-part works include two other canons, the anonymous *Unum colle Deus*, a mid-16th-century Spanish setting of a versified Ten Commandments, and the lost early-17th-century motet for the baptism of a Medici heir mentioned above. But mammoth works could – like Padovano's mass - be in seemingly random numbers of parts, with no obvious symbolic significance, *vide* the incomplete 50-part Christmas motet *Consolamini, consolamini* by Stefano Rossetto, a one-time Florentine colleague of Striggio. (Davitt Moroney has deciphered *Unum colle Deum* and completed the Rossetto.) 7-choir settings (and arrangements) of the Magnificat were popular among both Catholics and Lutherans in the early-17th-century Germanic countries. The Roman Colossal Baroque of the 17th and 18th centuries was an independent phenomenon, though inspired by the same Counter-Reformation zeal as the German Catholic examples.

After the ceremonie...the King arose and went up to dinner; but the Prince and his Lords dined in the Hall, and was served with great state and magnificence....After some musique the Song of forty parts was song by the Gentlemen of the Chappell and others, sitting upon degrees [tiered benches] *over the Screene at the north end of the Hall.*

There is no suggestion of an English text here, nor that the performance was entirely vocal: much of the 'musique' will have been instrumental[28], and the men of the chapel royal would most naturally have been joined by the boys of the chapel and by some or all of the players. The banked seating on a balcony at one end of the hall (the Tudor great hall of Whitehall Palace) would have prevented Tallis's polychoral writing from making its proper effect – if the performers were even seated in choirs rather than by parts. The 1616 performers may not have been seated in choirs either, though the 'stacked' parts of the Egerton score are not necessarily to be taken as an indication of seating by parts.

King James did not attend either the 1610 or the 1616 creation banquet. This did not reflect lack of interest: following the coronation-like act of Creation in the King's Chapel of Whitehall Palace (or possibly of the Palace of Westminter), it behoved the dignity of a newly created Prince of Wales that he should preside alone in the great hall over his own 'family' of retainers, newly created Knights of the Bath, and other guests while the king retired to preside over his own state banquet in the Great Chamber above. But in 1616 the king made a point of listening to Tallis's motet: 'After some musique the Song of forty parts was sung by the Gentlemen of the Chappell and others sitting upon degrees over the screen at the north end of the Hall, which was song agayne [i.e. repeated] by the King's commandment, who stood as a spectator over the stayres, ascending to the Great Chamber.' (Nichols Vol III p 213, quoting from 'Camden's MS volume in [the BL's] Harley MSS.5176'.)

The anonymous English verse text 'Sing and glorify' will have been premiered on that occasion, very likely commissioned because the splendour of the 1610 performance had not entirely disguised the penitential nature of Tallis's Latin text – and of his setting, if rightly conceived. No doubt the king had been involved in the decision to commission the new English text, hence his interest - though he will have had a particular reason for listening, which I set out below.

'Sing and glorify' can sound surprisingly effective, as modern performances of Sally Dunkley's edition[29] have shown. But it will have sounded extremely odd in the form in which it was presented in 1616, as evinced by an extraordinary feature

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[28] 'During the whole time of dinner the Hall resounded with all kinds of most exquisite music' Nichols pp 359-60 (from a letter by an unknown writer).

[29] Pub. The Sixteen Ltd (2006?)

of the Egerton score that has been the cause of endless modern confusion. Unlikely as it may seem, on that occasion each of the two concluding sections (identically texted 'respice ad humilitatem nostram' in the original Latin) was sung twice: the first time acclaiming the dead Henry ('Lyv henry; henry lyv'), the second time acclaiming the living Charles ('Long lyv charls; charls lyv long'), these acclamations in each case replacing the Latin word 'respice'. The 'Charles' acclamations are underlaid to the music in precisely the same way as is the text throughout the motet, but those of Henry are in a different hand and in a different, lighter ink, and the available space is so restricted that they very often intrude into the musical stave above: which inescapably suggests that the Henry acclamations were added later, very likely after the score had been completed.

The usual muddled explanation of the double texting is that the Henry acclamations had been sung as part of the assumed 'Sing and glorify' retexting at his 1610 creation banquet, and were added here as a tribute to the dead prince. That begs the question of why a new score should have been needed if an English-texted one survived from 1610. But in any case there is abundant evidence throughout the Egerton score that this was no fair copy, and that the scribe was working directly (and with great difficulty) from a Latin-texted source. What is beyond doubt is that the superscribed Henry acclamations will, certainly, have been a tribute to the dead prince, that they could only have been added by royal command, and that they were to be sung[30]: but they were added *after* the acclamations of Charles had been entered as part of the new English text.

We know that the 'respice' sections were to be sung twice because of indications in the Egerton score that have been unaccountably overlooked. In the General Pauses that precede each of them are a scattering of what might be repeat indications: small crosses with dots within the arms. Such signs can have various meanings at this period, and these may simply have been scribal 'reminder' marks of some kind. But repetition is unambiguously indicated by directions in those same General Pauses: 'Bis' ('Twice'). Both the dotted crosses and the 'bis' indications are more frequent and more prominent in the GP before the first 'respice' section than in the equivalent spot before the second, but they are most certainly there, despite having escaped the scrutiny of generations of editors and commentators. (Crosses and a single small 'bis' can be seen before the tutti entry of the second 'respice' in the photocopied section of the score in Appendix VII, and in the BL's online photograph of the complete manuscript.)

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30 Very likely the Henry and Charles acclamations will have been set out on equal terms, one above the other, in the lost 1616 performers' parts, with no sign that the former were hastily added at a late stage, which is so obvious in the Egerton score. The same will have applied to the surviving (though now virtually illegible) set of 'Gresham' master parts, which I take to have been copied directly from the 1616 parts with an eye to future use. Given commentators' unawareness of this derivation, it may be that the equal prominence that the once-legible Gresham parts give to the acclamation of the two princes has been largely responsible for the prevailing confusion over (a) the occasion for which the English text was devised, and (b) the reason for the double acclamations: another demonstration of how advantageous it is for an editor to work primarily from the Egerton MS.

What could have occasioned these double-texted repeats? For all the differences between James and Henry, and notwithstanding the king's jealousy of his elder son's popularity, James loved Henry deeply and never ceased to grieve his untimely death. For her part, Queen Anne never recovered from her loss[31], and Nichols (Vol III p223) records that 'The Queen would not be present at the Creation [i.e. the coronation-like ceremony of investiture in the King's Chapel] least she should renew her grief by the memory of the last Prince.' This same fear, together with the scant regard that she and James had for their younger son, is believed to have lain behind both the four-year delay in making Charles Prince of Wales (though he was only aged 15 in 1616) and the markedly depleted festivities that surrounding his Creation. By ordering that the dead Henry should be acclaimed the first time each 'respice' section was sung and the living Charles acclaimed in the repeats, James and Anne will on the personal level have been giving expression to their undying grief at Henry's death. To those listening in the great hall - Charles, his court and the forty Knights of the Bath newly created in his honour - the double acclamations will have been a public gesture that not merely honoured the memory of the elder son but asserted a belief in his continued status as Prince of Wales in the world above. However bizarre this notion may seem to the modern mind, it was in tune with contemporary conceptions of the divinely ordained, semi-sacramental nature of Christian monarchy, and there was nothing to prevent an absolute ruler like James from ordering the realisation of what might strike us as an eccentric whim. From a twenty-first-century viewpoint we might choose to see the wishing of a long life to a dead prince as a naively literal embodiment of the common poetic trope that the great and good live on in their posthumous reputation: hence the opening of Francis Quarles' Funerall Elegy XIII (on the death of a later public figure): 'No, no, he is not dead; the mouth of fame,/Honor's shrill herald, would preserve his name'.

The perfectly judged formal balance of the motet as a whole will have been thrown shockingly out of kilter by the 1616 reprises, and we can only imagine the effect of the 'Henry' acclamations upon Charles. But it would be interesting to hear – just once - an English-texted performance with each of these final sections sung twice, first with the acclamations of Henry, then with those of Charles.

In the motet's original Latin-texted form, these identically-texted but boldly contrasted 'respice' sections were calculated to draw *Spem* to the most satisfying of conclusions. The first (from bar 108, final beat) is Apollonian, the Gabrielian

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31 Seven months after Henry's death the new Venetian ambassador was warned not to mention his name when he kissed hands, 'because]the queen] cannot bear to hear it mentioned, nor does she ever recall it without tears and sighs'. (Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*, 1986, p 220.).

surprise of the great tutti chord of A major on 'respice' leading to a chain of 'ad humilitatem' entries that makes its measured, predictable way from choir III through choir II to choir I, the long-drawn musical points permeating the texture with classical poise and remaining essentially unchanged throughout. A single bass participates (No 10), the omission of the other bass parts (originally taken or doubled, I assume, by sonorous bass instruments) helping to produce a distinctive airy, even other-wordly timbre. In sharp contrast, the longer second 'respice' section is Dionysian, its great cataracts of close-packed entries as varied and unpredictable in their rhythms and melodic outlines as Tallis can make them. Like an inspired orator, he is here rounding off his motet in the grandest style while powerfully reasserting its G major tonality.

1.14 AN ABSENT-MINDED BISHOP?

The double acclamations in 'Sing and glorify' may have been more than a personal whim of James and Anne. The passage quoted above that Nichols takes from a letter of unknown authorship continues thus after 'the last Prince': ', who runs still so much in some men's minds that on Tuesday I heard the Bishop of Ely preaching at court upon the third verse of the 37th [chapter] of Isaiah, venerunt filii ad partum et non erant vires parienti, pray solemnly for Prince Henry without recalling himself.'

Was the bishop's mind a-wandering, to pray for the long-dead prince? Lancelot Andrewes, the bishop in question, was the most cerebrally focussed of men, a scholarly high-church divine who was the confidant of the king and his most favoured preacher. He had headed and overseen the team of 47 translators of the King James Bible (1604-1611), was now some 61 years of age and in no way senile. It is an absurd idea that so distinguished and active a man could pray for a deceased Prince of Wales from sheer absent-mindedness. It is much more likely that Andrewes will have prayed first for the dead Henry (since he will have believed in the efficacy of prayers for the departed) and then for the living Charles, the unknown letter-writer taking note of the supposed error of the first prayer while taking the second for granted and so failing to realise that the two prayers were as calculatedly connected as the double 'long live' acclamations of Henry and Charles in 'Sing and glorify', which had been sung at Charles's creation banquet on the previous day.

Andrewes was a leading advocate of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, had played a major role at James's coronation, and espoused the traditional medieval view of anointed Christian monarchs as quasi-sacerdotal in nature. It follows that he is likely to have been in sympathy with the idea, implicit in the double acclamations of 'Sing and glorify', that Henry had in some sense retained

after death his earthly status of Prince of Wales, just as anointed kings and queens were believed to do. Perhaps the bishop had himself advised and encouraged James and Anne to order the double acclamations, bestowing upon what might otherwise have seemed a mere royal caprice the seal of episcopal approval.

1.15 LANCELOT ANDREWES' SERMON (AN ASIDE)

Bishop Andrewes made no reference to Prince Charles's Creation in his sermon, which was for Gunpowder Day, an annual commemoration that had been added to the Book of Common Prayer in the wake of a much-admired sermon he had given some years previously. His text might seem a curious choice for such an occasion. The New English Bible renders it thus: 'This day is a day of trouble for us, a day of reproof and contempt. We are like a woman who has no strength to bear the child that is coming to birth'. That is the message sent to the prophet Isaiah by Hezekiah, king of the northern kingdom of Israel, when he had failed in his attempt to buy off with horses the attacking Sennacherib, King of Assyria, and his kingdom seemed on the verge of falling. In the event, the Assyrians were defeated by the intervention of Isaiah, who elicited from God a stinging canticle of damnation upon the besieging Assyrians, followed by divine vengeance: 'The angel of the Lord went out and struck down a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp; when morning dawned they all lay dead. So Sennacherib king of Assyria broke camp, went back to Ninevah, and stayed there. One day, while he was worshipping in the temple of his god Nisroch, Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons murdered him...' (Isaiah 37 vv 36-38).

The passage in Isaiah is taken over from II Kings 19, omitting Hezekiah's failed attempt to buy off the enemy, and is thus an entirely positive narrative of divine salvation for God's chosen people at a time of great peril, which Andrewes presents as a parallel to the deliverance of Britain from the gunpowder plotters. The gnarled and labyrinthine twists and turns of his sermon[32] manages to associate the womb of the exhausted woman in labour with the cellar beneath the House of Lords in which the barrels of gunpowder were stashed, with the Trojan horse, and - most tellingly – with the phantom pregnancy of Mary Stuart, which Protestants of the time had feared might present England with a male Catholic heir, putting an end to the achievements of the Reformation.

