

WRITTEN FRAGMENTS OF AN ORAL TRADITION:
“RE-ENVISIONING” THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DIVISION VIOLIN

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Written Fragments of an Oral Tradition: “Re-Envisioning” the Seventeenth-Century Division Violin

Seventeenth-century division violin music is not considered part of the classical canon, but its background as a European art form may make it seem “too Western” for traditional ethnomusicological study. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: first, I outline the historical context, transmission, and performance practice of division violin playing in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also of interest to me is the way in which we, as musicologists, study oral tradition within the context of a musical culture that no longer exists today. After an exploration of the ideas of Milman Parry and Albert Lord, Walter Ong, Ruth Finnegan, and Slavica Ranković, I discuss the English division violin’s background and transition from a largely oral to a predominantly literate tradition. I demonstrate this change in transmission, composition, and performance practices through examining the second and sixth editions of John Playford’s *The Division Violin* (1684).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One long-lived spinoff of Italian ornamentation, the English practice of division playing, was born in the Renaissance and thrived well into the eighteenth century.... The legacy of the dance master and his technique lasted much longer and changed more slowly than most violinists would like to admit.

David Douglass¹

Notation can serve as a time capsule for long forgotten musical practices, though it rarely gives us a complete picture of the oral elements of a musical tradition.² Past sound is ephemeral unless recorded by some media, and this distance makes the historical study of oral musical processes quite difficult. As a consequence, many historians have traditionally focused on the written processes of music, with orality as a secondary concern if it is discussed at all. There is a tendency in traditional musicology to focus heavily and perhaps unnecessarily on the “literate” or written elements of a musical culture while relegating oral components of the tradition to the background. This is especially prevalent in the study of seventeenth-century division violin music.

This music is not part of the classical canon, but at the same time its background as a European art form may make it seem too “Western” to deem suitable for traditional ethnomusicological study. Additionally, Peter Holman asserts that much of the information that has been passed down about the division violin tradition is incorrect.³ It

¹ David Douglass, “The Violin,” in *A Performer’s Guide to Renaissance Music*, ed. Kite-Powell, 130.

² Oral elements of music include, but are not limited to, musical processes that are transmitted orally (or aurally) from one person to another without the aid of writing.

³ To Holman, “our received history of the early violin depends to an alarming extent on a small pile of ‘facts’ that have been repeated parrot-fashion from book to book.” Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 2.

has consequently become too easy to make faulty assumptions about early violin repertoire in general, and even easier to ignore it altogether. Holman has done much to right this problem with his book on violin at the English court, yet little research has been done on the violin's role outside court life in early modern England.

The early English violin repertoire is also relatively unknown in the world of violin pedagogy. Although there still is a strong oral component to violin instruction today, the learning process tends to rely mostly on the "Urtext imperative" and largely literate elements of transmission. The idea of the "musical work" overwhelms the music itself, and students of the modern violin focus mainly on learning how to play what is printed on the page, dutifully carrying out what the composer intended.⁴ The art of improvisation is largely lost in today's classical violin world, and the division and prelude literature for the violin is only really familiar to specialists in seventeenth-century English music.⁵ The number of these specialists who are also performers is few and far between.

As a result of these trends in string pedagogy and the wider academic community, the early violin in England is largely misunderstood. This is why I have chosen to explore the English division violin tradition, hoping to reorient the focus from musical "objects" to the broader cultural context of music in a given society. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: first, I outline the historical context, transmission, and performance practice of

⁴ According to Lydia Goehr, "We do not treat [musical] works as objects just made or put together, like tables and chairs, but as original, unique products of a special, creative activity.... Once created, we treat works as existing after their creators have died, and whether or not they are performed or listened to at any given time. We treat them as artifacts existing in the public realm, accessible in principle to anyone who cares to listen to them." Goehr, *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, 2.

⁵ Forrest Larson, review of "The Division Violin: Containing a Collection of Excellent Grounds for the Violin" by Margaret Gilmore, 495.

division violin playing in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I also introduce my main topic with some considerations of Italian sixteenth-century diminution practices, since English divisions are heavily indebted to Italian techniques of ornamentation. Also of interest to me is the way in which we, as musicologists, study oral tradition within the context of a musical culture that no longer exists today. After an exploration of ideas from literary theory and cultural studies, as well as methodologies that combine traditional and ethnomusicological approaches, I discuss the English division violin's transition from a largely oral to a predominantly literate tradition. I demonstrate this change in transmission, composition, and performance practices through examining the various editions of John Playford's *The Division Violin* (1684) and divisions on "John, come kiss me now" by three seventeenth-century violinists.

