
Williamson M. [Queen Mary I, Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* and a Latin Litany.](#)
Early Music 2016, 44(iii).

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Date deposited:

10/08/2016

Embargo release date:

12 July 2018



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Queen Mary I, Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* and a Latin litany¹

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This concerns a deceptively unpretentious source of one of Tallis's most frequently performed pieces. It is perhaps most familiar to readers as the motet *O sacrum convivium* which sets the words (but not the plainsong) of the ritual antiphon sung on Corpus Christi: 'O sacred feast, in which Christ is taken in, the memory of His Passion is renewed, the mind is filled with grace, and a pledge of future glory given to us'. *O sacrum convivium* circulated also as three vernacular contrafacta, but in its original state was an instrumental fantasia, sections from which Tallis reused in *O sacrum convivium* and, less extensively, *Absterge Domine*.² The numerous versions circulated in a correspondingly large number of sources, of which the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575 is the most authoritative.³ Three orphaned partbooks, not dated but believed to be early-Elizabethan, give various readings of the Latin motet in its pre-publication state.⁴ None of the surviving sources has previously been dated earlier than the 1560s, and so the piece's original genesis and its subsequent metamorphosis have, quite reasonably, been viewed as representatively early-Elizabethan.⁵ There are good reasons, however, to assign *O sacrum convivium* not to the mid-1560s but to the early-to-mid 1550s.

¹ This study would not have been completed without assistance and colleagues and librarians whom I thank most warmly: Margaret Bent, Roger Bowers, Hugh Cahill, Michael Carter, Geneviève Guilleminot, John Harper, Jessica Hudson, Andrew Johnstone, Philippa Marks, Kerry McCarthy, John Milsom, Christine Reynolds, Jason Smart, David Skinner, and Tony Trowles. Financial support from LE STUDIUM® Loire Valley Advanced for Advanced Studies and the Arts and Humanities Research Council is gratefully acknowledged.

² J. Milsom, 'A Tallis fantasia', *The Musical Times*, 126 (1985), pp.658-62; the fantasia and its dependents are edited by John Milsom in *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd – Cantiones Sacrae (1575)*, Early English Church Music, lvi (London, 2014), pp.128-67; idem,

³ Listed in *EECM Primary Source Database* (<https://eecm.tcd.ie/>); Milsom, *Cantiones Sacrae*, pp. 128-35.

⁴ King's College, Cambridge, Rowe MS 316; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tenbury 1464; Shropshire Archives, Shrewsbury, LB/15/1/226. The source of the instrumental precursor, British Library Harl. 7578, is also believed to be early-Elizabethan (Milsom, *Cantiones Sacrae*, p.431).

⁵ J. Milsom, 'English Polyphonic Style in Transition: a Study of the Sacred Music of Thomas Tallis' (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1983), 2 vols., i, pp.40-42, and ii, p.67 (Appendix 2.19). Those pieces published in 1575 (*O sacrum convivium*, *Absterge domine*, *Salvator mundi I*, *Salvator mundi II* and *Mihi autem nimis*) and those not included in *Cantiones Sacrae* but with similar compositional traits or present in the same early-Elizabethan sources: *O salutaris hostia* and *Domine quis habitabit* (both of which are also found in Rowe 316 and Tenbury 1464), *Laudate dominum* and the paired Latin Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (whose dating to the early 1560s has been convincingly disputed by Nick Sandon: cited in S. Rice, 'Reconstructing Tallis's Latin Magnificat and Nunc dimittis,' *Early music*, xxxiii (2005), pp.647-58 at 647-8.

Evidence for this can be found in a copy of the 1545 edition of the Sarum Processional: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve B. 1852 [= PARIS].⁶ There are several surviving exemplars of the 1545 edition;⁷ PARIS has been digitized and can be found on *Gallica*.⁸ This copy largely typifies a class of liturgical book printed in large numbers for a mixed market of institutional and individual purchasers.⁹ At least twenty-seven printings of the Processional were undertaken between 1501, when Bishop Richard Fox's authorised edition was printed in London by Richard Pynson, and the last edition of 1558.¹⁰ Nearly all of these editions were in quarto: large enough to accommodate substantial musical notation, some of it melismatic, but small enough to be carried in processions. Their users walked in pairs, with a maximum of two singers reading from each copy: the famous illustration of Martin Bucer's posthumous burning depicts a choir of eight singing the processional hymn *Salve festa dies* from individual copies (see Plate 1).¹¹ [Plate 1 here or near] The resulting need for multiple copies ensured that large numbers of Processionals appear in institutional inventories and, because they were sold prolifically, they were inexpensive.¹² This put them within the price range of those most likely to use them: junior clergy and professional singers such as William Dundy, a London musician who copied polyphony into an older manuscript processional (Lambeth Palace MS 438) sometime in the early sixteenth century.¹³

⁶ *Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie Sarum* (Antwerp: Ruremund, 1545; Short-Title Catalogue [= STC] 16243).

⁷ Surviving copies are listed at the English Short Title Catalogue (<http://estc.bl.uk>), at the Universal Short-Title Catalogue (<http://ustc.ac.uk>, record 404105), and in A. Pettegree and M. Walsby, *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad Before 1601* (Leiden & Boston, 2001), i, p.477 (cat. no. 10936). Although valuable, these sources have errors and ghosts; none of them lists PARIS.

⁸ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k857055c>.

⁹ J. Raub, 'Sarum liturgical printing in Tudor London', PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, London University, 2011, p.271.

¹⁰ STC 16232.6-16250.

¹¹ M. Williamson, 'Liturgical music in the late-medieval parish: organs and voices, ways and means', in *The parish in late medieval England*, ed. C. Burgess & E. Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, xiv (Donington, 2006), pp.177-242 at 199 and 203-5. Early-Tudor inventories at Arundel and Louth, for instance, suggest the sharing of Processionals, although this discounts the possibility that individuals bought their own copies.

¹² Williamson, 'Liturgical music in the late-medieval parish', p. 199; twenty-two Processionals bought for Westminster Abbey c. 1554 cost 2s each, while ten assorted Antiphoners and Graduals cost £11, more than ten times as much (Westminster Abbey Muniment [= WAM] 37571).

¹³ William Dundy's name appears immediately after the mensural notation on f. 180v: images on www.diamm.ac.uk. Dundy has been identified with the clerk who joined the fraternity of St Nicholas in 1499 (H. Baillie, 'Some biographical notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485-1569)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 2 (1962), pp.19-57 at 33); the identification is queried, without specific reason, in *Bede roll of the fraternity of St Nicholas*, ed. N. W. James & V. A. James, 2 vols., London Record Society, xxxix (London, 2004), i, p.175.

