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Tracing the Influence of Giulio Caccini's <i>Le nuove musiche</i> on Seventeenth-Century English Composers
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Introduction

In *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England* (Vermont: Ashgate, 1997), Jonathan P. Wainwright has made the following statement regarding John Blow (c.1648/9-1708) and Henry Purcell (1659-1695), who are considered two of the greatest English composers of the seventeenth century:

"A detailed examination of Italianate features in their music would be out of place in this study. Were this to be attempted, a number of awkward questions would have to be asked: such as, by the time of Blow and Purcell, to what extent had Italianate elements become assimilated into the native English idiom, and when do foreign influences end and personal style begin?" ¹

The following study will attempt to answer these "awkward questions," or at least contribute to the search for such answers by tracing one specific thread – the influence of Giulio Caccini's (1551-1618) *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602) in seventeenth-century England. The preface to *Le nuove musiche* is one of the best-known texts about ornamentation of vocal music and was among the first instructional treatises to outline the Italian style of singing associated with the *seconda pratica*. The first known English translation of the text was not published until 1664, when it was included in John Playford's (1623-c.1686/7) musical textbook, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1664) and given the title, "*A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the* Italian *manner*."

Tracing the dissemination of *Le nuove musiche* throughout seventeenth-century England brings to light some of the information needed in order to answer Wainwright's proposed questions. Specifically, it demonstrates that Italianate styles of vocal ornamentation (and possibly Caccini's treatise) had been present in England prior to

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¹ Wainwright, Jonathan P. Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670). Vermont: Ashgate, 1997, p. 205.

1664; that the abridgments and alterations made to Caccini's original text in Playford's "Brief Discourse" reflect, and perhaps even affected, English performance practices of the period; and that English composers of the late seventeenth century (such as Blow and Purcell) notated elements of Caccini's described ornamentation into the melodic lines of their own works - a practice either learned indirectly or incorporated as a result of direct exposure to Le nuove musiche. Although Caccini's treatise and musical techniques cannot wholly represent seventeenth-century Italianate practices of performance and composition, Le nuove musiche clearly held a prominent place in England at the time. The text's influence throughout England represents the transition of Italianate vocal ornamentation from being improvised musical decorations to becoming assimilated into more solidified melodic figures within English vocal music.

Giulio Caccini and Le nuove musiche

Giulio Caccini was an Italian composer, singer, music teacher, and multiinstrumentalist. He was born in Rome, and spent a good part of his childhood as a treble singer in the Cappella Giulia until he was recruited to sing in the 1565 Florentine wedding festivities of Francesco de' Medici (1541-1587) and Johanna of Austria (1547-1578). By 1566, he was living in Florence and studying with Scipione delle Palle (d.1569), a well-known singer and composer of the time. For the majority of his career, Caccini was employed as a musician in the Florentine court. He worked under the patronage of figures such as Giovanni de' Bardi (1534-1612) and Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602) and was also a member of several musical organizations, including the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello and the Florentine Camerata. Caccini composed, taught, and performed in other locations as well, including Rome and Ferrara. In 1584, he married the singer Lucia di Filippo Gagnolanti (d.1593) with whom he had two daughters, Francesca (1587-1641) and Settimia (1591-1660). Both daughters became accomplished singers, instrumentalists, and composers. After the death of his first wife in 1593, Caccini married the singer Margherita di Agostino Benevoli della Scala.

Caccini worked in a time period, location, and circle of people that had a profound influence on the history of Western music, and his position within this framework was made evident in *Le nuove musiche*. Caccini expressed in his treatise many of the musical philosophies that were held by the Florentine Camerata, an assembly of artists and *dilettanti* from the late Renaissance to whom the creation of opera is generally attributed. His instructions relate to the newer monodic style of singing and composing recitative (*stile recitativo*, or what Caccini himself called the *stile moderno*),

referred to at the time as the *seconda pratica*. The proponents of this style referred back to descriptions of the musical practices of Ancient Greece, hoping to emulate the effect that that music was supposed to have had on its listeners. In music written in the newer recitative style, harmonic structure and counterpoint had only secondary importance beside the overriding supremacy of the text's verbal meaning, poetic patterns, and rhythms.

The development of the *seconda pratica* led to the birth of opera in Florence in the mid-1590s, and Caccini was among the first musicians to compose an all-sung drama in the newer operatic style. Caccini had participated in and composed music for many Florentine *intermedi* (musical interludes to spoken dramas), such as those performed in honor of the 1589 wedding of Ferdinando de' Medici (1549-1609) to Christina of Lorraine (1565-1637). However, Caccini's only works that truly could be considered operas were *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (1600) and *Euridice* (1600).

Caccini's efforts in composing *Euridice* were motivated largely by his rivalry with fellow composer Jacopo Peri (1561-1633). Peri had been the first musician to compose an all-sung drama, *Dafne* in 1597. Shortly after the first performance of *Dafne*, Peri began work on another opera entitled *Euridice* (1600), which was set to a text by the poet Ottavio Rinuccini (1562-1621). In an antagonistic attempt to overshadow Peri, Caccini composed different music for Rinuccini's same libretto and rushed to bring his own version to print in December of 1600, beating Peri's setting of *Euridice* by two months. Excerpts from Caccini's *Euridice* were performed alongside *Il rapimento* at the 1600 wedding celebration of Queen Marie de' Medici (1573-1642) and King Henry IV of France (1589-1610). Relative to *Il rapimento*, Caccini's *Euridice* was not well received

and only served to further tensions between the many musicians who competed to present themselves as the definitive inventors of the *seconda pratica* style.¹

As Tim Carter states, "Le nuove musiche was clearly part of this barrage."² Caccini had intended to publish his first collection of monodies by 1601, but due to a delay caused by the death of the printer Giorgio Marescotti (d.1602), it did not reach publication until 1602. Le nuove musiche features several of Caccini's solo songs composed in the seconda pratica style, some of which he extracted from past works such as Il rapimento di Cefalo. They comprise a combination of Caccini's self-described "Madrigali" (in the recitative style) and arias (more strophic songs in dance meters). Le nuove musiche certainly was not the first monodic compilation of its kind; by the time Caccini published *Le nuove musiche*, the *stile recitativo* had been established as a musical tradition within Italian courtly circles, and the composer Domenico Melli (d. early 17th century) had already published what is known as the first collection of monodies. Many of Caccini's own pieces in *Le nuove musiche* had been composed and circulated in Italy since the mid-1580s. Richard Taruskin and Piero Weiss pose the question, "What, then, was new in Caccini's self-consciously titled *Nuove musiche* of 1601? For one thing, the lofty aims: Caccini knowingly made the ideals of the Camerata his own."³

Caccini's preface to *Le nuove musiche* is an instructional treatise that served to educate singers and instrumentalists in his prescribed techniques of vocal ornamentation.

At the root of his instructions was not only a desire to present the principles of the

¹ Parker, Roger. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera*. 1994. Oxford: Oxford University, 2001, pp. 8-13.

² Carter, Tim, et. al. "Caccini: (1) Giulio Romolo Caccini." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University, 23 February 2013.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40146pg1.

³ Weiss, Piero and Taruskin, Richard. *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. 1984. Belmont: Schirmer, a part of Cengage Learning, 2008, p. 143.

seconda pratica as a product of his own innovation, but also a criticism of what he viewed as the ostentatious ornamentation that singers had applied to his compositions in the preceding years. On one hand, it was a means for Caccini to explain the proper execution of ornaments such as the esclamazione, the trillo, the gruppo, and the cascata.⁴ On the other hand, it was an opportunity for him to boast the positive reception of his music by various patrons; to identify himself as an esteemed teacher of this "new music"; to express distaste at what he deemed excessive use of onbeat slides and "passaggi" (or divisions) in vocal ornamentation; and to lay claim to a higher aesthetic of vocal performance which, as he asserted, would bring to its listeners "the contemplation of the infinite delights afforded in Heaven."⁵

Caccini stated in *Le nuove musiche* his desire "to introduce a type of music, in which one could almost speak in tones, using in this...a certain noble *sprezzatura* of singing." Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), who originally had coined the term *sprezzatura* in *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice: Aldine, 1528), defined it as a type of deliberate carelessness that "conceals art and presents that which is said and done as something brought about without laboriousness and almost without giving it any thought." In 1614, Caccini published a second collection, entitled, *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence: Pignoni e Compagni, 1614). *Nuove musiche*

⁴All ornaments and musical examples from *Le nuove musiche* notated and demonstrated in Appendix 2:

[&]quot;An Audio Guide to Musical Examples in Le nuove musiche."

⁵ Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1601. 1983. Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte. 1998.

⁶ Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*.

⁷ Castiglione, Baldassare. *Il libro del cortegiano*. Venice: Aldine, 1528, p. 25. Reprint. Torino: Giuilo Preti, ed. Giulio Einaudi, 1965. Liber Liber, 1999. http://www.liberliber.it/mediateca/libri/c/castiglione/il_libro_del_cortegiano/pdf/il_lib_p.pdf, 17 November 2012.

contains yet another introductory treatise, which expounds on the concept of musical *sprezzatura*.

Le nuove musiche was a representation of the musical standards that singers of Caccini's time were expected to reach. It demanded skilled breath control, emphasis on and clarity of text, knowledge of harmony and counterpoint, sound judgment in selection of repertoire (in adherence to its suitability for one's voice type), and tasteful implementation of ornaments. Caccini's preferred style of singing existed within the category of gorgia, or gorgheggiando, which was an intimate, subtle, and elegant form of seventeenth-century "warbling," or "crooning." ^{8 9} Not only did Caccini's preface address the responsibilities of singers, but also those of musicians who accompanied singers on the "Chitarrone" (archlute). For example, Caccini explained that a tied bass note should be held after its initial plucking while the inner harmonies of a chord can be repeated as many times as the text seems to demand. Lillian M. Ruff has noted that the monodies in Le nuove musiche contain some of the earliest examples of figured bass, which were represented in Caccini's time by compound intervals. ¹⁰

When one considers recorded accounts of Caccini's ornery personality, it is no surprise that the practical purposes of his treatise are semi-eclipsed by self-aggrandizing criticism of other musicians and their audiences. Caccini was involved in numerous squabbles and brawls, and in one case, a murder. In 1576, he acted as an informer to Pietro de' Medici (1554-1604), who murdered his own wife, Eleonora di Garzia da

⁸ Cusick, Suzanne G. Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2009, p. 13.

⁹ Taruskin, Richard. *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2005. New York: Oxford University, 2010, p 15.

¹⁰ Ruff, Lillian M. "A Survey of John Playford's 'Introduction to the Skill of Musick." *The Consort*, Vol. 22. Surrey: The Dolmetsch Foundation, 1965, pp. 41-42.

Toledo (1553-1576) upon learning of her infidelity. One brawl with Antonio Salviati (the lover of one of Caccini's pupils) resulted in Caccini's temporary removal from the court payroll in 1600. Near the end of Caccini's life, an argument with Ottavio Archilei (son of the singers Vittoria and Antonio Archilei) led to Caccini being placed under house arrest. Suzanne G. Cusick writes,

"Giulio Caccini was a sometimes difficult man who chafed at the gap between his actual social rank and that of people in the elite world he served. His contemporaries knew him to participate in such common but slightly disreputable activities as gambling, speculating in currency and stocks, and openly longing to be treated as an equal by the aristocrats among whom he so often moved. Giulio wrote boastful letters to his patrons, shamelessly took credit for the virtuosa performances for which his two wives and his eldest daughters were praised, and often complained to the court that he needed money...In fact, Giulio's proud breaching of the boundaries of social rank often caused him to depend on the intercession of his social betters for rescue."

In reference to Le nuove musiche, Richard Taruskin writes,

"Caccini's preface contained a sarcastic, even cranky comparison between the subtle *gorgia* he employed and the unwritten (extemporized or memorized) *passaggii* – real virtuoso fireworks – with which less socially elevated singers peppered their performances...The matter is couched outwardly in terms of fastidious taste, but the social snobbery lurking within is not hard to discern. Virtuosity is 'common.' Those who indulge it or encourage it with their applause are to be despised as vulgar, 'low class.' (To find Caccini's heirs in this antipopulist bias, chances are one need only read one's local music critic or record reviewer.)" ¹²

In spite of Caccini's tempestuous personality and desire to elevate his own reputation and social rank, his compositions, performances, and musical techniques were widely successful throughout Europe. As Howard Mayer Brown explains, "Caccini doubtless came to be regarded...as a valuable cultural asset, as a symbol of Florence's achievements in music. And some of his trips abroad...may well have been intended, at

¹¹ Cusick, pp. 2-3.

¹² Taruskin, pp. 15-16.

least in part, as cultural propaganda."¹³ Inspired after hearing the famous *concerto di donne* in Ferrara in 1583, Caccini assembled his own *concerto*, which featured his second wife, his two daughters, his illegitimate son Pompeo, and various pupils. It was in part the achievements of the *concerto* (referred to as *Le donne di Giulio Romano*) that led the majordomo Enea Vaini to write, in a report on the 1603 court musical establishment, that Caccini was "most useful in the service of the music."¹⁴

In 1604, Maria de' Medici invited Caccini's *concerto* to Paris to perform. They set out through Modena, Milan, Turin, and Lyons, finally arriving in Paris in 1605. Caccini's *concerto* was enthusiastically received in France, and Francesca was offered employment in the French court (which she ultimately refused). Caccini and his *concerto* had hoped to extend their tour into England, but the plans did not go through, and they returned to Florence later that year. Throughout Caccini's career, his home remained a gathering place for great singers of his time, and his children continued to perform his music (as well as their own) throughout the Italian peninsula long after his death in 1618.

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¹³ Brown, Howard Mayer. "The geography of Florentine monody: Caccini at home and abroad." *Early Music*, Vol. 9, No. 2. Oxford: Oxford University, 1981, p. 158.

¹⁴ Vaini, Enea. Carter, Tim, et. al. "Caccini: (1) Giulio Romolo Caccini."

Italianate Florid Song in the Early Decades of Seventeenth-Century England

Five years after the publication of Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*, Claudio Monteverdi's (1567-1643) five-act opera *Orfeo* was performed in Mantua, and this set in motion a quickly approaching tide of Italian opera that would profoundly affect Western musical practices. By the mid-seventeenth century, the *seconda pratica* had made an indelible mark on the European continent and was internationally emulated (though often deviating from Caccini's conception to varying degrees). Touring opera companies frequently performed works by composers such as Monteverdi, Francesco Cavalli (1602-1676), and Antonio Cesti (1623-1669) throughout Italy and in other locations including Hanover, Innsbruck, Paris, Prague, and Vienna. 1637 marked the opening of the Teatro San Cassiano in Venice- the first public opera house in the Western world- and many others followed.

The journey of the *seconda pratica* to England, however, was a slightly more delayed and nebulous one. The complications in the transference of contemporary Italian musical practices to England certainly were not due to a lack of English appreciation for Italian artistic and cultural influences. Rather, it seems that the only initial source of delay was England's relatively large distance from the continent. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the English Renaissance was only just coming to a close, emerging from a golden age of literature, theatre, and music that had been spurred in part by the Italian Renaissance. Christopher Duggan explains,

"As the sixteenth century progressed, Italian art and culture spread north and came to dominate much of Europe. Humanist education, with its rather romantic vision of the classical world and its stress on eloquence in Latin and Greek, became a hallmark of the rich from Scotland to Sicily. Italian dress, deportment, and even cooking set the standard at princely courts...In England Henry VII's tomb was commissioned from a

pupil of Michelangelo; Wyatt, Surrey, Spenser, and other writers imitated Italian models; and Renaissance motifs began to adorn monuments and palaces, albeit somewhat haphazardly."¹

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, sixteenth-century Italianate styles of musical composition and performance, such as the polyphonic madrigal, were still abundant in England. Ian Spink states,

"It has to be admitted that the vogue for things Italian was at its height at the end of the sixteenth century and that it persisted into the seventeenth. The taste for Italian madrigals, and the Italian influence on the English madrigal, is the most persuasive evidence of this ultramontanism, and we can be sure that printed books from Italy, madrigals and...monodies, were sought after and studied with interest. Yet their availability in the early years of the seventeenth century does not seem to have extended much beyond the madrigalian repertory."

It seems that the predominant form of musical ornamentation in England until the 1630s was the use of divisions - melismatic patterns inserted into a notated melodic line that divide longer notes into many shorter ones. Two examples of divisions in English song before 1620 can be seen in two manuscript transcriptions from the time - Nathaniel Giles' (c.1558-1634) "O heare my prayer Lord" from Oxford Christ Church Library Ms. 439³ and "Have you seene but a Whyte Lillie grow" from British Library Add. Ms. 15117.4

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¹ Duggan, Christopher. A Concise History of Italy. 1994. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005, p. 65.

² Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974, p. 42.

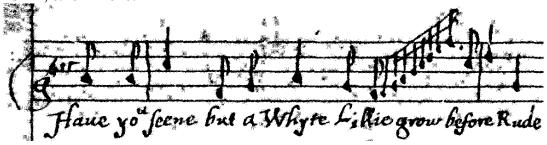
³ Shown in Example 1. Giles, Nathaniel. "O heare my prayer Lord." Christ Church Library, Oxford, Ms. 439, compiled before 1620. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Manuscripts at Oxford, Part I." *English Songs* 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts. New York: Garland, 1987.

⁴ Shown in Example 2. "Have you seene but a Whyte Lillie grow." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 15117, c.1614-1616. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part I." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987.

Ex. 1. Giles, Nathaniel. "O heare my prayer Lord." Christ Church Library, Oxford, Ms. 439, compiled before 1620.



Ex. 2. "Have you seene but a Whyte Lillie grow." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 15117, c.1614-1616.



This practice had been inherited from earlier continental musical influences, such as from Spanish-Italian theorist and composer Diego Ortiz (c.1510-c.1570), whose treatise, *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (Rome: Doríco, 1553), had outlined varying division techniques. Divisions were not always employed tastefully, and Caccini was not the only musician who abhorred garish overuse of divisions in vocal music. The esteemed English composer and lutenist John Dowland (1563-1626), for example, described singers who "shroude themselves under the title of Musicians...who though they seeme excellent in their blinde Divisionmaking, are meerely ignorant, even in the first elements of Musicke, and also in the true order of the mutation of the *Hexachord* in the *Systeme*." It was not only disregard for a time-honored scalar system that gave indelicate division-making its unsavory reputation. Robert Toft explains that the concern was also in the destruction of the fragile and

⁵ Dowland, John. *A Pilgrimes Solace*. London: William Barley, John Browne, Matthew Lownes, and Thomas Snodham, 1612.

nuanced relationship between verbal and musical rhetoric.⁶ In this regard, "blinde Division-making" was problematic in seventeenth-century England, a time and place characterized by a great respect for poetry, a highly rhetorical approach to language, and an enduring theatrical tradition.⁷ However, at the turn of the century, a new remedy to this issue slowly was being introduced - the art of the *stile recitativo* and its accompanying principles of ornamentation. During this time, there was a great deal of intercultural and artistic exchange between English and Italian musicians, the effects of which would have a lasting influence on the future of English song.

Although only a handful of Italian musicians arrived at the English court within the first two decades of the seventeenth century, a considerable amount of English musicians traveled to Italy. These included William Brade (1560-1630), John Bull (c.1562/3-1628), John Coprario (c.1570/80-c.1626), Richard Dering (c.1580-1630), John Dowland, Anthony Holborne (c.1545-1602), Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666), Thomas Morley (1557/8-1602), Henry Peacham (1578-c.1644), Peter Phillips (1560/1-1628), Walter Porter (c.1587/95-1659), Thomas Robinson (fl 1589-1609), and Thomas Simpson (c.1582-c.1628). They are known to have traveled to cities such as Bologna, Florence, Mantua, Rome, and Venice, and to have learned the foundations of the *seconda pratica* from eminent Italian composers. For example, Dowland is said to have met Caccini during his 1595 visit to Florence, Porter may have studied with Monteverdi, and

⁶ Toft, Robert. *Tune Thy Musicke To Thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England 1597-1622*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993, p. 92.

⁷ Elliott, Martha. *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices*. New Haven: Yale University, 2006, pp. 32-33.

⁸ Walls, Peter. "The Origins of English Recitative." *The Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 110, 1983-1984, p. 37.

Coprario may have participated in the first production of Peri's *Dafne* in 1598.⁹ Although details on these visits are scarce, Ian Spink explains,

"No doubt there was more coming and going between England and Italy than we have record of now, and more Italian music available (apart from madrigals, etc.) than the few samples that survive. Even so, it is surprising that there is not more evidence of Italian traits in English songs of the period. By and large the lutesong writers were untouched, and one gets the impression that Italianate composers such as [Alfonso] Ferrabosco [II, c.1575-1628] and Lanier had not so much heard the 'new music' as heard about it."

English Italianate composers had long had access to monody and to texts relating to the *seconda pratica* and *Le nuove musiche*, even if the exact musical sounds had not yet crossed the continent. For example, Vicenzo Galilei's (d.1591) *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Florence: Marescotti, 1581), which outlined the basic musical principles of the Florentine Camerata, had been in England since at least 1605 and was widely read. The ideals of the Camerata, specifically those regarding precedence of text over music, aligned well with English reverence for poetry and rhetoric. Italian monody was available in England by at least 1610, as suggested by the publication of Caccini's "Amarilli, mia bella" and "Dovrò dunque morire?" in Robert Dowland's (c.1591-1641) *A Musicall Banquet* (London: Adams and Snodham, 1610). Both pieces were presented as lute songs with tablature accompaniment, as was the case with many Italian monodies published in England at the time. As Lorenzo Bianconi writes,

"[T]he languid, tender chamber monodies of Caccini enjoyed an early success and diffusion in England (a situation, perhaps, not unrelated to a certain propensity on the part of English poets for the association of music with essentially melancholic affectations)."¹¹

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⁹ Charteris, Richard. *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction*. New York: Pendragon, 1977, p. 5.

¹⁰ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 43.

¹¹ Bianconi, Lorenzo. *Music in the Seventeenth Century*. Trans. David Bryant. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987, p. 254.

"Amarilli" seems to have been one of Caccini's most widely disseminated pieces, appearing in about half a dozen English sources within the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Tim Carter conjectures that the original Marescotti edition of "Amarilli" was limited in size, so its circulation mainly was achieved through the transference of manuscripts by hand. Ornaments are abundant in early English manuscript transcriptions of Italian monody, added either for performance or for pedagogical purposes. Two examples of early annotated English manuscript editions of "Amarilli" include that in the British Library Egerton Ms. 2971 and an adaptation with English text, entitled "Miserere my maker," from the British Library Add. Ms. 15117. Both pieces were embedded in collections of English lute songs by composers such as William Byrd (c.1540-1623), John Dowland, Nathaniel Giles, Robert Jones (fl 1597-1615), and Thomas Morley.