I only mention the sermon because of the extraordinary coincidence that the short historical account from Isaiah from which Andrewes extracts his text must surely have been the inspiration for the unknown writer of the much later Book

[32] '[His sermons] are characterised by verbal conceits, a minute and (to modern feeling) over-worked analysis of the text, and with constant Greek and Latin quotations.' (ANDREWES, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1957).

of Judith, a national moral fable[33] that probably dates from the Manichean period[34]. As we know, Tallis's text is a Responsory that was sung in connection with the annual readings from the Book of Judith, and I wondered – till I consulted Andrewes' sermon online – whether he may somehow have intuited the connection and drawn a parallel with the original Latin-texted version of *Spem* : which I suggest in the next section may have been sung the previous day at Charles's creation banquet.

1.16 THE 'ENCORE' OF SING AND GLORIFY

Nichols quotes an account of King James standing at the head of the stairs over above the great hall of Whitehall Palace in 1616 to hear Tallis's motet sung, ordering (it has always been assumed) an immediate encore. We need to cast a critical eye over this brief and ambiguous report. James was perfectly able to absent himself for a time from his own banquet in the Great Chamber above to hear the motet sung. He will surely have done so in 1610, too, and there was no encore on that occasion.

What, then, was going on in 1616? If James was so impressed by the work, why had he not called for a repeat in 1610? But did he in fact do so in 1616? There is nothing in the Nichols report that suggests that James *spontaneously* ordered a repeat performance[35], and I strongly suspect that the two renditions will have been ordered by James in advance, the motet to be sung first to the original Latin, then to the new English text. Homage would thus be paid to Henry by first presenting the motet as he had discovered it in the Nonsuch library and as he had ordered it to be sung at his 1610 banquet. An ensuing English-texted

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[33] 'The whole book is wildly unhistorical and was probably never meant to be read as history.' (BOOK OF JUDITH, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church).

[34] The parallels are too striking to be coincidental, though I know of no scholarly study that suggests the connection, Jewish or Christian. Both Hezekiah and Judith are zealous followers of the Law. The king had banished from back-sliding Israel the worship of idols (which was contrary to the Second Commandment) and Judith's heroic deed is inspired her horror at the willingness of her besieged fellow citizens to break the Third Commandment (against taking the name of God in vain) by bargaining with the Almighty. The Israel of both Hezekiah and Judith is under threat from besieging and marauding Assyrian forces, which intend to conquer, massacre and take captive the Jewish people, and wipe out their religion by razing the Jerusalem Temple. In both cases the Assyrians are on the point of final victory when they suffer a sudden catastrophic defeat, at the respective hands of an Angel of Death and of Judith. The result is the same in both cases, the flight of the besieging Assyrians and the restoration of peace and stability to Israel - though the basic motivation of the historical Assyrian King Sennacherib is sheer lust of conquest, whereas the (mythical, composite) Assyrian emperor Nebuchadnezzar, whose forces Holofernes directs in the Judith myth, has declared himself a god and is determined to punish and destroy the one nation in the Assyrian sphere of influence that has refused to pay him divine honours.

[35] A spontaneous call for a repeat would have been possible, obviously. The encoring of Striggio's motet at the 1568 Munich wedding festivities will have been ordered on the spot by Duke Albrecht. (It was only repeated once: the three renditions that Massimo Troiano records in his official account was corrected to two in the second edition.)

performance would contain a second tribute to Henry in its double acclamations, which might in some sense have been envisaged as symbolising the transmission of the crown of heirdom from elder to younger son. I envisage Bishop Andrewes, James and Anne concocting this scheme between them at a late date, deciding to order both the dual performance of the motet and the double acclamations in 'Sing and glorify'. The Egerton scribe would then have been required to laboriously insert the additional 'Henry' acclamations in his score (and parts), and the instrumentalists and chapel royal singers would have been made aware that the two versions of Tallis's masterwork were to be performed in sequence.

There is nothing in this that goes against the contemporary reportage. James will have stood listening from above not merely to enjoy the music, but also to be able to report back to Queen Anne that the double homage to their elder son had been enacted as ordained, she having absented herself from the Creation ceremony (and very likely from James's banquet) from fear of being overwhelmed with grief by the memories that would be awakened. It is at least possible that the repeated performance of the motet, the dual acclamations in the English version, and the reduced celebrations associated with Charles's Creation were to some extent the result of Anne's vehement emotional objection to the notion of Charles being accorded the same honours as had Henry, her favourite.

1.17 THE RIDOLFI PLOT

The connection which I suspect with the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 hinges on a number of interconnected things: on Tallis's choice of text (if it was indeed his own choice); on the iconic status of the Old-Testament heroine Judith in 16th-century England; on her association with three Marys; and on number symbolism.

1.17.1 THE PLOT

Militant Elizabethan recusants saw themselves as very much in the position of Judith and the besieged Bethulians (see JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES, below), their ancient faith threatened with annihilation under a Protestant queen who had banned the public celebration of mass, whom they saw as a usurper of illegitimate birth, and who was likely to be succeeded by Mary Stuart's son, the Calvinistically-inclined James VI of Scotland. It was from fear of this that the extensive and powerful Arundel family, almost entirely Catholic (open or covert), involved itself in all kinds of anti-Anglican subterfuges and conspiracies, which

culminated in the Ridolfi Plot, the first of a series of Catholic plots to depose or assassinate the reigning Protestant monarch.

Roberto Ridolfi was a wealthy and influential Florentine banker resident in London from about 1555, a fanatical Catholic who was appointed papal agent in England by Pius V. Politically well-connected in France and Spain, and with many links to the dissident English Catholic aristocracy, Ridolfi had been involved in planning the Northern Rebellion of 1569, which aimed to force Elizabeth to overturn the Religious Settlement of 1559, restore the Catholic Mary Stuart (imprisoned in Fotheringhay Castle) to the throne of Scotland, marry her to the Earl of Norfolk, and ensure that she (or her son James[36]) would upon the death of Elizabeth succeed to the throne of an England in which Catholicism had been restored as the state religion. Ridolfi and Norfolk were imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the failed rebellion, but released in 1570 for lack of evidence[37], whereupon Ridolfi set in motion a new, more extreme plot to assassinate Elizabeth and achieve the same ends, again with Mary marrying the Duke of Norfolk.

Tutored as a child by the Anglican John Foxe (author of the stridently Protestant Book of Martyrs), Norfolk was later secretly converted to a passionate but always-denied Catholicism by John White, Bishop of Lincoln. It was Norfolk who supposedly challenged English composers to match Striggio's achievement, and it was he who supposedly rewarded Tallis with a gold chain when the challenge was met. The conspiracy was underwritten by St (!) Pius V, successor of the weak and vacillating Pius IV, his determined imposition of the reforms set out by the Council of Trent reckoned to have set in motion the Counter Reformation. In his bull 'Regnans in excelsis' of 25th February 1570 Pius excommunicated the bastard usurper Elizabeth and relieved her subjects of all allegiance[38]. The assassination was to be accomplished by the plotters (or more likely their minions) and Netherlands-based Spanish troops under the command of the Duke of Alba stood ready to invade England in support of the regicides as soon as the deed was done.

Ridolfi's influence over Arundel and his son-in-law Lumley was financial as well as religious. As we have seen, shortly after moving into Nonsuch in 1558 Arundel had been, at crippling expense, entertaining the queen, whom he hoped

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36 Perhaps they imagined that James would be as willing to abandon his faith to gain the crown as Henri IV of France had been, reckoning London well worth a mass.

37 Some historians have suggested that Ridolfi may have been 'turned' during his imprisonment and so have both promoted and revealed the plot, but this hardly accords with his later life in Florence, where he was feted as a champion of the Catholic faith.

38 An accurate translation of the bull is readily available online. Papal excommunications of rulers were not that uncommon, but Pius was the first pontiff to decree that subjects' allegiance was set aside and that any who continued to obey their monarch's orders would themselves be excommunicated.

to marry[39]. Then in 1563 he made the disastrous arrangement to take over repayment of a massive debt that had originated in 1526, when the City of Florence undertook to repay outstanding moneys owed to the Crown by Florentine merchants resident in England. Arundel and Lumley never recovered from their efforts to deal with this self-imposed burden, and the screw must have been given another sharp turn in 1570, the year before the Ridolfi Plot, when Arundel surrendered the 'instrument of debt' for 60,000 ducats to Ridolfi, no less, who was to hold this in security for Lumley's debt to him of £1,825. Between them, Ridolfi, the pope, and Philip II would seem to have had Arundel, Lumley and Norfolk secure and helpless in their net.

In the event the bull was something of a damp squib. Like so many bulls, it was largely ignored, and the plot was easily uncovered, partly though Ridolfi's inability to keep his mouth shut. Even Grand Duke Cosimo[40] (still active during Francesco's regency) came to know what was afoot, and wrote to warn Elizabeth. In the aftermath Norfolk was beheaded, Lumley briefly imprisoned, and the aged Arundel placed under a species of life-long house arrest – he died in 1580. Ridolfi, however, had fled to his native Florence, where he was revered for his exploit and made a senator – to the chagrin of Cosimo and Francesco, perhaps.

1.17.2 AN ÉMINENCE GRISE?

There is a twist to this tale. It was widely believed at the time that both Arundel and Norfolk were politically naïve and easily led, and that they had been urged on to their conspiratorial folly by Norfolk's younger brother, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton. (Arundel had been unflatteringly described as 'a flighty man of small ability' by the Spanish ambassador Gomez Suarez de Figueroa in a letter to Philip II of 1558.) An unsavoury character who during Elizabeth's reign was constantly suspected of treasonous pro-Catholic machinations, Northampton was after his death proved to have ordered the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, a major scandal. He had been at pains to ingratiate himself with Mary Stuart and with her son James, whose contested claim to succeed Elizabeth he vigorously supported. Upon James's accession he was accordingly restored to royal favour and loaded with honours. He was made a Privy Councillor and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and was even one of the judges at the trial of his co-religionist Guy Fawkes.

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[39] It quickly became obvious that Elizabeth had no intention of marrying Arundel. This was one of a plethora of misconceived marriage plans and machinations by Arundel. For example, during the queen's illness in 1562 he was prominent in the pretended scheme to declare as her successor Lady Catherine Grey, the firmly Protestant sister of Lady Jane Grey, while attempting to have Lady Catherine's son betrothed to Norfolk's infant daughter.

[40] He had achieved his much-desired royal status with the bestowal of the hereditary title Grand Duke in 1569.

It was at this stage of his life that Northampton was admitted to the Middle Temple, on 2nd February 1604, presumably in an honorary capacity of some kind, given his age (he was in his early sixties) and status – his Wardenship is mentioned in the record of his admission. Ellis Swayne, Thomas Wateridge's informant, was admitted on the 18th May 1607. As I speculate above, Swayne's story that was recorded in his friend Wateridge's commonplace book of a 'songe of 30 partes' that had recently been 'againe songe at ye Princes coronation' could have derived – directly or indirectly - from Northampton: holding forth, perhaps, at some formal Middle Temple event about his family's connection with Tallis's recently rediscovered motet.

As a privy councillor, Northampton had been closely involved in the planning of Prince Henry's creation banquet, and he was one of Henry's pair of aristocratic supporters at one of his many ceremonial disembarkations at Whitehall Steps during the celebrations leading up to the Creation. But if the tale did emanate from him, why was it so garbled? Had Swayne misremembered what he had heard? Was Northampton's memory at fault? Had the tale reached Swayne indirectly via a chain of gradually mutating retellings within the Middle Temple? Or had the reputed *éminence grise* deliberately misrepresented the genesis of *Spem*, inventing the story of his late brother's challenge to English composers while (for obvious reasons) failing to mention any connection with the Ridolfi Plot?

I incline towards that last possibility, but there is such a thicket of conjecture here that the notion of Northampton as the source of Swayne's anecdote can be no more than a persuasive surmise. To my ears, the concluding words of the anecdote, 'w^{ch} songe was againe songe at y^{e} Princes coronation', sound remarkably like horse's-mouth reportage, and a young law student like Swayne is unlikely to have had access to the creation banquet: so we should not entirely discount the possibility that it was from Northampton that Swayne had somehow obtained his muddled information.