Polyphonic annotations are found in several surviving printed or manuscript Processionals. This phenomenon, observed by the late Brian Trowell in his studies of faburden, merits further investigation.¹⁴ Although less impressive than bespoke partbooks and choirbooks, these customised sources bear witness to the kinds of polyphonic singing that took place outside the familiar stationary contexts of choir stalls and lecterns.¹⁵ Polyphonic additions fall into two types. The most numerous are monophonic faburden melodies for the hymn *Salve festa dies* which was sung in procession on various occasions during the year: PARIS provides one example among many; a more elaborate form of the same basic tune, copied by a hand similar to the one which copied Nicholas Ludford's Lady Masses, can be found in a copy of the 1528 Antwerp Processional which had reached Henry VIII's library by 1542, now in the British Library.¹⁶ The second type of addendum comprises faburdens for the refrains to Litanies sung during the Rogationtide processions:¹⁷ the major Rogation on the feast of St Mark (25 April), and the minor Rogations on the three days before Ascension Thursday.¹⁸ The Sarum Ordinal prescribes nine melodies for these, of which four were commonly set to faburden; these faburdens provided the root melody from which the chorus improvised polyphonic responses to each of the monophonic litany supplications.¹⁹ William Dundy's Processional, for instance, has two sets of mensural faburden melodies specified for use on Rogation Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.²⁰ Different versions of the same faburdens appear in a manuscript Processional belonging to Robert Paternoster, a career cleric and gentleman of Mary Tudor's Chapel Royal.²¹ Paternoster's Processional has a fourth litany faburden (*Kyrie eleison qui*

¹⁴ B. Trowell, 'Faburden – new sources, new evidence: a preliminary survey, in *Modern musicological studies*, ed. E. Olleson (Stocksfield, 1978), pp.28-78.

¹⁵ Lecterns are considered in M. Williamson, 'The fate of choirbooks in Protestant Europe', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, vii (2015), pp. 117-31.

¹⁶ PARIS, f. [CCXVI]^v (with text for Easter, and added texts for Whitsun and Dedication, all in the same coarse hand); British Library, C.35.f.10 (Antwerp: Ruremund, 1528; STC 16237): the text of this setting was customised for the feast of St Anne ('qua sterilis mariam protulit anna piam') suggesting the reign of Anne Boleyn, 1533-6. The catalogue number 679 written on the first recto identifies this as one of the 'Processionals prentid 12' in the royal inventory of 1542 (J. P. Carley (ed.), *The libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, vii (London, 2000), p.95).

¹⁷ On the order of the processional litany, see R. Bowers, 'The vernacular litany of 1544 during the reign of Henry VIII', in *Authority and consent in Tudor England*, ed. G. W. Bernard and S. J. Gunn (Aldershot, 2002), pp.151-78 at 154-5.

¹⁸ F. Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', *Musica disciplina*, 16 (1962), pp.11-34 at 18-20 and 30-31; Trowell, 'Faburden', pp.71-2.

¹⁹ W. H. Frere (ed.), *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1901), II, p.171. Faburden settings survive for *Kyrie eleison qui precioso*, *Kyrie: Pater de celis*, *Kyrie: Domine miserere* and *Kyrie: Sancta Maria* (Sarum Ordinal, numbers 1, 2, 3 and 5 respectively).

²⁰ Lambeth Palace, MS 438, ff. 179v-180v (headed '2 feria rogationum/Feria 2', 'Feria 3', and 'Feria 4' (melodies 2, 5 and 3 according to the Sarum Ordinal: see above, n.19).

²¹ Bodleian Library, Rawl. e. 45, ff. 59v-60v. A. Ashbee & D. Lasocki with P. Holman & F. Kisby, *A Biographical dictionary of English court musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998), i, p.870.

precioso) as does a printed Processional in the British Library.²² Faburden refrains for the Rogationtide litanies are likewise found in PARIS, namely *Kyrie: Pater de celis* on f. cxxxj^v and *Kyrie: Sancta Maria* on f. cxxxij (see Plate 2). [Plate 2 here or near]

Processionals were therefore convenient repositories for polyphonic refrains sung on the move. Copied into ready-bound books, with varying concern for calligraphic finesse, faburden melodies furnished the books' users with ritual items that recurred periodically throughout the church year. Improvisational methods for rendering a notated faburden Tenor as three- or four-part polyphony were so fundamental to an early-Tudor singer's training that the need to notate the other voice-parts did not arise.²³ Only occasionally do we find fully worked polyphonic compositions copied into Processionals alongside or instead of improvisatory faburden melodies. One such exception is the second Contratenor part for a setting of the Rogationtide *Kyrie: Pater de celis* attributed to [John] Taverner in the British Library copy of the 1545 Processional mentioned above.²⁴ Another exception can be found in a fascicle added to PARIS; before considering this fascicle, however, we turn our attention to the person who probably copied it.

Alexander Peryn

PARIS is no newcomer to the Bibliothèque Nationale. It reached the French royal library by the mid-1680s, by which time it was a long-disused vestige of a proscribed foreign liturgy – of scant antiquarian, aesthetic or topical interest.²⁵ Various possible itineraries can be proposed: via an English catholic community in Leuven or Douai; or in the sale of a private library; or

²² British Library, C.35.f.14, ff. ccxi^v and [ccxvi]^v (*Kyrie eleison qui precioso*, twice); like PARIS, this is a copy of the Antwerp edition of 1545.

²³ Among numerous contributions by Jane Flynn on improvisation and education, see most recently 'The musical knowledge and practice of expert Tudor descanters' in *Late medieval liturgies enacted: the experience of worship in cathedral and parish church*, ed. S. Harper, P. S. Barnwell and M. Williamson (Aldershot, 2016), pp.177-90.

²⁴ British Library, C.35.f.14, f. 216v: 'finis quod m^r tavernor', noted but misclassified as a Mass movement in D. Josephson, *John Taverner: Tudor composer* (Ann Arbor, 1979), p. 114. The source was first identified by Margaret Bent (*ibid.*, p. 241).

²⁵ The stamping of 'Bibliothecae Regiae' on both title page and last verso found in B. 1852 was applied to all printed books already in the Bibliothèque Royale in 1684, during a re-organization after the death of Louis XIV's finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert in September 1683 (P. Jossier and J. Bruno, 'Les estampilles du Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale', in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris, 1960), pp. 261-98 at 266-8). None of the books listed in the preceding inventories of 1622 or 1645 corresponds with B. 1852 (*Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. H. Omont, ii-iii (Paris, 1909-10)).

within the effects of a British royalist exile in the 1650s or 1680s.²⁶ Although its whereabouts between the 1550s and 1680s are not known, its distinctive binding belongs to a type used in London between 1531 and 1557.²⁷ We can also identify the book's earliest recorded owner, as the initials 'A' and 'P' are inked onto the outer page edges, and on the last verso an inscription in self-conscious italics reveals 'AP' to be Alexander Perin or Perins (see Plates 3a/3b). [Plates 3a/3b here]

Both baptismal and family name are uncommon in Tudor England. A very small number of potential candidates includes a Cornish chantry clergyman in the 1540s; a rector of the Buckinghamshire village of Emberton between 1560 and his death in 1569; and a priest who spent all of his documented working life in Westminster and who *also* died in 1569 (and was probably the same as the rector of Emberton).²⁸ Alexander Peryn of Westminster is first encountered in the Edwardian chantry certificate of 1548 as one of eleven vicars choral employed at St Stephen's royal chapel, an institution with a distinguished musical pedigree located at the political nerve-centre of Tudor England.²⁹ Its prestige did not save it from dissolution, however: by the time the chantry survey was compiled St Stephen's had already fallen; Peryn transferred, along with several of his erstwhile colleagues, to the recently-founded Westminster Cathedral [hereafter, following common usage, 'the Abbey']. He was among the sixteen minor canons of Westminster provided with livery for the funeral of King Edward VI in the summer of 1553.³⁰

Having weathered the institutional upheavals of the Edwardian Reformation, Peryn's luck turned under Mary Tudor. Within a few weeks of her accession she turned her attention to the Abbey, deposing and arresting its Protestant dean, Richard Cox, who was succeeded by the

²⁶ For instance, Robert Paternoster's processional (Bodleian, Rawl. e. 45), which entered the Bodleian library as part of the Rawlinson collection in 1756, had been acquired from the estate of the French royal administrator and bibliophile, N. J. Foucault (1643-1721), who had entertained James II as he journeyed into exile at the court of Louis XIV in June 1690 (*Mémoires de Nicolas-Joseph Foucault*, ed. F. Baudry (Paris, 1862), pp.264-8).