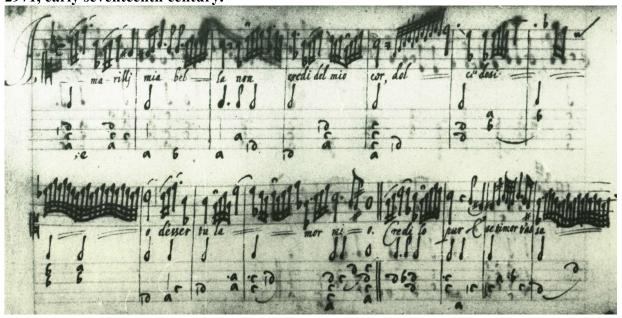
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¹² Carter, Tim. "Caccini's *Amarilli, mia bella*: Some Questions (and a Few Answers)." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 113, No. 2. Taylor & Francis, on behalf of the Royal Musical Association, 1988, pp. 261-262.

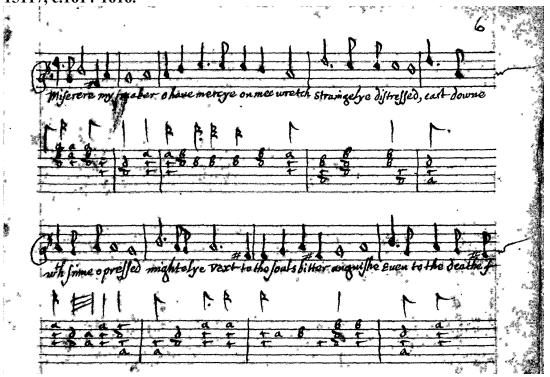
¹³ Shown in Example 3. Caccini, Giulio. "Amarilli mia bella." British Library, London, Egerton Ms. 2971, early seventeenth century. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part I."

¹⁴ Shown in Example 4. Caccini, Giulio. "Miserere my maker." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 15117, c.1614-1616. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part I."

Ex. 3. Caccini, Giulio. "Amarilli mia bella." British Library, London, Egerton Ms. 2971, early seventeenth century.



Ex. 4. Caccini, Giulio. "Miserere my maker." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 15117, c.1614-1616.



It is clear from the Egerton Ms. 2971 and other similar sources, such as the Oxford Tenbury Ms. 1018, ¹⁵ that Italian monody in England was ornamented heavily with divisions long after Caccini had published *Le nuove musiche* in 1602. As John Bass argues, Caccini may have approved of (and perhaps even expected) a certain amount of division, granted that it enhanced the meaning of the text and complemented the poetic construction. ¹⁶ In this respect, it is not so much the presence of divisions that implies a perpetuation of earlier practices in England, but rather the relative *lack* of Caccini's very different ornaments presented in *Le nuove musiche*. Although several Italian monodies and the general *seconda pratica* ideals had begun to circulate in England, it seems that the latest Italian ornaments remained largely unknown and unused for several decades.

Ex. 5a. Melli, Domenico "Se di farmi morire." Dowland, Robert. A Musicall Banquet. London: Thomas Adams and Thomas Snodham, 1610.



¹⁵ Shown in Example 5. 5a from printed version of Domenico Melli's "Se di farmi morire." Dowland, Robert. *A Musicall Banquet*. London: Thomas Adams and Thomas Snodham, 1610. 5b from manuscript version of same piece with a division on the word, "sdegno." Oxford, Tenbury Ms. 1018, early seventeenth century, Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Manuscripts at Oxford, Part I."

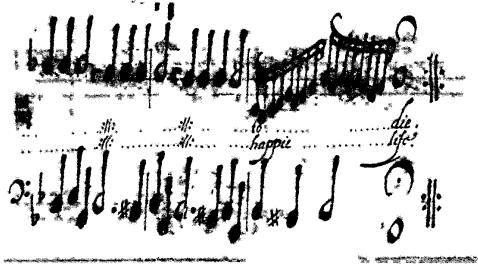
¹⁶ Bass, John. "Would Caccini Approve? A closer look at Egerton 2971 and florid monody." *Early Music*, Vol. 36, No. 1. Oxford: Oxford University, 2008, pp. 90-91.

Ex. 5b. Melli, Domenico. "Se di farmi morire." Oxford, Tenbury Ms. 1018, early seventeenth century.



There were some exceptions, however. For example, "Hence leaden care" from the Egerton Ms. 2971 features a *gruppo* on its final cadence, but it is difficult to determine whether the *gruppo* pattern had been consciously applied or implemented as a division and resembles a *gruppo* by happenstance.¹⁷

Ex. 6. "Hence leaden care." British Library, London, Egerton Ms. 2971, early seventeenth century.



Copies of *Le nuove musiche* in their original Italian form may have circulated in England within the first three decades of the seventeenth century, but signs of Italianate

¹⁷ Shown in Example 6. "Hence leaden care." British Library, London, Egerton Ms. 2971, early seventeenth century. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part I."

ornamentation in English music (excluding divisions) are scarce. A small number of other available treatises, such as John Coprario's *Rules How to Compose* (c.1610-1616), ¹⁸ include slightly similar ornaments to those of Caccini. In addition, Angelo Notari (1566-1663), one of the few Italian composers working in the English court in the early seventeenth century, published a collection of Italian songs in 1613 entitled *Prime musiche nuove* (London: Hole, 1613). Within Notari's mixture of chamber duets, canzonettas, and monodies, he featured several of Caccini's described ornaments. The first page of the book entreats the use of the *trillo* within the pieces that follow, one being "Ben qui si mostra il Ciel," which marks each *trillo* with a "*t*." In addition, "Anima eletta" and "Cosi di ben amar" contain notated dotted graces similar to those of Caccini. Despite the presence of such resources, it seems that instructional material regarding ornamentation of music in the *seconda pratica* style was far from abundant in England, and such musical techniques did not truly take hold until approximately the 1630s.

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¹⁸ Further discussed in section VIa: "The Unnamed and Unknown Translator: Some Possible Candidates."

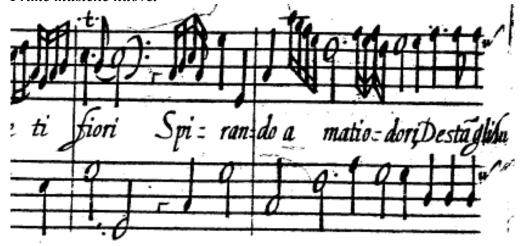
¹⁹ Shown in Example 7. 7a. Introduction by Notari. 7b. Rore, Cipriano de. "Ben qui si mostra il ciel." Notari, Angelo. *Prime musiche nuove*. London: William Hole, 1613.

²⁰ Shown in Example 8. 8a. "Anima eletta." 8b. "Cosi di ben amar." Notari, Angelo. *Prime musiche nuove*.

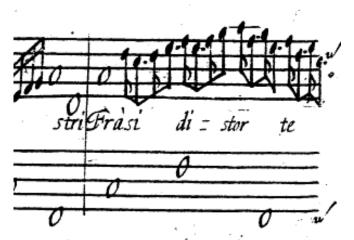
Ex. 7a. Notari, Angelo. Prime musiche nuove. London: William Hole, 1613.

sonde Sida me 33 But when you come to veletier, t, etcer with one or two notes as the then you must use a kinde of sweetnes in your voice by us cal led the Trillo: for I fitenate satisfie my selfe, and of others I desire to be understood, though I cannot be ignorant but these my diligence of the skirfull musition will be refuted superflux.

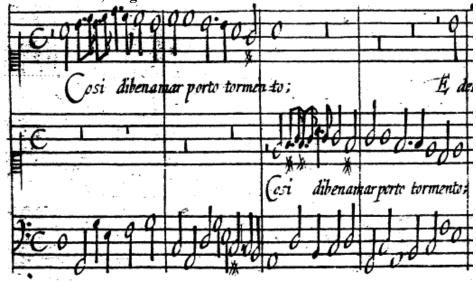
Ex.7b. Rore, Cipriano de (1515/16-1565). "Ben qui si mostra il ciel." Notari, Angelo. *Prime musiche nuove*.



Ex. 8a. Notari, Angelo. "Anima eletta." Prime musiche nuove.



Ex. 8b. Notari, Angelo. "Cosi di ben amar." Prime musiche nuove.



By the second decade of the seventeenth century, the *seconda pratica* was increasingly being adopted into English music. Some of the earliest inklings of declamatory English song emerge in John Dowland's "Up merry Mates, to *Neptunes* praise," "Welcome blacke night," and "Cease these false sports," from his final publication, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London: Barley, Browne, Lownes, and Snodham, 1612). All three pieces are believed to have been drawn from theatrical entertainments and, according to Peter Holman and Paul O'Dette, "use a novel declamatory vocal idiom akin

to Italian monody."²¹ This is apparent in the excerpt below,²² taken from "Cease these false sports"; the fifth measure, for example, features a single lute chord which accompanies a more florid and freely-moving vocal line, dramatically emphasizing the pivotal moment of consummation previously anticipated in the text and finally represented by the words "good night."

Ex. 9. Dowland, John. "Cease these false sports." *A Pilgrimes Solace*. London: William Barley, John Browne, Matthew Lownes, and Thomas Snodham, 1612.



In Jacobean and Caroline England, the *stile recitativo* did not arrive in the form of opera, but instead established a presence in continuo songs, masques, and incidental music for the theatre. One of the earliest instances of the inclusion of the *stile recitativo* into musical performance in the English court was Nicholas Lanier's and Ben Jonson's (1572/3-1637) masque, *Lovers Made Men* (1617). Although the music is now lost, Lanier asserted in the published libretto that the music was "sung after the Italian manner,

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²¹ Holman, Peter, and O'Dette, Paul. "Dowland, John." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 13 March, 2013.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08103.

²² Shown in Example 9. Dowland, John. "Cease these false sports." A Pilgrimes Solace.

stilo recitativo"²³ (Ian Spink and Peter Walls have contested this point, arguing that English declamatory song originally may have developed without foreign influence).²⁴ By the 1620s, the *stile recitativo* had become the newest trend in English musical composition and performance, and as Martha Elliott proposes, the polyphonic structure of John Dowland's lute songs may have seemed old-fashioned by comparison.²⁵ By the 1630s, English song in the *seconda pratica* style had become the norm, figured bass had come into practice, and a copy of Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* may have been in the library of Christopher, first Baron Hatton.²⁶ Musicians such as Charles Coleman (d.1664), Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Henry Lawes (c.1596-1662), William Lawes (1602-1645), Nicholas Lanier, Walter Porter, and John Wilson (1595-1674) began to compose music in the *stile recitativo* (both in English and Italian); perform declamatory song in court; and teach the newer Italianate style of singing throughout England.

One of the most celebrated works of the period was Lanier's *Hero and Leander* (c.1630), composed shortly after his return from Italy. Stewart Carter explains that the masque was composed in direct imitation of Monteverdi's *seconda pratica* style but was slightly awkward in its assembly, owing to the early difficulties of setting the English language in an Italian style.²⁷ As Edward Huws Jones states,

"While the Italian style of composition might be regarded in some ways as ideal, the *stile recitativo* had to be tempered by the requirements of the English language. Similarly the Italian style of performance would have to be modified to suit the nature of English continuo song."²⁸

²³ Lanier, Nicholas. Taruskin, p. 114.

²⁴ Walls, p. 34.

²⁵ Elliott, p. 33.

²⁶ Dering, Richard. *Richard Dering: Motets for one, two, or three voice and basso continuo*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright. Thetford: Musica Britannica, 2008, p. xxxvi.

²⁷ Carter, Stewart. *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Jeffrey Kite-Powell. Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012, p. 21.

²⁸ Jones, Edward Huws. *The Performance of English Song, 1610-1670*. New York: Garland, 1989. p. 24.

A new way of setting music to text called for a new way of ornamenting vocal music. The second and third decade of the seventeenth century saw an influx of more contemporary Italian and French ornaments in England, mainly a type of musical decoration referred to as graces. Graces characteristically were smaller melodic figures than divisions, and were used frequently in England from the 1630s onward. Typical graces included the shake, relish, cadent, elevation or fall, backfall, springer, and beate.²⁹

Many graces bear a similarity to the ornaments discussed in *Le nuove musiche* and in other available treatises of the period, such as Charles Butler's (c.1560-1647) *Principles of Musik* (London: Haviland, 1636). Not only did English graces indirectly represent an Italian influence on English vocal ornamentation, but Caccini's described ornaments are also directly present in many English manuscripts from the period. Divisions continued to occupy a place in English vocal ornamentation for much of the seventeenth century as well, resulting in an interweaving of older and newer styles. Edward Huws Jones writes,

"English musicians of the early seventeenth century were discovering, for the first time, the whole world of Italian florid ornamentation, and were apparently as receptive to the extravagant style stemming from [Girolamo] dalla Casa [d. c.1601] and his contemporaries as to the more refined approach of Caccini...The conclusion is, then, that the development of English vocal divisions was influenced as much by the florid Italian techniques of the 1580s and '90s as by the more restrained style of Caccini"³¹

One example of the intertwining of divisions with Italianate graces can be seen in the Oxford Christ Church Library Ms. 87,³² which belonged to "Mris Elizabeth Davenant" and was compiled in approximately 1624. Elise Bickford Jorgens has suggested that the manuscript was penned for Ms. Davenant rather than by her, and that

²⁹ Toft, p. 101.

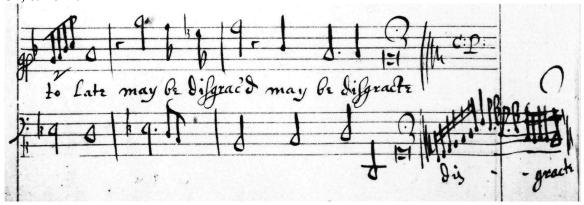
³⁰ A chart demonstrating such graces is available in section VI: "A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner."

³¹ Jones, p.114.

³² Shown in Example 10. "C.L." "Gentlie, gently prethee tyme." Christ Church Library, Oxford, Ms. 87, c. 1624. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Manuscripts at Oxford, Part II." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987.

many of the pieces were drawn from those performed in Jacobean dramas.³³ The song "Gentlie, gently prethee tyme" by "C.L." suggests an ornament for the word, "disgracte," which includes an ascending division and a springer (similar to Caccini's dotted graces) on the first syllable and a shake on the second syllable.

Ex. 10. "C.L." "Gentlie, gently prethee tyme." Christ Church Library, Oxford, Ms. 87, c. 1624.

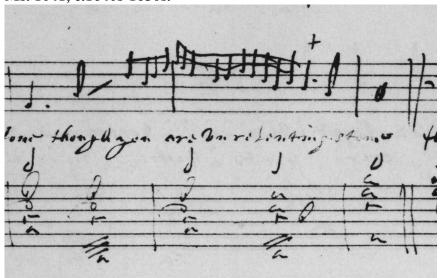


Ornaments that were more straightforwardly Italian, such as the *trillo*, appear in several manuscripts of the time. The London Lambeth Palace Ms. 1041, for example, includes a combination of divisions and cross-like *trillo* markings in "Bright Aurelia I doe owe" by Charles Coleman as well as several *trillo* markings in "O mia fili gradita." It is fitting that the manuscript should contain these ornaments, as it dates from the 1640s or 1650s and belonged to a "Lady Ann Blount," whose teacher is said to have been Charles Coleman.

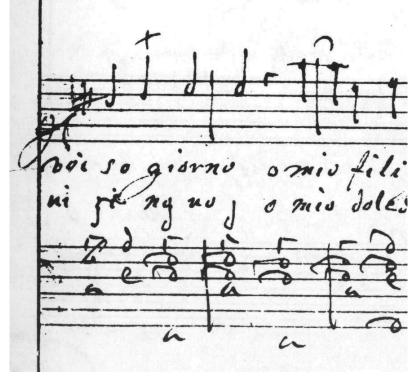
³³ Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Manuscripts at Oxford, Part II," pp. v-vi.

³⁴ Shown in Example 11. 11a. Coleman, Charles. "Bright Aurelia I doe owe." Lambeth Palace, London, Ms. 1041, c.1640s-1650s. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Miscellaneous Manuscripts." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987. 11b. "O mia fili gradita." Lambeth Palace, London, Ms. 1041, c.1640s-1650s. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "Miscellaneous Manuscripts."

Ex. 11a. Coleman, Charles. "Bright Aurelia I doe owe." Lambeth Palace, London, Ms. 1041, c.1640s-1650s.



Ex. 11b. "O mia fili gradita." Lambeth Palace, London, Ms. 1041, c.1640s-1650s.



The presence of Italianate ornaments in printed compositions and autograph manuscripts of the period not only demonstrates that a certain amount of seventeenth-century Italian ornamentation was common in English continuo songs, but it also supports John Playford's claim that composers such as Henry Lawes had taught Italian

Lawes both contain a relatively sparse smattering of divisions interlaced with the ornaments presented in *Le nuove musiche*. Pamela J. Willetts maintains that Caccini had been one of Henry Lawes' principal influences, and that many of Lawes' annotated ornaments represent his attempts to imitate Caccini.³⁶ For example, the Henry Lawes autograph manuscript (British Library Add. Ms. 53723), which was compiled from the 1620s until 1652, contains a *trillo* marking in "My Mistris blushed an ther wth all" and Caccini-esque dotted graces (combined with a division) in "Goe, hunt the whyte Ermin." William Lawes' autograph manuscript (British Library Add. Ms. 31432) is similar, compiled at some point between 1640 and 1645. For example, "I Burne, I burne, And beg of you to quench" features an ornament similar to a *cascata*.³⁸

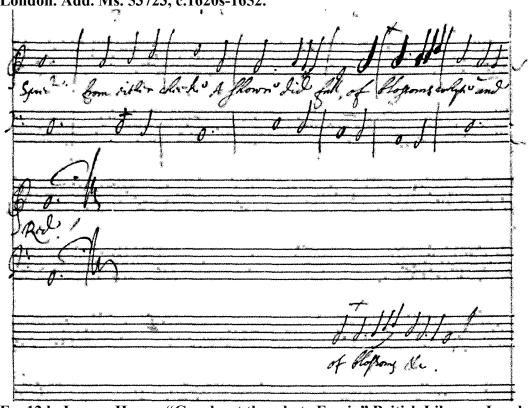
³⁵ Further discussed in section VI: "A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner."

³⁶ Willetts, Pamela J. *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1969, pp. 6-7.

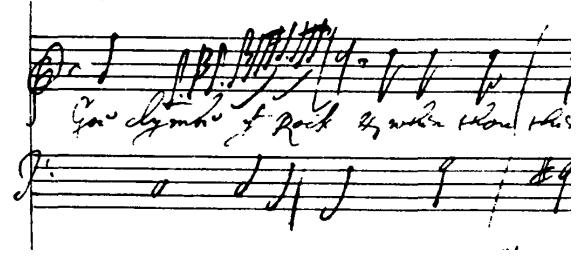
³⁷ Shown in Example 12. 12a. Lawes, Henry. "My Mistris blushed an ther wth all." British Library, London. Add. Ms. 53723, c.1620s-1652. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part III." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987. 12b. Lawes, Henry. "Goe, hunt the whyte Ermin" British Library, London. Add. Ms. 53723, c.1620s-1652. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part III."

³⁸ Shown in Example 13. Lawes, William. "I Burne, I burne, And beg of you to quench." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 31432, c.1640-1645. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part II." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987.

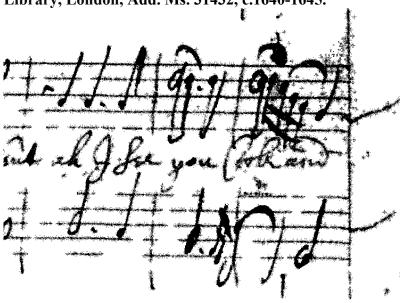
Ex. 12a. Lawes, Henry. "My Mistris blushed an ther wth all." British Library, London. Add. Ms. 53723, c.1620s-1652.



Ex. 12.b. Lawes, Henry. "Goe, hunt the whyte Ermin" British Library, London, Add. Ms. 53723, c.1620s-1652.



Ex. 13. Lawes, William. "I Burne, I burne, And beg of you to quench." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 31432, c.1640-1645.



It is unrealistic to assume that all Italian ornaments written into English manuscripts of the 1620s-1650s were exact imitations of the ornaments demonstrated in Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*. There certainly were other available written sources (such as Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* [London: Stansby, 1632]). There were also aural transferences of musical techniques- perhaps the most logical explanation. However, the correlation is worth noting, as it illustrates some of the musical practices preceding the publication of Playford's "*Brief Discourse*" and suggests that the Italian ornaments with which Caccini was familiar (and perhaps specifically his *Le nuove musiche*) had a strong presence in pre-1664 England.

³⁹ Further discussed in section IVa: "The Unnamed and Unknown Translator: Some Possible Candidates."

Printed Songbooks in the Absence of Theatrical Music: The English Civil War (1642-1648) and Commonwealth (1649-1660)

In the early 1640s, the seemingly steady trajectory of English song toward seventeenth-century Italianate styles of composition and performance was interrupted by the most severe political upheaval in the history of England. The English Civil War broke out in 1642, spurred by economic and religious conflict between the aristocracy and the middle classes. In 1649, King Charles I (1625-1649) was beheaded and the Puritans established a republic, known as the Commonwealth, which lasted for a decade under the dictatorial leadership of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).

During the years of the Commonwealth, many musicians no longer had aristocratic patronage, and they often expressed their royalist loyalties through song texts that commented on their surrounding political turmoil (such as those in the New York Public Library Drexel Ms. 4041 and 4257). Some musicians met an even worse fate; William Lawes, for example, fought and died in the Siege of Chester in 1645. The Puritans disapproved of elaborate public musical performance and thus closed the theatre. This nearly put an end to the public performance of declamatory song in England for ten years. As extreme as these measures may seem, the Puritans were not entirely hostile to the arts, allowing for the performance of florid song to take place in the home and in schools. The Puritans did see value in acting, singing, and dancing when they were used for diplomacy and educational purposes. Jeffrey Pulver states,

"The puritans had an outspoken objection to the elaborate choral and instrumental music of the cathedrals, - an attitude dictated by their religious beliefs. That excesses were occasionally committed by the over-zealous of the rank and file cannot be denied. Here and there the soldiers dragged organ pipes from the churches and sold them as waste metal or exchanged them for ale; here and there, too, an enthusiast urged by a fanatical superstition, destroyed the service-books...The official suppression of elaborate ecclesiastical music did not necessarily mean the suppression of *all music*. Nowhere do

we find ordinances containing a complete prohibition of its use. The puritan who objected to music on the Sabbath was a most enthusiastic amateur of the art on weekdays...There was nothing to prevent the citizen from fiddling and carolling to his heart's content on the remaining six days of the week."