1.17.3 A CEREMONY OF SELF-DEDICATION? (I)

The little group of plotters will have seen themselves as very much in the position of Judith and her fellow Bethulians in the Book of Judith, which is a moral fable comparable to the Books of Job, Ruth and Jonah[41]. The (imaginary) hill town of

[41] The book of Judith is part of the Roman Catholic Old Testament canon, but is relegated to the Apocrypha by Anglicans and Lutherans – and by Jewish commentators. The tale deliberately conflates and transposes rulers and empires, as though to make clear its unhistorical, parable-like nature. No historical Nebuchadnezzar claimed divine status. 'The whole book is wildly unhistorical and was probably never meant to be read as history.' (Book of Judith, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church). The Jewish Encyclopaedia identifies Bethulia with the city of

Bethulia, a northern outpost of Israel, was besieged and the whole of Israel, Judah and Samaria threatened by the Assyrian host because the Jews alone had refused to accord divine honours to the self-proclaimed god, the emperor Nebuchadnezzar[42]. His army general, Holofernes, intended to follow up a defeat of Bethulia by killing and taking captive the entire Hebrew people and razing the Temple in Jerusalem, putting an end to the exercise of their faith. Rebellious Catholic recusants were aware of a comparable looming deprivation as the moderate-Protestantism imposed by Elizabeth[43] seemed ever more likely to remain in place, she remaining a Virgin Queen for life and being succeeded by the moderate Calvinist James VI of Scotland, which would put paid to all hope of the restoration or toleration of the Old Religion. The heroic action of the widow Judith in beguiling and then beheading Holofernes provided a biblical precedent for what the more aggressive rebels saw as the only possible remedy.

The text which Tallis sets is a Responsory that accompanies the readings from the Book of Judith each September-October in the pre-Reformation Use of Sarum. Like all Responsories, it reflects, or glosses, the readings which it follows, encapsulating the prayers which Judith and the besieged Bethulians raise to God: prayers in which confession of sin and pleading for mercy predominate.

A later Responsory during the Sarum cycle of readings, 'Tribulationes civitatem', is much more prominent than 'Spem in alium' in the post-Trent Roman breviary, recurring many times. That text will have resonated with oppressed English recusants, hence Byrd's setting of a version of the text that some regard as his greatest penitential motet. This was published in his 1589 book of *Cantiones Sacrae*. Had it been composed earlier, it would have been singularly appropriate at the putative plotters' ceremony. As it was, Byrd dedicated the print to Lord Lumley, professing himself indebted to the earl for words of advice 'hardly mediocre in matters concerning music'.

Penitance for (future) sin will inevitably have dominated the kind of ceremony I propose, but there will equally inevitably have been another element. The plotters wished to restore the Catholic religion as practiced in the reign of Mary Tudor by placing Mary Stuart on the throne, and they will certainly have been

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Shechem, but describes the book as a 'historical novel' which takes place 'once upon a time'. (The Jewish Encyclopaedia, 2cnd edition, 2007, entry JUDITH, BOOK OF by Crawford Howell Toy and Charles C. Torrey.)

[42] This central aspect of the fable tends to be overlooked or downplayed by modern commentators on the Book of Judith. It is explicit in (for example) Judith III.13, part of the fifth lesson at the first Sarum Matins service: 'that he only might be called god by those nations that could be brought under him by the power of Holofernes' ('ut ipse solus diceretur deus ab his nationibus quae potuissent Holofernis potentia subiugari').

[43] Her personal religion was probably the same kind of non-papalist Catholicism as her father's – witness her often-expressed disapproval of married clergy and her adamant refusal to annul Henry's Five Points of Religion when they accidentally became law once again following the annulment of later ordinances: which theoretically made (among other things) auricular confession and transubstantiation prescribed articles of Anglican belief and practice.

aware that the Church saw Judith (together with Eve) as a prime Old-Testament 'type' (or mystic prefiguring) of the Virgin Mary, the veneration of whom was one of the features that distinguished Catholicism from the Reformed faiths. This veneration is implicitly reflected in the non-penitential First Vespers that immediately preceded the Sarum series of 'Book of Judith' Matins services, preoccupied as they mostly are with sin and penitence. Tacitly but unmistakably, the Magnificat Antiphon recognises Judith as precursor of the Virgin, praising God who 'granted salvation by the hand of a woman' ('qui dedisti salutem in manu feminae'). The quasi-virgin[44] Judith saved her people and her faith by beheading Holofernes: the Virgin Mary saved humanity by bearing the Redeemer. (See also 1.19 JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES, below, and 1.20 NUMBER SYMBOLISM, in which I suggest a numerical cypher for MARIA in Tallis's motet.)

1.18 CHOICE OF TEXT

Did Tallis choose the text independently, or in conjunction with the plotters? Was it wished upon him? Certainly there could hardly have been a more appropriate text for a self-dedication ceremony by plotters who revered the memory of Mary Tudor, who intended to place Mary Stuart on the throne of England, and who as good Catholics honoured the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God.

On the face of it, 'Spem in alium' is simply a resonant penitential text well suited to musical setting: one that any composer might choose. But (as Paul Doe pointed out) educated Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth would have been acutely aware of the treasonous implications that lay latent in this choice. As a lifelong Catholic himself, Tallis will have known the Responsory from his early professional life in establishments that observed the Use of Sarum, known its association with the Book of Judith, and understood that it functioned in the usual way of Responsories as a kind of commentary or gloss on the biblical story. Both he and the plotters may well have been unaware of the parable-like nature of the book, given the canonical status that the Roman Church accords it, unquestioningly revering it as historical record.

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[44] Young, beautiful and rich, Judith broke with universal Hebrew practice by failing to remarry after her husband's death, and she remained unmarried till her own death at the age of 105. The unknown author of the Judith fable was perhaps reflecting the growing preoccupation with virginity and chastity in some factions of late Judaism – Nazarites, Essenes - that is also so prominent a feature of early Christianity.

1.19 JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES

The Judith story is among the goriest of the entire bible. As the general commanding the Assyrian army, Holofernes had been dispatched by his emperor, the self-declared god Nebuchadnezzar, to destroy the Jews, the one race in his subject territories that had refused to offer him divine honours. After laying siege to Judith's home, the (imaginary) out-lying hill city of Bethulia (the name echoing that of Bethel, the 'House of God'), he intended to kill and take captive the Hebrew inhabitants of all Israel, Judea and Samaria, and to raze to the ground the Jerusalem Temple, in order to wipe the Jewish faith from the face of the earth.

The starving and waterless Bethulians were on the point of capitulating when the quasi-virgin Judith took matters into her own hands. Preparing to commit a monstrous act of murder in order to save her people and her religion, Judith retired to her oratory, put on haircloth and ashes, fell prostrate, and prayed fervently that God would forgive her sins and those of Bethulia, and assist her in her endeavour (Ch 9). The Bethulians had done likewise when the siege began (Ch 4), begging forgiveness of their sins in language that is reflected in the Responsory 'Spem in alium', but they had subsequently sinned grievously when their leader, Ozias, bargained with the Lord, allowing him five days to deliver the city, in default of which the town would surrender.

It was this 'tempting of the Lord' that aroused Judith's wrath and inspired her act of national deliverance. The whole early part of the Judith narrative is suffused with consciousness of sin and penitential pleading for divine forgiveness, as are the Antiphons and Responsories of the great majority of the Matins services at which the Book of Judith was read. 'Spem in alium' first appears after the fourth Lesson of the first Matins of the series, and draws upon phrases from the intercessions of the assembled Bethulians and of Judith.

The story was well known, and had been the subject of many poems and dramas, some recent English examples being secretly subversive: the products of disaffected Protestants during the reign of Mary Tudor and of rebellious Catholics under Elizabeth. For extremists of both persuasions, the decapitation of Holofernes and the flight of his terrified troops that ensued was a powerful symbol of a nation's longed-for release through regicide from the bonds of a despised religion. Though Holofernes is presented as the general commanding the Assyrian army, he was close in rank to the emperor Nebuchadnezzar in the mythical Assyrian hierarchy, and would have enjoyed a king-like status. His decapitation was therefore a symbolic act of regicide – in parallel with Judith's status as a symbolic virgin.

On the simplest level, Judith could be seen as the saviour of her country, a brave resister of unprovoked aggression. But in sixteenth-century England, torn by sectarian conflict and buffeted by abrupt changes of imposed denominational allegiance, she was revered as the saviour not just of her city and her country but of her faith.

For Elizabethan recusants Judith had a very particular religious status, the propaganda surrounding Mary Tudor having represented her as a New Judith who had restored the Old Religion in the wake of Henry VIII's moderate Reformations and the Calvinism that had burgeoned under Edward VI. Mary, like Judith, had overcome a threat to her faith, the nine-day reign of Lady Jane Grey, and when she entered London in triumph on 3rd August 1553 she ordered, Judith-like, the beheading of the Duke of Northumberland, the prime mover in the imposition of the Protestant puppet in her rightful place. In the course of that great procession the Florentine bankers and merchants of London mounted one of the most extravagant of the 'pageants' that punctuated the route:

At the ende of Gracechurche ther was another pageant made by the Florentyns, very highe, on the toppe wherof ther stode iiij. pictures, and on the syde of them, on the highest toppe, ther stoode an angell clothed in grene, with a trompete in his hande, and he was made with suche a device that when the trompeter, who stoode secretly in the pageant, ded blow his trompet, the angell dyd put his trompet to his mowth, as though it should be he that blewe the same, to the marvaling of many ignorant persons. The pageant was made with iij. thorough-fares like gates, and on either syde of the great gat ther dyd hang ij. tables of clothe of sill- ver, wherin was wrytten certayn verses ; the one table in Latten, and the other in Inglyshe myter, gratefyeng. And in the myds of the saide pageant ther stoode vj. persons clothed in longe colord gownes with coputances hats, who gave hir a salutacion of goode lucke. (*The chronicle of Queen Jane, and of two years of Queen Mary, and especially of the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat*, Written by a Resident in the Tower of London, BL Harleian MS. 194, pub. John Nichols 1850.)

The theme of the pageant had clearly been devised in consultation with Mary's advisers:

The Florentines praised Mary's triumph over Northumberland's forces, by invoking the image of Judith saving her people from Holofernes, and of Tomyris 'who had led her people to victory against the all-conquering Cyrus'[45]

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[45] Judith M Richards, *Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor* Monarchy (The Historical Journal Vol 40 Issue 4 1997 page 899). According to Heroditus and others, Tomrys was an Iranian queen who defeated and killed Cyrus the Great when he was attacking her country. Mary Tudor was symbolically associated with a third ancient saviour of her country, the Jewish heroine Esther, in the text of William Mundy's votive antiphon *Vox*

The Earl of Arundel rode directly before the queen bearing a sword of state in that Coronation-eve procession, alongside the Lord Mayor. The Duke of Norfolk was one of those who greeted the queen on bended knee at the Tower. Ridolfi had probably not yet arrived in England, but the theme of the Florentines' pageant is a powerful reason for associating *Spem* with the Ridolfi plotters some 28 years later, especially in view of Arundel's many visits to Florence and the likelihood that he (as Earl Marshal, superintending the entire coronation ritual) will have at the very least been consulted regarding the Florentine pageant.

Convoluted as it may seem to the modern secular mind, the mystical link between the names Judith and Mary will have been of profound significance to rebellious Catholics, who associated the Jewish heroine with no fewer than three Marys – Mary the Virgin, who had saved mankind by bearing the Redeemer; Mary Tudor, who had re-established Catholicism; and Mary Stuart, who would, they hoped, do the same once Elizabeth had been murdered and she been wedded to the Duke of Norfolk. So powerful was this association that (as Paul Doe was the first to point out) any evocation of Judith's name by Elizabethan dissidents would be liable to arouse suspicions of treachery – despite the fact that Elizabeth's spin doctors had been at pains to promote her image, too, as a New Judith, one who had freed her country from the Roman yoke.

Judith's name stood symbolically for her nation, Judah: the Jewish Encyclopaedia translates it as 'Jewess'. It is as saviour of her race and her religion that she is celebrated in the annual late-December Jewish festival of Hanukkah. For Catholics, her status as a 'type' of the Virgin Mary is embedded in the text of the liturgy. When Judith had returned in triumph to Bethuliah with Holofernes' head safely stowed away in her bag, Joachim the high priest came down from Jerusalem to join her fellow citizens in acclaiming her with honorific titles that would be taken over directly into the liturgy of Marian feasts. The fourth-century antiphon 'Tota pulchra es, Maria', for example, well known today from Bruckner's setting, draws on verse 10 of the final chapter of the Book of Judith: '...benedixerunt illam omnes, una voce dicentes, Tu gloria Hierusalem, tu laetitia Israhel, tu honorificentia populi nostri' ('...they all blessed her with one voice, saying, Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people')[46]. In the Tridentine Rite (though not in Sarum) Joachim's entire eulogy

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Patris cealestis, which John Milsom convincingly argues will have been written for performance at a particularly splendid pageant alongside St. Paul's Cathedral during Mary's eve-of-Coronation procession from the Tower to Westminster on 30th September 1553. (See John Milsom, *William Mundy's 'Vox Patris Caeliestis' and the Accession of Mary Tudor*, Music & Letters Vol 91 No 1, Feb 2010, pp 1-38.