²⁷ J. Basil Oldham, *English blind-stamped bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), p.55: roll type MW d. 14. Oldham's published terminus a quo (1552) deviates from his manuscript notes at the British Library which identify a copy of the 1557 *Constitutiones Angliae* as the latest instance (my thanks to Philippa Marks for locating this information).

²⁸ See, for instance the <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>; G. Lipscomb, *The history and antiquities of the county of Buckingham*, iv (London: Robins, 1847), p.136.

²⁹ GB-Lna E 301/88; cited in D. Skinner (ed.), *Nicholas Ludford I: Mass Inclina cor meum deus and antiphons*, EECM xlv (London: British Academy/Stainer & Bell, 2003), p.xv; and *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, ed. C. J. Kitching, London Record Society, xvi (London, 1980), p.79.

³⁰ A. Ashbee (ed.), *records of English Court Music*, VII (Aldershot, 1993), p. 130, citing GB-Lna E 101/427/6, f.18; WAM 54001, f.1v (50s. stipend as minor canon for quarter ending Michaelmas 1553; although he was probably at the Abbey between 1547 and 1553, the account books seldom name junior clergy at this time).

reliably catholic Hugh Weston on 18 September 1553.³¹ During the following months, demonstrably Reformist clergy were removed from this prominently located royal foundation, and it was around this time that Peryn either resigned or was dismissed: he had left by 27 April 1554 when another priest took his place.³² His reasons for leaving are suggested by its timing. Four weeks earlier, on 29 March 1554, Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner had been commissioned to expel married clergy from the Abbey; he executed his orders the following day, and celibate replacements were installed during April and May 1554.³³ Along with more senior prebendaries, several minor canons were replaced at this time, one of whom was re-admitted in March 1555 after he had repudiated his marriage.³⁴ Peryn was married later in life,³⁵ and marital status presents the likeliest reason for his disappearance from Westminster after Easter 1554.

His whereabouts between April 1554 and summer 1559 are unknown, although he continued to draw £6 13s. 4d. as a pensioned member of the dissolved St Stephen's chapel.³⁶ He does not appear to have stayed in Westminster as an Abbey tenant, unlike some of his colleagues ejected in 1554 or pensioned off when the Henrician foundation was dissolved and the Benedictine monastery restored in September 1556.³⁷ As soon as Queen Mary's death permitted it, however, he returned to the Abbey in summer 1559 when the monastic community was finally ejected by Elizabeth I.³⁸ Perhaps the first secular cleric to return, Peryn joined the lay clerks and choristers who had remained at the Abbey during the monastic revival, some of whom he knew from five years previously.³⁹ This choir moved once again from

³¹ *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1543-1609*, i, ed. C. S. Knighton, Westminster Abbey Record Series, i (Woodbridge, 1997), p.77.

³² *Acts of the Dean and Chapter*, i, p.106: 'Peticanon: Sir Sanden admitted by Mr Deane in the place of Sir Perryn the xxvij daie of Aprill anno domini 1554'.

³³ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls in the Public Record Office...Philip and Mary*, i, 1553-4 (London, 1937), pp. 261-2; WAM 37451.

³⁴ Alexander Bull, whose re-admission as minor canon on 12 March 1555 was recorded in Edmund Bonner's episcopal register (W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction in its Relation to the English Clergy*, Church Historical Society, xviii (London, 1896), p.179).

³⁵ His wife Joan acted as laundress and boarded scholars: WAM 33626-8 (1566-9) and 54019 ('Wyddowe perrins' bill for the lodging of ten scholars, September-December 1569).

³⁶ British Library, Add. 8102 (Michaelmas 1555); National Archives, Kew, E 164/31, f. 7v (24 February 1556).

³⁷ WAM 33207 (receiver's rental, 1556-8), mm. 6v-11v; C. S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey restored', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. E. Duffy and D. Loades (Aldershot, 2006), pp.77-123.

³⁸ WAM 33198E-F (visus computi, 1558-9; these accounts were compiled by John Moulton, the abbey's long-serving receiver general, in preparation for the abbey's reversion to collegiate status). The first of the new collegiate chapter acts was made on 5 July 1560 (*Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1543-1609*, ii, ed. C. S. Knighton, Westminster Abbey Record Series, ii (Woodbridge, 1999), p.77).

³⁹ Six of the singing men and two of the choristers in the new collegiate church had served the restored monastery; a seventh, Robert Lamkin, was appointed instructor by Abbot John Feckenham in March 1559. The longest-serving member of the choral foundation was Christopher Brickett (chorister in 1540,

Henry VII's Lady Chapel at the Abbey's east end to the main quire, along with the organ whose re-erection by John Howe was overseen by Peryn.⁴⁰ Already, a year before its formal re-foundation, he had assumed the more senior role of 'chanter' or precentor of Westminster; in this capacity he had operational oversight of worship in the reformed collegiate church until he died in 1569.⁴¹

Robert Morley

Whatever Alexander Peryn's movements under Mary Tudor, his Processional must have remained in Westminster. Evidence for this is found in another copy of the 1545 Antwerp processional, Lambeth Palace Library **H5142.P 1545 [= LAMBETH], a volume already known to musicologists as a source of *faburdens* for *Salve festa dies* and for three of the Rogationtide litanies.⁴² Previously identified with the shelf-mark 2.N.14 and listed in a Restoration-era inventory, LAMBETH has been in Lambeth Palace Library since the mid-seventeenth century at the latest.⁴³ As with PARIS, the owner of LAMBETH is identifiable: inked onto the outer page edges is the name 'Roberte / Morley' (see Plates 4a/4b). With 'AP'/Alexander Peryn having already been located in Westminster, Robert Morley can be identified without difficulty: a man of this name served as a lay vicar or singing man of Westminster Abbey between 1544 and 1556-7.⁴⁴ [Plates 4a/4b here]

The two processions, PARIS and LAMBETH, have several features in common. They are from the same Antwerp edition of 1545. They were probably bound by the same binder: the roll used

scholar 1541-45 and lay vicar 1549-96). E. Pine, *Westminster Abbey Singers* (London, 1953), pp.59-80; C. S. Knighton, 'Collegiate foundations, 1540 to 1570, with special reference to St Peter in Westminster' (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1975), pp.349-50; S. Lehmborg, 'The musicians of Westminster Abbey, 1540-1640', in *Westminster Abbey Reformed, 1540-1640*, ed. C. S. Knighton & R. Mortimer (Aldershot, 2003), pp.94-113 at 99-101.