Indeed, the musical response to such political and religious changes was less straightforward than one might assume, and many Italianate musicians of the period remained focused on the development of the recitative style in England. For instance, the English poet and dramatist William Davenant (1606-1667) managed to circumvent the new Puritan ban on the theatre by continuing to write texts for masques (since purely musical works technically were not prohibited), and many composers made musical contributions, such as Charles Coleman, Henry Cooke (c.1615-1672), George Hudson (d.1672), Matthew Locke, (c.1621/3-1677) and Henry Lawes. Such works included *The* Siege of Rhodes in 1656, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru in 1658, and The History of Sir Francis Drake in 1659.² On the one hand, many composers had lost their aristocratic outlet for the performance of their music. On the other hand, the rise of the middle class led to a growth in the sales of printed music and the study of music on a more widespread, civic level. Ian Spink explains that the socioeconomic changes brought to England during the Commonwealth led to a shift toward increased interest in music among the merchants, shopkeepers, and professional men of the middle class.³

Several manuscript sources from the Commonwealth period feature numerous divisions and Italianate graces, some of which strongly resemble the ornaments originally presented by Caccini. One example (in addition to those mentioned in the previous section) of the continuation of the *stile recitativo* and its ornamental practices is the

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¹ Pulver, Jeffrey. "Music in England during the Commonwealth." *Acta Musicologia*, Vol. 6, Fasc. 4. International Musicological Society, 1934, pp. 169-181.

² Parker, pp. 39-40.

³ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 132.

British Library Add. Ms. 11608, most likely transcribed by the composer John Hilton (1599-1657). Among the many works in the collection that abundantly feature divisions and graces (such as springers, *gruppi*, and *trilli*) are Simon Ives' (c.1600-1662) "Sett to the Sun a dial," Nicholas Lanier's "Qual Musico Gentil," and "Per doglia infinita Ch'importa sio moro."

Ex. 1a. Ives, Simon. "Sett to the Sun a dial." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c.1656.



⁴ Shown in Example 1. 1a. Ives, Simon. "Sett to the Sun a dial." 1b. Lanier, Nicholas. "Qual Musico Gentil." 1c. "Per doglia infinita Ch'importa sio moro." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c.1656. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part IV." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987.

Ex. 1b. Lanier, Nicholas. "Qual Musico Gentil." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c.1656.



Ex. 1c. "Per doglia infinita Ch'importa sio moro." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c.1656.



It was during this time that the business of publishing, printing, and selling music began to flourish, most notably through the work of John Playford. Playford was a publisher, editor, bookseller, and amateur musician who served as vicar-choral of St. Paul's Cathedral and as clerk to the Temple Church in London. It is a common misconception that Playford was also a printer; he did not print his own books, but

published them with the help of various printers, including Thomas Harper (d.1656), William Godbid (d.1679), John Playford the younger (c.1655-1685, his nephew), and Anne Godbid. Playford's publications were issued from the Temple Church, where he sold them from his bookshop in the porch of the church.

Playford's book sales were very profitable and came to dominate the music publishing trade in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. Despite his success, he always tried to publish what was most in demand from his customers, aiming to spread musical literacy in England more than he aimed to become wealthy from the enterprise. Playford was both an enthusiastic musician and an ardent royalist, two characteristics that explain many of the choices made in his publications. As Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley claim, "The dedications and prefaces to his publications reflect his commercial acumen, his xenophobia, and his devotion to the monarchy and to the divine service decently ordered."⁵ Although other publishers recognized the competition that Playford posed and did not look on him favorably, he was highly respected by poets and musicians. The majority of his publications focused on music theory, instrumental and singing lessons, and collections of vocal and instrumental music. Playford provided as much musical instruction as he could offer, but in his writings he constantly stressed that one could not acquire musical knowledge from books alone and would need the help of a good teacher as well.

Playford published works by many of the most prominent English and Italian composers of the period, and much of their published music was modeled after the *seconda pratica* style. Such composers included Giacomo Carissimi (c.1605-1674),

⁵ Dean-Smith, Margaret, and Temperley, Nicholas. "Playford." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 1 December 2012.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43168pg1.

Giuseppe Cenci (d.1616), Charles Coleman, Edward Coleman (c.1662-1669), Nicholas Lanier, Henry Lawes, Jeremy Savile (d.1663-6), William Smegergill (Caesar, *fl* 1615-1667), William Lawes, John Wilson, and William Webb (c.1600-1657). Ian Spink affirms that Playford was usually able to procure authentic versions of their music, and was most often reliable in his representations of it. Various Playford publications from the Commonwealth period include *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1652), Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues...The First Booke* (London: Harper and Playford, 1653), Henry Lawes' *The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues* (London: Harper and Playford, 1655), Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues...The Third Book* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1658), and James Shirley's *Cupid and Death* (London: Crooke and Playford, 1659).

It is clear from many of Playford's Commonwealth publications that the recitative style inherited from Caccini and his contemporaries was still very much alive in English music of the 1650s. For example, Henry Lawes' first book of *Ayres and Dialogues* begins with what may have been an English imitation of Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna" (c.1608), entitled *Ariadne*; it was composed in Lawes' characteristic continuo song style and likely would have been performed with seventeenth-century Italianate ornamentation. In the preface to the book, Lawes proclaimed,

"I acknowledge the Italians the greatest Masters of Musick, but yet not all. And (without depressing the Honour of other countries) I may say our own Nation hath had and yet hath as able Musicians as any in Europe; and many now living (whose names I forbear) are excellent both for the Voyce and Instruments...We should not think Musick any stranger to this Island, since our Ancestors tell us that the Britains had Musicians before they had Books...I confesse the Italian Language may have some advantage by

being better Smooth'd and vowell'd for Musick, which I found by many Songs which I set

⁶ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 133.

⁷ Shown in Example 2. Lawes, Henry. *Ariadne. Ayres and Dialogues*. London: Thomas Harper and John Playford, 1653, p. 1.

to Italian words: and our English seems a little over-clogg'd with Consonants; but that's much the Composer's fault, who by judicious setting and right tuning the words may make it smooth enough."8

Ex. 2. Lawes, Henry. *Ariadne. Ayres and Dialogues*. London: Thomas Harper and John Playford, 1653.



⁸ Lawes, Henry. Ayres and Dialogues.

Italianate Musical Influence, Composition, and Performance in Restoration England (1660-1685)

During the Civil War and Commonwealth years, the young English King Charles II (1660-1685) escaped to the European continent, drifting through several countries but initially settling in France. During Charles' early years in France, Louis XIV (1654-1715) was crowned king in 1654, and the Italian *seconda pratica* was beginning to establish a presence in the French court. Charles had brought many English musicians to France with him, where they were able to experience a vibrant mixture of Italian, French, and English musical styles. Charles was restored to his throne in 1660. Returning from exile, he was accompanied by several Italian and French musicians as well as English musicians who had learned Italianate styles of composition and ornamentation in the French and Flemish courts. In this regard, the English Civil War helped to break down the musical barrier of the English Channel by bringing the English court onto the continent and back again.

Charles II aspired to emulate Louis XIV on both a political and cultural level. His court cultivated the fine arts, and declamatory song was once again brought to the forefront through elaborate masques, reinstituted theatrical entertainments, and the reopening of the Chapel Royal. As Jonathan P. Wainwright writes, Charles II "quickly became the acknowledged arbiter of taste and fashion in a society which, after eleven years of Puritanical restraint, sought every kind of entertainment – from the sophisticated to the lewd." English multi-instrumentalist and composer John Banister (c.1624/5-1679) was one such emblem of this artistic exchange and regrowth. In December of 1661,

¹ Wainwright, Jonathan P. *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*, pp. 195-196.

Banister was sent to France to learn contemporary French compositional techniques and performance practices. During his time there, he would have heard Jean-Baptiste Lully's (1632-1687) "Petits Violons" and "24 Violons du Roi" and seems to have been inspired to follow Lully's example upon his return to England; in fact, he was promoted as an "English Lully." By April 1661, the King's orchestra, the "24 Violins," had been reformed (in imitation of the "24 Violons du Roi") and Banister was named director. The "24 Violins" performed for theatrical performances, court and state balls, and Chapel Royal services attended by the king.

Matthew Locke was among the musicians who had accompanied Charles II onto the continent during his exile and upon his return brought Italianate and French compositional styles to England. Locke returned to England by 1656 when he sang in *The Siege of Rhodes*, and by the time of the Restoration, he had become England's leading composer. In 1660, he was appointed composer to the "Private Musick" of Charles II and for the court violin orchestra, and he continued to hold respected court positions throughout the remainder of his life. However, Locke was most renowned for his work in commercial theatre music. He contributed music to semi-operas such as Davenant's *MacBeth* (1663), Davenant's *The Tempest* (1667), Elkanah Settle's (1648-1724) *The Empress of Morocco* (1673, a spoken drama with musical excerpts derived from the story of Orpheus and Eurydice), and Thomas Shadwell's (1640-1692) *Psyche* (1675). Many of Locke's works were also published in various collections by John Playford, including

² Holman, Peter and Lasocki, David. "Banister." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 2 March 2013.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42774pg2.

³ Thompson, Wendy and Ashbee, Andrew. "Locke, Matthew." *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Ed. Alison Latham. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 2 Mach 2013.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e4030.

Matthew Locke[:] His Little Consort of Three Parts (London: Godbid and Playford, 1656), Courtly Masquing Ayres (London: Godbid and Playford, 1662), and Choice Songs and Ayres (London: Godbid and Playford, 1673). Locke's compositions indicate the beginnings of the incorporation of Italianate vocal ornaments into notated melodic lines of English compositions, especially those ornaments initially demonstrated in Caccini's Le nuove musiche. For instance, "A Dialogue: Alas, alas, who has been here?" includes a cascata-like soprano melodic line over the words, "this be."

Ex. 1. Locke, Matthew. "Alas, alas, who has been here?" 1661. Songs and Dialogues., ed. Mark Levy. London: Stainer & Bell, 1996.



During the Restoration period, Italian music became more accessible in England through the influence of the French court, an influx of Italian musicians and their compositions, and the availability of theoretical works penned by many different authors. For example, Italian composers and keyboardists Bartolomeo (c.1635-1688) and

⁴ Shown in Example 1. Locke, Matthew. "Alas, alas, who has been here?" 1661. *Songs and Dialogues.*, ed. Mark Levy. London: Stainer & Bell, 1996.

Vincenzo (1631-1690) Albrici traveled to England in 1663; Italian composer, singer, multi-instrumentalist, and teacher Pietro Reggio (1632-1685) arrived in England by 1664; Italian composer and keyboard player Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640-1708) arrived in England by at least 1667; and Croatian-Italian composer, singer, and organist Giovanni Sebenico (c.1640-1705) arrived in England at some point between 1666 and 1673. However, one of the most renowned Italianate singing masters of the early Restoration was Henry Cooke, an Englishman who most probably had never traveled to Italy. The diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) described Cooke as "the best singer after the *Italian* manner of any in England." 5 Jonathan P. Wainwright suggests that Cooke had learned Italian singing techniques through the large amount of Italian music (and perhaps the copy of Le nuove musiche) available in the Hatton residence, his place of employment during the 1650s. With the reinstatement of the Chapel Royal, Henry Cooke was named choirmaster, and by 1660 the choir comprised twelve highly talented boys. Many of Cooke's young choristers were to become the greatest musical figures of the late seventeenth century, including Pelham Humfrey (c.1647/8-1674), John Blow, Michael Wise (c.1647-1687), William Turner (1651-1740), Thomas Tudway (c.1650-1726) and Henry Purcell. This musical connection suggests that later composers, such as Blow and Purcell, may have come into direct contact with Caccini's treatise at a young age, or at least had been indirectly introduced to its guiding principles.

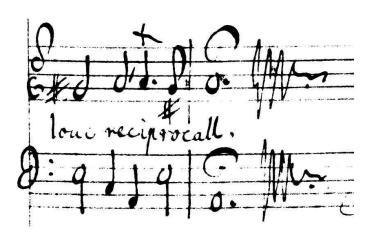
One source that may give some indication of Chapel Royal performance practices of the time is the British Library Add. Ms. 29396, entitled "Songs in the Hand of Edward

⁵ Evelyn, John. Wainwright, Jonathan P. *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*, p. 198.

⁶ Wainwright, Jonathan P. Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670), p. 199.

Lowe." Edward Lowe served as organist at the Chapel Royal from 1661 until 1682 and ultimately became John Wilson's successor as Professor of Music at Oxford. Lowe had maintained friendships with Wilson and the Lawes brothers, and his collection of songs (dating from the middle decades of the seventeenth century and beyond) includes many of their pieces. Several pieces in the collection (which also features Italian pieces by composers such as Pietro Reggio) are ornamented in a similar manner to Thomas Brewer's (1611- c.1660) "O That mine eyes would melt" from Playford's 1664 "*Brief Discourse*." For example, Wilson's "I love (Alas) but Cannot shew it" includes several clearly marked *trillo* cross symbols throughout the piece.

Ex. 2. Wilson, John. "I love (Alas) but Cannot shew it." "Songs in the Hand of Edward Lowe." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 29396, middle decades of seventeenth-century with later additions.



Although a good amount of Italian music was studied and performed throughout England during the Restoration years, only a portion of it was truly new. The most widely

⁷ Further discussed in section IVc: "Changes in Musical Examples: Caccini's 1601 Treatise and Playford's 1664 Translated Edition."

⁸ Shown in Example 2. Wilson, John. "I love (Alas) but Cannot shew it." "Songs in the Hand of Edward Lowe." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 29396, middle decades of seventeenth-century with later additions. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part V." *English Songs 1600-1675: facsimiles of twenty-six manuscripts*. New York: Garland, 1987.

disseminated music had already been in England for several years and had only begun to be distributed during the Restoration. This was especially true for the Hatton collection, which had contained music by Italian composers such as Tarquinio Merula (c.1594/5-1665), Giovanni Felice Sances (c.1600-1679), and Egidio Trabattone (*fl* 1625-42). Perhaps the most famous Italian composer during the Restoration period was Giacomo Carissimi, whose music had been known in England since 1645/6. In 1664, English diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1706) recounted having spent an evening "singing the best piece of musique, counted of all hands in the world, made by Seignor Charissimi the famous master in Rome." In addition, London audiences had become familiar with opera by the Restoration period, since Cavalli's *Erismena* (1655) seems to have been known there, ¹⁰ and Charles II encouraged the importation of Italian operas.

During this time, Playford continued to publish numerous volumes of music composed in the *seconda pratica* style, both in English and Italian; the 1669 edition of *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, for example, includes a set of "Select *Italian* Ayrs for One or Two Voices to the Theorbo Lute," which included music by Henry Lawes, Sigismondo d'India (c.1582-1629), and Luigi Rossi (c.1597/8-1653). Particularly of note is the collection assembled by the Italian singer and composer Girolamo Pignani, entitled *Scelta di Canzonette Italiane* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1679). It contains pieces by composers such as Bartolomeo Albrici, Carissimi, Cesti, Draghi, Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), Luigi Rossi, Alessandro Stradella (1639-1682), and Pignani himself. Many pieces in the assortment feature Caccini's described ornaments printed into the melodic

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¹⁰ Parker, p. 39.

⁹ Pepys, Samuel. Wainwright, Jonathan P. *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* p.199.

lines of vocal parts, as was the case with most Italian compositions of the period. For instance, Draghi's "Tiranna, O tiranna" contains a figure similar to a *cascata* in the second measure of the piece on the words "crudele" and "l'anima." ¹¹

Ex. 3. Draghi, Giovanni Battista. "Tiranna, O tiranna." Pignani, Girolamo. Scelta di Canzonette Italiane. London: Anne Godbid and John Playford, 1679.



There is a very strong likelihood that many English continuo songs of the Restoration period were generously ornamented in both French and Italian styles, much of it similar to Caccini's described ornaments. Despite the fact that such musical practices had long been an established tradition in England, the Restoration also brought to it a relative sense of newness. The resurgence of the court musical establishment instilled in many amateur and professional musicians a desire to learn the most up-to-date musical techniques. One such enthusiast was Samuel Pepys. Although he was officially employed as an English naval administrator, he also was a composer, multi-instrumentalist, and singer. Pepys is known to have practiced Caccini's ornaments, such as the *trillo*, through the study of Playford's *Brief Introduction*. In 1654/5, Pepys began to meet regularly with Pietro Reggio but ultimately discontinued their musical meetings due to what he claimed to be the nervousness of working with such an expert musician (Jack Westrup wonders if

¹¹ Shown in Example 3. Draghi, Giovanni Battista. "Tiranna, O tiranna." Pignani, Girolamo. *Scelta di Canzonette Italiane*. London: Anne Godbid and John Playford, 1679. Redcroft, etc.: King's Music, 1993.

it truly was because Pepys found Reggio to be, as he wrote, a "slovenly and ugly fellow.")¹² Pepys owned copies of several other musical treatises in addition to Playford's, including Athanasius Kircher's (1601-1680) *Musurgia universalis* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650), Marin Mersenne's (1588-1648) *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636/7), John Birchensha's (d.1681) *Templum musicum* (London: Dring and Godbid, 1664), and René Descartes' *Compendium* (Utrecht: Ackersdÿck and Zÿll, 1650).

Pepys' impressive international collection of music treatises may be an indication that a large amount of theoretical and instructional texts were available to those who desired to study them. The result was a wide variety of European influences on English music of the Restoration period, with vocal ornamentation developing into an amalgamation of earlier English divisions, contemporary Italian ornaments, and contemporary French ornaments (such as the port de voix, cadence, demi-tremblement, soûtien de la voix, animer, accent or aspiration, and diminution). 13 The 1664 English translation of Le nuove musiche was in good company at the time of its publication; not only did its original Italian version seem to have circulated beforehand, but other treatises discussing Caccini's specific approach to ornamentation also may have had an influence. One such work is the Syntagma musicum (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1618) of Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), a German composer, theorist, and organist. In his third volume, Praetorius included a chapter entitled, "METHOD OF TEACHING CHOIR BOYS WHO LOVE AND ENJOY SINGING, ACCORDING TO THE NEW ITALIAN STYLE," which directly references Le nuove musiche and demonstrates ornaments such as the cascata,

¹² Pepys, Samuel. Westrup, Jack Allan. "Domestic Music under the Stuarts." *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 68th Sess., 1941-1942, p. 46.

¹³ Bacilly, Bénigne de. *A Commentary upon The Art of Proper Singing*. Trans. Austin B. Caswell. Paris: Claude Blageart, 1668. Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968, p. 136.

esclamazione, gruppo, and trillo. 14 In addition to featuring Caccini's ornaments,

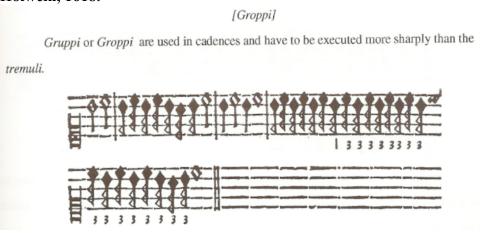
Praetorius also seemed to share Caccini's distaste for excessive use of divisions, exclaiming,

"For those singers deserve no praise who...do not allow themselves to be governed by the rules of music and with their excessive coloraturas go beyond the limits prescribed in the composition. Thus they spoil and obscure it so much that one neither knows what they sing nor can hear- much less grasp- the text or the notes (as the composer set them and as the piece would sound best.)

This evil method...provides little joy for the listeners, particularly those who have some knowledge of the art; to the contrary, it makes them sullen and sleepy. But singing should not be deprived by inappropriate diminutions of the natural power and grace that the Master has given it, and each word and sentence should be intelligible to anyone.

How this is to be achieved, however, and how one should train oneself to sing with good taste in the new Italian style, how to make accents, express the affections, and employ trills, *groppi*, and other coloraturas most suitably and conveniently, [all this], is to be set forth in a special little treatise to be published shortly with God's help (in the preparation of which Giulio Romano, otherwise called Giulio Caccini of Rome, in his *Nuove Musiche*, and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli [*fl* 1592-4] have been particularly helpful)."¹⁵

Ex. 4a. Praetorius, Michael. "Groppi." Syntagma Musicum, Vol. 3. Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1618.



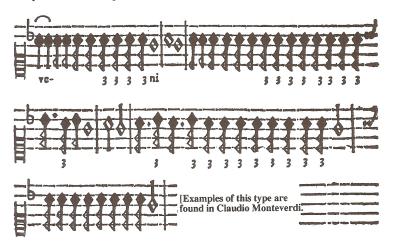
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¹⁴ Shown in Example 4. 4a. "Groppi." 4b. "*Trillo*." Praetorius, Michael. *The Syntagma Musicum of Michael Praetorius Volume Three*. Trans. Hans Lampl, ed. Margaret Boudreaux. Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619. United States: American Choral Directors Association, 2001, pp. 234-235.
¹⁵ Praetorius, pp. 234-235.

Ex. 4b. Praetorius, Michael. "Trillo." Syntagma Musicum.

[Trillo]

There are two kinds of *trillo*. One is on one tone, either on a line or in a space, and consists of many notes in fast repetition.



Examples of other treatises that may have had a hand in propagating Italianate styles of ornamentation in England include Carissimi's *Ars Cantandi* (original content and dates of authorship not known), Johannes Crüger's (1598-1662) *Musicae practicae...Der rechte Weg zur Singekunst* (Berlin: 1660), and Johann Andreas Herbst's (1588-1666) *Musica practica* (Nuremberg: Dümlers, 1642). However, one specific instructional work seems to have been the predominant singing text of the late Restoration period- Pietro Reggio's *The Art of Singing* (Oxford: L.L., 1677). Its popularity is suggested by its mention in several sources, such as the 1678 The Easter Term Catalogue (London: Arber, 1678) and the front fly-leaf of the British Library copy of Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues* (London: Playford, 1653; Reggio reference added after the publication date). ¹⁶

Along with several of Caccini's originally mentioned ornaments, Reggio's *The Art of Singing* discusses a variety of other musical topics. These include dynamic

¹⁶ Spink, Ian. "Playford's Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner." *The Monthly Musical Record*, Vol. 89. London: Augener, 1959, p. 134.

contrast, phrasing, tuning, breath control, longevity of vocal health, prudent employment of divisions, specificities of singing in different keys and voice parts, and clarity of vocal tone. Although numerous singing treatises were available by 1677 (including several editions of Playford's "*Brief Discourse*"), Reggio claimed to have written a text that was the first of its kind:

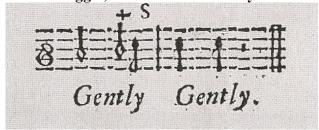
"THOUGH there have been several Books Printed of late to Teach the Rudiments of Musick, yet I have not seen any that did instruct a man, how to Sing in a gracefull way; their design, for the most part, being to lay down the rules of Composing, and to shew, how several parts may be set together. I Confess I should not have willingly undertaken to say any thing on this subject; but that I have been importun'd a great while by many Friends, to gratifie whom in particular, and to serve all lovers of Musick, without any tedious preamble we will thus begin."

If Reggio's assertion is true, then the popularity of Playford's "*Brief Discourse*" is called into question, given that one of the greatest Italian singing teachers of the Restoration period had not heard of it. However, since most evidence points to the book's popularity as well as to a professional relationship between Reggio and Playford, (Playford published Reggio's *Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio* in 1680) there is a stronger possibility that Reggio included this introduction for the sake of furthering his own career by presenting himself as the sole instructor of Italianate singing. This is emphasized through his choices in language; by explaining that several people had asked him to publish his treatise, Reggio illustrated an image of himself as a well-regarded teacher whose wisdom was sought by many. Pieces used in his musical examples include John Hilton's "Yee meaner beauties of the Night," Reggio's setting of Abraham Cowley's (1618-1667) *Anacreontiques*, and Reggio's "Arise ye subterranean winds" from Davenant's *The Tempest*.