Keeping in mind that current musicology has shifted its gaze to more readily include the study of oral traditions, I have oriented my research towards techniques and methodologies that cross the border between musicology and other disciplines. Peter Jeffery's *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (1992) influenced my decision to approach the study of the seventeenth-century division violin tradition through examining its oral and written elements. I have tried to combine approaches from traditional musicology with ways of thinking about the orality-literacy debate first presented by scholars of literary studies and linguistics. John Playford's *Division Violin* in particular provides a unique link between written and oral aspects of musical transmission, showing the shifting balance between orality and literacy within a fifty-year period. I have explored this change from a largely

oral to an increasingly literate tradition in seventeenth-century English division violin music by comparing two editions of *The Division Violin*. The differences between various editions of the publication also give us an idea of what sort of music was popular (and functional) in seventeenth-century English society outside court life.

Although the division tradition begins in the sixteenth century as a largely oral one, it had been written down and published by Playford by the end of the seventeenth century as a way for English gentlemen to learn how to improvise on the violin. Ideally, after using the written music to learn division techniques, these amateur violinists would be able to create their own divisions through a process of trial and error. In contrast, later editions of *The Division Violin* more strongly emphasize on literate aspects of the tradition. The sixth edition of the publication features a larger number of well-known composers and longer through-composed works. Techniques that would have once been improvised were now notated on the page for amateurs to understand, which shows an increasing reliance on literate elements of the tradition.

But how are we to study the oral elements of this transmission process if all we have are the notes on the page? The application of literature-oriented models of oral transmission to the aural phenomenon of music has always been somewhat dicey. Even so, there are a few models that can help us examine music transmission from new angles. Treitler and Hucke's "New Historical View" is one such model, applying elements of the Parry-Lord approach⁶ to the study of Gregorian chant. According to this model, musicians of predominantly oral traditions transmit musical knowledge through sets of

⁶ For more information, see Albert Lord's seminal work, *The Singer of Tales*.

“formulas” rather than passing down specific melodies or complete musical works. The continuum-based models proposed by Ruth Finnegan and Slavica Ranković are also invaluable in the study of the interaction between oral and written elements of tradition.

We can greatly enhance our understanding of a music’s purpose and role in the society in which it was created by integrating interdisciplinary approaches with traditional musicology. Keeping this in mind, the historical context of *The Division Violin* helps us understand what sort of music was desirable and functional in seventeenth-century English society. Additionally, the publication history of *The Division Violin* shows a clear transformation from a largely improvisatory oral tradition to a literate, “work-centric” one. Although traditional musicologists have largely associated seventeenth-century European music with the written tradition, I have found the opposite of this to actually be the case. I am in agreement with Christopher Small⁷ in that it is impossible for a musical tradition to exist solely on the printed page, and I believe that seventeenth-century violin music is no exception. The existence of violin divisions as an oral tradition is merely documented through the written “fragments” that still exist today.⁸ Through examining them in new ways, we can see the growing reliance on the printed page for the transmission, composition, and performance of division violin music.

My thesis begins with an exploration of the various ways in which scholars of various disciplines approach the study of oral traditions. Primarily, I am concerned with Milman Parry and Albert Lord’s approach to the study of oral epic poetry, Treitler’s

⁷ See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*.

⁸ Here, I am not referring to incomplete manuscripts that one may normally think of with the word “fragment,” especially when it is associated with chant scholarship. Instead, the fragmentary nature of these divisions refers to the lack of information we have about the music’s oral processes.

application of their ideas to music, Walter Ong's views on literate society, and Ruth Finnegan's conception of an oral-written continuum. Slavica Ranković's exploration of Finnegan's continuum in three-dimensional space is also of considerable interest. In order to better understand the division violin tradition, I next examine its Italian roots in the form of sixteenth-century diminution manuals. These manuals show hypothetical improvisations upon ground basses, and provide an important foundation for their seventeenth-century English counterparts. In Chapter IV, I discuss the social and political factors at play in London while the division tradition was in its prime. My study of violin divisions focuses specifically on John Playford and his publication, *The Division Violin* (1684). I compare the second and sixth editions of *The Division Violin*, and examine three divisions on "John, come kiss me now" by Davis Mell, Thomas Baltzar, and Henry Eccles. These comparisons reflect a changing concept of music itself, from functional practice to "musical work." They also show a clear transition from mostly oral to largely written modes of transmission, composition, and performance within the division tradition. Finally, I explore some ways in which the ideas of Parry, Lord, Ong, Finnegan, and Ranković can be applied to the study of English violin divisions. Through an integration of different methods used by scholars to study oral traditions, I hope to shed light on aspects of the performance practice of the English division violin tradition that have previously been overlooked.