⁴⁰ WAM 33198E, m. 9v: 'circa erectionem antedictae ecclesie videlicet pro empcione xj psalteriorum pro choro xvij s iij d . . . emendacione organorum videlicet le soulderyng solutum Johanni Howe ex relacione Alexandri Perin cantatori vj s viij d et capiendi organorum in cappella henrici vij^{mi} et in construendi eosdem in choro ecclesie predicte xvj s'.

⁴¹ He also oversaw the almshouse (WAM 38233-6, 38306-18, 38572-84, 38670-82, 38838-42).

⁴² On ff. cxxx^v-cxxxij^v, *Kyrie eleison Qui precioso*, *Kyrie: Pater de celis* and *Kyrie: Sancta Maria*; see Trowell, 'Faburden – new sources, new evidence', pp.71-2.; images are on www.diamm.ac.uk.

⁴³ Lambeth Palace Library, LR/F/5 (*Catalogus librorum quos summa cura propriisque sumptibus Richardus [Bancroft, 1604-10] et Georgius [Abbot, 1611-33] nuper Cantuarie Archiepiscopi Bibliothecae Lambethanae*), f.166: 'Processionale ad usum Sarum 1545, 2: N: 14'. A second early shelf-mark, VC.JJ.H, may have pertained to the pre-Civil War archiepiscopal library. An inventory of 1612 includes a reference to 'Processionale ad usum sarum 4 ° bis' (Lambeth Palace Library, LR/F/2, under 'Libri Leturgiarum Pontificiorum', f. 85v; ex inf. Hugh Cahill).

⁴⁴ WAM 37043 (treasurer's accounts, 1544-5); WAM 37709 (salaries for quarter ending Christmas 1556), f. 1; WAM 33207 (receiver's rental, 1556-8).

on the LAMBETH binding, HM a. 13, was used in London between 1530 and 1569 and, according to Basil Oldham, was used only on its own or in conjunction with MW d. 14 – that is, the roll used on the PARIS binding.⁴⁵ Both books belonged to singers working at Westminster Abbey, a one-time Benedictine monastery recently re-founded as a secular cathedral which, we can assume, lacked an inherited stock of Sarum processionalists.⁴⁶ The books' owners identified themselves in similar ways: inked onto page edges are the lay singer's full name and (perhaps befitting his more exalted clerical status) the minor canon's initials. Both books include faburden melodies for the same items: although LAMBETH has a tune not found in PARIS (*Kyrie eleison qui precioso*), the two books have concordant readings of the responsorial hymn *Salve festa dies* and the two litany refrains *Kyrie: Pater de celis* and *Kyrie: Sancta Maria* (see Figure 1).⁴⁷ But the closest concordances between the two books can be found in two further items that have previously gone unremarked.

⁴⁵ Oldham, *English blind-stamped bindings*, p. 51. According to Oldham's notes, the two rolls appear together in a copy of the 1531 *Registrum omnium brevium* (London: William Rastell, 1531; STC 20836) but in conjunction with no other roll (ex inf. Philippa Marks).

⁴⁶ See also n.12 above concerning a batch of twenty-two processionalists bought by the Abbey during the Marian restoration.

⁴⁷ Prefacing his list of Rogationtide litany faburdens, Brian Trowell noted 'close concordances between certain pairs of sources' (Trowell, 'Faburden – new sources, new evidence', p. 71). He assigned identical sigla for the PARIS and LAMBETH readings of *Kyrie: Pater de celis* (Trowell #145) and *Kyrie: Sancta Maria* (Trowell #149); the LAMBETH reading of *Kyrie eleison qui precioso* (Trowell #140) has a concordance in Trinity College, Dublin, Kk.k.55: *Processionale ad usum Sarum* (Rouen, 1555; STC 16248). The PARIS and LAMBETH readings of *Salve festa dies* differ in syntactical details (ligatures, dots of division) but are melodically identical to each other and different from other sources of the same tune.

Location in book		LAMBETH	PARIS
Front board (paste-down)		Greater litany, set in fauxbourdon (Medius)	
f. xcv	Easter litany (five-fold)		Greater litany, faburden
ff. cxxx ^v -cxxx ⁱ	Rogationtide: Prima Letania	<i>Kyrie eleison qui precioso</i> , faburden	<i>Kyrie: Pater de celis</i> , faburden
f. cxxx ⁱ ^v	Rogationtide: Secunda Letania	<i>Kyrie: Pater de celis</i> , faburden	
ff. cxxxii ^v -cxxxiii	Rogationtide: Tertia Letania	<i>Kyrie: Sancta Maria</i>	<i>Kyrie: Sancta Maria</i> , faburden
f. [cxcvi] ^v (last verso)		Greater litany, faburden	<i>Salve festa dies</i> , faburden; <i>Kyrie: Sancta Maria</i> (again), faburden
Endpapers			Greater litany, set in fauxbourdon (Bassus); Tallis, <i>O sacrum convivium</i> (Bassus); litany petitions for Queen Mary (text only)
Back board (paste-down)		<i>Salve festa dies</i> , faburden	

Figure 1: manuscript addenda in LAMBETH and PARIS compared

Litanies and Prayers for Pregnant Queen Mary

The litanies so far discussed have all pertained to Rogationtide; in their faburden settings, these comprised polyphonic refrains alternating with a series of petitions sung to melismatic chant by a pair of soloists. Both PARIS and LAMBETH also contain polyphonic renderings of the plainer (but longer) litany of saints as sung through the year outside Rogationtide. Consisting of a series of petitions recited by the presiding priest and repeated by the chorus, this form of litany was sung to a simple tone based on C as reciting note (which provided Thomas Cranmer with a 'sober and distinct' melody for his vernacular litany of 1544, discussed by David Skinner and Andrew Johnstone elsewhere in this issue). The *per annum* litany was sung on various occasions: especially during Lent, and on Holy Saturday, and also whenever circumstances were deemed to require special intercession by the company of saints – most commonly during drought, storm, conflict or mortality.⁴⁸ Pre-Reformation worshippers would have known the *per annum* litany intimately, not least because it was a normative component in

⁴⁸ In the 1545 Processional, for instance, the Litany of Saints can be found with notation on f. xli^v (Quadragesima Sunday: three-fold), f. xciii (Easter Sunday: seven-fold and five-fold), and f. cciii^v (*Causa necessitatis*). The Easter forms are in *The Use of Salisbury*, iv: *The Masses and Ceremonies of Holy Week*, ed. N. Sandon (Newton Abbot, 1996), pp.124-5 and 127.

Books of Hours, and therefore recited at home.⁴⁹ Its formulaic repetitions lent it towards congregational participation, and its limited stock of textual responses would have been imprinted upon the memory of those attending (which, in many cases, meant the entire community): when the priest sang an 'Ut' petition, few would need reminding that the tetrachordal 'Te rogamus audi nos' was the correct response. Recited after the Mass *Salus populi*, the litany of saints was a potent medium for communal prayer.