¹⁷ Reggio, Pietro. *The Art of Singing: A Treatise, wherein is Shown how to Sing well any song whatsoever. And also how to apply the best Graces.* Oxford: L.L., 1677, p. 1.

Reggio seems to have had a relatively imprecise definition of the *trillo*, using the term "Trillo" to refer to both *trilli* marked with cross symbols (as Playford had demonstrated in his "*Brief Discourse*")¹⁸ and *tremoli* marked as "*Tr*." This may suggest that the two separate ornaments were used interchangeably in Restoration England, which saw a slow transition between the older and newer ornament.¹⁹ However, the majority of Reggio's instructions relate to dynamic contrasts within musical phrases. He explained that every note, ornament, scale, and cadence must contain within it fluctuations in volume (making no specific mention of Caccini's *esclamazioni*), and he marked such contrasts in his musical examples using the letters "L" and "S" to stand for the words "Loud" and "Soft."²⁰ The final page of the book features a chart of un-graced and "Graced" melodic lines which slightly resembles the "*Example of the most usual Graces*" in Playford's "*Brief Discourse*."²¹

Ex. 5a. Reggio, Pietro. Trillo cross symbol. The Art of Singing. Oxford: L.L., 1677.



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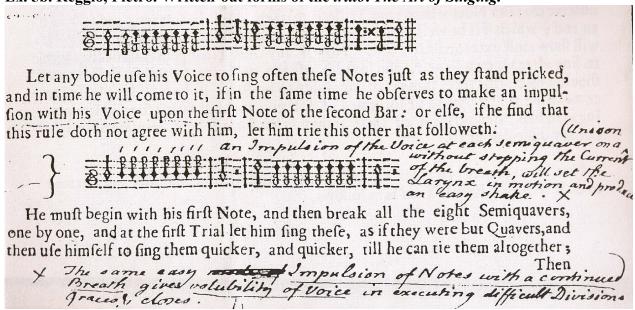
¹⁸ Further discussed in section IVc: "Changes in Musical Examples: Caccini's 1601 Treatise and Playford's 1664 Translated Edition."

¹⁹ Shown in Example 5. 5a. *Trillo* cross symbol. Reggio, p. 7. 5b. Written-out forms of the *trillo*. Reggio, p. 13.

²⁰ Shown in Example 6. Reggio, p. 26.

²¹ Shown in Example 7. Reggio, p. 31.

Ex. 5b. Reggio, Pietro. Written-out forms of the trillo. The Art of Singing.



Ex. 6. Reggio, Pietro. Symbols for "Loud" and "Soft," along with "Tr." trillo symbols. The Art of Singing.



Ex. 7. Reggio, Pietro. Un-graced and Graced Phrases. The Art of Singing.



Reggio's harsh quips within his text suggest that he shared Caccini's brash personality and/or that he had read *Le nuove musiche* and was influenced by it in his own work. Various comments along these lines include:

"The First thing I would have a Schollar to observe, is to be very careful of tuning Notes right; that being the foundation of singing true, for though a man has the best Voice in the world, he had better be silent with it, than by singing out of Tune, make himself ridiculous to any judicious Company."²²

"Now we will show how to sing a very long Note, that ends in a Cadence, for this is the most mysterious point in singing, and I am sure that there are very few among all the pretenders to singing, who have taken any notice of it."²³

"Now if any one (that perhaps affects more to sing after his own Fancie, and love his ease too well, for to follow these rules) should object, that these things are impossible to be done, if he will be pleased to come to me at any time to be informed; I will give him full satisfaction in explaining it to him, and perform all these things, that I have here mentioned, without any difficultie at all."24

Reggio's words also speak to English performance practices of the time, further affirming that seventeenth-century Italianate styles of vocal ornamentation were not a new phenomenon in England. As he wrote, "[I]t would be to no purpose, if any should say, that this way of Singing is not in Mode or use among the English, for good Singing is the same every where."²⁵

²² Reggio, p. 2.

²³ Reggio, p. 10.

²⁴ Reggio, p. 12. ²⁵ Reggio, p. 17.

"A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner"

The first known English translation of Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* was printed in London in 1664. It was published in a music textbook edited by John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. The book consists of separate texts dealing with various types of musical instruction, including reading musical notation, playing the bass viol, playing the treble violin, composing, and singing. Caccini's translated treatise was entitled, "*A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the* Italian *manner*" and contained several lexical and musical changes to, and abridgments of, Caccini's original text. The first edition of Playford's *Introduction* had been published in 1654² under the title, *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, and the book did not include Caccini's treatise until several editions later in 1664. The "*Brief Discourse*" was then retained throughout nine more editions of the book over the next thirty years until it was removed in 1697 and replaced with a passage entitled, "*Of the* TRILL, *or* SHAKE."

Playford did not acknowledge that Caccini was the original author of the 1664 "Brief Discourse." He instead stated that the passage had been, "Written some time since by an English Gentleman who had lived many years in Italy, and Taught the same here in England, intending to publish the same, but prevented by Death." He explained,

"This Manuscript fortunately came to my hand, which having diligently perused, and perceiving the Authors intent to have publish'd it, I thought it would be useful to add

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¹ Playford, John. *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1664, p. 57.

² Martha Elliott has mentioned the existence of a 1653 edition of the book, but no such edition has been found. Elliott, p. 33.

³ A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick was the book's official title until 1655, when it was changed to An Introduction to the Skill of Musick. In 1658, the title was changed to A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, and then changed back to An Introduction to the Skill of Musick in 1672.

⁴ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Savoy: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1697, p. 31

⁵ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 57.

some part thereof to this my Discourse of the Theorie of Musick; but being cautious of publishing any thing of this kind on my own weak judgment, I communicated my intended purpose to some of the most Eminent Masters of this Kingdome, who (after their perusal) gave a good approbation thereof; so that if thou dost reap any benefit thereby, thou art beholden to them, and not to me, any more then for Publishing the same."

At the end of the passage, Playford wrote,

"Nor are these Graces any new Invention, but have been used here in England by most of the Gentlemen of His Majesties chappel above this 40 years, and now is come to that Excellency and Perfection there, by the Skill and furtherance of that Orpheus of our time, Henry Cook Genttleman and Master of the Children of His Majesties Chappel, whose Compositions of Anthems now used in his Majesties Chappel, and by him and other Gentlemen most exquisitely performed to the Glory of God and honour of our Nation."

In 1666, Playford replaced his previous comment, stating instead that his described "*Graces*,"

"... have been used to our English Ayres, above this 40 years and Taught here in England, by our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Laneare, Mr. Henry Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Colman, and Mr. Walter Porter, who 30 years since published in Print Ayres of 3, 4, and 5, Voyces, with the Trills and other Graces to the same."

Lillian Ruff asserts that neither Playford nor any other "Eminent Masters" that Playford listed as having helped him to edit the document were aware of its original source, and that they may not have even realized that it was a translation. She believes this is because Caccini's Italian treatise had not been available in England before that point, because Playford had never visited Italy, and because Playford did not know Italian. This may be true, especially since Playford repeatedly referred to the translator as "The Author," but Ruff's claims are conjectural. She ignores the possibilities that the original Italian treatise may have indeed circulated in England before that point and may

⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 57.

⁷ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 76.

⁸ Playford, John. *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1666, p. 58

⁹ Ruff, pp. 41-42.

have been read and understood by Playford's "Eminent Masters," many of whom had traveled to Italy and read Italian. As Jonathan P. Wainwright states, "The copy of the third edition of Le nuove musiche (Venice, 1615)...may have been part of the library of Christopher, First [sic] Baron Hatton in the 1630s." One can deduce that there may have been a connection between the translator and Playford's listed "Eminent Masters"; one of them might have been the translator or had perhaps come into contact with the translator at some point. Charles Coleman, Henry Cooke, Nicholas Lanier, Henry Lawes, Walter Porter, and John Wilson are all known to have composed Italianate music, taught Italian styles of singing, or traveled to Italy at some point throughout their careers. It is not certain why Caccini's name and the translator's name were omitted, although Ruff does suggest that it was to exonerate the translator from any accusation of piracy in publishing the treatise.

Considering the massive popularity of Playford's publications, it is reasonable to infer that they accurately reflect performance practices of seventeenth-century England.

Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley assert that "The *Introduction* was immensely influential for 100 years or more; its theoretical sections were copied or cited in numerous later treatises and in the didactic introductions to psalmody books."

Playford's *Introduction* never cost more than two shillings despite all of the careful craftsmanship that went into making it. Caccini's translated "*Brief Discourse*" was reprinted in the book many times throughout the century, which, as Martha Elliott suggests, "indicat[es] the prominence it held in vocal approach and instruction."

¹⁰ Jonathan P. Wainwright. Dering, Richard. *Richard Dering: Motets for one, two, or three voices and basso continuo*, p. xxxvi.

¹¹ Dean-Smith, Margaret, and Temperley, Nicholas.

¹² Elliott, p. 33.

The continued presence of Playford's featured ornaments in manuscripts and other printed editions throughout the late seventeenth century demonstrates their popularity and longevity in England. One example is a 1694-7 collection of manuscript music assembled by an Englishman named John Channing, which contains works by Robert King, William Lawes, Henry Purcell, and others. Handwritten on the final page of the document is, "A Table of Graces Proper to the Violi or Violin." This chart of ornaments, based on Charles Coleman's originally designed model, was most probably copied from Playford's *Introduction*, which had featured this same exact table throughout many editions (including the most recent 1694 edition). Coleman's chart was also featured in other works, such as Christopher Simpson's (c.1602/6-1668) *The Division-Violist* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1659), 14 but Channing's transcription more closely follows the exact wording and arrangement shown in Playford's *Introduction*. Many of Channing's copied instrumental ornaments are similar to Caccini's described vocal ornaments in both name and musical structure.

¹³ Shown in Example 2. Coleman, Charles, and Playford, John, most likely in the hand of John Channing, "A Table of Graces Proper to the Violl or Violin." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 35043, 1694-1697.

¹⁴ Simpson, Christopher. *The Division Violist*. London: William Godbid, 1659.

¹⁵ Shown in Example 1. Coleman, Charles, and Playford, John. "A Table of Graces proper to the Viol or Violin." An Introduction to the Skill of Musick. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1694.

Ex. 1. Coleman, Charles, and Playford, John. "A Table of Graces proper to the Viol or Violin." An Introduction to the Skill of Musick. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1694.



Ex. 2. Coleman, Charles, and Playford, John, most likely in the hand of John Channing, "A Table of Graces Proper to the Violl or Violin." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 35043, 1694-1697.



Playford's "Brief Discourse" also appeared in other seventeenth-century documents, such as the "Synopsis of Vocal Musick," published in 1680 by an unknown author who referred to himself as "A.B. Philo-Mus." Parts of Playford's "Brief Discourse" were quoted in chapters XXIV and XXV of the book, entitled respectively, "Of the signs of the breadth of sounds, and of things" and "Of the signs of the Ornaments of Songs." ¹⁶ The book contains not only paraphrases and quotes from Playford's "Brief Discourse," but also "Fourteen Italian Songs Composed by Giovanni Giacomo Castoldi da Carravaggio, in Three Parts, two Trebles and a Bass." It seems that, from both of the above-mentioned

¹⁶ Shown in Example 3. Philo-Mus., A.B. *Synopsis of Vocal Musick*. London: Dorman Newman, 1680, pp. 43-44.

examples, Playford's publications served to guide and inspire several musicians during his time and may have been considered useful didactic tools for music teachers.

Ex. 3. Philo-Mus., A.B. Synopsis of Vocal Musick. London: Dorman Newman, 1680.

42 Synoplis of Vocal Mulick.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the signs of the breadth of sounds, and of things.

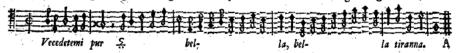
Signs of the latitude or breadth of founds are which ought to shew whether a found must be sung with a clear and full, or with a soft and small spirit, and are by Artists less carefully expressed, who leave that to the text, and to the things themselves which in a Song are to be expressed. Italians only, and some that them do sollow, do use these two words, Forte and Piano, signifying that such part of a song must be sung clearer and fuller, under which is written Forte, but fofter and smaller, under which is written Piano.

Signs of things are either Primary or Secundary.

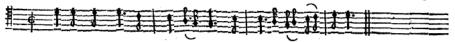
The Primary ligns of things, is the Text it self written under a melody.

The Secundary ligns of things are either Repeats or Tyes.

A Repeat of things is a fign which fignifieth that a part of the Text must be sung over again.



Synoplis of Vocal Mulick. A Tye is a crooked line, binding two or more Notes together, which to one Syllable are to be Sung. As,



Gather your Rose-buds while you may, old Time is still a

CHAP. XXV.

Of the signs of the Ornaments of Songs.

S Igns of the Ornaments of Songs are also by Artists less carefully expressed, the Art of Singing with Graces and Orntments being lest to Beginners, to attain to it by the imitation of those, who are perfect

Yet these few directions are commonly given, that the chiefest ornaments do consist in Exclamations, Trillo's, and Gruppo's.

Λn

Synopsis of Vocal Musick.

An Exclamation is a flacking of the Voice to reinforce it afterwards, and is especially used in Minims and Crotchets with a prick, whom shorter Notes do follow.

A Trillo is a flaking of the Livula on the Throat in one Sound or Note, as the Gruppo is in two Sounds or Notes, the one being by one degree higher than the other, and are commonly used in cadences and closes. These Ornaments are not to be used in Airy Songs, which require only a lively and cheerful kind of Singing, carried by the Air it felf: but in Passionate Musick, wherein must be kept a command of the breath, lefs by half, and sometimes more, according to the conceit of the words, with a graceful neglect.

John Playford died in 1686/7, but his son, Henry, continued to publish his Introduction until 1703. The 1687 edition of the book contains an elegy for John Playford, "On the DEATH of Mr. JOHN PLAYFORD, THE AUTHOR of These, and several other excellent WORKS." After Henry Playford's death in 1707, John and Benjamin Sprint oversaw the publication of the book until its final 1730 edition. Henry Playford did not consider himself to be the advanced musician that his father had been, so he employed the assistance of Henry Purcell in editing the book. Purcell retained the translated Caccini passage until 1694, and only two years after Purcell's death was it removed from the book in 1697.

It is not clear how much time Purcell was able to devote to the task of editing, since, as Lillian Ruff suggests, he was very busy composing three operas and probably "gave less than serious consideration to it." Andrew Parrott writes,

"Purcell's own work on the 12th edition (1694) of Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* is disappointingly unenlightening in matters of performance practice" and "[i]t is difficult to gauge the exact relevance to Purcell's music of Caccini's instructions given in translations in all editions of Playford's *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*." ¹⁹

However, there were edits made, albeit minor, in all three editions that Purcell oversaw, and the passage was not removed until after Purcell's death. This does pose the question of whether Purcell felt that it was necessary to change the "*Brief Discourse*" in any significant manner. Its continued presence in Playford's *Introduction* under Purcell's supervision may suggest that performance practices of the time were still congruous with earlier Italianate styles of ornamentation and that the passage had not become entirely obsolete until 1697. As Ian Spink explains,

¹⁷ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: Charles Peregrine and Henry Playford, 1687.

¹⁸ Ruff nn 46-47

¹⁹ Parrott, Andrew. "Performing Purcell." *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden. Portland: Amadeus, 1994, p. 388, pp. 427-428.

"Although based on an Italian publication of the beginning of the century, the 'Brief Discourse' must be regarded as relevant to the performance of English declamatory song. Playford's statement that the style was used by Lawes and his contemporaries has already been quoted, and the wide currency of these graces is confirmed by other sources." ²⁰

The fact that Caccini's text was still being printed in 1694 demonstrates that there must have been some sort of practical application for it.

The 1697 "Of the TRILL, or SHAKE" chapter no longer included excerpts from Le nuove musiche, instead teaching a newer kind of ornament- the trill. The trill was described as, "the most principal Grace in Musick, and the most used," in which a singer was to "[f]irst move slow, then faster by degrees"...upon one Syllable the distance of a Note." As Ian Spink proposes, "Probably this had been practiced for some time previously, perhaps under the influence of instrumental ornamentation, which had never really known the vocal trill except as a kind of tremolo." It seems that the ornaments of Caccini's time had, by this point, become obsolete, while the trill was

Ex. 4. Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Savoy: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1697.



Playford, John. An Introduction to the Skill of Musick. 1697, p. 31.

²⁰ Jones, p. 67.

²² Spink, Ian. *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*, p. 133.

²³ Shown in Example 4. Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1697, p. 31.

The Unnamed and Unknown Translator: Some Possible Candidates

The most often proposed translator of Playford's 1664 "Brief Discourse" is Walter Porter; however, given the requirements laid out in Playford's comments, there are many more possibilities that should be considered. According to Playford's hints, the translator must have been an "English Gentleman," must have lived many years in Italy (after the 1602 publication of Caccini's Le nuove musiche), must have taught Italian singing upon his return to England, and must have died before 1664.

Walter Porter does seem to fit this description well, especially since he is among the "Eminent Masters" recognized in Playford's Introduction. He was an English composer, lutenist, and singer. By 1617, he sang tenor among the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and in 1639 became Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey. He is said to have studied with Claudio Monteverdi (most likely in the period between 1612 and 1617) and traveled to Italy at some point between 1622 and 1625. The only indication that Porter studied with Monteverdi is in the preface to his autographed printed edition of Mottets of Two Voyces (London: Godbid, 1657), in which the word "Monteverde" was handwritten above the words "my good Friend and Maestro." I 2 3 Ian Spink, who believes Porter to be the best possible candidate, states, "Of course, this is conjectural, but although his 'Madrigales and Ayres' (1632) show the influence of Monteverdi, the figuring of his basses, and the instructions which he sets down in the preface to his madrigals concerning their realization recalls Caccini, as does his written

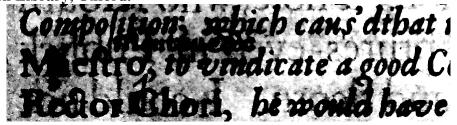
¹ Porter, Walter. *Mottets of Two Voyces*. London: William Godbid, 1657, Christ Church Library, Oxford.

² Spink, Ian. "Porter, Walter." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 2 December 2012. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22150.

³ Shown in Example 1. Porter, Walter. *Mottets of Two Voyces*.

out version of the *trillo*." However, as Edward Huws Jones points out, Porter's *trillo*⁵ in *Madrigales and Ayres* does not exactly follow Caccini's specified version from *Le nuove musiche*, featuring four consecutive quavers rather than Caccini's two crotchets, two quavers, two semiquavers, and four demisemiquavers. Throughout his works, Porter's *trilli* are often composed of more randomly compiled arrangements of several different note values and combined with other types of ornamentation.⁶

Ex. 1. Porter, Walter. *Mottets of Two Voyces*. London: William Godbid, 1657, Christ Church Library, Oxford.



Ex. 2. Porter, Walter. Madrigales and Ayres. London: William Stansby, 1632.

are set forth with Diussion, where you find many Notes in a place after this manner inrule or space, they are set to expresse the Trillo: I have made vie of these Italian words, because they shall not mistake, and sing them, if they were expressed in English, being mixed amongst the other wordes, Tase which is, that the Voyces or Instruments, are to be silent, or hold their peace, till such or such

There are two other likely translators who have not been widely considered - John Coprario and Richard Dering. Coprario was an English composer, viol player, and music teacher whose given name was John Cooper. It is assumed that he Italianized his name to "Giovanni Coprario" when he traveled to Italy for a lengthy period of time in his early life, most likely before or around 1603, and then possibly again in 1616. It is alleged that Coprario participated in the first performance of Jacopo Peri's *Dafne* in 1598, but this

⁶Jones, p. 69.

⁴ Spink, Ian. "Playford's Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner," p. 133.

⁵ Shown in Example 2. Porter, Walter. *Madrigales and Ayres*. London: William Stansby, 1632.

claim has not been substantiated.⁷ Coprario's chief patrons seem to have included King James VI of Scotland and I of England (1567-1625); King Charles I of England; and Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612). William Lawes studied with Coprario in the beginning of the century, and Henry Lawes may have as well, though concrete evidence has yet to be found. Considering that Playford cited Henry Lawes as one of the "*Eminent Masters*" who taught Italian singing in England, it is possible that Coprario may have acquired the treatise in Italy and at some point given it to Henry or William Lawes. This certainly could explain Caccini's supposed influence on both of their works.

Although Coprario's main compositional output consists of fantazias for viol (fifty-seven in total), both his viol pieces and small amount of surviving vocal pieces indicate strong Italian influences. John Irving states that John Coprario was undoubtedly familiar with the Italian madrigal repertory from the late sixteenth century and that this connection may have had an influence on his compositions. Many of Coprario's fantazias were based on Italian madrigals. He also composed several villanelle, madrigals, a lute song, viol consorts with titles and text underlay derived from earlier Italian madrigals, and three songs for Thomas Campion's *The Masque at the Earl of Somerset's Marriage* (1614). Richard Charteris has suggested that Coprario may have composed a great many of his pieces in Italy while studying with an Italian composer, perhaps Claudio Monteverdi or Salomone Rossi (c. 1570-1630), and that Coprario's viol pieces originally may have been vocal pieces; however, when Coprario took the vocal pieces back to England, he might have realized that the Italian texts in his pieces hindered any possibilities of publishing them (owing to the difficulty of translating Italian into

⁷ Charteris n 9

⁸ Irving, John. "Coprario, John (*d.* 1626)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: OUP, 2 December 2012 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6261.

singable English). Thus he may have published them as viol pieces in order to accommodate the more traditional English interest in music for viol consorts during his time ⁹

It is possible that Coprario acquired a copy of *Le nuove musiche* while he was in Italy, especially since Caccini had only recently published it and it was widely read and discussed in Italy at the time. Coprario also wrote a short musical treatise of his own in approximately 1610-1616, entitled *Rules How to Compose*, - compiled to aid his instruction of William Lawes – and it was used subsequently as a source for many other books and treatises, including Playford's *Introduction*. According to Edward Huws Jones, "If anything epitomizes early seventeenth-century divisions it is Giovanni Coprario's *Rules How to Compose* (c. 1610), which includes a short section on divisions." Although Coprario's treatise focuses on instrumental music, there are several sections in which his proposed divisions are reminiscent of the vocal ornaments in *Le nuove musiche*. In the contract of the vocal ornaments in *Le nuove musiche*.

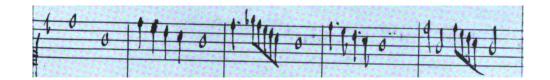
Ex. 3. Coperario, John, ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer. *Rules how to Compose*: a Facsimile Edition of a Manuscript From the Library of the Early of Bridgewater (c.1610-1616), Now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Los Angeles: E.E. Gottlieb, 1952.