[46] Phrases from the ancient antiphon are scattered among the Office Proper in the Tridentine Rite.

forms the Reading (in place of the Epistle) at mass on the feast of the Assumption – the most unmistakable association of Judith and the Virgin Mary in the entire liturgy.

Christian writers occasionally pushed the parallel between the two women even closer. In the vast, anonymous mid-15th-century Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament, one of the many divergences from the Vulgate account in its retelling of the biblical tale is that Judith is not a virtuous widow but a dedicated virgin. The poem does not explicitly associate her with the Virgin Mary, but the link will inevitably have been in the minds of the poet and his readers.

Writers of the late sixteenth century became increasingly circumspect about hailing the quasi-regicide Judith as a sinless saviour, following the exposure of the Ridolfi Plot in 1571 and the very similar Throckmorton Plot of 1583. In the Introduction to his 1584 poem, *Historie of Judith,* the Protestant Thomas Hudson[47] disclaims any wholesale endorsement of regicide: naturally enough, given the heightened atmosphere of interdenominational suspicion in the aftermath of the plots, and given also that the first trickle of Jesuit missionaries was beginning to arrive on English shores. Judith is one of a group of Jewish tyrannicides whom Hudson declares 'worthie of a hundred gallowes, a hundred fires, and a hundred wheeles, if they had not been peculiarly chosen of God for to unlose the chaines, and breake the bands which retainde the Hebrew people in more than Aegiptian servitude'.

Hudson's casuistry was self-protective, but his defence of Judith would have been regarded as perfectly valid by Catholic would-be regicides in the reigns of both Elizabeth and James I, convinced as they were that their plots were divinely inspired acts of liberation from their own nation's Egyptian servitude. The Jews' later Babylonish captivity was a more common metaphor for the plight of Catholic recusants, and is explicit in the double-choir motets exchanged by Philippe de Monte and William Byrd, the one beginning 'Super flumina Babylonis' (By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept), the other 'Quomodo cantabimus' (How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?).

1.20 NUMBER SYMBOLISM

It is easy to underestimate the power ascribed to number in pre-modern times. Number symbolism (gematria is its official term) was regarded not as an amusing game but as something instinct with spiritual significance. Composers of the 15th and 16th centuries were particularly fond of using it to build hidden meanings

[47] The work is a translation of *Judit* by the Huguenot poet Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas.

into their works, and Willem Elders has traced arcane number symbolism in the works of Josquin, Ockeghem, Obrecht and others[48]. In the case of *Spem* the numbers 40 and 69 would seem to have special significance.

At the simplest level, number could be used to reveal a composer's name. Since at least classical times people tended to 'know their own number'[49], which they obtained by adding together the numbers of the constituent letters according to the 24-letter Roman alphabet, in which I and J, U and V are treated as single letters.

Tallis knew that his number was 69 (19 & 1 & 11 & 11 & 9 & 18[50]) and he must have 'signed' the lost autograph score of *Spem* by means of a unique system of double bar-numbering which the Egerton scribe was careful to reproduce in his English-texted score[51]. Every bar is individually numbered (which is unusual enough in itself), but so – uniquely - is every second bar, as can be seen in Appendix VI. Since two bars are one Long in length (a Long equalling two Breves) the number of Longs in the motet is 69. Signing a masterwork like *Spem* in such a 'secretly overt' manner would have been an expression of justified pride, and would also guard against both misattribution and the casual lack of attribution that leaves us uncertain of the authorship of so many Renaissance works – among them the 40-part composition that Cardinal Madruzzo sent to Duke Albrecht without bothering to name the author (though he would no doubt have been named on the manuscript).

But perhaps Tallis's 69 Longs were more than a simple name-signing. Could it be coincidence that 69 is also the number of JUDITH (9 & 20 & 4 & 9 &19 & 8)? Was Tallis simultaneously 'signing' his motet and marking his respect for the Jewish heroine whose assassination of Holofernes saved her nation and her faith? She, I have suggested, will have been seen by the Ridolfi conspirators as their model and inspiration: hence the choice of the Responsory text, which distils her absolute faith in God and her craving for absolution from the mortal sin that she intends to commit for the greater good of her people.

As for the number 40, none of the explanations for Tallis's 40 parts reviewed by Paul Doe is entirely satisfactory, and it is worth digging a little deeper in search of a credible significance. Given (as I argue above) that the recusants will very likely have seen a mystical association of Judith with Mary the Virgin, Mary Tudor and

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[48] In the present connection see his *Symbolic Scores: studies in music of the renaissance* (1994), chapter 4: 'Symbolic scoring in Tudor England'.

[49] Witness the love-lorn young Pompeian who scribbled 'the number of the girl I love' on a convenient wall, confident that the right girl would get the message.

[50] I may be deluded in believing that I was the first to discover this.

[51] If the Nonsuch score was itself a copy, it must have reproduced the double bar-numbering in Tallis's autograph score.

Mary Stuart, it may not be pure chance that the number of MARIA is 40 (12 & 1 & 17 & 9 & 1). True, 40 is not a number traditionally associated with the Virgin, whose numbers were most commonly 5, 7 and 15. One Marian link with the number was the 40-day interval in the church calendar (as in the gospel narrative) between the birth of Christ on Christmas Day and feast that celebrates Mary's ritual purification in the Temple on 2nd February. So did Tallis perhaps make his motet 69 Longs in length to assert his identity as composer and to pay homage to Judith, while casting it in 40 parts to evoke the Virgin Mary, the New Judith of the Catholic liturgy and the namesake of two queens – one who had restored Catholicism to England, the other who would do so again if the Ridolfi plotters were successful?

If some such grand numerical linking-up really was in Tallis's mind as he planned the length and number of parts of *Spem*, then we might justifiably suspect that he was no innocent dupe of Arundel, Norfolk and Ridolfi, but was in sympathy with their regicidal plans: almost a co-conspirator, in fact. But the obstinate fact remains that his 40 parts were in admiring imitation of those of Striggio, whose 40 parts could have been in admiring imitation of those of Lassus (in the lost motet). Could the number of MARIA have been in the minds of all the composers of 40-part works mentioned above, known and unknown? Like all Catholics of their time, they are likely to have had a strong personal devotion to the Virgin; and an additional factor in Striggio's case might just possibly have been that the Florence duomo, for which both his motet and his mass were written, is dedicated to S. Maria dei Fiori: St. Mary of the [City of] Flowers. But again we come hard up against the brute fact that the number 40 is not known to have been associated with the Virgin - and the idea would in any case only make sense if all known 40-part works had a Marian theme: which they do not.

The reason so many composers chose to write in 40 parts may have been much less convoluted than all this. Neo-Platonism still held sway in the 16th-century universities, in England as on the continent, teaching that the divinely created universe is based on number and geometry, and is therefore itself replete with hidden significance and secret unities. It was accepted, as the ancient Pythagorians had reasoned, that since number is at the root of all creation, individual numbers must have their own mystical properties.

There was consensus as to the individual properties of particular numbers. 1 was the number of unity, 2 of duality, 3 of spirituality, and the number 4 had a particular esoteric power as the first non-prime. Many higher numbers gained their potency through containing within them this primal quadrivium of 1-4. 10 was supreme as the sum of 1, 2, 3 and 4. And the 'multitudinous number' 40, the product of 4 and 10, could be seen as occupying a yet higher level of potency.

So perhaps the inspiration of this cluster of 40-part works was straightforward: partly an acknowledgement of the recurring biblical periods of 40 days and 40 years, which the composers would have seen as of mystic import, and partly the incorporation of the all-powerful 'multitudinous number' 40, which they would inevitably have associated with the Deity[52]. In that case the possible original text of Striggio's motet cited in footnote 7 might be relevant, 'Laudes Jehovae summi'; and so might the striking fact that the first tutti of *Spem*, to the words 'praeter in te, Deus Israel', occurs at bar 40 – a tutti that returns transformed in the final great plea to the Almighty for help and forgiveness, 'respice ad humilitatem nostram' - see Appendix IX for the transformation. But association of the number 40 with the biblical periods and with the Deity need not preclude a further association with MARIA in the back of Tallis's fertile mind as he began to lay out the formal scheme of *Spem*.

1.21 A CEREMONY OF SELF-DEDICATION? (II)

In assuming such a ceremony we are once again in the ever-seductive realm of speculation, though there would have been compelling reason for something of the sort. Moral theologians have never to this day agreed on the rightness or wrongness of the assassination of a cruel, usurping or illegitimate monarch. Pius V might release Englishmen from their allegiance to the Crown, finance the Ridolfi plotters, collude with Philip II to prepare an invasion of England as soon as the queen was killed, but what he could not do was grant advance absolution for the mortal sin of murder. Finding themselves (as they will have conceived it) in the same position as Judith as she prepared for her heroic exploit, what better could the plotters have done than what she herself did, and prostrate themselves in penitence for the sin that they contemplated? And what more appropriate conclusion could there be to such a ceremony of self-abasement than a commissioned motet that evoked the Jewish heroine, set on the most sumptuous scale imaginable, the counterpart of magnificent multi-part works of public celebration in the Catholic Christendom with which they longed to be reunited? Their ceremony would necessarily be of penitance, self-abasement and self-dedication, and their commissioned motet penitential in tone: but that would not rule out the grandest of settings. There was, after all, a long-standing English tradition of lengthy, richly scored settings that adorned the Office during the penitential season of Lent – the Office of Compline in particular.

The Responsory text that they – or Tallis – chose for setting was singularly appropriate, reflecting in magisterial language the prayers of Judith and the penitant Bethulians. These are not simple calls for divine aid, for the entire

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52 Inevitably? I know of no such recorded association, but will search for it.

focus of the Book of Judith is on sin and retribution, which (as pointed out above) is reflected in the liturgy of the Matins services at which it was read[53].

Like the Christian theologians of the future, Judith was aware that murder, even the assassination of a besieging enemy, contravened the sixth Commandment[54], a sin which called for the most demonstrative of advance repentance. For the plotters, similarly, a ceremony of unrestrained penitence would have served their turn, a ceremony at which *Spem* would have formed a suitable climax, ending as it does on what sounds very like a note of assurance of forgiveness. Attendance at such a ceremony will inevitably have been tiny, most likely restricted to the plotters, domestic chaplains, and trusted servants, and we may imagine the chaplains, like the priests of Bethulia and those in Tallis's motet 'In jejunio et fletu', praying with fasting and weeping 'Spare, O Lord, spare thy people, and give not over thine inheritance unto perdition'. That motet, published four years after the Ridolfi debacle in the Tallis-Byrd *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575, would have been an ideal item to include in a ceremony that ended on the more confident note of *Spem*: could it perhaps have been written for that same putative occasion?

1.22 A JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES DRAMA?

Having pointed out *Spem*'s connection with the Book of Judith in his 1970 article (though failing to make the further connection with the Ridolfi Plot) Paul Doe made the fascinating suggestion that the motet may have formed the conclusion of a Judith and Holfernes drama, of which at least three survive from the period. A minimal set would have been needed, the only essentials being seating and a table, which could be carried on and off as required, plus a tent at the rear of the stage that could be closed so that the decapitation could be done out of sight of the audience.

Having made the suggestion, however, Doe's dramatic sense rather failed him, since he envisaged *Spem* being sung by the Assyrian host, who in the biblical account took to their heels when their general's headless body was discovered. Nor would the Responsory text ever have rung convincingly on Assyrian lips, since it reflects a peculiarly Jewish concept of a punishing yet forgiving God, and

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[53] The Responsories that accompany the Matins readings barely celebrate Judith's triumph, concentrating instead on themes of sin and repentance. The same concentration on sin is to be found a little later in the post-Trent Roman breviary, in which the Responsory 'Spem in alium' is appointed only once in the course of the Matins readings from Judith, while the deeply penitential 'Tribulationes civitatem' occurs repeatedly. Perhaps the Matins readings each autumn from such Old Testament books as Job and Judith were in some sense a preparation for the penitential fast of Advent.