Section	Form	President	Choir response
Kyrieleison + Invocation to Trinity	Three-fold petitions to the persons of the Trinity.	<i>Kyrieleison.</i> <i>Christeleison. Christe audi nos.</i> <i>Pater/Fili/Spiritus... : Miserere nobis.</i>	Repeats each petition after president.
Litany of saints	Invocations to saints singly and collectively: Mary, angels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins.	<i>Sancte N.: Ora pro nobis.</i> <i>Sancta N.: Ora pro nobis.</i> <i>Omnes sancti/sanctae...: Orate pro nobis.</i>	Repeats each petition after president.
Deprecations (x10)	From [sin]: deliver us, O Lord.	<i>Ab...:</i>	<i>Libera nos domine.</i>
Obsecrations (x 13)	Through [Christly attribute]: deliver us, O Lord.	<i>Per...:</i>	
Intercessions (x 17)	That [good] might happen: we beseech thee to hear us.	<i>Ut...:</i>	<i>Te rogamus audi nos.</i>
Agnus Dei + Kyrieleison	Three-fold petitions	<i>Agnus dei qui tollis...: Parce nobis domine. Miserere nobis.</i> <i>Kyrieleison.</i> <i>Christeleison.</i> <i>Kyrieleison.</i>	Repeats each petition after president.

Figure 2: a simplified summary of the greater litany of saints

A faburden setting of the litany *per annum* survives in both Peryn's and Morley's Processionals (but is found in no other sources). In PARIS, the melody appears on f. xcv, as for Holy Saturday, in an efficiently abbreviated form; only the first *Kyrie* and a sample invocation to God the Father of heaven are included. A larger sample of petitions is provided on the last verso of LAMBETH, perhaps for the avoidance of error (the litany's changing syllable counts could trip up

⁴⁹ Thomas More's 'surprisingly conventional' piety, for instance, has been noted through the fact that the Litany belongs to 'the most heavily thumbed sections' of his Book of Hours (E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English people and their prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven and London, 2006), p.113).

an unwary singer), but the melodic formula is exactly the same. In both cases, the given materials served as prompts for semi-scripted polyphony, with the notated faburden melody in one voice and other voices improvised above it, one of them shadowing the proper plainsong melody, as shown in Example 1; Plate 5 shows the same faburden in the context of its worm-eaten host (high-resolution images of the same music can be found on www.diamm.ac.uk).

Example 1: the litany *per annum* in faburden

Plainsong

Ky - ri - e - ley - son.

(Derived)

(Derived: corresponds with plainsong)

Faburden (LAMBETH, f. [CCXVI]^v; PARIS, f. xcvi)

Ky - ri - e - ley - - son

[Plate 5 next to this musical example]

These concordant readings point towards PARIS and LAMBETH having belonged to a co-ordinated set of sources. This impression is reinforced by the second setting of the litany *per annum* which is also unique to this pair of sources, and is without precedent in the Latin repertory. Much-mutilated on the front board of LAMBETH, but intact among the endpapers of PARIS, are the Medius and Bassus parts respectively of a through-composed fauxbourdon setting of the litany *per annum*. In both cases, a representative (but slightly different) selection of petitions has been copied out, providing a template for the litany as a whole. The two surviving voice-parts fit together perfectly, both with each other and with the Sarum litany tone, which evidently migrated between the top voice and the Tenor. The missing Tenor can therefore be supplied with some confidence; meanwhile, a near-contemporary litany provides a model for the two Contratenor parts.

[Plates 6a-6d here, grouped together]

This model is, perhaps unsurprisingly, Thomas Tallis's epoch-making vernacular Litany, which Andrew Johnstone has convincingly identified with the 'lost' Chapel Royal litany of 1544.⁵⁰ Although not identical, the two settings share many significant attributes. Although transmitted in low clefs (F4-C4-C3-C3-C1), the Tallis was probably conceived at the traditional Sarum reciting pitch, a fourth higher: the resulting clef combination, C5-C3-C2-C2-G2, matches the surviving Peryn-Morley clefs. Stylistic points of contact can be found between the two settings, not least the Contratenor passing notes which characterise Tallis's cadences and which can also be found in the Peryn-Morley Medius part. The missing Peryn-Morley Contratenor parts can quite easily be deduced, both from the surviving voices and from Tallis's Contratenors (much of whose phraseology can be replicated in Peryn-Morley); a reconstruction by Jason Smart has recently been recorded, so readers will be able to adjudicate for themselves the stylistic kinship between these two settings.⁵¹ Tallis's litany is generally reckoned to have set the precedent for such litanies in fauxbourdon (the two four-part settings in the Wanley partbooks are a few years later):⁵² so the Peryn-Morley litany, stylistically indebted to Tallis, was probably composed after 1544.

The Peryn-Morley litany was certainly composed by the summer of 1555. This can be deduced from various non-musical inscriptions made around the time of Mary Tudor's assumed pregnancy between November 1554 and the summer of 1555. The clearest evidence for this is in PARIS, where the Peryn-Morley litany is copied into a small paper fascicle that was originally tipped into the body of the Processional (between f. cxxii and f. cxxiii).⁵³ In one concerted stint of copying three items – the Peryn-Morley litany, Thomas Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* and a series of four Litany petitions – were copied one after another. This is the work of a careful and efficient copyist striving for textual accuracy rather than fine penmanship; abbreviations are common, musical and textual repetitions minimally signposted and ambiguities resolved in a manner one might expect of an experienced liturgical musician. Although mutilated, the

⁵⁰ **See elsewhere in this volume.**

⁵¹ Jason Smart and I independently discovered the new Litany; I found PARIS while on an errand in the Bibliothèque nationale in the summer of 2014; Jason was first to notice the link between PARIS and LAMBETH. Although differing in details, our two reconstructions concurred in their essentials; Jason's edition has recently been recorded by Gallicantus for a CD project exploring the musical traces of Mary Tudor's phantom pregnancy of 1555.

⁵² **See Andrew Johnstone's essay in this volume.**

⁵³ The fascicle was relocated during nineteenth-century repairs; the watermark belongs to a common mid-sixteenth-century type (a hand with outstretched thumb, surmounted with a five-petal flower and with a pair of initials on the sleeve) although this variant, with initials 'LV' is not listed in Briquet, Heawood or on www.gravell.org. A similar paper fascicle, later dismembered, was apparently used in LAMBETH: a pair of detached loose leaves remains while two others are pasted onto the front and back boards.

LAMBETH copy was likewise copied by and for someone familiar enough with the Litany to clone its numerous petitions from a selection of exemplars; the surviving leaf is too tightly glued to the front board to allow us to read its underside (which surely contained the final invocations of the Litany and, perhaps, the Medius part of Tallis's *O sacrum convivium*).

The presence of *O sacrum convivium* in conjunction with a previously unknown polyphonic Litany merits comment, but more intriguing are the text-only petitions that follow it. These were evidently meant to be interpolated among the 'Ut' petitions of the preceding Litany, and they clearly allude to a pregnant Queen Mary (see Plate 6c):

Ut mariam reginam gravidam protegas: [te rogamus audi nos].
Ut proles quam in utero gerit feliciter in lucem prodeat:
Ut in pariendo dolorem misericorditer evadat:
Ut prolem iusto tempore pariat:

That you may protect the pregnant Queen Mary: [we beseech thee to hear us].
That the child she bears in her womb may happily be brought forth: [we beseech...].
That she may mercifully avoid the pains of childbirth: [we beseech...].
That she may give birth in due season: [we beseech...].

As observed above, the fascicle on which these petitions were written was originally inserted between f.cxxii and f.cxxiii of PARIS, where the marginal annotation 'mary' and a hair-line indicate where the addition petitions were interpolated within the Litany of Saints. Any doubt as to the identity of this Mary is dispelled when we look at the equivalent opening of LAMBETH and find scribbled in the lower margin the following adaptation of the normal 'Ut' petition on behalf of the king:

Ut regi nostro philippo, et regina nostra pacem et veram concordiam, atque victoriam donare digneris: [te rogamus audi nos].