⁹ Charteris, p. 9.

¹⁰ Jones, p. 100.

¹¹ Shown in Example 3. Coperario, John, ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer. *Rules how to Compose*: a Facsimile Edition of a Manuscript From the Library of the Early of Bridgewater (c.1610-1616) Now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Los Angeles: E.E. Gottlieb, 1952.



The music of Richard Dering (who was also known in Italy as "Richardo Diringo")¹² also shows evidence of Italianate influence, both in manuscripts and printed editions. Dering was an English composer and organist, and, as is the case with Coprario, details on his life are scarce. He may have been brought up Catholic and studied in Italy, or he may have studied in England and then converted to Catholicism later in life. In 1612, Sir Dudley Carleton (1599-1654), the English envoy in Venice, reported in a letter that a "Mr. Dearing" recently had spent time in Venice, was in Rome at that point, and was about to become a Catholic. Dering lived abroad in Italy for many years; then, from about 1617 to 1620, he was organist of the convent of English nuns in Brussels. In 1625, he was appointed organist to Queen Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) and most likely remained a court musician in England for the remainder of his career.

Dering composed a large amount of Italianate music (much of it settings of Italian texts), including canzonettas, madrigals, and Catholic liturgical music. Peter Platt and Jonathan P. Wainwright claim that although Dering did not compose recitative or music for solo instruments, his madrigals demonstrate that he was strongly influenced by contemporary Italian musical practices.¹³

In what may have been John Hilton's autograph manuscript (most probably assembled in the 1650s), Dering's compositions are featured among compositions by all

¹² Diringo (Dering), Richardo. Canzonette A Quattro Voci, Con Il Basso Continuo. Antwerp: Petro Phalesio 1620

¹³ Platt, Peter and Wainwright, Jonathan P. "Dering, Richard." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. 2 December 2012.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07589.

of Playford's listed "*Eminent Masters*" and are similarly annotated with many of Caccini's described ornaments. The transcription of Dering's "Ardens est cor meum; For 2" contains at the end of the document several suggestions for possible ornaments for the piece. Many of these ornaments seem to be derived from earlier styles of division. However, the manuscript also demonstrates ornaments closer to those of Caccini, such as the *trillo*. ¹⁴ Jonathan P. Wainwright writes that it would not have been out of place for Dering's motets to include ornaments similar to those in Playford's *Introduction*. ¹⁵

Ex. 4. Dering, Richard. "Ardens est cor meum; For 2." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c. 1656.



Dering's melodic lines are also similar to the ornaments outlined in *Le nuove musiche*. Many of the Dering's motets feature dotted melismatic vocal patterns similar to those depicted by Caccini, such as on the word "ejus" in "Duo seraphin clamabant (i)." Dering's secular vocal pieces also show this same transition between the *prima pratica* and *seconda pratica* compositional styles. For example, the madrigal "Chi prende amor a

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¹⁴ Shown in Example 4. Dering, Richard. "Ardens est cor meum; For 2." British Library, London, Add. Ms. 11608, c. 1656. Ed. Jorgens, Elise Bickford. "British Library Manuscripts, Part IV," pp. 31-32.

¹⁵ Dering, Richard. *Richard Dering: Secular Vocal Music.*, ed. Peter Platt. London: Musica Britannica, 1969, p. xxxvi.

¹⁶ Shown in Example 5. Dering, Richard. "Duo seraphin clamabant (i)." *Richard Dering: Motets for one, two, or three voices and basso continuo*, pp. 10-11.

gioco," contains in the bass line a notated ornament on the word "cori," which is reminiscent of Caccini's *cascate*. 17

Ex. 5. Dering, Richard. "Duo seraphin clamabant (i)." *Richard Dering: Motets for one, two, or three voices and basso continuo*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright. Thetford: Musica Britannica, 2008.



¹⁷ Shown in Eample 6. Dering, Richard. "Chi prende amor a gioco." *Richard Dering: Secular Vocal Music*, p. 15.

Ex. 6. Dering, Richard. "Chi prende amor a gioco." *Richard Dering: Secular Vocal Music.*, ed. Peter Platt. London: Musica Britannica, 1969.



Though one of the three proposed composers may have translated Caccini's original document, no evidence has been found that could sufficiently prove that any of the three were responsible for Playford's 1664 "*Brief Discourse*." Until a more concrete answer arises, one must also allow for the possibility that the translated manuscript could have been the work of any other English musician (known or unknown, professional or amateur) whose biographical details align with Playford's profile of the anonymous "*Author*."

Abridgments, Lexical Changes, and Errors: Caccini's 1601 Text and Playford's 1664 Translated Edition

It does not seem that the translator was inept at reading Italian (with the exception of one translation error), but rather that he consciously decided to alter Caccini's original text in various ways. In fact, he must have had a relatively strong understanding of Italian language and culture in light of Playford's comment that he had "*lived many years in* Italy." The most evident reasons for many of the translation's abridgments seem to be brevity and consideration of the knowledge and preferences of English readers. Playford may also have made several of the abridgments while editing the text for its inclusion in his *Brief Introduction*. As Lillian M. Ruff proposes, "Playford probably found Caccini's long paragraphs and his long-winded, ponderous style wearying, since he split the text into shorter paragraphs (which are easier on the eye) and curtailed several passages."

Caccini's original text is prefaced by two letters. The first was penned by the Inquisitor of Florence - Brother Francesco Tibaldi - and gave license for the printing of the document. The second is a letter of dedication from Caccini to his patron, Lorenzo Salviati (1568-1609). Both were removed from Playford's 1664 translation. Other omissions include Caccini's descriptions of his time in Florence with the Camerata under Giovanni de' Bardi, his references to Plato and the music of antiquity, his praise for the archlute player Antonio Naldi (d.1621), and his apology for the delay in the printing of the treatise. The most practical explanation for these omissions is that they were too long and would not have been of interest or use to English readers. Caccini's more boastful passages were also removed, such as descriptions of how well various patrons in Rome and Florence had received his madrigals and airs. The English text does not mention that

¹ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. 1664, p. 57.

² Ruff, pp. 41-42.

Caccini had taught his first and second wives to sing the *trillo*, instead briefly stating that his "*scholars*" learned and performed it well.³ Caccini's original text also includes an idiomatic reference to a quote from Dante's *Paradiso* (1:34): "Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda" ("A great flame follows a tiny spark").⁴ This quote was removed from the 1664 English text, one possible reason being that English readers in comparison to Italian readers would not have easily recognized allusions to Dante, especially when they were presented offhandedly without citation.

Either the translator or Playford omitted several of Caccini's instructions relating to instrumental accompaniment, the compositional techniques of the *seconda pratica*, and the particulars of different voice parts. If it was Playford who removed these sections, he may have done so because the translated text was just one part of a multi-disciplinary music textbook. With the inclusion of other chapters such as "Of *Tuning the Voyce*" and "A Brief Introduction to the Playing on the Viol," any musical instruction that did not relate specifically to "Singing after the Italian manner" may have been deemed extraneous. In addition, although Italian vocal ornamentation may have seemed novel to some English readers in 1664, the *seconda pratica* and figured bass had already become more well established musical forms in England and thus did not need to be explained as comprehensively.

It is also likely that the translator aimed to present the passage from his own point of view, using Caccini's exact text to explain certain musical ideas but replacing Caccini's autobiographical information with his own. This possibility is supported by the way in which Playford's comments repeatedly refer to the translator as the author and

³ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 68.

⁴ Alighieri, Dante. Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*.

⁵ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 57.

example, Caccini's original description of the "Canzonette" that he composed in Florence was replaced in the 1664 English translation with, "as I have often heard at Florence by the actors in their Singing Oppera's." These words imply that the translator himself had the opportunity to hear Italian singers in Florentine opera and desired to recount his own experience there. If this is the case, other changes (such as the descriptions of the way in which his "scholars" learned and performed the trillo) may have applied to the translator as well as to Caccini. The difficulty with this possibility is that the translated passage does mention, "my Master the famous Scipione del Palla in Italy." Scipione delle Palle most probably could not have been the translator's teacher as well, since he died long before Le nuove musiche was published.

The previously noted omissions and substitutions attest to the practicality of the English translation, but other changes made to the original text are less easily explained. The translator or Playford repeatedly omitted the word "madrigals" in sentences where Caccini's original text states that he had composed both airs and madrigals. The terms "air" and "madrigal" would have been clearly understood by English readers, so the decision to mention only airs may have been made in order to simplify the treatise for the sake of brevity. However, it may also be due to the fact that English declamatory airs seemed more suited for Italianate ornamentation, while English madrigals had not been influenced in the same way. As Ian Spink states, "It needs hardly be pointed out that the declamatory ayre was well suited to this kind of interpretation for the vocal line was of a type that could bear distortion of the basic pulse." The translator or Playford may have

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⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. 1664, p. 59.

⁷ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 123.

removed the word "madrigal" in order to avoid confusing readers who were not used to hearing English madrigals ornamented in a contemporary Italianate manner.

Caccini's detailed description of divisions as "[q]uei lunghi di voci semplici, e doppi cioè raddopiate, intrecciate l'una nell'altra" ("those long lines of single voices, which are doubled and redoubled, one intertwined in the other")⁸ was translated into, "those long winding Points." Despite the clarity of the shortened phrase, the concept of doubling and redoubling the line of a single voice is not directly explained in the same way. However, English musicians may have been familiar enough with divisions that they did not need such a specific description. Caccini originally had included a disclaimer of sorts, which states that although he had criticized over-use of divisions, there can be exceptions to every rule providing that one uses good judgment. The 1664 English translation includes Caccini's suggested rules governing the use of divisions, but the statement that there are exceptions to every rule was omitted. Its absence might have presented to English readers a more strict set of instructions on the use of divisions than Caccini had intended to impart.

The translator also made a few seemingly purposeful lexical changes to Caccini's descriptions of his own suggested ornaments. Some of these puzzling alterations may have had an effect on the way in which Caccini's styles of ornamentation translated to English readers. Although Caccini's original treatise frequently refers to the *esclamazione* as being as its own unique type of vocal ornament, the 1664 English text does not clearly distinguish between the *esclamazione* and the use of general dynamic contrast. For example, Caccini's text states, "il crescere, scemare della voce,

⁸ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

⁹ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 58

l'esclamazioni, trilli, e gruppi, e altri cotali ornamenti alla buona maniera di cantare" ("the growing and abating of the voice, esclamazioni, trilli, gruppi, and other such ornaments in the good manner of singing")¹⁰, which the translator changed to, "those Excellent Graces and Ornaments to the good manner of singing, which we call Trills, Grapps, Exclamations of Increasing and Abating of the Voyce." While Caccini differentiated between the esclamazione and overall dynamic contrast in the voice, the translator (possibly inadvertently) described "Exclamations" more vaguely, implying that any kind of dynamic exclamation would suffice instead of Caccini's precisely outlined ornament. The translator does explain how to sing Caccini's exact "Exclamations," but the general lack of specificity in the text may have made it more difficult for readers to recognize the appropriate placement and execution of the esclamazione as they would have with any of the other presented "graces."

The elusive definition of *sprezzatura*¹² presents difficulty to any translator of *Le nuove musiche*, regardless of the century in which he or she lives. In the preface to *Le nuove musiche*, Caccini referred to "una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto" ("a certain noble *sprezzatura* of singing"). It is impossible to find an exact English substitute for *sprezzatura*. The first English translation of *Il libro del cortegiano*, which was made in 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby (1530-1566) and had been widely read in England since the late sixteenth century, replaces the word *sprezzatura* with "Reckelessness." Although the seventeenth-century understanding of "Reckelessness" was closer to *sprezzatura* than

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¹⁰ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

¹¹ Playford, John, A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 58.

¹² Provided in section II: "Giulio Caccini and *Le nuove musiche*." Baldassare Castiglione, who originally coined the term in *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), defined it as a type of deliberate carelessness that "conceals art and presents that which is said and done as something brought about without laboriousness and almost without giving it any thought."

¹³ Castiglione, Baldassare.

are modern understandings of "recklessness," the term still did not carry the exact same meaning. It seems that the 1664 English translator was, more accurately than Hoby, able to convey the idea of *sprezzatura* with the words, "a certain noble neglect of the Song." ¹⁴ However, "neglect of the Song" is still problematic in that it suggests a slightly more apathetic stance than originally was intended, and having this kind of attitude toward the song itself rather than toward the act of singing potentially could produce very different results in performance.

In this same vein, the translator omitted Caccini's phrase, "musiche di quella intera grazia" ("music of that total grace") from the beginning of the treatise. As H. Wiley Hitchcock states,

"For the sixteenth-century artist, grazia had rather more subtle and significant connotations than does 'grace' for us...Drawing on Castiglione's Il cortegiano...[Giorgio] Vasari [1511-1574] was the first to hold up grazia as opposed to mere beauty, as an artistic ideal... Grazia was... connected with sweetness and softness...As a natural gift, not to be acquired by study and labor, it related to- in fact, it could only spring from- an effortless, unforced manner."15

Like *sprezzatura*, *grazia* would have been difficult to translate, not to mention the confusion that the word might have caused, since seventeenth-century English musical ornaments were often referred to as "graces." The translator did mention "graces" and "that Grace in Singing" a few times in the passage, but it seems that he tried to restrict the use of the word to descriptions of proper vocal technique.

The 1664 English text includes another change from the original that also may relate to the cultural nuances accompanying certain Italian terms. Caccini stressed the importance of ensuring that a singer "habbia la buona maniera" ("have the good manner,"

¹⁵ Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*. Florence: Marescotti, 1602. 2nd ed. Ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock. 1970. Middleton: A-R Editions, 2009, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 59.

¹⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 64.

meaning a good manner of comportment) when performing. ¹⁷ The translator, however, changed this phrase to, "a good manner of *Tuning*." ¹⁸ The addition of "*Tuning*" alters the phrase entirely, requesting that a singer concentrate on his or her singing rather than overall elegance of performance (which would have included other elements such as gesture). It is not clear why this change was made, but one possible reason is the difficulty of trying to explain the idea of "la buona maniera" to English readers in a concise manner when "la buona maniera," like *sprezzatura*, was not as familiar to them as it would have been to Italian readers.

The weight of the cultural and linguistic differences hindering accurate translation of *sprezzatura* and *grazia* is understandable, but it is not as easy to explain the translator's treatment of Caccini's originally used word, "'l'affetto" ("affect"). Although the translator was most probably aware that "l'affetto" technically should have become "affections" or "affect," he repeatedly used the word "Passion" instead. John Florio (1553-1625), author of the first Italian-English dictionary in 1611, defined *affetto* as "affect, affection, a motive, a love, a disposition, a passion, or good will unto." The translator may not have been as focused on providing an exact translation, and rather attempted to choose a word that would carry a more obvious meaning to English readers. This is also the case with Caccini's originally used term, contrappunto ("counterpoint"). The translator seems to have avoided using the English cognate of contrappunto, instead replacing it with other English musical terms, including "composition" and "Descant," These terms were all used more or less interchangeably during the mid-seventeenth

¹⁷ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

¹⁸ Playford, John, A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 62.

¹⁹ Florio, John. VOCABOLARIO Italiano & Inglese. London: Thomas Warren, 1659.

²⁰ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. London: William Godbid, 1664, p. 59.

century; the 1664 edition of Playford's *Introduction* contains a chapter entitled, "Of Counterpoint" within a section on, "*The Art of* DESCANT or COMPOSING OF MUSICK in PARTS." This seems to be another example of the translator's lack of concern with providing an exact translation so long as he could convey the correct ideas behind Caccini's words.

There is one mistranslation in the text, the musical effects of which would be very difficult to trace. In reference to the esclamazione, Caccini stated, "[N]elle musiche ariose, ò canzonette à ballo invece di essi affetti, si debba usar solo la vivezza del canto, il quale suole essere trasportato dall'aria istessa, nella quale benche talora a vi habbia luogo qualche esclamazione, si deve lasciare l'istessa vivezza, e non porvi affetto alcuno, che habbia del languido"²¹ ("It follows that in airy pieces or dance songs instead of these affects one should only rely on the sprightliness of the song, as usually conveyed by the air itself; although, occasionally some esclamazione may occur, the same sprightliness should be maintained, with no affect smacking of lethargy introduced.")²² However, this passage was, in the 1664 edition, interpreted as, "[In] Airy Musicks or Corants to dance, instead of these Passions, there is to be used onely a lively, cheerful kind of Singing, which is carried and ruled by the Air itself. In the which, although sometimes there may be place for some Exclamation, that Livelyness of Singing is in that place to be omitted, and not any passion to be used, which favoureth of Languishment."23 The reason for this instructional contradiction lies in the definition of the Italian verb, *lasciare*, which the translator understood to mean, "to leave out," while Caccini undoubtedly intended it to mean, "to leave in" or "to maintain."

²¹ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

²² Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*. Florence: Marescotti, 1602. 2nd ed. Ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock. p. 7.

²³ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 66-67.

It is not certain whether this error might have had an effect on English music of the period; it is difficult to acquire a sense of composers' and performers' dynamic decisions because dynamic markings usually were not written into music. This small bit of instruction may have confined the use of the *esclamazione* in English dance rhythms to languid musical passages devoid of passion.²⁴ It was perhaps the confusion caused by this mistranslation that led to the removal of another of Caccini's original phrases, which explains that vocal ornaments are more necessary in "musiche affettuose" ("affective music") than in dance songs.²⁵ This statement is more compatible with Caccini's initial request that dance music not be affected by the use of the *esclamazione* than with the translator's request that the ornament change the character of an entire piece of dance music.

Playford's comments within the passage provide significant insight into the way in which he assumed the passage would be received, both in terms of the inter-cultural exchanges embedded in the performance of Italian ornamentation and the level of expertise that his English readers might have had. One such comment was inserted into the middle of the treatise, where Playford offered further explanation of and advice for learning to sing the *trillo*. These suggestions include imitating other singers, shaking one's throat with one finger while singing scales, and thinking of it as the breaking sound that men made in their throats when luring their hawks. It is also this passage that suggests that the English translation of the treatise had been circulated in manuscript form prior to its publication. Playford wrote,

²⁴ Although Pietro Reggio might have cleared up this matter in later years in his *The Art of Singing*, writing, "And for all the rest: any Triple whatever, must be sung always with a kind of a brisk way, and the more chearful it is sung, the better it will please" (Reggio, pp.14-15).

²⁵ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

"It was also my chance lately to be in Company with three Gentlemen at a Musical practice, which sung their parts very well, and used this Grace (called the Trill) very exactly, I desired to know their Tutor, they told me I was their Tutor, for they never had any other but this my Introduction: That (I answered) could direct them but in the Theory, they must needs have a better help in the Practick, especially in attaining to sing the Trill so well."²⁶

Playford first published this anecdote in the 1664 edition of his *Brief Introduction*, and descriptions of the trillo in earlier editions have not been found. Therefore it seems that the three gentlemen had had some form of access to the book prior to its publication.

Playford also added at the very end of the treatise,

"Those who desire to be Instructed and taught to sing after this Excellent way, needs not to seek after Italian or French Masters, for our own Nation was never better furnished with able and skilful Artists in Musick then it is at this time, though few of them have the Encouragement they deserve, nor must Musick expect it as yet, when all other Arts and Sciences are at so low an Ebb: But I do hope as Almighty God has most miraculously restored his Sacred Majesty in peace, (whose Vertues and Piety declares him a Lover and Encourager of Arts, and of Musick especially) so I hope the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome will follow His Gracious and Royal Example."27

This passage indicates more than just Playford's dedication to the English monarchy and his hopes for the incipient Restoration period. Playford's text presents the paradox between the long-established tradition of Italianate singing in England and yet the relative newness of these musical practices as a result of their lack of support and near banishment from the public eye during the earlier Commonwealth period. It is for this reason that it seems possible that Playford had kept the treatise in his possession until after the Restoration, when a greater demand began to grow for instruction in Italianate declamatory song.

²⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 70.

²⁷ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 75-76.

Changes in Musical Examples: Caccini's 1601 Treatise and Playford's 1664 Translated Edition¹

Either the translator or Playford made several changes to Caccini's original musical examples, some of which may have had a significant influence on English understandings of Italian ornamentation. The instructional notes within Caccini's musical examples were translated into English, but the Italian musical texts of the pieces themselves were retained.

Caccini's first musical example, which he had included in order to demonstrate correct placement of the *esclamazione*, was left almost entirely unchanged in Playford's 1664 edition. The vocal line was moved from soprano clef to treble clef and includes two slurs in measures two and four over different patterns of quavers on "guire" of "languire" ("languish"). What is most striking is a textual change in the first measure, where either the translator or Playford replaced Caccini's original note, "*Esclamazióe láguida*" ("languid *esclamazione*")² with "More languid." One explanation for this change may be the confusion surrounding the definition and explanation of the *esclamazione* in Playford's 1664 edition. However this change may have also been made in order to save space, just as Caccini himself abbreviated the Italian terms as well.

The second musical example, in which Caccini notated the *trillo* and *gruppo*, was also altered. It was transcribed from soprano clef into treble clef, "*Gruppo*" in measure two was changed to "*Gruppo or double Relish*," the *gruppo* example contains four fewer semiquavers before the cadence, and the final notes of the *gruppo* include two extra sharp signs most likely placed in order to remind the singer of the accidentals to be sung at the

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¹ Both Caccini's and Playford's musical examples shown in Appendices 1 and 2.

² Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*.

³ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 65.

⁴ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 68.

beginning of the ornament. The *trillo* example does not clearly show Caccini's original pattern of two crotchets, two quavers, two semiquavers, and four demisemiquavers. Due to what may have been a printing error, there does not seem to be any difference between the first two crotchets and second two quavers, which instead appear to be four crotchets.

The most dramatically altered musical example in Playford's 1664 translation was labeled, "Example of the most usual Graces." This example was included in Caccini's 1602 edition, but Caccini did not give it a title, instead writing in the preceding text, "[C]ome sopra e detto, scritte in una maniera, ò in altra fanno il contrario effetto di quello, che fa, ai mestieri, mostrerò non solo, come si possono usare, ma etiamdio tutti essi effetti descritti in due maniere con l'istesso valor delle note" ("As is stated above, written in one way or another they [the ornaments] have the opposite effect from that which is usually done. I will show not only how they can be used, but also all of the described effects in two ways with the same note-values"). The English translation also contains this text, "as is aforesaid being described in one or other manner, do work a contrary effect to that which is requisite: I will shew not onely how they may be used, but also all the effects of them described in two manners, with the same value of the Notes."