[54] Ambiguously rendered as 'Thou shalt not kill' in most of the older English translations, what Moses received of God on Mount Sinai was the uncompromising 'Thou thalt do no murder' (which is not to condemn warfare or capital punishment).

derives from the prayers of Judith and her fellow Bethulians. A more likely ending to such a play could have been for Judith to kneel centre-stage, holding the severed head of Holofernes by the hair (as in so many depictions) and uttering the text of 'Spem in alium' as a prayer[55]: which would then be taken up in Tallis's setting by the choirs dispersed around the room, who would represent the besieged townspeople whom her heroic action had delivered.

Concluding such a drama with a sonorous plea for divine mercy would, of course, reverse the biblical story line, which ends with Judith singing a canticle[56] of pure rejoicing, in the tradition of the canticles of Moses, Miriam, Hannah, Habakkuk, Zachariah, the Virgin Mary and Simeon. But this would surely have been an allowable exercise of dramatic licence in the circumstances. A song of triumph would have been premature, to say the least, but a ringing affirmation of confidence that God would look mercifully upon their wretchedness and forgive their intended sin would leave the assembled plotters, clerics and household hangers-on with the most stirring incentive to carry out their regicidal intentions.

1.23 A MUSICAL HINT AS TO THE LAY-OUT OF FORCES

Whether or not the motet was created to accompany a drama, there is within it a hint as to the possible lay-out of forces that Tallis envisaged. As described above, the long chain of fugal entries that begins in Choir IV on the last beat of bar 44 initially carries the text 'qui irasceris et propitius eris' ('who wilt be angry but [yet] wilt be gracious' - i.e. wilt forgive), but at the exact mid-point of the 40 parts, where the entries pass from Choir III to Choir II, 'qui irascaris' is dropped, and 'et propitius eris' is thereafter sung to the same musical point. Overlooked by previous editors (because of their reliance on the Royal Music MS) this seemingly unmotivated change of tack must have had some profound symbolic significance – why, otherwise, should Tallis do something so extraordinary? It suggests to me a lay-out or forces quite different from the wide semicircle that has become customary: something closer to the one that I suggest below, with Choir IV at the rear of the room, Choirs III and II divided between the two sides, and Choir I at the front. If the motet did indeed conclude a Judith and Holofernes drama, the Choir I musicians could effectively have been placed behind and above the stage: or they might even have been hidden from sight till they assembled on stage as Judith knelt in prayer.

In view of the change of text as the chain of entries moves from Choir III to Choir II, was there perhaps something at the dead centre of the room signifying divine forgiveness for the intending regicides? A Crucifix? A statue? A religious

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[55] The choir would sing in Latin, obviously, but whether Judith would recite 'Spem in alium' in Latin or in English translation would depend on the language of the drama.

[56] I seem to remember that Judith's canticle is – or was - included just once in the Catholic Office, but may be mistaken.

painting? An altar set with relics? A copy of 'Regnans in excelsis' even? Or may the plotters themselves have been seated on a central daïs, so that the sung text lost its condemnatory opening words ('qui irasceris') at the very moment that the chain of entries passed over their heads? Whatever the case, the effect would have been the more striking if each ten-part choir had its own distinctive instrumental colouring.

I see one other piece of possible symbolism associated with this chain of entries: not the result of decades-long poring over the score, but something that struck my ear forcibly many years ago when I first heard the famous Willcox recording. Part 31, the first to enter with 'qui irasceris' at bar 44, seems to me to have been given a quasi-dramatic rôle. Lyrical, pleading, and clearly designed to stand out from the steady progression of entries, this leading part (surely vocal) continues to repeat 'et propitius eris' in broken phrases of melting beauty long after the remainder of Choir IV has fallen silent[57], as though the singer were urging the Creator to renounce Old-Testament-style wrath giving way to forgiveness, and adopt the more Christian notion of unconditional forgiveness of acknowledged sin[58]. Can it be coincidence that part 31 ceases its pleading at the exact moment at which that change is symbolically enacted, as 'qui irasceris' is omitted from the first Choir II entry, on the final beat of bar 56?

If Tallis envisaged the kind of lay-out of forces that I suggest below, then this lone voice will have continued proclaiming God's mercy from the rear of the room, behind the listeners. If seated centrally, they would have been aware that it fell silent at the very moment that the chain of fugal entries passed over them. It's a Romantic notion, certainly, but who are we to deny such an imaginative stroke to a great composer at the height of his powers? And why else should part 31 feature in this extraordinary way?

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[57] Thus in my edition. The English underlay of the Egerton score does not unambiguously require repetition of 'et propitius eris', but the scribe is always very free in his underlay where a voice continues freely after the entry of a point, more concerned to produce a singable part than to religiously substitute English for Latin. (As I point out in 2.2 RESTORING THE LATIN UNDERLAY, below, the rule-of-thumb substitution system tended to break down in precisely such cases, where Tallis repeats *part* of a Latin phrase that cannot be imitated in the English, leaving the Egerton scribe to cope the best he could.)

[58] The concept is often explicit in the Old Testament, as in Jeremiah III vv 11, 12: 'And the Lord said unto me,.....Go and proclaim these words towards the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord, and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you: for I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not keep anger for ever.'

A question inevitably presents itself: will Tallis have revealed the hidden meaning of such arcane features in advance to the Arundel, Norfolk and Lumley, all of them highly musical and capable of observing the effect at rehearsal? Or were they known only to him and his Maker? The same question is posed by so many concealed features of Renaissance polyphony, and we can rarely be sure of the answer. In this particular case I suspect that the commissioners will have been closely involved in the planning and composition of *Spem*, and will have been well aware of the change of text in bar 56, and its implications.

An obvious objection to my idea of a symbolically divided room is that there is no indication of such a division elsewhere in the motet. The chains of entries at the opening of the motet change from 'spem in alium...' to 'praeter in te...' at the same half-way point where 'qui irasceris et propitius eris' later gives way to 'et proprius eris' alone, between Choirs II and III, and there is nothing in these opening entries to suggest that the 'spem in alium' half of the room (which the plotters will no doubt have faced) somehow represented forgiveness of sin, while the 'praeter in te' half (behind them) represented condemnation. I nevertheless cling to the idea that some such notional division was in Tallis's mind in the passage between bars 44 and 65, since I can find no other explanation for the change of text or for the way part 31 is deployed. Sceptics are most welcome to offer me reasoned alternative explanations for these features, which have no precedent known to me in Renaissance music.

PART II: THE EDITION

2.1 THE SOURCE

This edition of *Spem* is the first to be made directly – and pretty well exclusively - from the earliest surviving source, the British Library's English-texted 'Egerton' manuscript score (BL Egerton MS 3512), which, as I explain above, was made for the creation banquet in the Tudor great hall of Whitehall Palace that followed the crowning of Prince Charles (later King Charles I) as Prince of Wales in 1616, and not for the 1610 banquet for Prince Henry, as has always been asserted.

What has long been the standard edition of the motet began life as the final item in the Tallis volume (VI) of the pioneering Tudor Church Music series of the 1920s, which was taken over for commercial distribution by Oxford University

Press, and was eventually given a light revision by the young Philip Brett[59]. The TCM version was essentially based upon a remarkably cavalier and unsystematic attempt at restoring the Latin by an unknown 18th-century musical antiquarian (BL Royal Music MS 4 g.1). This ill-advised choice complied with the letter – but hardly the spirit - of the general editorial principal of the series, that the earliest MS source with the Latin text underlaid to the music should be selected as 'copy text'. Aware (I imagine) of the shortcomings of their primary source, the editors diligently compared it with three English-texted manuscripts, all of which (like the Royal Music MS) derived from the Egerton score. By far the most useful of these, they averred, was the 'Gresham' MS, an early-17th-century set of master parts[60] that are now in the Guildhall Library, London (G. Mus. 420) and will have been copied from the now-lost performing parts of 1616 with a view to their use at an anticipated creation banquet that never in the event occurred, of the later Charles II. The Gresham parts differ from the Egerton score in the addition of *ficta* sharps here and there, which may or may not derive from the 1616 performance. I have taken no account of them, assuming that they are an attempted updating by the Gresham scribe. As the TCM editors acknowledged, the Gresham parts had previously formed the principal basis of the first scholarly edition of Tallis's motet to be published, by A H Mann in 1888. (A more recent published edition by Philip Legge appears to me – admittedly from a cursory inspection – also to have taken the Royal Music and Gresham manuscripts as primary sources.)

The great disadvantage of making the Royal Music MS the basis of an edition is the random nature of so many of its note-lengths and so much of its text underlay, while the Gresham MS has the quite different disadvantage that it is (so to speak) too perfect. Only in the Egerton MS can we see the scribe struggling with the daunting task of substituting the new English verse text for the Latin prose in the Nonsuch score that he had before him. Scrappy as it is, and replete with errors, miscalculations, omissions and occasional indecipherable muddles, a close and logical perusal of the Egerton score is, I would claim, the only way to get as close as may be to what Tallis wrote.

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[59] Later a distinguished Renaissance scholar and editor of Tudor music, Dr Brett himself told me that he received the commission in his final year as a Cambridge doctoral student in 1965, when he was in no position to negotiate more than the five weeks that he was allocated to (from memory) 'have a look at the Egerton score to see if anything needs to be put right in the published edition'. The revision was in preparation for a public concert in Cambridge and the associated Argo recording, by the choirs of King's College and the Cambridge University Musical Society, directed by David Willcox. Brett sensibly confined his revisions to adding his own (rather generous) *ficta*, providing a new Preface, reversing a pair of bass lines that are inadvertently swapped in the Egerton score, and making such other necessary corrections and amendments as he was able to spot in the time available.

[60] Now badly decayed and desperately difficult to read, these cannot have been intended for performers, since a good number of the sheets have one part on the *recto* and another on the *verso*. Brett's Preface to the revised OUP edition claims that the Gresham parts were the TCM 'copy text', an understandable misreading of the convoluted explanation of editorial procedure in the original Preface.

2.2 RESTORING THE LATIN UNDERLAY

The substituted text of 1616, 'Sing and glorify'

The key to recovery is the English verse text of the Egerton score. With admirable skill, the unknown poet produced a coherent celebratory text that would allow the scribe to make an automatic, rule-of-thumb substitution of English for Latin. (It is hardly deathless poetry, but that is not to be expected of a substitute text.)

The Latin and English texts in parallel

The spelling and punctuation of the English as set out below is modernised. Underlining indicates the places where the English stresses fail to match those of the Latin. In Gothic script (purely to distinguish them) are the acclamations of Prince Henry which were added at a late stage, very likely after the Egerton score had been completed. As I explain above, they are in a different hand and in a different ink from the remainder of the text, and are entered above the 'Charles' acclamations, in many cases intruding into the musical stave above. (Something of this can be seen in Appendix VI.)

Spem in alium nunquam habui
Sing and glorify heaven's high majesty,

praeter in te, Deus Israel
Author of this blessed harmony;

qui irasceris
Sound divine praises

et propitius eris,
With melodious graces.

et omnia peccata hominum
This is the day, holy day, happy day,

in tribulationem
For ever give it greeting,

dimittis. Domine Deus,
Love and joy, heart and voice meeting:

Creator caeli et terrae,
Live Henry
Long live Charles, princely and mighty,

respice humilitatem nostram.*
Henry+ live
Charles live long, in thy Creation happy.

[* This is the defective conclusion of the Latin text from which the poet worked, the word 'ad' having been accidentally omitted from the version given to him.] [+ This has been widely transcribed as 'Harry' by commentators and editors, but it seems to me unambiguously to read 'Henry'.]

To provide a mellifluous, meaningful English text that matched the Latin accentuation syllable for syllable would have been beyond mortal capability. But, as can be seen, stressed syllables do coincide much of the time, and in places where the English stress is at variance with the Latin (they are underlined above) it is always possible to fit it reasonably convincingly to the music in performance, either by giving the text a calculated ambiguity of stress (not 'This *is* the day, ho*ly* day, *ha*ppy day', as the Latin would be stressed, but something more like '*This is* the day, *ho*ly day, *hap*py day'): or else by adjusting the implied stress of the music - the kind of 'skating over' technique to which skilled singers would automatically resort when faced with awkwardly stressed settings, as would experienced instrumentalists playing from texted parts.