That you may deign to give peace and true concord and also victory to our king, Philip, and to our queen: [we beseech thee to hear us].

[Plates 7a/7b here]

This petition on behalf of Mary Tudor's consort, Philip of Spain, complements the four 'pregnant Queen Mary' petitions (which are also found in LAMBETH: see Plate 6d). These petitions drew upon a collect 'to be sayd in the Masse for the Quenes highnesse, beinge with childe' published by the royal printer John Cawood which was itself an expanded form of the

standard Missal collect *pro muliere pregnantē* (square brackets indicate text not found in the Missal):⁵⁴

Deus qui beatam virginem et matrem Mariam in conceptu et in partu consecrasti, et Jonam prophetam de ventre ceti potenti virtute liberasti, tuam famulam [Mariam reginam nostram] gravidam protege, et visita eam in salutari tuo ut proles in illa/[ea] contenta feliciter in/[ad] lucem prodeat, et perveniat ad gratiam lavachri salutaris, [ipsa quoque in pariendo dolorem misericorditer evadat, et a mortis periculo segura permaneat.]

O God, who hast consecrated the blessed virgin and mother Mary in conception and birth, and who hast mightily delivered the prophet Jonah from the belly of the great whale; protect thy servant [Mary our Queen], and visit her with thy salvation, so that the offspring contained within her may happily be brought forth and attain the laver of salvation, [and also that she may mercifully avoid the pains of childbirth and remain safe from the danger of death.]

Mary Tudor's Phantom Pregnancies

Mary Tudor twice believed herself to be pregnant.⁵⁵ In 1558 the symptoms may have been caused by the condition which killed her in November of that year. This was a somewhat muted affair, perhaps because the first occasion, between November 1554 and July 1555, had been a very public fiasco. This first episode provides the most plausible context for Peryn-Morley and the PARIS copy of Tallis's *O sacrum convivium*. In retrospect, Mary's hopes of achieving a permanent restoration of traditional religion through the birth of a Catholic successor had never seemed so securely within her grasp than in the first half of 1555. After twenty years of schism, England had been reconciled to Papal obedience in November 1554. At the same time, a few months after her marriage to Philip of Spain on St James's day (25 July) 1554, Mary felt the first stirrings of pregnancy;⁵⁶ on 27 November, the Privy Council

⁵⁴ *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83), col.822*; *Prayers or collectes to be sayd in the Masse for the Quenes highnesse, beinge with childe* (London: John Cawood, 1554x5); this print and a manuscript copy (York Minster Library, XI.P.3), are discussed and illustrated in M. Carter, 'Unanswered prayers: a Cistercian Missal at York Minster Library', *Antiquaries Journal*, xcvi (2015), 267-77. The same customised version of the collect had been recited during Jane Seymour's pregnancy in 1537 (*Notes and queries*, 3rd ser., i/10 (1862), p.186), and again by English Catholics in 1629 on behalf of Queen Henrietta Maria (R. Stanfield, 'The archpriest controversy', *Miscellanea XII*, Catholic Record Society, xxii (London, 1921), pp.132-86 at 174-5).

⁵⁵ Among numerous studies of Mary's assumed pregnancies, see M. Keynes, 'The aching head and increasing blindness of Queen Mary I', *Journal of medical biography*, viii (2000), pp.102-9; D. Loades, *Mary Tudor: the tragical history of the first Queen of England* (London, 2006), pp.129-44; J. Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp.266-70; from Philip's perspective, G. Parker, *Imprudent King: a new life of Philip II* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp.43-9.

⁵⁶ Rumours that Mary was pregnant were circulating at Parisian dinner tables by 10 November when Dr Nicholas Wotton reported Montmorency, Constable of France, murmuring to him 'the Queene your Maistresse is with childe' (National Archives, SP 69/5, f. 106v).

wrote to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with instructions that all the clergy in his diocese should pray publicly for the queen's happy deliverance.⁵⁷ At Easter 1555 she began her customary lying-in, observing the annual Garter procession from a window at Hampton Court Palace on St George's day (23 April);⁵⁸ bells were rung in London and *Te deum laudamus* sung when news reached London of a royal birth at the end of April, but the rumours turned out to be a mistake.⁵⁹ On Thursday 13 June, still awaiting labour, she watched from afar the Corpus Christi procession organized by the Spanish Dominican Bartolomé Carranza and led by Philip's household chapel, as it made its way through Kingston upon Thames.⁶⁰ The due date came and went; eventually, Mary gave up hope and emerged from confinement in August 1555.

It came to naught, but in the spring of 1555 the pregnancy had been an immediate and credible prospect, and featured prominently in processions in and around London. The first of these took place a few days after Bishop Bonner, following up his orders from the Privy Council, had commanded all parishes in London diocese on 29 November 1554 to recite Mass of the Holy Ghost with procession and *Te deum laudamus* for the queen's quickening with child;⁶¹ the general procession on Advent Sunday, 2 December, was a massive affair in which the clergy and singers of London accompanied the craft guilds, political leaders, Cardinal Pole, Mary's Chapel Royal and Philip's own chapel to St Paul's. This and other traditional processions were one of the most visible means by which the capital city was reclaimed for Catholicism during 1554-5;⁶² from an early stage these processions included Litanies, even on saints' days when the Litany might not normally be expected;⁶³ after the initial enthusiasm had flagged,

⁵⁷ Carter, 'Unanswered prayers', p.270.

⁵⁸ Described by Henry Machyn in his diary: see below, Appendix I.

⁵⁹ By the beginning of May letters were prepared for foreign princes announcing the birth, with blanks left for the child's gender (GB-Lna SP 69/6, f. 80).

⁶⁰ J. Edwards, 'Corpus Christi at Kingston upon Thames: Bartolomé Carranza and the Eucharist in Marian England', in *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: the achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*, ed. J. Edwards and R. Truman (Aldershot, 2005), pp.139-51.

⁶¹ *The Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, old series xliii (London, 1848), p.77. Prebendary William Chedsey had already announced the pregnancy in St Paul's after Mass on Wednesday 28 November (*A Chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors from A.D. 1485-1559 by Charles Wriothesley, Windsor Herald*, ii, ed. W. D. Hamilton, Camden Society, new series xx (London, 1877), pp.123-4); Chedsey prefaced his prayers with the antiphon *Ne timeas Maria*.

⁶² S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp.583-4; *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 51-92; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, old series liiii (London, 1852), pp. 85-95; *Chronicle of England*, pp. 104-6, 113, 123-8.