Caccini's original musical passage (consisting of sixteen total ornaments) demonstrates examples of, first, the way in which a piece is notated, and then, the way in which it actually should be performed. The same example in the 1664 English edition does not follow this pattern. The example printed in Playford's edition instead lists a different type of ornament in each measure, omitting the demonstrations of how the music would have been notated. Caccini had taken care to list the first unadorned

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⁵ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 69.

examples as "1" and their subsequently ornamented counterparts as "2." Oddly enough, the English edition retains the alternating use of the numbers "1" and "2," yet the different measures do not usually relate to one another in any way. As was the case with the previously analyzed musical passages, it was transcribed into treble clef and is marked by several more slurs than Caccini had notated. Lillian Ruff asserts that Playford disregarded Caccini's methodical arrangement of ornaments and, "made a random selection of...examples" and "jumbled them up." In addition, *trilli* are marked not only by the written word, "*trillo*" but also by the cross ("+") that Playford defined as the symbol for the *trillo*. As can be seen from earlier English manuscripts, Playford was not the first in England to denote the *trillo* with this symbol. Caccini had not included this symbol in his 1602 treatise, but its widespread use among English musicians of the time may have inspired Playford to present it as a necessary musical convention.

It seems that either the translator or Playford did not realize or had no qualms regarding the above-described contradictions in both the text and musical notation. However, the musical repercussions of such changes may have been greater than one would assume and may have affected the evolution of English vocal ornamentation and composition in the seventeenth century. The 1664 English edition does not as clearly distinguish (both textually and visually) that ornaments were to be added to the already notated melodic line, so that a passage of music would be sung differently than it had been written. This may have contributed to the inclusion of Caccini's "graces" into the melodic lines of compositions by composers of the late seventeenth century such as John Blow, Pelham Humfrey, and Henry Purcell.

⁷ Ruff, pp. 41-42.

In order to demonstrate the placement of his outlined ornaments within the context of the monodies themselves, Caccini had featured excerpts from several of his own pieces, including "Cor mio deh non languire," "Ahi dispietato Amor," and "Deh deh dove son fuggiti." In the 1664 English edition, Playford included all three, with "Ahi dispietato amor" and "Cor mio deh non languire" "specifically engraved for the occasion," as Ian Spink states. 8 Playford's engraved versions of the first two pieces differ from Caccini's originals in several ways. They are featured under the titles, "An Ayre After the Italian Manner" and "Another"; and "Ahi dispietato" was not labeled as "Aria di Romanesca." The middle section of "Cor mio" was removed, the bass line for "Ahi dispietato" was transcribed into bass clef, the vocal line for "Cor mio" was transcribed into treble clef, cross-shaped trillo markings were added in both pieces, and extra slurs were added in both pieces. "Deh deh" does not seem to have undergone any notable changes, with the exception of more added trillo markings, more slurs, and an inverted first bass note of the fourth system (marking a G2 in place of a D3, most likely a printing error). In one measure of "Deh deh," Caccini had requested, "senza misura, quasi favellando in armonia con la sudetta sprezzatura" ("without regular rhythm, as if speaking in tones, with the aforesaid *sprezzatura*.") This was in 1664 translated to, "without measure, as it were talking in harmony, and neglect the Musick." Once again, the issue of *sprezzatura* arises, and once again, it seems that the translator or Playford chose to remain consistent in his translation of the term into a "neglect" of the music.

At the end of the translation, Playford stated,

⁸ Spink, Ian. "Playford's Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner," p. 133.

⁹ Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

¹⁰ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 72-73.

"The Author hereof having set most of his Examples and Graces to Italian words, for indeed it cannot be denied, but the Italian Language is more smooth and better vowell'd then the English, by which it has the advantage in Musick, yet of late years our language is much refined, and so is our Musick to a more smooth and delightful way and manner of singing after the method set down by the Author, and all of those Graces by Trills, Grups, and Exclamations, are and may be used to our English words, as well as Italian; I have therefore added one English Ayre which demonstrate the same;" 11

This edition was to be the only one in which Playford printed such an "English Ayre" in his "Brief Discourse." His chosen piece was "O That mine eyes would melt" by Thomas Brewer (1611- c.1660). As Ian Spink explains,

"All [Playford] did in the way of ornamentation, however, was to indicate with crosses at the cadences where it was appropriate to sing trillos...nevertheless there are three manuscript versions of this song, all dating from before 1664, two of which are ornamented after the Italian manner, and whose crosses marking trillos more or less coincide with the printed version." ¹²

¹² Spink, Ian. "Playford's Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner," p. 133.

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¹¹ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 76-77.

Changes in Musical Examples Within the Translated Treatise from 1664 until 1694

The majority of the changes made to the musical examples in subsequent editions of Playford's "*Brief Discourse*" seem to have been either printing errors or corrections to printing errors. Aside from those changes, the most immediately noticeable alteration is the post-1664 removal of all but one of the supplementary "*Ayres*."

The first musical example in the text remained untouched until 1672, save for one printing error (which changed an A4 to a C5 on the first syllable of "languire" in the melodic line), which was corrected in the next edition. From 1672 until the translation's final publication in 1694, only small changes were made, such as the removal of the sharp sign above E3 in the bass line of the second measure. This most likely would not have affected the manner in which the chord was played, since the preceding G-sharps in the vocal line indicate that an E Major chord would be appropriate.

The second example, which demonstrates the proper execution of the *trillo* and *gruppo*, underwent slightly more change than did the first example. In 1672, "*The Trillo*" was replaced with, "*Trill, or plain Shake*." Despite any confusion that the English translation of the label may have caused, the example itself was more clearly notated than it had been before; the first four notes of the *trillo* no longer seemed to be four crotchets, but were distinguished as two crotchets and two quavers. In addition, the notes were no longer beamed, the words "Corre" and "mia" were added beneath each ornament (to the *trillo* and *gruppo*, respectively), and the accidentals that had been added in 1664 were removed. This musical example then remained unchanged until 1683, when what seems

¹ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1672, p. 47.

to be another printing error caused the *gruppo* to end on an E4 instead of a G4, and it remained this way until 1694.

Playford's third musical example, "Example of the most usual Graces," was subjected to numerous printing errors throughout following editions. Most of these inaccuracies appeared in 1670 and were similar to that of the first example, consisting mainly of inverted notes. Although they seem to have been accidental oversights, they did dislocate the melodic structures of many of Caccini's original ornaments. Most errors were remedied in 1672, when a new phrase was also added to the end of the example-"Where this Mark + is set over a Note, this Trill is to be used." Playford may have included this small editorial note in order to re-define the trillo symbol to new readers. Almost all printing errors were finally removed by 1687, and the musical example once again resembled its 1664 counterpart.

In 1666, Playford removed all other musical examples from the translated text except for "Deh deh dove son fuggiti." This was most probably the result of an effort to shorten the passage. "Deh deh" did suffer a few small printing errors (such as the 1670 removal of the dot from the penultimate note in the vocal line), but they were also remedied in the 1672 edition. In 1674, the note on the first syllable of "Aure" in the final measure of the sixth system was inverted (presenting not an E5 but a B3), and this was repaired in 1683. However, given the awkwardness of the melodic leap in its original form, the 1674 change in the English edition may have been intentional. There is one slightly odd printing issue that arose repeatedly throughout the translation's publication; the previously described error in the first bass note of the fourth system was corrected by

² Playford, John. An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1672, p. 49.

1672 but then re-printed from 1687 on. Although this may very well have been a mistake, there is a chance that the new editor noticed the inconsistency between the modified example and the 1664 example and purposefully decided to revert it back to its 1664 form (despite the fact that the 1664 example was itself incorrect). If this was the case, then it seems that either Henry Playford or Henry Purcell did not refer to *Le nuove musiche* when editing the passage, relying instead on its first English translation.

Aside from the above-mentioned changes, it should also be noted that the editors of the passage were continuously liberal in their placement and appearance of slurs throughout every musical example. Not only did the 1664 musical examples differ from those of Caccini in this respect, but changes in slurs continued in every edition that followed. It does not seem that this would have had any drastic effects, but the mere movement and physical change of slurs indicates that the translated treatise continued to be edited until its final publication in 1694.

Changes to the English Translation of Caccini's Text in Playford's Editions from 1664 until 1694

There were surprisingly few changes made to the translated text itself over its thirty years of publication, and those made were minor. Given the constrictions of printing during Playford's time, it is possible that many of these changes only were made in an effort to prevent the need for spilling information onto a new page, since that would have required a complete re-setting of the next page's printing plate as well. A comprehensive list of all subsequent changes in the English translation is provided in Appendix 1.

One small change made in 1672 may shed light on the performance practices of the period in which Playford's "*Brief Discourse*" was published. The 1664 edition translates Caccini's expressed dissatisfaction with the over-use of divisions and the fact that singers who employed them "were cryed up for famous." However, this phrase was, in 1672, changed to, "are cryed up for famous," and then restored to its original form in 1693. Caccini's exact words had been, "fussero dalla plebe esaltati, e gridati per solenni cantori" ("were exalted by the plebeian, and proclaimed mighty singers"). It seems strange that in Playford's English translation, "were" was changed to "are" throughout so many editions, especially when it does not match Caccini's own text. It is possible that during the period from 1672 to 1683, Playford may have been offering a small bit of commentary on undeserved praise given to English singers who engaged in over-use of divisions.

¹ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 58.

² Caccini, Giulio. Le nuove musiche.

Changes to Playford's Own Words Within the Translated Text from 1664 until 1694

Playford's comments within the 1664 "Brief Discourse" changed drastically in subsequent editions; these changes are not only clues as to who the translator might have been (as has previously been described), but also present an added perspective on the musical state of England from 1664 until the passage's removal in 1697. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson cite the changes to Playford's *Introduction* as an indicator that Purcell's time was very much a period of transition for singers. A complete list of all changes in Playford's textual insertions throughout the years following 1664 is provided in Appendix 1.

In the preface to the document, Playford had, in 1664, stated that the ornaments described in the treatise were "now used by the Italians." In 1672, the phrase was changed to, "used in Italy, and now in England." This change may demonstrate that Italianate styles of ornamentation had begun to spread throughout England by 1672, perhaps a testimony to the influx of Italian musical influences during that time and the popularity of Playford's Brief Introduction. Playford's second paragraph (included in the first three editions) describes his decision to publish the manuscript after it came to his hand, his reservations in doing so, and the "Emiment Masters" who had helped him by perusing it beforehand. This paragraph was removed in 1670, most likely in an effort to shorten the passage for further editions. Playford had already had the opportunity to thank those who had assisted him in the treatise's publication and most probably saw no further need for the paragraph.

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¹ Baldwin, Olive and Wilson, Thelma. "Purcell's Stage Singers." *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden. Oxford: Oxford University, 1996, p. 115.

² Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1672, p. 37.

³ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 57.

Also in 1670, there was a small change in Playford's explanation of the execution of the *trillo*. He originally had stated, "[S]ome *observe that it is rather the shaking of the Uvula or Pallate on the Throat in one Sound or Note;*" but it was amended in 1670 so that it specified, "[S]ome *observe that it is rather the shaking of the Uvula or Pallate on the Throat in one Sound, breaking that* Note, which whole is a Minim into Semiquavers." He may have first changed the words in an attempt to make the passage more specific, but he removed it once again in 1672.

A similarly perplexing change was implemented in 1670 within the passage in which Playford described one of the young singers' comparison of hawk calling to the *trillo*. His first account had stated, "One of them made this Reply, which made me laugh heartily, yet it was a true one." In 1670, this was changed to, "One of them made this Reply, which made me smile, yet it was a true one." In 1672, it was changed to, "One of them made this Reply, which made me smile." In 1679, it was removed entirely, and in 1683 restored to, "One of them made this Reply, which made me smile," which was retained until the removal of the treatise in 1697. Playford's indecision regarding his own emotional response is slightly comical and suggests what may have been a preoccupation with the way in which others perceived him and his publications, but the cause for these minor alterations cannot truly be known.

Playford added several other details in later editions, most probably to better explain certain types of ornaments. In 1664 he wrote of the *trillo*, "which use by a slow

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⁴ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 70-71.

⁵ Playford, John. *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1670, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 70-71.

⁷ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1670, pp. 44-45.

⁸ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1672, pp. 52-53.

⁹ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: Ann Godbid and John Playford, 1683, pp. 46-47.

motion at first, and by an often practice he became perfect in," which he then changed in 1674 to, "which use by a slow motion at first, and by an often practice on several Notes, higher and lower in sound he became perfect in." In 1672, he replaced, "there the Trill is made in the latter part of any such Note:" with "there the Trill is made in the latter part of any such Note: and on that Note that precedes the closing Note." In addition, from 1672 to 1683, he added, "or shake of the Voice," after "This Trill." By 1683, Henry Playford and Henry Purcell had begun to edit the book, and they may have not seen the need to describe the *trillo* so extensively after 1683, a point in time when the *trillo* very well could have become a better known ornament in English music. Also in 1683, Playford's initial statement that "This Trill...is made in Closes, Cadences, and other places..." was replaced with, "This Trill...is usually made in Closes, Cadences, and other places..." The insertion of the term "usually" may indicate the changing understanding of vocal ornamentation that was occurring in the late seventeenth century, with the introduction of newer ornaments such as the trill. If the editors believed that the trillo was not always to be used, then other types of cadential ornaments may have begun to take the place of the *trillo* in vocal music.

In Playford's final 1664 passage of comments, he wrote, "the Italian Language is more smooth and better vowell'd then [sic] the English, by which it has the advantage in Musick." He retained this passage until 1683, but in 1666 removed the phrase, "by which it has the advantage in Musick." He may have removed it to shorten the text. However, it is also possible that by 1666, the Italian language did not seem to have as much of an

¹⁰ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1674, pp. 52-53.

¹¹ Playford, John, An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1672, pp. 52-53.

¹² Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, pp. 70-71.

¹³ Playford, John. An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1683, pp. 46-47.

advantage in music, since, as Playford had claimed in 1664, "yet of late years our language is much refined, and so is our Musick to a more smooth and delightful way and manner of singing." ¹⁴ Either Henry Playford or Henry Purcell entirely removed his final paragraph of comments in 1683 (replacing them with "Vale") ¹⁵, perhaps owing to the successes of English declamatory song during that time.

During the late Restoration period, Italianate styles of ornamentation in English vocal music had become well established, patronage of the arts had been restored, and Playford's listed "Eminent Masters" had all passed away and were being replaced by newer musical talents (one being the editor himself). By 1683, many of Playford's original comments may have seemed antiquated and redundant. An Introduction to the Skill of Musick continued to incorporate many different types of musical teachings, and the translated text of Caccini's much older document most probably was required to defer to newer musical ideas.

In this same final passage, Playford made one other change that cannot easily be explained. The final page of the 1664 edition states that Italianate musical "graces"

"have been used here in England by most of the Gentlemen of His Majesties chappel above this 40 years, and now is come to that Excellency and Perfection there, by the Skill and furtherance of that Orpheus of our time, Henry Cook Genttleman and Master of the Children of His Majesties Chappel, whose Compositions of Anthems now used in his Majesties Chappel, and by him and other Gentlemen most exquisitely performed to the Glory of God and honour of our Nation." ¹⁶

These words were changed in the 1666 edition. Playford instead stated that Italian ornaments,

"have been used to our English Ayres, above this 40 years and Taught here in England, by our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Laneare, Mr. Henry

¹⁴ Playford, John, A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 76.

¹⁵ Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1683, p. 49.

¹⁶ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1664, p. 76.

Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Colman, and Mr. Walter Porter, who 30 years since published in Print Ayres of 3, 4, and 5, Voyces, with the Trills and other Graces to the same." ¹⁷

It is not certain why Playford made such a drastic change from one edition to another. In 1670, Playford removed the names of all composers but Henry Lawes, referring to the rest as, "other excellent Masters in this Art." This change seems more logical. By this point, the "other excellent Masters in this Art" had passed away, and Henry Lawes was the only living composer on the list.

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¹⁷ Playford, John. A Brief Invoduction to the Skill of Musick, 1666, p. 58.

¹⁸ Playford, John. A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1670, p. 47.

Florid Melodies of Late Seventeenth-Century England: A Case Study of Selected Works by John Blow, Pelham Humfrey, and Henry Purcell

The final two decades of the seventeenth century saw major changes in the composition of English vocal music. Namely, vocal music moved followed a more declamatory design than it had before, composers began to incorporate florid Italianate ornaments into melodic lines of vocal parts (while slightly newer ornaments were improvised, such as the trill), and English opera emerged as a recognized genre. These changes were ushered in not only due to foreign influences, but also thanks to the individual innovations of the composers often considered to be the most virtuosic of the century – John Blow, Pelham Humfrey, and Henry Purcell. Ian Spink writes,

"By and large, the songs of the Restoration court and theatre took the trivial view of love and life. But deeper emotions stirred even in that cynical age; emotions that neither the lyrics of the courtiers nor the tunes to which they were set were altogether capable of expressing. It is the songs of Purcell and Blow, principally, that penetrate beyond such gallantries...we can hardly fail to notice certain quite striking differences, particularly the increased scale-physical and emotional-of many of them."

Edward Huws Jones explains that, even as early as 1673 (with the publication of Playford's *Choice Songs and Ayres* [London: Godbid and Playford, 1673]), the continuo songs of Henry Lawes were on the decline, replaced by the works of a newer generation of composers.² With the emergence of professional singing in England in the 1660s, English song had grown to become technically more demanding, and the availability of many talented singers and voice teachers allowed for vocal virtuosity to become an expected facet of musical performance. Although many professional English singers trained in Italy, there certainly was no dearth of Italian musicians and teachers in England. Women were also beginning to establish a presence on the English stage; until a

¹ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 203.

² Jones, p. 9.

few years before the Restoration, women had not been able to transition from amateur musicians to professional musicians, and the many virtuosic sopranos working in Italy at the time lacked an English equivalent. Edward Huws Jones names Catherine Coleman (d. after 1669)- wife of Edward Coleman and daughter-in-law of Charles Coleman- as one of the first female singers heard in the sphere of public musical performance in England. She appeared in Davenant's *Entertainment at Rutland House* in 1656 and then in *The Siege of Rhodes* later that year.³ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson list the many duties expected of Purcell's talented singers, stating, "Purcell's young singers needed musical knowledge and technical skill, so that they could both move their audiences emotionally and display their flexibility of voice...but...they did not need to sing in foreign languages, for when they performed 'Italian' songs, they did so in English."

Although early English opera was born out of both French and Italian styles of composition and performance, Ian Spink claims that Italian models were more prevalent in the years around 1680.⁵ This certainly seems to be the case when one considers the writings of composers of the period. English multi-instrumentalist and composer Robert King (c.1660-c.1726) wrote in 1692, "I have imitated the ITALIANS in their manner of ARIETTAS; who for there EXCELLENCE in VOCAL MUSICK are (in my Judgment) the best PATERNS." In Henry Purcell's preface to *The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian* (London: Heptinstall, 1691), he wrote,

"Poetry and Painting have arriv'd to their perfection in our Country: Musick is yet in its Nonage, a forward Child, which gives hope of what it may be hereafter in England, when the Masters of it shall find more Encouragement. Tis now learning Italian, which is its best Master, and studying a little of the French Air, to give it somewhat more

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³ Jones, p. 31.

⁴ Baldwin and Wilson, p. 115.

⁵ Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 205.

⁶ King, Robert. Spink, Ian. English Song: Dowland to Purcell, p. 176.

of Gayety and Fashion. Thus being farther from the Sun, we are of later Growth than our Neighbour Countries, and must be content to shake off our Barbarity by degrees."⁷

Purcell elaborated upon this concept in his preface to *The Fairy-Queen* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1692), and also voiced his desire for ideological and financial support for the development of English opera.

"Tis known to all who have been any considerable time in Italy, or France, how Opera's are esteem'd among 'em. That France borrow'd what she has from Italy, is evident from the Andromede and Toison D'or, of Monsieur Corneille, which are the first in the kind they ever had, on their publick Theaters; they being not perfect Opera's, but Tragedies, with Singing, Dancing, and Machines interwoven with 'em, after the manner of an Opera. They gave 'em a tast first, to try their Palats, that they might the better Judge whether in time they would be able to digest an entire Opera. And Cardinal Richelieu (that great Encourager of Arts and Learning) introduced 'em first at his own Expence, as I have been informed amongst 'em.

What encouragement Seignior Baptist Lully had, from the present King of France, is well known; they being first set out at his own Expence; and all the Ornaments given by the King, for the Entertainment of the People. In Italy, especially at Venice, where Opera's have the greatest Reputation, and where they have 'em every Carnival, the Noble Venetians set 'em out at their own cost. And what a Confluence of People the fame of 'em draw from all parts of Italy to the great profit of that City, is well known to every one who has spent a Carnival there. And many of the English gentry are sensible what advantage Paris receives, by the great number of Strangers which frequent the Opera's three days in a Week, throughout the Year. If therefore an Opera were established here, by the Favour of the Nobility and Gentry of England; I may modestly conclude it would be some advantage to London, considering what a Sum we must Yearly lay out among Tradesmaen for the fitting out so great a work.

That Sir William Davenant's Siege of Rhodes was the first Opera we ever had in England, no Man can deny; and is indeed a perfect Opera: there being this difference only between an Opera and a Tragedy; that the one is a Story sung with proper Action, the other Spoken. And he must be a very ignorant Player, who knows not there is a Musical Cadence in Speaking; and that a Man may as well speak out of Tune, as sing out of Tune. And though few are so nice to examine this, yet all are pleas'd when they hear it justly perform'd. 'Tis true, the Siege of Rhodes wanted the Ornament of Machines, which they value themselves so much upon in Italy. And the Dancing which they have in such perfection in France...

That a few private Persons should venture on so expensive a Work as an Opera, when none but Princes, or States exhibit 'em abroad, I hope is no Dishonour to our Nation: and I dare affirm, if we had half the Encouragement in England, that they have in other Countries, you might in a short time have as good Dancers in England as they have in France, though I despair of ever having as good Voices among us, as they have in

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⁷ Purcell, Henry. *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess or the History of Dioclesian*. London: John Heptinstall, 1691.

Italy. These are the two great things which Travellers say we are most deficient in. If this happens to please, we cannot reasonably propose to our selves any great advantage, considering the mighty Charge in setting it out, and the extraordinary expence that attends it every day 'tis represented. If it deserves their Favour? if they are satisfied we venture boldly, doing all we can to please 'em? We hope the English are too generous not to encourage so great an undertaking."8

One of the first composers to excel in the more cutting-edge Italian style was Pelham Humfrey, who produced a considerable amount of music for the Chapel Royal and the king's Private Music. He had been the most precociously brilliant chorister to come out of the first generation of Henry Cooke's Chapel Royal choir (he ultimately succeeded Cooke as chapel choir director). Upon leaving the choir, he was given a large sum of money from the secret service fund to travel to France and Italy to study composition. 9 Not much is known about his trip, but he is said to have studied with Lully. Samuel Pepys wrote that Humfrey returned to England as

"an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything and everybody's skill but his own...to hear how he laughs at all the King's music here...that they cannot keep time nor tune nor understand anything...and that Grebus the Frenchman, the King's Master of the Musique, how he understands nothing and cannot play on any instrument and so cannot compose, and that he will give him a lift out of his place, and that he and the King are mighty great, and that he hath already spoke to the King of Grebus, would make a man piss."¹⁰

John Blow, a contemporary of Humfrey, was also a talented composer and organist who actively followed Italianate modes of composition. During his lifetime, he worked as the organist of Westminster Abbey; as organist, composer, and choir director for the Chapel Royal; and as Master of the King's Music in court. Blow is known to have copied Italian music by composers such as Carissimi, Arcangelo Crivelli (1546-1617),

⁹ Wainwright, Jonathan P. Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670), p. 197.