For the substitution to work there were three essentials:

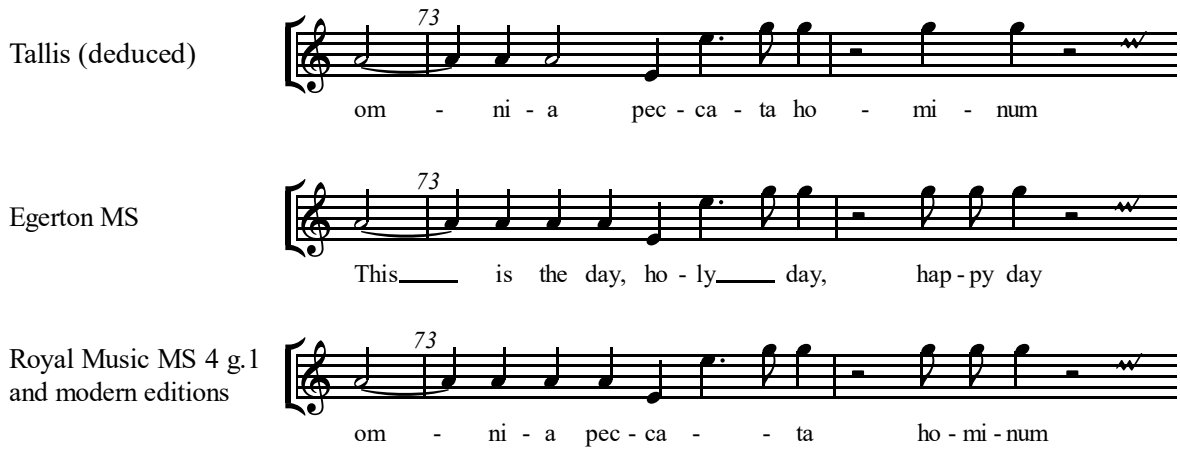
- each line of English verse had to have the same syllable-count as the Latin it replaced;
- no English word could ever replace two or more words of Latin;
- the English accentuation had to match that of the Latin as closely as possible.

All this is achieved: not perfectly, but well enough for the English-texted performance of 1616 to have made its intended effect. The first and second requirements are strictly observed by the poet, though a little jiggery-pokery is involved in lines 6 – 7, where he ignores the natural end-of-sentence break in the Latin in order to achieve his 'greeting/meeting' rhyme. (But the poet was clearly a musician and had looked closely at the music, since his English 'love and joy' sounds almost as effective in performance as the Latin 'dimittis', despite the conflict of accentuation – singers and players would know how to smooth over the potential awkwardness of 'and' occurring on a strong beat.) Given that the third requirement was a virtual impossibility, the much-maligned substitute text is an admirable achievement.

2.3 THE RESTORATION PROCESS

In theory, the modern editor has merely to reverse the scribe's process of automatic substitution to recapture Tallis's Latin underlay: and that is the basis on which the present edition has been contrived. But in practice the poet's well-laid scheme ganged awkwardly awry in places, leaving both the scribe and the modern editor with perplexing problems. For one thing, the substitution trick did not take account of the many places where Tallis repeats *part* of a Latin phrase when a matching truncation of the English equivalent is impossible. Nor could the English be easily accommodated to places where a melisma on a particular syllable is punctuated by a break: perfectly natural in the Latin, this called for some fancy footwork from the scribe to produce a convincing English-texted version.

A single example will demonstrate both these problems, as well as the absurdity that can result from blindly following the Royal Music MS without appreciating the problems the Egerton scribe had faced and the freedom with which he had adapted Tallis's rhythms and underlay. Between the two of them, the 1616 scribe and 18th-century Royal Music editor made a sad nonsense of part 11 bars 73-4. The scribe was faced with the problem that an automatic English-for-Latin substitution of 'omnia peccata hominum' (a partial repetition, lacking the initial 'et') would begin, unacceptably, 'is the day'. He therefore replaced Tallis's minim in bar 73 with two crotchets, which had the knock-on effect of producing a badly mis-stressed 'holy day'. He made things worse by baulking at the notion of 'hap-py' punctuated by the minim rest which automatic substitution would produce. Instead, he set the words 'happy day' to a barely-singable quaver-quaver-crotchet on top G. Modern editors have chosen to follow the Royal Music score, thus perpetuating a most inelegant and un-Tallis-like setting of 'peccata' and a top-G 'hominum' that has been the bane of generations of part 11 sopranos:



Three major lapses by the Egerton scribe have passed unnoticed by editors. I present them in ascending order of significance.

'Domine Deus'

As work on the Egerton score progressed, the scribe was manifestly working ever more frantically against time, and as he progresses he makes increasing numbers of errors, only some of which he corrects. In the antiphonal section beginning 'Domine Deus' (bars 87ff) a mis-substitution of an English phrase, unthinkingly followed by the Royal Music editor as he restored the Latin, and by modern editors who have followed his restoration, has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring the absolute regularity of the calling-and-answering soprano (G2) and tenor (C3) leading voices throughout this lengthy section. This tiny lapse (like the flap of a distant butterfly's wing so beloved of exponents of chaos theory) has prevented many a conductor from recognising the consistency of the pattern, so that the audible alternation of the leading voices has tended to peter out at some stage in performance, destroying the crystalline clarity of Tallis's scheme. (See Appendix X for the complete antiphonal sequence.)

'Qui irasceris'

There is a more serious confusion in the Egerton score in the long 'ascending' chain of entries that begins on the last beat of bar 44. As the scribe began to underlay the English substitute text (having first, as always, entered the music) he was evidently operating on auto-pilot, and it was some little time before he noticed the surprising (and surely unexampled) fact that as soon as the chain of entries had moved from Choir III to Choir II on the last beat of bar 56 'qui irasceris' was dropped, and all subsequent entries (though always beginning with the identical musical point) were underlaid with 'et propitius eris' alone. Having realised his error, the scribe back-tracked, crossing out and correcting most (not quite all) of the mis-texted entries[61].

Some symbolic significance must lie behind the change, which I discuss above. The Royal Music editor would seem to have taken the crossings-out and corrections as just another scribal muddle, and underlaid the full Latin 'qui irasceris et propitius eris' to every entry except the very last. This has been perpetuated in the TCM/OUP edition and in the recent one by Philip Legge.

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[61] I have racked my brains in an attempt to deduce from the scribe's confusion in this section whether he was working from (a) a Nonsuch score with the parts laid out in numerical order; (b) a 'stacked' Nonsuch score with the parts laid out by clef; (c) the performing parts made from the Nonsuch score in 1610. I have failed, but perhaps some more logically gifted commentator will care to tackle the problem.

The 'respice' sections

The most egregious error in the Egerton and Royal Music scores has again been unthinkingly followed by modern editors, thereby sadly weakening the two climactic 'respice' sections of the motet. The Egerton scribe was not at fault here. Whoever provided the Latin Responsory text for the poet accidentally omitted the first word of the concluding phrase, 'ad humilitatem nostram'[62]. (We know this must have been the case, since the faulty Latin text, without the word 'ad', is set out at the foot of many of the pages in the Egerton score and in some of the Gresham parts.) By a singularly unlucky chance the phrase makes acceptable grammatical sense without the 'ad', and the poet, being unlikely to have known the long-obsolete liturgical text, failed to detect the omission. The Egerton scribe accordingly found himself faced with entering a final English phrase that was one syllable too short for the music, seven English syllables having to be substituted for the eight of the Latin: 'in thy creation happy' for 'ad humilitatem nostram'.

This mismatch set the poor man a real poser. Finding himself unable to make his rule-of-thumb substitutions, or to figure out why the substitution system had abruptly ceased to work, he was forced to jump through a variety of hoops in his efforts to produce an acceptable English-texted version. It is our good fortune that his *modus operandi* means that in the great majority of cases we can reliably deduce exactly what he had in front of him in the Latin-texted Nonsuch score.

Having entered the music[63], he backtracked to underlay the final line of the English verse text, adopting various stratagems to accommodate the syllabic shortfall. Often he took the line of least resistance, leaving the music unchanged but opening up the three-syllable 'creation' to form a four-syllable 'cre-a-ti-on'. This was never intended by the poet[64], and results in ugly, sometimes quite vile, mis-stressings of the English verse, which the 1616 singers will no doubt have been able to smooth over in performance to an extent. But these entries underlaid with four-syllable 'cre-a-ti-on' are a gift to the editor, confirming beyond all reasonable doubt that what Tallis set was the complete and correct liturgical text, 'ad humilitatem nostram'.

Another scribal stratagem was to tie two notes together, which again leaves apparent what Tallis will have written. Elsewhere the scribe simply doubles a

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62 All breviaries, antiphonals etc., Roman as well as Sarum, have the initial 'ad', as do settings by such as Palestrina and Clemens.

63 It is of no significance whether he entered the music of both 'respice' sections before returning to add the text or whether he dealt with each section in turn: in either case he will have encountered the same problem.

64 '-tion' endings were often sung as four syllables in Tallis's time, but only where the '-ti-' fell upon an unstressed note, or notes.

note-length and scrubs out the note following: here, again, Tallis's original note-lengths are usually plain to see.

Substitution became particularly problematic in the second 'respice' section (from bar 122). Using the stratagems noted above, the scribe had coped fairly ably with the regular fugal entries of the first section, but now, faced with the calculated irregularity of the entries in the second (in which two or more entries often coincide, and where there is endless variety in the musical points) he began to resort to whatever expedients occurred to him to accommodate the music to the one-syllable-short 'in thy creation happy'. Potentially puzzling to the editor are certain entries – not that many – where music and defective text are a perfect fit and yet there is no opening-up of 'creation' and no tied note or scrubbing-out. These occasional entries may have encouraged editors to believe that Tallis really did set the defective liturgical text, without the word 'ad'. What in fact seems to be the case is that the scribe eventually began to anticipate the problem as he entered the music of entry after entry, and solved it (in these infrequent cases) by adjusting note-lengths at the preliminary stage of entering the music.

Performance of the present edition has demonstrated that restoration of the missing 'ad' produces a much more thorough going (and musically satisfactory) transformation of the two 'respice' sections than might ever have been anticipated.

The final 'respice' section has a technical function, firmly reasserting the G major tonality of the motet which has been dramatically contradicted by the great Gabrielian chord of A major at the beginning of the first. And (as noted above) this second 'respice' section includes a cunning reworking of the motet's first tutti: 'praeter in te' at bars 40ff. (See Appendix IX for the correspondence of entries). Tallis is at pains to conceal the reworking from any but the most analytical of ears - or eyes, for that matter - and there may well be another piece of hidden symbolism here that awaits elucidation.

2.4 FOUR TEN-PART CHOIRS

The present edition is the first to reproduce Tallis's division of his 40 parts into four ten-part choirs. Each choir is, certainly, subdivided into two five-part groups which are occasionally treated as coherent units (e.g. in the bulk of the initial 'spem in alium' entries), but the essential grouping throughout the motet is unambiguously into ten-part choirs[65]. This can clearly be seen in the antiphonal exchanges beginning at bar 87, and it is apparent again in three of the great chains

[65] See 1.7 TALLIS IN ITALY? (above) for Stefano Rossetto's 50-part motet *Consolamini, consolamini*, whuch is also scored for four sub-divided choirs.

of fugal entries: 'spem in alium', bars 1ff; 'qui irasceris', bars 44ff; and the 'ad humilitatem nostram' entries of the first of the two concluding 'respice' sections, bars 100ff. In these three chains an unvarying procedure obtains as the points make their way from choir to choir: as soon as there is an entry in a new 10-part choir all entries in the previous choir cease and succeeding entries are in the new choir[66]. So rigorously is this rule observed that Tallis must have envisaged a not inconsiderable distance between the choirs.

The above does not preclude spatial division of some of the choir into its two five-part sub-choirs: see the suggestion for DISPOSITION OF FORCES, 2.9 below.

2.5 CLEFS AND PITCH

Each 5-part sub-choir has the same combination of clefs: G2, C2, C3, C4, and F4, a favourite English configuration that allows a rich, close-packed spread of voices but carries no implication of transposition. The overall range is of three octaves. Since *Spem* is in no sense church music, it would be rash to assume that Tallis envisaged normal Elizabethan church pitch, which would be rather less than a semitone above A440. It may be (as I argue above) that the motet was designed for performance by recusant Catholic forces, many of them no doubt from the continent, who were housed in the Arundel family's country seat of Nonsuch Palace. We can only guess at the likely pitch-standard that obtained there. Tallis will have notated his motet in G in imitation of his Striggian model(s), but that does not necessarily imply that he was thinking in terms of the prevailing Florentine pitch standard of the time (which approximated to our modern A440). It is not inconceivable that the first performance was a tone or so below A440, which would certainly have made life easier for singers coping with the many sustained notated high Gs, not least in the final bars.