⁶³ For instance, St Andrew's day, 30 November 1553 (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, p.49, which records a goodly sermon at St Paul's 'with a general prosession with the old Latene...with *ora pro nobis*').

the Privy Council ordered that at least one member from every household should attend processional litanies of the saints on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.⁶⁴

The Peryn-Morley Litany would have been suitable on numerous occasions during Mary Tudor's pregnancy. The first, and most propitious, was a procession held on Sunday 27 January 1555 when Hugh Weston, Dean of Westminster, carried the sacrament in procession from the Abbey to Temple Bar, accompanied by 100 robed clergy and singers along with 200 lay people.⁶⁵ The Westminster procession took place just two days after London's great patronal procession on Friday 25 January, when the clergy of London commemorated the Conversion of St Paul. This was the most important of the capital's traditional processions, but its 1555 iteration served as a thank-offering for England's reconversion to 'trewe & catholyke relygyon'.⁶⁶ King Philip and Cardinal Pole, who rode together from Whitehall Palace to St Paul's, joined a gathering of eight bishops, 160 clerks and priests (singing *Salve festa dies*), the choir of St Paul's, the city corporation, members of the craft guilds and boys from the leading London schools; Bishop Bonner carried the sacrament below a canopy.⁶⁷ This was a vast undertaking that sucked up human and material resources from London's churches and those of the suburbs, including Westminster Abbey (which provided copes).⁶⁸

The Westminster procession on 27 January attracted less attention from contemporary chroniclers, but its 1½ mile route took it through the seat of royal government. Leaving the Abbey precinct via the Sanctuary gate, it passed along the numerous shops and inns of King Street, under the Holbein Gate and through Whitehall Palace where the queen was currently in residence (see Plate XXX), thence to Charing Cross and the Strand.⁶⁹ This would have afforded time, topicality and receptive royal ears to a massed processional Litany *causa necessitatis* with petitions for a pregnant queen; Dean Weston's Eucharistic perambulation would also have provided occasion for the singing of Tallis's *O sacrum*

⁶⁴ E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London, 2009), p.131.

⁶⁵ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp.88-9; see Appendix below.

⁶⁶ *Chronicle of England*, p.126: 'The which said procession and fires were done to give God laud and praise for the conversion of this realm to the catholic faith and church'; *Two London chronicles from the collection of John Stow*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, Camden Society, 3rd series xviii (London, 1910), p.41: 'all whiche thyngs wer done for Joye of ye restorynge of ye trewe & catholyke relygyon, and for ye abollysshment of schismes and heresydes'; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, p.94: 'for joy of the pepulle that ware convertyd lyke wyse as sent Powlle was convertyd'.

⁶⁷ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁸ WAM 37589: 'Item the xxv day of Januari layd forthe for caryng the coppes to polles vjd'). Even the London procession of 1555 was dwarfed, however, by one held on 11 November 1535 in which coped participants numbered 718 (*Two London chronicles*, p.11-12; the Litany was sung in faburden on this earlier occasion).

⁶⁹ National Archives, PC 2/7, f.201 (Privy Council meeting, 27 January 1555). G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster, 1200-1540* (Oxford, 1989), pp.124-5

convivium. Not least in his capacity as Mary's chaplain, Weston was heavily invested in the success of the queen's dynastic and religious programme; he had overseen the revival of Corpus Christi processions in Westminster in summer 1554; perhaps around the beginning of May (when letters were being prepared in readiness for the expected birth) he composed a prayer for the queen, 'being now at the point of her deliverance'.⁷⁰ The staff of the Abbey formed the core of the processional train on 27 January;⁷¹ it being a Sunday, the Chapel Royal would have been in attendance upon the king and queen in Whitehall Palace (including John Sheppard, who would later be buried in Westminster, and Thomas Tallis, the composer of *O sacrum convivium*).⁷² The procession could also draw upon the resources of local parishes: parish clerks, ancillary clergy, and locally available volunteers, such as the pensioner Nicholas Ludford or Alexander Peryn, no longer on the Abbey's payroll but still receiving his modest Edwardian chantry pension.⁷³

[Plate 8 here]

***O sacrum convivium*: chronology and context**

The procession of 27 December was not the only occasion in 1555 for which the Peryn-Morley Litany and Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* would have been apt.⁷⁴ There was no canonical sanction for a processional Litany of Saints to be yoked together with a Corpus Christi antiphon, as suggested by their pairing in PARIS; but the apparent triumph of Eucharistic theology and an eagerly-anticipated royal baby were the most salient news stories of the first half of 1555. There were also good precedents for the symbolic pairing of Corpus Christi antiphon and Litany of Saints, not least Walter Lambe's, *O maria plena gratia*, a rambling

⁷⁰ See Appendix II; C. S. Knighton, 'Weston, Hugh (c.1510–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29122>, accessed 16 December 2015]

⁷¹ WAM 37551, f.3r-v (3 prebendaries, 14 minor canons, 12 singing men, 10 choristers).

⁷² F. Kisby, 'The Royal Household Chapel in early Tudor London, 1485-1547' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, 1996), p. 73: membership of the Chapel Royal comprised approximately 10 clergy, 20 gentlemen, 12 boys and six men of the vestry, 49 in all.

⁷³ On Westminster residency by members of the Chapel under Henry VIII, see F. Kisby, 'Music and musicians of early Tudor Westminster', *Early music*, 23 (1995), pp.223-40, at 228 and 235-6. The churchwardens of St Margaret's provided refreshments for this or another procession in 1555: 'Item payde for Breade Wyne Beere and Ale for Mr Deane and the prebendaryes and ther Quyre when they cam in procession to owre churche, iijs viijd' (Westminster Archives, SMW/E/4, f. [21]v).

⁷⁴ For instance, the feast of Corpus Christi on 13 June, late in Mary's assumed pregnancy; less auspiciously, William Flower's assault upon the Abbey's sexton John Cheltham in St Margaret's church on Easter Sunday (14 April), Flower's botched execution in the churchyard ten days later, and the ritual re-dedication of St Margaret's (John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1570), pp.1785-8).

votive antiphon whose text evoking the company of saints is complemented by its cantus firmus, the proper plainsong melody of *O sacrum convivium*. The Eucharist was the central and indispensable element of the Marian restoration:⁷⁵ texts and rites associated with Corpus Christi suffused the entire fabric of Catholic worship, including Litanies and processions (and even, it would seem, judicial cremations: see Plate 1).

John Milsom has demonstrated that Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* was adapted, most probably by Tallis himself, from his pre-existing instrumental fantasia. The evidence of LAMBETH and PARIS indicates that this adaptation was sung at least once between November 1554 and July 1555, twenty years before its eventual publication (but in a state not far removed from the published version). The contrafact may have been done at this time and for this purpose, although Tallis's decision to plunder pre-existing material rather than compose a bespoke showpiece suggests either a lack of time, or a preference for tried-and-tested material for processional performance (as had happened in 1544: see David Skinner's article).⁷⁶ It may not be coincidental that *O salutaris hostia*, another of Tallis's pieces with a strong stylistic affinity with *O sacrum convivium*, might also have been contrafacted from an instrumental original, and is also set to a Eucharistic text.⁷⁷

The creation of much Tudor polyphony, most notably Tallis's Mass *Puer natus est*, has been attributed to the restoration of Latin worship between 1553 and 1558, on account of scoring, or cantus firmus usage, or textual topicality, or ritual suitability.⁷⁸ By these criteria, Tallis's supremely controlled and not overtly allusive *O sacrum convivium* has been overlooked as a potential legacy of the Marian restoration. Associated with a layer of repertory, along with the psalm motets *Domine quis habitabit* and *Laudate dominum*, it has seemed archetypally early-Elizabethan: characterised by the use of pervasive imitation, and scored in five-parts with double Contratenor but lacking the old high Triplex (MCtCtTB: sometimes misleadingly called 'chapel royal scoring'). If *O sacrum convivium* was in existence by 1555, there are no stylistic grounds for this layer of repertory to be assigned to the 1560s: it is Marian, not early-

⁷⁵ W. Wizeman, *The theology and spirituality of Mary Tudor's church* (Aldershot, 2006), p.162.