⁸ Purcell, Henry. *The Fairy-Queen*. London: Jacob Tonson, 1692.

¹⁰ Pepvs, Samuel. Wood, Bruce. "Humfrey, Pelham." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. 3 March 2013.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13544.

Monteverdi, Martino Pesenti (c.1600-c.1648), and Giovanni Rovetta (c.1595/7-1668) (as evident from his early scorebook, Oxford Christ Church Mus. 14, probably copied in the mid-1670s). Blow composed several Italianate works, including nine sacred Latin pieces, the all-sing drama *Venus and Adonis* (1683, technically considered to be the first English opera), and a collection of secular solo songs entitled *Amphion Anglicus* (London: Pearson, 1700).

Both Humfrey and Blow served as mentors to Henry Purcell, the best-known English composer of the seventeenth century. As is demonstrated above in the prefaces to his works, Purcell also aimed to closely follow Italian compositional models. Purcell worked as a composer for the court, organist for Westminster Abbey (he was Blow's successor), composer and organist for the Chapel Royal, and composer for the public theatre. Considering his early connections to Henry Cooke in the Chapel Royal choir as well as his eventual position as editor of Playford's "Brief Discourse," Purcell seems the most likely of the three composers discussed in this section to have worked under direct influence of Caccini's Le nuove musiche. However, it certainly was not his only source of guidance in learning Italianate styles of composition and ornamentation. For example, he is known to have copied Monteverdi's "Cruda Amarilli" and "Crucior in hac flamma." Ian Spink has noted several instances of Italian inspiration in Purcell's work, such as his use of increased repetition, the binary da capo form (one example being "Ye gentle spirits of the air" from *The Fairy-Queen* [1693], which is a complete *da capo* aria), and call-and-response vocal and instrumental duets (such as "Sound fame" from Dioclesian [1691], in which the trumpet line echoes that of the voice). Spink also highlights the similarity between Purcell's "The Plaint" from the Fairy-Queen and Luigi Rossi's "Mio

ben" from *Orfeo* (1647). Purcell composed Italianate music for over forty theatrical and operatic dramas, much of it published in his posthumous *Orpheus Britannicus* collections (London: Playford, 1698, 1702). In the wake of Purcell's untimely death, lawyer, philosopher, historian, and amateur musician Roger North (1651-1734) wrote in his epitaph, "Orpheus Britannicus Mr. H. Purcell...began to shew his great skill before the reforme of musick *al'Italliana*, and while he was warm in the persuit of it, dyed; but a greater musicall genius England never had." 12

Caccini's described ornaments are present in countless vocal works by Humfrey, Blow, and Purcell; however, as is apparent from manuscript sources of the time, all three composers began to take greater control of their music by notating such ornaments into the score itself instead of expecting them to be improvised. Not only was this a common practice in Italy at the time, but it was even more prevalent in French vocal repertoire and initially may have been adopted through English interaction with French musicians. Purcell's Gresham autograph manuscript lends a bit of insight into the process involved in this method of composition. Several of the pieces in the collection appear to have been altered after their initial composition, with ornaments crushed in-between notes, added onto the edge of the page where bar lines end, and causing other notes to be crossed out and re-written in order for rhythmic space to be made. Examples include Purcell's "Come all yee Songsters" from the *Fairy Queen*, "Not all my torments," and "Tis Natues Voice" from *St Cecilia's Day Ode*. 13

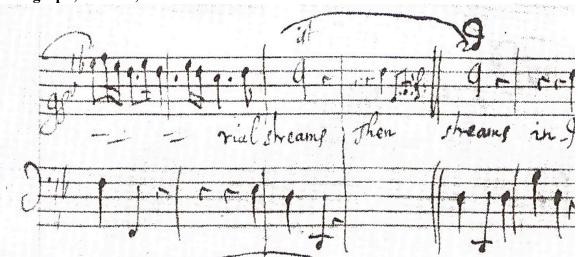
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¹¹ Spink, Ian, English Song: Dowland to Purcell, pp. 209-229.

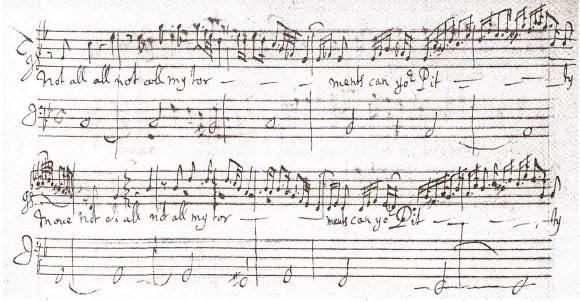
¹² North, Roger. Spink, Ian. *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*, p. 240.

¹³ Shown in Example 1. 1a. Purcell, Henry. "Come all yee Songsters." *The Fairy Queen*. Gresham Autograph, London, 1692. Gresham College, London, 1995. Intro copyright Novello & Company Trust. Music copyright Gresham College Trust.1b. Purcell, Henry. "Not all my torments." London: Gresham Autograph. 1c. "Tis Natures Voice." *St Cecilia's Day Ode*. Gresham Autograph, London, 1692.

Ex. 1a. Purcell, Henry. "Come all yee Songsters." *The Fairy Queen*. Gresham Autograph, London, 1692.



Ex. 1b. Purcell, Henry. "Not all my torments." Gresham Autograph, London.



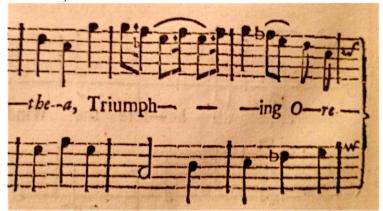
Ex. 1c. Purcell, Henry. "Tis Natures Voice." *St Cecilia's Day Ode*. Gresham Autograph, London, 1692.



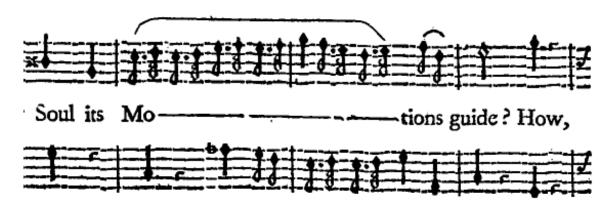
It is not uncommon to find Caccini-esque dotted graces and *cascate* notated within English works of the late seventeenth century. Whether or not this is a direct result of the composers' familiarity with Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* is impossible to determine, considering the large number of different Italian sources available at the time. However, its influence did exist, whether it was direct or indirectly passed on through generations of earlier composers. Numerous divisions are notated into English vocal works of the late century as well, although it is highly unlikely that the division component could have stemmed from Caccini's influence. The *esclamazione*, *trillo*, and *gruppo* may have continued to hold a place in English music of the period (discussed below), but it is more difficult to trace such a thread.

Springers similar to Caccini's dotted graces can be seen notated into the melodic lines of many works, two being in Blow's "Orethea's Bright Eyes" over the word "Triumphing" and Purcell's "The Blessed Virgin's Expostulation" over the word "Motions." 14

Ex. 2a. Blow, John. "Orethea's Bright Eyes." *Amphion Anglicus*. London: William Pearson, 1700.



Ex. 2b. Purcell, Henry. "The Blessed Virgin's Expostulation." *Harmonia Sacra*. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1693.



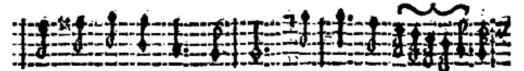
Melodic figures that resemble Caccini's *cascate* include those in Humfrey's "Cheer up my Mates" on the word "scudds," Blow's "Lysander I persue" on

¹⁴ Shown in Example 2. 2a. Blow, John. "Orethea's Bright Eyes." *Amphion Anglicus*. London: William Pearson, 1700, p. 168. 2b. Purcell, Henry. "The Blessed Virgin's Expostulation." *Harmonia Sacra*. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1693, p. 6.

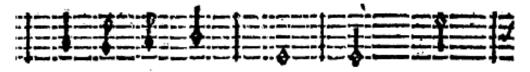
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the words "I persue," and Purcell's "If Musick be the food of Love" twice on the word "move." 15

Ex. 3a. Humfrey, Pelham. "Cheer up my Mates." *Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1675.



d we shall cut the burning Line : Hey boys she scudds a-



Ex. 3b. Blow, John. "Lysander I persue." Amphion Anglicus.



¹⁵ Shown in Example 3. 3a. Humfrey, Pelham. "Cheer up my Mates." *Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues*. London: William Godbid and John Playford, 1675, p. 2. 3b. Blow, John. "Lysander I persue." *Amphion Anglicus*, p. 182. 3c. Purcell. Henry. "If Musick be the food of Love." *Orpheus Britannicus*. London: John Heptinstall and Henry Playford, 1698, p. 6.

Ex. 3c. Purcell. Henry. "If Musick be the food of Love." *Orpheus Britannicus*. London: John Heptinstall and Henry Playford, 1698.



Examples of divisions within notated vocal lines include the melismatic patterns in Pelham Humfrey's "Lord! I have sinn'd" on the word "run," Blow's "A Dialogue between Horace and Lydia" on the word "Monarch," and Purcell's "From Rosie Bow'rs" twice on the word "fly." 16

Ex. 4a. Humfrey, Pelham. "Lord! I have sinn'd." *Harmonia Sacra*. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1688.



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¹⁶ Shown in Example 4. 4a. Humfrey, Pelham. "Lord! I have sinn'd." *Harmonia Sacra*. London: Edward Jones and Henry Playford, 1688, p. 50. 4b. Blow, John. "A Dialogue between Horace and Lydia." *Amphion Anglicus*. London: William Pearson, 1700, p.125. 4c. Purcell, Henry. "From Rosie Bow'rs." *Orpheus Britannicus*. London: John Heptinstall and Henry Playford, 1698, p. 90.

Ex. 4b. Blow, John. "A Dialogue between Horace and Lydia." Amphion Anglicus.



Ex. 4c. Purcell, Henry. "From Rosie Bow'rs." Orpheus Britannicus, 1698.



It seems that the *esclamazione* and Caccini's more cadential ornaments, specifically the *trillo* and *gruppo*, received a slightly different treatment by English composers of the late century. Although it is difficult to know whether the *esclamazione* was still used due to the vagaries of notating dynamic contrast, Pietro Reggio's *The Art of Singing* suggests that it was considered more graceful to sing a phrase of music with a swelling motion by starting softly, growing louder, and decreasing in volume at the end. As he wrote in reference to one of his first musical examples,

"This beginning must be sung very soft, and slowly; The first word...which is upon the first Note, must begin as soft as can be, and by degrees must be increased till it grows full and lowd, and this must be done with such a discretion that the Voice may suffer only and easy impulse, but a little at a time, till it comes to its full strength. Now

when you come to sing the second and third Notes, these must be pretty lowd, equally, and so for the rest, till you come until the sixth Note, which must be soften'd;" ¹⁷

The *gruppo* seems to have become nearly obsolete in vocal music of the period. This may be due to its similarity to the trill, in which case remnants of the *gruppo* still remained in a slightly different form. The normalization of the trill can also explain the near removal of the *trillo* from English vocal repertoire in the final two decades of the century. However, the *trillo* also makes an appearance in the melodic lines of several different pieces in a slightly more unconventional manner. Andrew Parrott explains that Purcell adopted the *trillo* into his works for a specific type of effect- to imitate the sound of shivering and chattering in the Frost Scene in *King Arthur* (1691). ¹⁸ He writes,

"A different form of vibrato, explicitly called for in Pucell's music as a special effect, is the easily misinterpreted *tremolo*...which occurs in writing both for bowed strings and for voices, and which 'resembles the shaking stop of an organ.' For string players, the 'Italians *tremolo*,'...was not a *tremolando*...but a bow vibrato made by playing an even rhythm 'with the same bow, but distinguishing the notes'...For voices it was presumably an equivalent gentle re-articulation (from the diaphragm or throat) or rhythmic pulsation, on a single pitch and syllable."¹⁹

¹⁷ Reggio, p. 4.

¹⁸ Shown in Example 5. Purcell, Henry. "What Power art thou." *King Arthur*. 1691. Ed. Edward Taylor. London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1843, p. 70.

¹⁹ Parrott, pp. 409-410.

Ex. 5. Purcell, Henry. "What Power art thou." *King Arthur*. 1691. Ed. Edward Taylor. London: Musical Antiquarian Society, 1843.



Lionel Sawkins has discussed this same work, noting that the passage is thought to be an imitation of a similar shivering chorus in Lully's opera *Isis* (1677), but also mentioning,

"It is also worth recalling that the repeated-note ornament, which the Italians called a *trillo*, was known in England as the trill, or plain shake. Could it be that the last word of Cupid's command to the Cold Genius to 'awake, and winter from thy furry mantle shake' intentionally heralds the tremolo passage which follows, giving unequivocal advice to singers and players as to how Cold People should shiver?" ²⁰

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²⁰ Sawkins, Lionel. "Trembleurs and Cold People: How Should They Shiver?" Performing the Music of Henry Purcell, ed. Michael Burden. Oxford: Oxford University, 1996, p. 264.

This same compositional technique is present in earlier English pieces of the century, such as Matthew Locke's "Song and Dance of the Salij" from *Psyche* (1675).²¹ It is possible that works such as this- in which it seems that both the singers and instruments follow a *trillo*-like pattern on the word "Race"- may have served as a source of inspiration for Purcell before Lully's *Isis*.

Ex. 6. Locke, Matthew. "Song and Dance of the Salij." *The Vocal Musick in Psyche*. London: T. Ratcliff and N. Thompson, 1675.



Although composers had begun to dictate their desired ornamentation within their printed works, improvisatory vocal ornamentation still did have a place, although it does not seem to have been as florid as it had been earlier in the century. It is possible that, as Roger North expressed in the early eighteenth century, it was simply difficult for composers and performers to write down every grace employed. He wrote, "It is the

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²¹ Shown in Example 6. Locke, Matthew. "Song and Dance of the Salij." *The Vocal Musick in Psyche*. London: T. Ratcliff and N. Thompson, 1675, p. 20.

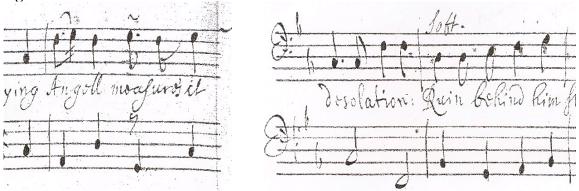
hardest task that Can be to pen the Manner of artificial Gracing an upper part; It hath bin attempted, and in print, but with Woeful Effect...the Spirit of that art is Incommunicable by Wrighting, therefore it is almost Inexcusable to attempt it."²² Manuscript sources of the period show a limited number of added divisions, dotted graces, and other earlier forms of ornamentation. Instead, there are symbols signifying the slightly more modern trill, dynamic markings similar to those explained in Pietro Reggio's *The Art of Singing*, and symbols for turns (and such symbols were often included in printed editions as well). Examples include Purcell's "Awake and with attention hear" from British Library Add. Ms. 63626 (entitled *The Song Book of Mr. Montriot*, assembled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); Purcell's "Hallelujah" and "Hail Bright Cecilia" from Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Mus. c.26 (mainly Purcell's autograph manuscript, written in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries); and Blow's *Venus and Adonis* from British Library Add. Ms. 22100 (in the hand of composer John Walter [c.1660-1708], 1682).²³

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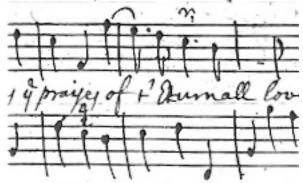
²² Jones, p. 54.

²³ Shown in Example 7. 7a. Purcell, Henry. "Awake and with attention hear." *The Song Book of Mr. Montriot*, British Library, London, Add Ms. 63626, assembled in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, p. 13. 7b. Purcell, Henry. "Hallelujah." Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Mus. c.26, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. 7c. Purcell, Henry. "Hail Bright Cecilia." Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Mus. c.26, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. 7d. Blow. John. *Venus and Adonis*. British Library, London, Add. Ms. 22100, c.1682.

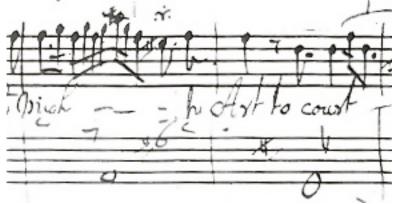
Ex. 7a. Purcell, Henry. "Awake and with attention hear." *The Song Book of Mr. Montriot*, British Library, London, Add Ms. 63626, assembled in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



Ex. 7b. Purcell, Henry. "Hallelujah." Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Mus. c.26, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.



Ex. 7c. Purcell, Henry. "Hail Bright Cecilia." Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Mus. c.26, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.



7d. Blow. John. Venus and Adonis. British Library, London, Add. Ms. 22100, c.1682.

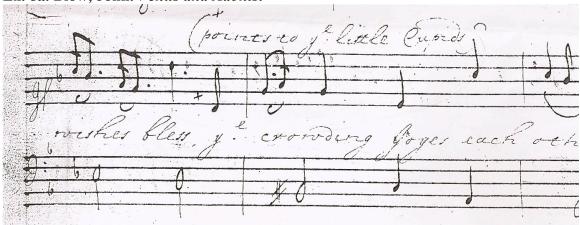


Also in Blow's *Venus and Adonis* manuscript is the frequent use of a cross symbol similar to the *trillo* symbol included in Playford's "*Brief Discourse*." However, in this context, it does not seem to be a request for the singer to execute a *trillo*, but rather to make some sort of gesture, such as Venus pointing to Cupid or Adonis dying.²⁴

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²⁴ Shown in Example 8a&b. Blow, John. *Venus and Adonis*. British Library, London, Add. Ms. 22100, c. 1682.

Ex. 8a. Blow, John. Venus and Adonis.



Ex. 8b. Blow, John. Venus and Adonis.



By the turn of the century, vocal ornamentation had changed significantly. It was not a complete replacement of ornaments, but rather a shift in the definition ornamentation. What had once been added flourishes to relatively undecorated melodic lines became a more permanent component of English declamatory song, and newer improvisatory decorations (such as the trill) were added onto such florid melodies in an ornamental manner.

Conclusion

Not only will further research on the transference of Italian musical practices to England be necessary in order to answer Wainwright's previously stated questions in their entirety, but there are also countless questions that remain surrounding Caccini's Le nuove musiche and its influence in seventeenth-century England. Relatively little is known about English composers- such as Coprario and Dering - who traveled to Italy during the development of the seconda pratica. More details on their experiences abroad may shed light on the treatise's journey across the English Channel and its circulation in England thereafter. Research into the activities of Italian musicians in England in the early century would be equally helpful. It would then be essential to delve into matters of the "Frenchification" of Italianate music. For example, what were the exact differences between French and Italian styles of ornamentation in the early Baroque period, and is there a possibility that Caccini's treatise had been available in France before it was in England? There also remains the question of instrumental ornamentation. To what degree did instrumental ornaments intersect with vocal ornaments, and what effect might this relationship have had on the compositional developments that followed?

Nonetheless, the dissemination of *Le nuove musiche* throughout seventeenth-century England indicates the prominence that Caccini's treatise held, both before and after the publication of its first known English translation. In addition, the continued presence of Caccini's described ornaments within the melodic lines of composers from the late century attests to the strong connection between Italian and English musical practices in the seventeenth century.

Appendix 1

Changes to the English Translated Text and John Playford's Comments Within "A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner," 1664-1694

The 1664 edition is featured as the template. Major changes in subsequent editions have been noted while minor typographical changes have not.

A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner: Wherein is set down those Excellent Graces in Singing ^{2 3} now used by the Italians: Written some time since by an English Gentleman who had lived many years in Italy, and Taught the same here in England; intending to publish the same, but prevented by Death.

Courteous Reader,

This Manuscript fortunately came to my hand, which having diligently perused, and perceiving the Authors intent to have publish'd it, I thought it would be useful to add some part thereof to this my Discourse of the Theorie of Musick; but being cautious of publishing any thing of this kind on my own weak judgment, I communicated my intended purpose to some of the most Eminent Masters of this Kingdome, who (after their perusal) gave a good approbation thereof; so that if thou dost reap any benefit thereby, thou art beholden to them, and not to me, any more then for Publishing the same. ^{9 10}

The Proem to the said Discourse is to this effect.

Hitherto I have not put forth to the view of the world those fruits of my Musick Studies employed about that noble manner of *Singing* which I learnt of my Master the famous *Scipione del Palla* in *Italy*; nor my Compositions of *Ayres* Composed by me, which I saw frequently practiced by the most famous Singers of *Italy*, both Men and Women: But seeing many of them go about maimed and spoyl'd, and that those long

¹1672; "of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner" changed to "of the Italian manner of Singing"

²1672; "down those excellent Graces in Singing" changed to "down the Use of those Graces in Singing"

³1666; ", as the Trill and Gruppo," added

⁴1672; "now used by the Italians" changed to "used in Italy, and now in England"

⁵1666; "time" changed to "years"

⁶1666; "many years" removed and then replaced with "long" in 1672

⁷1666; "being returned" added

^{81672; &}quot;in England; intending...prevented by Death" omitted

⁹1666; "Musick; but being cautious...Publishing the same" changed to "Musick; being encouraged thereto by the most Eminent Masters of Musick of this Kingdome, who perused the same before it was published."

¹⁰1670; paragraph removed

winding Points were ill perform'd, I therefore devised to avoyd that old manner of 11 Division which has been hitherto used, being indeed more proper for Wind and Stringed Instruments than for the Voyce: And seeing that there is made now adayes an indifferent and confused use of those Excellent *Graces* and Ornaments to the good ¹² manner of Singing, which we call *Trills*, *Grapps*, *Exclamations* of *Increasing* and *Abating* of the Voyce, of which I do intend in this my Discourse to leave some foot-prints, that others may attain to this excellent manner of Singing: To which manner I have framed my last Ayres for one Voyce to the *Theorbo*, not following that old way of *Composition*, whose Musick not suffering the Words to be understood by the Hearers, for the multitude of Divisions made upon short and long Syllables, though by the Vulgar such Singers were 13 cryed up for famous. But I have endevoured in those my late Compositions to bring in a kind of Musick by which men might as it were Talk in Harmony, using in that kind of Singing a certain noble neglect of the Song, as I have often heard at *Florence* by the Actors in their Singing Oppera's, in which I endevoured the Imitation of the Conceit of the Words, seeking out the Cords more or less passionate, according to the meaning of them; having concealed in them so much as I could the Art of *Descant*, and paused or stay'd the Consonances or Cords upon long Syllables, avoiding the short, and observing the same Rule in making the passages of Division by some few *Quavers* to Notes and to Cadences, not exceeding the value of a quarter or half a semibrief at most. But, as I said before, Those long windings and turnings of the Voyce are ill used, for I have observed that Divisions have been invented, not because they are necessary unto a good fashion of Singing, but rather for a certain tickling of the Ears of those who do not well understand what it is to sing Passionately; for if they did, undoubtedly Divisions would have been abhorr'd, there being nothing more contrary to Passion than they are, yet in some kind of Musick less Passionate or Affectuous; and upon long Syllables, not short, and in final Cadences and Divisions¹⁴ may be used, but not at all adventures, but upon the practice of the Descant; but to think of them first in those things that a man will sing by himself, and to fashion out the manner of them, and not to promise a mans self that his Descant will bear it: For to the good manner of Composing and Singing in this way, the understanding of the conceit and the humour of the words, as well in passionate Cords as passionate Expression in Singing, doth more avail than Descant; I having made use of it onely to accord two Parts together, and to avoid certain notable Errors, and bind certain Discords for the accompanying of the Passion, more than to use the Art: and certain it is that an Avre Composed in this manner upon the Conceit of the words, by one that hath a good fashion of Singing, will work a better effect and delight more than another made with all the art of Descant, where the Humour or Conceit of the words is not minded.