2.6 FICTA

Editorial ficta (usually sharps) are placed above the notes in the usual manner: not because they are optional but to distinguish them from the few accidentals that are notated in the Egerton score. These are placed before the notes. Accidentals in brackets before notes are cautionary.

My original edition, commissioned by the Taverner Choir for their 1986 recording of Tallis's complete Latin church music, was more liberal with editorial sharps than the revision commissioned by I Fagiolini for inclusion in their 2010 recording based around Striggio's 40-part mass. I have over the years become

66 The 'praeter in te' chain of entries, bars 23ff, is *sui generis*, and does not adhere to the same pattern.

ever more doubtful as to how many unnotated sharpenings ('ficta') Tallis will have expected, at one point even toying with the idea that no sharps at all should be added to the handful preserved in the Egerton score. As I explain in the Preface to the on-line edition, we have decided, in the interest of musical choice, to make both versions equally available, designated VERSION A and VERSION B, the differences in text underlay adding to the differing 'feel' of the two. (My underlay in the Fagiolini version is freer, less scholastic, than in the Taverner version, the greater amount of textual repetition intended to be more comfortable for the singers.)

A H Mann was generous with editorial ficta in his pioneering published edition of *Spem* of 1888, sharpening what he took to be leadings notes as freely as he would have done (according to the taste of the time) in Palestrina. Subsequent editors have been more circumspect, but I believe that they have still over-egged the pudding.

The Preface to the present edition defends our provision of the two versions, arguing that even in the 15th and 16th centuries there was a huge range of opinion as to how much ficta should be added by performers. It nevertheless seems right that I should summarise the thinking behind VERSION B.

Between 1986 and 2011 I found myself increasingly impelled to row back from even the fairly modest amount of sharpening in the 'Taverners' version, eventually becoming convinced that in this gargantuan work, unique in so many ways, Tallis was expecting much less cadential sharpening than was the norm by the 1570s: that he was, in fact, deliberately reverting to the kind of minimal sharpening of 'leading notes' (mainly at really major structural cadence points) that was a distinctive feature of English sacred polyphony of the Eton Choir Book period and a little later, when composers departed from the pan-European practice that had previously prevailed, espousing instead a deliberately 'regressive' approach to musica ficta that seems to have been inspired by a renewed reverence for the ancient plainchant[67].

In *Spem*, such minimal sharpening greatly reduces the frequency of clashing sharp and natural 'leading notes' at seeming cadence points, and the more powerful, by contrast, is the motet's climactic cadence in bar 130, where there are enough conflicting F sharps and F naturals to satisfy the most clash-addicted of choral scholars - though with authentic 16th-century tuning even this cosmic clash will be much less acute than it would be with equal temperament.

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[67] See: Roger Bray, The Interpretation of Musica Ficta in English Music c.1490-c.1580, Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association Vol 97 (1970) pp 29-45. Alongside this seemingly retrogressive characteristic was another insular feature, a slowness to adopt pervasive imitation as a structural device as it had developed in 15th-century Europe. The beginnings of change can be seen in some of the more 'advanced' of the Eton Choir Book composers, notably John Brown, but real and rapid change only set in as composers began to assimilate established Netherlandish practice in the reign of Henry VIII.

But the paucity of major-minor clashes is a relatively minor result of the minimal sharpening. More important is the harmonic idiom that is produced, which to modern ears often verges on the 'modal'[68]. Crucially, the alliance of late-16th-century florid counterpoint with early-16th-century 'neo-modalism' allowed Tallis enormous (virtually unprecedented) freedom in his part writing, and imparted a particular harmonic flavour to the work that we find nowhere else in his output. We might see non-musical parallels in the Romantic neo-medieval accoutrements of the Tudor tilt yards, and (later) in medievalising stage sets by Inigo Jones: and, for that matter, in the little neo-medieval conceit of the Nonsuch banqueting house. Perhaps in his great masterwork, the summation of a lifetime's composing experience, Tallis was looking back to the kind of harmonic idiom that still (just) obtained in his early youth, bringing it to a fresh flowering by wedding it to more modern procedures that were unknown in the England of Henry VIII: regular chains of fugal entries; polychoral exchanges; a carefully balanced formal plan; lucid harmonic progressions; leading voices[69].

If I am correct in my suspicion of a Ridolfi Plot connection, then it is even conceivable that Tallis's revivalism had a political slant, too, his freshly forged harmonic language deliberately evoking (though transforming) the plainchant-influenced idiom of the age immediately prior to the Reformation, when England clung to the type of unsullied high-medieval Catholicism that the plotters sought to re-establish with the assassination of Elizabeth and her replacement by the Catholic Mary Stuart.

2.7 THE THOROUGH BASS

Commentators have questioned whether the Egerton thorough bass[70] could be by Tallis, suggesting that it may have been added for the 1610 performance (which they assumed to have been with the substituted English text that was in fact devised for the 1616 performance). The unfigured thorough bass in the Egerton MS does contain one minor error (retained in previous modern editions), but

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[68] There have been many reviews of the I Fagiolini recording and public performances of VERSION B, some by respected and well-informed critics, but in none, to my knowledge, has the matter of minimal sharpening been so much as mentioned - which suggests that at the very least this approach to ficta 'sounds right'. I have a vivid memory of the first performance of *Spem* that I ever heard, by the vibrato-laden voices of the BBC Chorus and BBC Choral Society in the notoriously dead acoustic of the Royal Festival Hall in its early days. I had the unsettling impression that something was wrong with the conclusion of the motet, that it seemed to end on the unresolved dominant of a perfect cadence that never materialised: perhaps a result of the degree of sharpening that tended to be applied c.1960.

[69] In the article cited in footnote 44, John Milsom suggests that certain features of William Munday's motet *Vox Patris caelestis* may similarly have been deliberately backward-looking. Composed, he argues, for the newly acceded Mary Tudor's triumphant entry into London, it evoked the manner of the pre-Reformation votive antiphon as a symbol of the anticipated restoration of Catholic observance after the Protestant changes under Henry VIII and Edward VI.

[70] It is designated Organ Bass in the Egerton MS, but this is more likely to reflect performance at the creation banquets rather than derive from any indication in the Nonsuch score.

that may merely imply that Tallis delegated it to an assistant, not that he envisaged performance without continuo. Striggio's motet and mass also have unfigured continuo basses, which may represent the early notation of what continuo players had previously either improvised or notated for themselves: especially in the amply instrumented larger scale intermedio movements, in the tradition of which Striggio's motet is to a considerable extent conceived[71]. We may surely assume that Striggio's continuo bass was one of the many features of his motet and mass that Tallis absorbed and imitated.

Choir indications

I have not reproduced the Egerton bass verbatim, preferring a more practically useful format that indicates which of the four choirs is singing at a given time and gives its bass line precisely. In performances with a single organ continuo the player should have little difficulty in adapting the bass of this edition - playing bass octaves where appropriate, alliding consecutive notes of the same pitch, etc.

Continuo instruments

Ideally, there should be at least one continuo instrument for each of the four choirs – one for each of the six groups if the layout I suggest below is adopted, with Choirs II and III divided between the two sides of the room. Lutes, renaissance harps, regals and harpsichords/virginals/spinets are as viable as chamber organs, and their differing timbres can help underline such things as the movement from choir to choir of the long chains of fugal entries, besides emphasising the spatial aspect in general. (The unaided human ear is not good at distinguishing the direction from which sounds come, especially in a generous acoustic. Seeing where choirs are placed can help enormously, as can variation in the pervading instrumental - and continuo - timbre of each choir.)

Figuring

Experienced continuo players usually prefer to determine harmonies for themselves, but I have figured the bass quite amply, for several reasons. One, the figuring necessarily differs between VERSIONS A and B of the present edition, with their greater and lesser amount of editorial ficta. Two, the figuring

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[71] It is no coincidence that the two final movements of the 1589 Florentine Intermedi for *La pellegrina* were later re-texted (the final movement minus its jazzy trio sections) and performed at the receptions of distinguished guests in the duomo, just as Striggio's 40-part motet had been in 1561 – perhaps with the performers on the same four great cloud machines which at least one art historian has suggested may have been permanent installations in the eastern bay of the nave in the 16th century.

will pre-empt the automatic playing of remembered ficta sharpening that players may 'know' from other editions of *Spem* that does not here apply. Three, there are passages (such as the 'qui irasceris' sequence) in which Tallis's harmonies are uniquely complex for the period, so that the rules of thumb that normally guide continuo players cannot safely be applied: where, for example, the bass line moves for a single minim beat onto what a player would naturally assume to be the root of a triad but is in fact an 'illogical' first inversion – a device which Tallis uses a great deal to avoid parallel fifths or octaves, and which contributes considerably to the unique sound-world of the motet.

This free use of first inversions can often sound disconcertingly like the expressive first inversions that composers greatly favoured from around 1600. Another forward-looking feature is Tallis's bold approach to dissonance where (for example) a leading part – sometimes two leading parts – will hold suspended note(s) against their resolution(s) – which can often be in a number of the other parts. The most capable continuo players may find editorial guidance helpful in such places: which is not to suggest that what I give is invariably the best solution or that it should be unthinkingly followed.

Andrew Parrott points out that the continuo in a polychoral work like *Spem* is not particularly meant to be heard by the audience. Essentially, each continuo player or group is to be heard by the adjacent performers, helping to maintain tuning and cohesion. For this reason players may prefer to ignore my figuring in particularly dissonant passages, instead playing minimally where there are complex chords, often just the root and third. They may also choose to ignore 4 3 figuring except where the suspension occurs in their own choir or sub-choir. Where the figuring emphatically does apply to all continuo players is, obviously, where accidentals emanate from Tallis, and are to be found in the Egerton score.

If all this seems dauntingly complex, it is worth remembering that the harmonic idiom of *Spem* is so unique as to require unique treatment by the continuo players. If there is a general rule for them in this *sui generis* masterwork, it is Remain Discreet: the function of the continuo is to provide unobtrusive support.

2.8 LEADING VOICES

Another novel feature of the edition is the editorial indication of leading voices by the unobtrusive indication ┌ on the top line of the stave where the lead begins. The use of leading voices (which, crudely, 'carry the tune') is a major – almost a defining - feature of *Spem*, and of a great deal of mature continental polychorality, especially of the Venetian school. As the leading-voice technique became common, the resulting music was more easily appreciated by the less sophisticated, who could 'follow the tunes': much simpler than keeping your

bearings amid a web of 'democratic' polyphony. It also enabled the exploitation rhetorical processes to which classic polyphony had rarely aspired: statement-and-response alternation; progressive addition of choir to choir; dramatic tutti interjections.

Most continental multi-choir works of around the time of *Spem* either made no use of leading voices (Padovano's 24-part mass; Palestrina's triple-choir 'O gloriosa domina'; and much else) or confined the leads to soprano parts (Striggio's motet and mass; Palestrina's Stabat Mater). Tallis may actually have anticipated the mature polychoral manner of (most notably) the Gabrielis in his alternating soprano (G2) and tenor (C3) leads throughout the 'Domine Deus' section of *Spem*. Tenor leading voices were indeed beginning to creep into use, initially in the double-choir expanded arrangements of 6-part motets: but whereas the tenor leads in these reworkings almost invariably feature as the highest voice of the second choir, Tallis's tenor leads – like the inner-voice leads of the Gabrielis – are embedded deep within an expansive choral texture.

The leading phrases are clearly meant to be heard - to stand out – in performance, however that is to be achieved. 'Bringing them out' (ensuring that they are heard, rather) is particularly challenging in the C3 leads of the 'Domine Deus' section. A performance in which the soprano and tenor leads do *not* dominate is woefully emasculated, but artificial means of bringing them out are self-defeatingly at variance with historical convention: close miking, for example, or 'orchestrated' instrumental doubling. Long experience of observing attempts to solve the problem in performance (rarely entirely successful) have led me to propose a radical scoring of the motet which is spelled out below, one that should allow all the leads to sound fairly effortlessly through even the densest of surrounding polyphony.

2.9 DISPOSITION OF FORCES

Tallis's envisaged placing of the choirs is by no means obvious. Most modern performances place the musicians in a large semi-circle, which is effective enough but unlikely to be the original plan. There may be a clue to Tallis's scheme in certain features of the motet, which I associate with the putative self-dedication ceremony of the Ridolfi plotters.