⁷⁶ As John Milsom asked, 'why should a composer as inventive as Tallis have chosen not to respond intuitively to the words of *O sacrum convivium* but rather fit them to music that had been conceived for instruments?' (Milsom, 'Tallis Fantasia', p. 662).

⁷⁷ Milsom, 'Polyphonic style in transition', I, p. 48 (where the presence of *O salutaris hostia* in the Elizabethan tablebook GB-Lbl Add. 31390 'implies an early Elizabethan date of composition, as does its close stylistic similarity to *O sacrum convivium*'; see also above, n.4). *O salutaris hostia* sets an isolated verse from the Corpus Christi hymn *Verbum supernum prodiens*.

⁷⁸ D. B. Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: church music in the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558)' (PhD thesis, Brandeis University, 1996), pp.156-224; J. Kerman, 'The Missa "Puer natus est" by Thomas Tallis', in *Sundry sorts of music books*, ed. C. Banks, A. Searle & M. Turner (London, 1993), pp.40-53.

Elizabethan.⁷⁹ This would justify a wider re-examination of the chronology and contexts of the mid-century repertory as a whole, including both Latin and vernacular genres. John Sheppard's vernacular Second Service, for instance, need not on be assigned on stylistic grounds to the final, influenza-wracked days of his life in the winter of 1558;⁸⁰ paradoxically, it may instead have stemmed from the more astringent phase of Reformation under Edward VI (1547-53). As Kerry McCarthy astutely observes, compositional chronology may be spiral rather than linear.

This argument can be made only because of the survival against the odds of some apparently unprepossessing papers bound into a pair of dislocated printed sources. Had either PARIS or LAMBETH entered one of the collections where more zealous book restorers held sway in the nineteenth century, this evidence would have been discarded. For this reason alone both sources are valuable witnesses to a whole class of ephemeral or occasional copies, provided for a specific occasion and then, in nearly all cases, discarded. In this case, we can assume that copies were made for each of the other four voices, and that those copies were also tipped into Processionals or other forms book that enabled them to be carried on foot. Perhaps others await discovery.

⁷⁹ Indeed, if *O sacrum convivium* was contrafacted by 1555, Tallis's prototype viol consort could be Edwardian or even Henrician.

⁸⁰ R. Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, the first Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *Historical Journal*, xliii (2000), pp.317-44. An Elizabethan example, William Byrd's pedestrian anthem *How long shall mine enemies*, which was modelled closely on *O sacrum convivium*, can now be brought forward to Byrd's apprentice years where it belongs (my thanks to Andrew Johnstone for this observation).

Appendix I: Contemporary accounts: Henry Machyn and Charles Wriothesley⁸¹

Pregnancy announced

Wednesday the 28 November [1554] the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns and cloaks, with all the commons in their liveries, at nine of the clock in the forenoon. The High Mass done, Dr [William] Chedsey, one of the prebendaries in St Paul's, went into the pulpit in the quire, the Bishop of London present in his stall and nine other bishops sitting on the north side of the high altar against the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen. First the preacher read a letter sent to the Bishop of London from the Queen's Council; the tenure whereof was that the Bishop of London should cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the parish churches of his diocese, with continual prayers of the priests in their Masses, for the Queen's majesty who was conceived and quick with child. The letter read, he began a collation with this anthem, *Ne timeas maria: invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum*. His sermon ended, solemn procession was made of *Salve festa dies* going the circuit of the church.

General procession, London

The 25 day of January [1555], being St Paul's day, was a general procession of St Paul by every parish, both priests and clerks, in copes to the number of 160, singing *Salve festa dies*, with 90 crosses borne. The procession was through Cheap into Leadenhall. And before went the children of the Grey Friars [i.e., Christ's Hospital] and St Paul's School. There were eight bishops; and the bishop of London mitred, bearing the sacrament, with ... of torches burning, and a canopy borne over; so about the churchyard, and in at the west door, with the Lord Mayor and the aldermen, and all the crafts in their best liveries. And within a while after, the King came, and my Lord Cardinal, and the Prince of Piedmont [Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy], and diverse lords and knights; they heard masse, and after to the court to dinner, and at night bonfires and great ringing in every church.

Procession, Westminster to Temple Bar

The 27 day of January [1555] ... a goodly procession came from Westminster unto Temple Bar with crosses and 100 children in surplices and 100 clerks and priests singing in copes (which were of very rich tissue and cloth of gold), then Mr Dean [Hugh] Weston carrying the blessed Sacrament, and a canopy [was] borne over it, and about 20 torches burning; and after it 200 men and women.

Garter procession

The 23 day of April [1555], being St George's day, at Hampton Court, the King, with other lords and knights of the garter, went in their robes on procession, with three crosses, and clerks and priests, and my Lord Chancellor, the chief minister, mitred, and all they in copes of cloth of tissue and gold, singing *Salve festa dies* as they went about; the Queen's grace looked out of a casement, that hundreds did see her grace after she had taken her chamber.

False rumours of a birth

⁸¹ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 76-8, 80-82, 84-85; *Chronicle of England*, pp. 123-4 (28 November 1554 only). Spelling and punctuation modernized.

The 30 day of April [1555] and the last day of April tidings came to London that the Queen's grace was delivered of a prince, and so there was great ringing through London, and diverse places *Te deum laudamus* sung; and the morrow after it was turned otherwise to the pleasure of God. But it shall be when it pleases God, for I trust God that he will remember his true servants that put their trust in him, when that they call upon him.

Appendix II: 'A prayer made by the Dean of Westminster, and delivered to the children of the Queen's Majesty's grammar school there, and said by them daily, morning and evening for her Majesty' (1555)⁸²

Iuste Domin[e] deus, qui propter prime mulieris piaculum, communem omnibus feminis seueram et ineuitabilem maledictionem denunciasti et imposuisti : nempe ut in peccatis conciperent, grauidæ, multis et magnis cruciatibus subiacerent, et tandem cu[m] vitæ periculo parerent. Quesumus pro tua immensa bonitate, pro que inexhausta misericordia, huius legis edictum mitiga. Quiescat Paululum ira tua, et Reginam nostram Mariam iam partum enitentem, tue graciae sinu foue. Adiuua eam ut sine periculo vite dolorem superare, quo, post augustiæ oblita, cum gaudio miserationis tuæ gratiam celebret, teque tuumque nomen nobiscum benedicat in secula seculorum. Oramus, obsecremus, obstetamur. Audi domine, et exaudi, ne dicant fidei et ecclesiæ tuæ hostes : ubi est deus eorum.

O most righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the first woman hast threatened unto all women a common, sharp and inevitable malediction, and hast enjoined them that they would conceive in sin and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments, and finally be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their life; we beseech thee, for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to assuage and mitigate the strictness of that law, and to embrace into the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious Queen Mary, being now at the point of her deliverance. So help her that, without danger of life, she may overcome the sorrow and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant; so that afterward she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and together with us praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition. Let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church say, 'Where is their God?' Amen.

⁸² Cambridge University Library, Pet. W. 9 (printed by John Cawood, no date; single printed copy bound into a volume from Peterborough Cathedral, not in STC). Original Latin spelling, punctuation and orthography retained; translation modernized.