The original of which defect (if I deceive not my self) is hence occasioned, because the Musician doth not well possess and make himself Master of that which he is to Sing. For if he did so, undoubtedly he would not run into such errors, as most easily he falleth into, who having framed to himself a manner of Singing; for example, altogether Passionate, with a general Rule that in Encreasing and Abating the Voyce, and in

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¹¹1672; "running" added

¹²1683; "& true" added

¹³1672; "were" changed to "are" and changed back in 1683

¹⁴1672; "and Divisions" changed to "some short points of Division"

Exclamations is the foundation of Passion, doth always use them in every sort of Musick, not discerning whether the words require it: Whereas those that well understand the conceit and the meaning of the Words, know our defects, and can distinguish where the Passion is more of less required. Which sort of people we should endeavor to please with all diligence, and more to esteem their praise than the applause of the ignorant vulgar.

Thus *Art* admitteth no Mediocrity, and how much the more curiosities are in it, but reason of the excellence thereof, with so much the more labour and love ought we, the Professors thereof, to find them out. Which love hath moved me (considering that from Writings we receive the light of all *Science*, and of all *Art*) to leave behind me this little light in the ensuing Notes and Discourses; it being my intention to show so much as appertaineth to him who maketh Profession of Singing alone, upon the Harmony of the *Theorbo*, or other Stringed Instrument, so that he be already entered into the *Theorie* of *Musick*, and Play sufficiently, Not that this cannot also be attain'd by long practise, as it is seen that many, both Men and Women have done, and yet this they attain is but unto a certain degree: But because the Theorie of these Writings conduceth unto the attaining of that degree; and because in the profession of a *Singer* (in regard of the excellence thereof) not onely particular things are of use, but they all together do better it; therefore to proceed in order, thus I will say:

That the chiefest foundations, and most important Grounds of this *Art* are, the *Tuning* of the *Voyce* in all the *Notes*; not onely that it be neither too high nor too low, but that there be a good manner of *Tuning* it used. Which *Tuning* being used for the most part in two fashions, we will consider both the one and the other; and by the following *Notes* will shew that which to me seemeth more proper to other effects.

There are some therefore that in the *Tuning* of the first *Note*, Tune it a *Third* under: Others Tune the said first *Note* in his proper *Tune*, always increasing it in Lowdness, saying that this is the good way of putting forth the *Voyce* gracefully.

Concering the first, Since it is not a general Rule, because it agrees not in many *Cords*, although also in such places as it may be used, it is now become so ordinary, that in stead of being a Grace (because also some stay too long in the third *Note* under, where as it should be but lightly touched) I would say¹⁵ it is rather tedious to the Ear; and that for Beginners in particular it ought seldome to be used: and in stead of it, as being more strange, I would choose the *Second* for the Increasing of the Voyce.

But because I have not contained my self within ordinary terms, and such as others have used, yea rather have continually searched after novelty, so much as was possible for me; so that the novelty may fitly serve to the better obtaining of the *Musicians* end, that is, to delight and move the affections of the mind: I have found it to be a more affectuous way to *Tune* the *Voyce* by a contrary effect to the other, that is, to *Tune* the first *Note*¹⁶, Diminishing it: Because Exclamation is the principal means to move the Affection; and Exclamation properly is no other thing, but in the slacking of the Voyce to reinforce it somewhat¹⁷. And such Increasing of the Voyce in the *Treble* part, especially in feigned Voyces, doth oftentimes become harsh, and unsufferable to the Hearing, as upon divers occasions I have heard. Undoubtedly therefore, as an affection

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¹⁵1672; "I would say" removed

¹⁶1672; "in its proper Tune" added

¹⁷1672: "more" added

more proper to move, it shall work a better effect to Tune the Voyce, Diminishing of it, than Increasing of it: Because in the first of these ways now mentioned, when a man Increases the Voyce, to make an Exclamation, it is needful that in Slacking of it, he Increase it the more. And therefore I have said that it showeth harsh and rough. But in the Diminishing of the Voyce it will work a quite contrary effect, because when the Voyce is slacked, then to give it a little spirit, will always make it more Passionate. Besides that also, using sometimes one, sometimes another, variety may be used, which is very necessary in this *Art*, so that it be directed to the said end.

So then, if this be the greatest part of that Grace in Singing, which is apt to move the affection of the mind, in those conceits certainly where there is most use of such Affections or Passions, and if it be demonstrated with such lively reasons, a new consequence is hence inferred, that from Writings of men likewise may be learned that most necessary Grace, which cannot be described in better manner, and more cleerly for the understanding thereof; and yet it may be perfectly attained unto; so that after the study of the Theorie, and of these Rules, they may be put in practise, by which a man grows more perfect in all Arts, but especially in the profession of a perfect Singer, be it man or woman.



Of tuning therefore with more or less Grace, and how it may be done in the aforesaid manner, trial may be made in the above-written Notes with the words under them, Cor mio, deh non languire. For in the first Minim with the Prick, you may Tune Cor mio, diminishing it by little and little, and in the falling of the *Crotchet* increase the Voyce with a little more spirit, and it will become an *Exclamation* passionate enough, though in a Note that falls but one degree. But much more spiritful will it appear in the word deh, by holding of a Note that falls not by one degree. As likewise it will become most sweet by the taking of the *greater sixt*, that falls by a leap. Which thing I have observed, not onely to shew to others what a thing Exclamation is, and from whence it grows; but also that there may be two kinds of it, one more passionate than the other: as well by the manner in which they are described, or tuned in the one way or the other; as also by imitation of the word, when as it shall have a signification sutable to the conceit. Besides that, Exclamations may be used in all Passionate Musicks, by one general Rule in all Minims and Crochets with a Prick falling; and they shall be far more Passionate by the following Note, which runneth, than they can be in Semibreifs; in which shall be fitter place for increasing and diminishing the Voyce, without using the Exclamations. Yet by consequence understand ye, that in Airy Musicks or Corants to dance, in stead of the

Passions, there is to be used onely a lively, cheerful kind of Singing, which is carried and ruled by the Air it self. In the which, although sometimes there may be place for some Exclamation, that Livelyness of Singing is in that place to be omitted, and not any passion to be used, which favoureth of *Lamguishment*. Whereupon we see how necessary a certain judgment is for a Musician, which sometimes useth to prevail above Art. As also, we may perceive by the above-written *Notes*, how much greater Grace the foure first Quavers have upon the second syllable of the word Languire, being so stayed by the second *Quaver* with a *Prick*, than the foure last equal *Quavers*, so printed for example. But because there are many things which are used in a good fashion of Singing, which because there is found in them a greater Grace, being described in some one manner, make a contrary effect one to the other; whereupon we use to say of a man that he Sings with much Grace, or little Grace: These things will occasion me at this time first to demonstrate in what fashion I have described the Trill and the Grup; and the manner used by me to teach them to those who have been interessed in my house; and further, all other the more necessary effects: So that I leave not unexpressed an curiosity which I have observed.



The *Trill* described by me is upon one Note only, that is to say, to begin with the first *Crotchet*, and to beat every Note with the throat upon the vowel [a] unto the last *Brief*. As likewise the *Gruppo* or *double Relish*. *Which* Trill *and* Gruppo *was exactly learned*, & *exquisitely performed by my Scholars*. So that if it be true, that Experience is the Teacher of all things, I can with some confidence affirm and say that there cannot be a better means used to teach it, nor a better form to describe it. Which *Trill* and *Grup*, because they are a step necessary unto many things that are described, and are effects of that Grace which is most desired for Singing well; and (as is aforesaid) being described in or other manner, do work a contrary effect to that which is requisite: I will shew not onely how they may be used, but also all the effects of them described in two manners, with the same value of the Notes, that still we may know (as is aforementioned) that by these Writing together with Practice, may be learned all the Curiosities of this Art.



[Our Author being short in setting forth this chief or most usual Grace in Singing called the Trill, which as he saith very right, is by a beating in the Throat on the Vowell (a'h) some observe that it is rather the shaking of the Uvula or Pallate on the Throat in one Sound or Note¹⁸; For the attaining of this, the most surest and ready way is by imitation of those who are perfect in the same; yet I have heard of some have attained it by this manner, That in singing a plain Song of 6 Notes up, and 6 down, they have in the middest of every Note beat or Shaked with their finger upon their Throat, who by often

181666; "or Note" changed to "upon a Note"

¹⁹1670; "Sound upon a Note" changed to "Sound, breaking that Note, which whole is a Minim into Semiquavers" and then changed back in 1672

Practice they came to do the same Notes exactly without. It was also my chance lately to be in Company with three²⁰ Gentlemen at a Musical practice, which sung their parts very well, and used this Grace (called the Trill) very exactly, I desired to know their Tutor, they told me I was their Tutor, for they never had any other but ²¹ my Introduction: That (I answered) could direct them but in the Theory, they must needs have a better help in the Practick, especially in attaining to sing the Trill so well. One of them made this Reply, which made me laugh heartily, 22 yet it was a true one23: I used (said he, at my first learning the Trill) to imitate that breaking of the Sound in the Throat, which men use when they luer their Hawkes, as he-he-he-he; which use by a slow motion at first,²⁴ and by an often practice^{25 26} he became perfect in. This Trill²⁷ being the most usual Grace, is ²⁸ made in Closes, Cadences and other places, where by a Long Note an Exclamation or Passion is expressed, there the Trill is made in the latter part of any such Note: ^{29 30} And those who once can attain to the perfect use of the Trill, other Graces will become Easie. 31 32

²⁰1683; "three" changed to "some"

²¹1666; "this" added

²²1670; "laugh heartily" changed to "smile" and then removed in 1679 and then changed back to "smile" in 1683

²³1672; "yet it was a true one" removed

²⁴1666; "which use by a slow motion at first" changed to "which use slow at first" and then to "which us'd slow at first" in 1670 and then "which he used slow at first" in 1672

²⁵1683; "and by an often practice" changed to "and after more swift"

²⁶1674; ", on several Notes, higher and lower in sound" added

²⁷1672; "or shake of the Voice," added and then removed in 1683

²⁸1683; "usually" added

²⁹1666; "but most usually upon binding notes in Cadences and Closes" added

³⁰1672; "and on that Note that precedes the closing Note" added

³¹1683; "Cadences and other places...will become Easie" changed to "Cadences when on a long Note Exclamation or Passion is expressed, there the Trill is made in the latter part of such Note but most usually upon binding Notes and such Notes as precede the closing Note. Those who once attain to the perfect use of the Trill, other Graces will become

³²1666; Paragraph moved so that it appears after the words, "have spoken before" in paragraph after "Deh deh dove son fuggiti" example.



³³1666; musical example removed

It is to be observed in these Graces that the second hath more grace in it than the first; and for our³⁴ better Experience we will in these following *Ayres*³⁵ describe some of those graces with words under, together with the *Bass* for the *Theorbo*; but in this next *Ayre* is contained the most Passionate passages.



³⁴1672; "our" changed to "your"

³⁵1672; "these following *Ayres*" changed to "this following *Ayre*"



And because in the two last lines of the foregoing Ayre, *Deh dove son fuggiti*, there are contained the best passions that can be used in this noble manner of Singing, I have therefore thought good to set them down, both to show where it is fit to encrease

and abate the voice, to make Exclamations, Trills, and Grups; and to summe up³⁶ all, all the treasures of this Art: and that they may serve for example whereby men may take notice in the Musick of the places, where they are most necessary, according to the passions of the words. Although I call that the noble manner of singing, which is used without tying a mans self to the ordinary measure of time, making many times the value of the Notes less by half, and sometimes more, according to the conceit of the words; when proceeds that Excellent kinde of Singing with a graceful neglect, whereof I have spoken before. Since then there are so many effects to be used, for the excellence of the Art, there is required (for the performing of them) necessarily a good voice, as also good Wind to give liberty, and serve upon all occasions where need is most. It shall therefore be a profitable advertisement that the Professor of this Art, seeing he is to sing to a Theorbo, or other stringed instrument, not being compelled to fit himself to others; that he can choose for himself such a Tune wherein he can sing to³⁷ his full and natural Voice. to avoid feigned Tune of Notes. In which, to feign them, or at the least in forced Notes, if his Wind serve him well, so as he do not discover them much (because for the most part they offend the ear) yet a man must have a command of Breath to give the greater Spirit to the Increasing or Diminishing of the Voyce, to Exclamations and other Passions by us related: & therefore let him take heed that spending much breath upon such Notes, it do not afterward fail him in such places as it is needful. But from a feigned Voice can come no noble manner of singing, which proceeds from a natural voice, serving aptly for all the Notes which a man can mannage according to his ability, employing his Wind in such a fashion as he command all the best passionate Graces used in this most worthy manner of singing. The love whereof, and generally of all Musick, being kindled in me by a natural inclination, and by the study of so many years, shall excuse me, if I have suffered my self to be carried further then perhaps was fit for him who no lesse esteems and desires to learn from others, then to communicate to others what himself hath learned: and to be further transported in this discourse, then can stand with that respect I bear to all the Professors of this Art. Which Art being excellent and naturally delightful, doth then become admirable, and entirely wins the love of others, when such as possesse it, both by teaching and delighting others, do often exercise it, and make it appear to be a pattern and true resemblance of those never ceasing celestial Harmonies, whence ³⁸ proceed so many good effects and benefits upon earth, raising and exciting the minds of the hearers to the contemplation of those infinite delights which heaven affordeth.

The Author hereof having set most of his Examples and Graces to Italian words, for indeed³⁹ it cannot be denied, but the Italian Language is more smooth and better vowell'd then the English, by which it has the advantage in Musick,⁴⁰ yet of late years⁴¹ our language is much refined, and so is our Musick to a more smooth and delightful way

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³⁶1672; "to summe up all" changed to "in a word,"

³⁷1672; "that he can choose for himself such a Tune wherein he can sing to his" changed to "that he so pitch his Tune, as to sing in his"

³⁸1672; "only" added, removed in 1674, re-added in 1683

³⁹1666; "for indeed" removed

⁴⁰1666; "by which it has the advantage in Musick" removed

⁴¹1672; "*years*" removed

and manner of singing after the method set down by the Author, and all of those Graces⁴² by Trills, Grups, and Exclamations, are and may be used to our English words, as well as Italian; I have therefore added one English Ayre which demonstrate the same; Nor are these Graces any new Invention, but have been used here in England by most of the Gentlemen of His Majesties chappel above this 40 years, and now is come to that Excellency and Perfection there, by the Skill and furtherance of that Orpheus of our time, Henry Cook Genttleman and Master of the Children of His Majesties Chappel, whose Compositions of Anthems now used in his Majesties Chappel, and by him and other Gentlemen most exquisitely performed to the Glory of God and honour of our Nation.⁴³

Those who desire to be Instructed and 46 taught to sing after this Excellent 47 way, needs not to seek after Italian or French Masters, for our own Nation was never better furnished with able and skilful Artists in Musick then it is at this time, though few of them have the Encouragement they deserve, nor must Musick expect it as yet, when all other Arts and Sciences are at so low an Ebb: But I do hope as Almighty God has most miraculously restored his Sacred Majesty in peace, (whose Vertues and Piety declares him a Lover and Encourager of Arts, and of Musick especially) so I hope the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome will follow His Gracious and Royal Example. 48

⁴²1666; "after the method set down by the Author, and all of those Graces by" changed to "after this new method"

⁴³1666; "Exclamations, are and may...honour of our Nation" replaced with "Exclamations, and have been used to our English Ayres, above this 40 years and Taught here in England, by our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Laneare, Mr. Henry Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Colman, and Mr. Walter Porter, who 30 years since published in Print Ayres of 3, 4, and 5, Voyces, with the Trills and other Graces to the same."

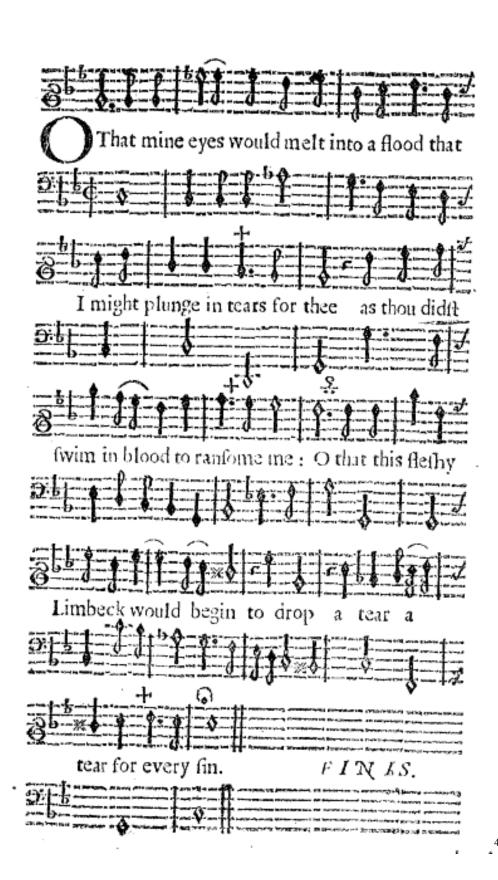
⁴⁴1670; "this new method... Exclamations, and have been ...to the same." (1666) changed to "this new method... especially by the excellent Compositions of Mr. Henry Lawes, and other excellent Masters in this Art, and was by them Taught above this Forty years past, and is daily Improved by them."

⁴⁵1672; "daily Improved by them" (1670) replaced with "daily used and taught by several Eminent Professors at this day"

^{461666 &}quot;Instructed and" removed

⁴⁷1666; "Excellent" removed

⁴⁸1679; "The Author hereof... and Royal example" removed and replaced with "Vale" in 1683



⁴⁹ 1666; musical example removed

Appendix 2

An Audio Guide to Musical Examples in Le nuove musiche

Alana Mailes, soprano and Kay Yoon, harpsichord Recorded December 13, 2012 in Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley and March 5, 2013 at 4655 Encinas Drive, La Cañada, CA

Example 1

- 1. With no esclamazioni or dotted grace
- 2. With esclamazioni but no dotted grace
- 3. With no esclamazioni but with a dotted grace



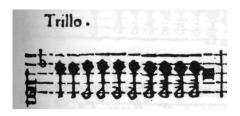


Example 2

- 4. A cadence without ornamentation
- 5. A cadence with a trillo

¹ Musical examples in original print have been selected from: Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove nusiche*. Florence: Marescotti, 1601. 1983. Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1998.

² Musical examples in modern notation have been selected from: Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*. Florence: Marescotti, 1602. 2nd ed. Ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock. 1970. Middleton: A-R, 2009.





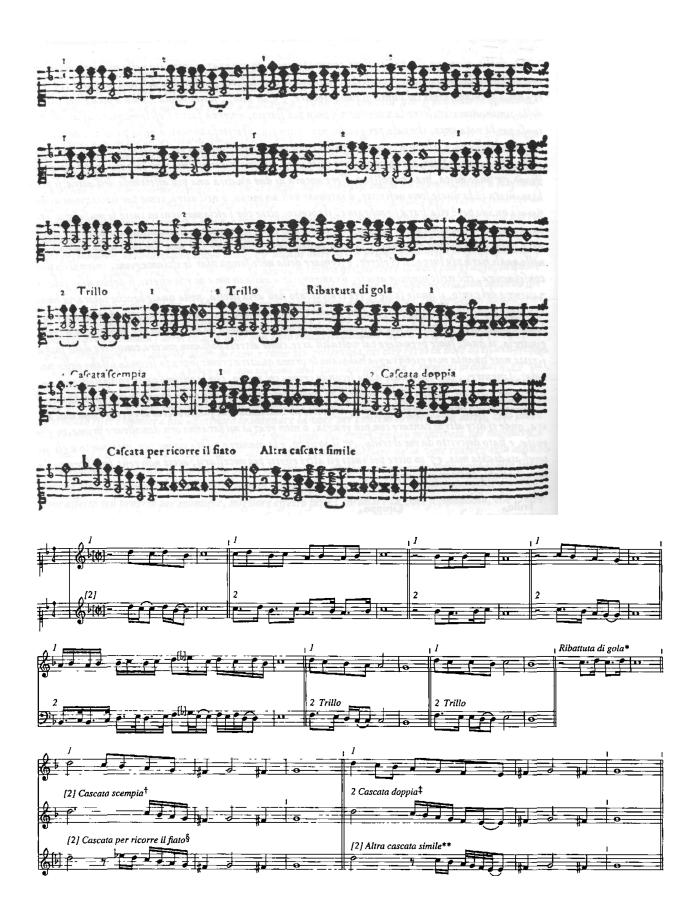
- 6. A cadence without ornamentation
- 7. A cadence with a gruppo

Gruppo,



Example 3 (from left to right)

- 8. First in quavers
- 9. Second in semiquavers and quavers
- 10. First in quavers
- 11. Second in dotted quavers
- 12. First in quavers
- 13. Second in dotted quavers
- 14. First in descending quavers
- 15. Second in descending quavers and dotted semiquavers
- 16. First in semiquavers
- 17. Second in dotted semiquavers and demisemiquavers
- 18. First in descending quavers
- 19. Second in descending quavers and semiquavers with a *trillo*
- 20. First in descending quavers
- 21. Second in descending quavers and dotted semiquavers with a *trillo*
- 22. *Ribattuta di gola* (re-striking with the throat)
- 23. First in descending quavers
- 24. Second with a *cascata scempia* (single fall)
- 25. Third with a *cascata per ricorre il fiato* (fall to re-take the breath)
- 26. First in descending quavers
- 27. Second in a *cascata doppia* (double fall)
- 28. Third in an *altra cascata simile* (another similar fall)















Example 5 30. "Ahime ch'io moro"³



 $^{^3}$ Amendment to recorded vocal line: gruppo example is missing two notes.

130

Example 4f



Example 4g





Example 4h



*Figure is probably a misprint for a #.

Example 6

31. "Ahi dispietato Amor," Aria di Romanesca⁴



⁴ Amendment to recorded vocal line: "penosa" should not be preceded by an "s."

Example 5. Aria di Romanesca







Example 7

32. "Deh deh dove son fuggiti"







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