Choir IV, for example, is sometimes slightly short-changed in such matters as successions of fugal entries. In the 'praeter in te' section, the anticipated entry of part 40 is delayed, though this is a rhetorical device rather than a reflection of any special status of Choir IV. But in the chain of 'qui irasceris' entries that begin in part 31 on the last beat of bar 44, the point passes through Choirs IV and III to Choir II, with two voices in Choir IV having no entries: parts 32 and 33. Nor

does choir IV participate in the chain of 'ad humilitatem nostram' entries that begin on the final beat of bar 109. I take these to be indications that Choir IV may have been seen by Tallis as in some sense different, a touch inferior to the other three in some sense, perhaps simply because it was to be placed *behind* the listeners. It might effectively be distinguished in performance by an instrumentation that includes trombones and curtals.

Choir I also displays an individual character from time to time which we might think of as 'ethereal': see the passages from bar 65 ('et omnia peccata hominum') and bar 117 ('ad humilitatem nostram'), both of which – with fine rhetorical calculation – precede niagaras of sound from full forces. Choir I might therefore originally have been distinguished by a particular timbre (recorder-dominated, perhaps?) and/or have stood in a higher place than the other choirs (above and behind the stage, for instance, if *Spem* concluded a Judith and Holofernes drama).

The suggested layout of forces below reflects these individual characters of choirs I and IV (which is emphasised by appropriate scoring) and allows the antiphonal exchanges of the great central 'Domine Deus' section (bars 87ff)[72] to make their maximal effect. Unless the modern concert room is surrounded by a suitable balcony, the performers should ideally be placed on raised platforms, as was the invariable 16th-century custom where there were no projecting balconies. Choirs II and III are split into facing five-part sub-choirs – the kind of division that I suspect also obtained at the presumed first performance of Striggio's 40-part mass at Francesco de Medici's wedding in 1565, when his five 8-part choirs would most naturally have surrounding the Medici wedding guests within Brunelleschi's spacious octagonal wooden quire that stood beneath his dome[73].

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[72] Almost uniquely, these antiphonal exchanges are deliberately random, resisting rational analysis. In multi-choir works by Andrea Gabrieli, for instance, one can see in the repeated patterns of polychoral exchange the likely dispositions of the choirs in galleries, on *palchi*, etc.: but in these antiphonal exchanges Tallis's intention is clearly to elicit a pleasurable confusion in his listeners, with no 'rational' pattern to be discerned. They are without parallel, too, in their regular pattern of Question (G2 leading voice, 7- or 8-part choir without bass) and Answer (C3 leading voice, full 10-part choir). Tallis must, I think, have devised this unprecedented scheme himself, perhaps extrapolating from verbal descriptions of still-developing continental practice.

[73] My assumption is that all the performers (possibly in costume) would have been placed outside the octagonal quire, with Striggio's Choirs II, III, IV and V divided between the northern and southern sides, and only Choirs I and V standing as single units, to the east and west. On the other hand, the one recorded polychoral disposition in the dome area known to me is quite different, with two choirs in the NE and SE organ galleries and the remainder disposed on *palchi* to the east of the quire.

CHOIR 1
(perhaps with recorders)

5 4 3 2 1 6 7 8 9 10

CHOIR IIA
(vv 11-15)

CHOIR IIB
(vv 16-20)

CHOIR IIIA
(vv 21–25)

CHOIR IIIB
(vv 26-30)

CHOIR IV
(perhaps with trombones & curtal)

35 34 33 32 31 36 37 38 39 40

Each of the choirs and sub-choirs would ideally require some kind of continuo.

2.10 SCORING

The perception of *Spem* as a purely vocal work probably dates from the speculations of 18th-century antiquarians. At the original performance, and at the creation banquets of Henry and Charles, the parts will most probably have been assigned to solo voices and instruments in the usual way for multi-part works – as they will have been in Striggio's motet and mass. Entirely vocal performance (with continuo) is nevertheless perfectly valid, but I give below two scoring suggestions with instruments, one a new and radical one, the other the scoring of the I Fagiolini recording.

A scoring with 14 solo voices plus instruments

On purely practical grounds I have come to believe - or, at least, strongly suspect - that Tallis will have intended this kind of scoring, which is very different from

what we might consider the norm. Fourteen of the eight sopranos (G2 clef) and eight tenors (C3 clef) act as leading voices in much of the work, some more often than others. Voices 8 and 13 (both in C3 clef) never lead: hence their designation as instrumental parts. Other voices very occasionally lead, but never prominently. (Obviously, the indication of leading voices in this edition is subjective, to a degree, but for the most part their identity is obvious.)

It is very noticeable that the majority of the bold arpeggio figures in the tutti sections are in C2 parts (in modern terms, alto parts). Can Tallis conceivably have been writing idiosyncratically for instruments here? I believe he was doing just that: that this is another of the many remarkably forward-looking features of *Spem*[74] - so many that one cannot help wondering whether the motet, whatever its immediate genesis, was the result of years of speculation by which Tallis sought to transcend the sometimes irksome constrictions of current compositional practice.

This scoring should solve at a stroke the intractable problem of making the tenor (C3) leading voices 'tell' in the 'Domine Deus' section. Elsewhere, and most notably in the tuttis, leading voices that are routinely lost amid the great tapestries of sound in conventional performances (whether purely vocal or for voices and instruments) should with this scoring make their presence felt as I believe was intended. The large number of instrumental parts recalls the idea that John Milsom has floated, that *Spem* - like other Tallis settings – may originally have been purely instrumental, and only subsequently texted. I cannot agree with that idea, intriguing though it be, but I do wonder whether the 'instrumental' figuration of the alto (C2) parts in the tutti sections may have contributed to Dr Milsom's suggestion. (See APPENDIX XI for examples.)

The scoring pans out thus:

CHOIR I: parts 1, 3, 6: voices*; the remainder: instruments (perhaps mainly recorders, reflecting the 'ethereal' nature that Choir I sometimes assumes).

CHOIR II: parts 11, 16, 18: voices*; the remainder: instruments.

CHOIR III: parts 21, 23, 26, 28: voices*; the remainder: instruments.

CHOIR IV: parts 31, 33, 36, 38: voices*; the remainder instruments (perhaps with a preponderance of trombones).

* Each solo voice would best be doubled by an instrument, which for maximum effect should be placed some little distance away from the singer. (There is a notated precedent for exactly this in the surviving Choirs I and II of the 33-part 7-

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74 Tallis cannot have been imitating established practice, since continental composers of polychoral and multi-voice works did not begin to write idiomatic parts for instruments until well into the 17th century. Like the C3 leading voices in the 'Domine Deus' section, these 'instrumental' alto parts would appear to be Tallis's own invention. If he was not deliberately 'writing for instruments', then his alto singers must have been particularly adept at singing arpeggios – which is an absurd notion.

choir expansion of a Gabrieli Magnificat, C151, that was sung at the vice-imperial court of Graz. The surviving Choirs I and II operate mostly as a unit, the texted solo part in Choir I very often doubled by an instrument in Choir II – and vice versa.)

The I Fagiolini scoring (voices in CAPS):

Choir Plus	G2 clef	C2 clef	C3 clef	C4 clef	F4 clef	
Ia	SOP	t viol	t vl	TEN; b vl	b & gt-b vl	
Ib	SOP; vln	ALT	TEN; vla	BASS	BASS	2 lutes
IIa	Sop; vln	ALT	TEN; vla	BASS	BASS	
IIb	SOP	t vl	TEN; b vl	b vl	gt-b vl	lute, harp, org
IIIa	SOP; cnt	tbn	TEN; tbn	tbn	dulc.	
IIIb	SOP; cnt	ALT	TEN; dulc.	BASS	BASS	
IVa	SOP	tbn	TEN; tbn	tbn	dulc.	
IVb	SOP; cnt	ALT	TEN; tbn	BASS	BASS; dulc.	org

PART III: AN AFTERWORD

[TO FOLLOW]

Hugh Keyte 14:xii:20

APPENDICES (FIGURES) – to follow

I Arundel House: sketch of the great brick building

II Arundel House from Loggan's View of West Central London

III Plan of Arundel House from Ogilby & Morgan's 1677 Map of the City of London

IV Nonsuch Palace: an early view

V Nonsuch Palace: plan of banqueting house foundations and conjectural view

VI Spem in alium: part of the first 'respice' section from the Egerton MS*

VII Spem in alium: cascading figures*

VIII Spem in alium: chains of entries*

IX Spem in alium: 'praeter in te' entries reworked in the second 'respice' section*

X Spem in alium: leading parts of the 'Domine Deus' section*

XI Spem in alium: arpeggiated figures

* An analysis of *Spem in alium* is in progress, and will be posted online when complete.

COVER NOTE FOR APPENDIX 1 (Arundel House, sketch of the Great Brick Building)

This rough sketch depicts the exterior of the Great Brick Building as it will have appeared during Striggio's visit to England in 1567. It will probably have been of dark brick, like the early parts of Hampton Court Palace, which are of about the same date. No trace of any part of Arundel House remains, the very foundations having been destroyed when the site was razed in the later 17th century in preparation for England's first-ever venture into speculative housing. Nor are there any illustrations of the interiors[75]. We can reconstruct the general appearance of the building from several early-17th-century drawings by Netherlandish artists in the employ of the 14th earl, viewed from Arundel land on the south bank of the Thames: together with maps and Wenceslas Hollar's various views of London. But the drawings show only part of the GBB, the detail vague or even invented, while Hollar's 1647 Long View of the City of London from Bankside (taken from the tower of what is now Southwark Cathedral) and Ogilby and Morgan's Map of the City of London of 1676 are both seriously (and most uncharacteristically) inaccurate in their depiction and plan of the GBB. Ogilby's failure to indicate the spacious two-storey bay windows that extended all along both facades of the long gallery, for example, is in sharp contrast to the care with which he shows the shallow buttresses of nearby Middle Temple Hall (see APPENDIX III). The Ogilby map was made from sketches by Hollar, so both inaccuracies may be attributed to him. Presumably there was some difficulty about access. Hollar was for many years resident in the great entrance court on the Strand side of Arundel House, but perhaps the south-western area was closed off during that time (because of dilapidation of the GBB in preparation for its never-carried-out conversion?[76]) and when making his city view the angle of the GBB from the tower of what is now Southwark Cathedral will have been so awkward that he appears to have busked the detail. Useful for accurate recovery of the west façade of the GBB is a painstakingly detailed near-contemporary oil painting (not shown here) of people watching the Great Fire of London from the flat roof of the long gallery.

This was the long gallery in which the young Princess Elizabeth had once done her Latin and Greek exercises of a morning: the upper floor of the long, narrow building that stretched from the main block of Arundel House down to the Thames. Nothing is known of the interior of the ground floor, though the 1590

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[75] The famous pair of oil painings by Daniel Mytens in the National Portrait Gallery showing the 14th earl and his duchess seated before their respective sculpture and painting galleries on the ground and first floors of the GBB, following a supposed root-and-branch early-17th-century recasting of the entire interior of the GBB, are at best capriccios. No such adaptation was made. Instead, a balcony was constructed along the entire west façade of the long gallery, beneath which the earl's more precious ancient statues were housed – others were no doubt in the lower banquetting house, and many less precious specimens were distributed around the west garden.

[76] From the 1590 survey of Arundel House: 'The great bryck house and galleryes: the decayes thereof, for plummers, playsterers, tyler and carpenter, will cost for tyle and stuff and workmanship xxx *li* [pounds].' (The 'Great Brick House (or Building') usually referred to the entire structure, both galleries and banqueting houses.)

survey of Arundel House does refer to 'galleryes'. The gallery block culminated in what must have been a pair of identical riverside banqueting houses, one above the other[77]. The west façade shown here is conjectural, the original having been replaced by a domestic-looking entrance front in the early 17th century, probably by Inigo Jones: I assume that it was originally identical with the east façade, which remained unchanged. Not shown in the sketch is an octagonal staircase tower at the south-west corner of the long gallery, just before the banqueting houses. A door opposite this in the east gallery façade will have given access to the lower banqueting house and staircase tower, but the upper banqueting house will no doubt also have been directly accessible from the first-floor long gallery. The link at right-angles between the gallery block and the main block of Arundel House is conjectural in my sketch. It is possible that the four iron balconies projecting over the river from the riverside façade of the banqueting houses were 17th-century additions: likewise the French-looking glazed doors opening onto them.

The size and proportions of the banqueting-house block vary considerably from view to view, but it seems likely that either of the two rooms would have been sizeable enough to house a performance of either of Striggio's 40-part works.

[77] Essex House, immediately to the east, boasted a similar but rather smaller and free-standing riverside pair.

Conjectural model of Nonsuch Palace as created by Ben Taggart and now on display at the Whitehall Museum, Cheam, Sutton SM3 8RD.

Image kindly supplied by Ben Taggart – www.modelhouses.co.uk