Literature Review

Relevant works to my research include those that deal with the study of oral and literate traditions, as well as resources specific to the seventeenth-century violin repertoire and performance practice. While traditional approaches to the study of music, such as archival research and close score readings, are integral to any musical scholarship, sources from linguistics and communication studies are also essential in the consideration of oral and written traditions. Milman Parry and Albert Lord's generative formulas are applicable to the study of division playing, and have been elaborated upon by Leo Treitler in his study of the chant repertoire. While Walter Ong's discussion of the orality-literacy debate features a chronological pattern that is not necessarily followed by the division tradition, his ideas regarding elements of a literate society are highly relevant to seventeenth-century London. Of all theories concerning oral and written traditions, Ruth Finnegan's concept of orality and literacy occupying different places on a continuum is perhaps the most pertinent. *Along the Oral-Written Continuum* (2010), a collection of essays that build on Finnegan's work, has also been invaluable to this study. Each essay independently demonstrates how necessary it is to do away with viewing the relationship between "oral" and "written" as a dichotomy, and scholars are encouraged to view the oral-written relationship as a larger spectrum upon which specific works can be placed. John Miles Foley's medium-based model of oral traditions and Slavica Ranković's exploration of the oral-written continuum as a three-dimensional space apply Ruth Finnegan's work in new ways. Both of these ideas have been highly useful for my study of the English division violin tradition.

Also of interest to my study are works that discuss the division tradition itself, seventeenth-century England, and Renaissance violin performance practice. Diminution manuals from sixteenth-century Italy are especially enlightening in regards to the background and development of the division violin tradition. In his work on musical ornamentography, John Bass describes sixteenth-century Italian diminution manuals and their rhetorical implications. Peter Holman's *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* is perhaps the most complete source on the string band tradition at the English court, and provides essential information about violin playing in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Holman states that the modern historical assumption of the violin's role in seventeenth century England is largely (and incorrectly) based on reviews of the accounts of seventeenth-century historians such as Roger North and Anthony à Wood.⁹ Holman examines court payment records and other archival evidence to construct his arguments rather than relying on personal historical accounts from almost a century after the music was produced. One of Holman's primary goals is "to show that seemingly 'dry as dust' documents can contribute a good deal to our understanding of music of the past, and often have a direct bearing on how we should perform it."¹⁰ He also turns to the violin repertoire and the people who performed it to find answers.¹¹ Through examining the

⁹ "According to our received notions of musical history, the violin was of little importance in England until the second half of the seventeenth century.... But Wood and North, writing over a century after the violin was first brought to England, are not necessarily reliable witnesses to its history in the sixteenth century." Holman, 123.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, xi.

¹¹ To Holman, "eyewitness accounts provide a certain amount of information about the activities of court violinists. But by their nature they tend not to provide the sort of information we should most like to know. How, exactly, was the Twenty-four Violins constituted? What did it play? And how did it play it? Questions of this sort are best answered by the music itself, assuming that we can identify pieces written for the group in the consort repertoire at large." *Ibidem*, 312.

music within its larger cultural context, Holman brings many new points to light about the violin in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. He briefly discusses violin divisions, but does not write extensively about the topic. The main focus of Holman's study is music at the Chapel Royal, a largely written violin tradition.

Several other resources have been helpful in my research on the early division violin and publishing history. Russell Clair Nelson wrote extensively about the musical amateur in seventeenth-century England, and Rebecca Herrisone documents the music printing industry in London in detail in her article on publishing in Restoration England. Douglass Ross Harvey's bibliographical catalogue on the publications of Henry Playford proved invaluable in the research of the publication history of *The Division Violin*. I have also examined the history of printing and publishing in seventeenth-century England with a focus on John Playford and his variety of musical tutors.

CHAPTER II

WRITTEN “FRAGMENTS” OF AN ORAL TRADITION?

Oral vs. written – but that’s too easy, that’s the usual mistake, the simple opposition, rather than the dynamic of what Blake called “contraries,” without which “there is no progression.” If we restore to the “versus” its root meaning of “turning,” we can make a new start: *the oral as contrary of the written*, speech turning with writing.

George Quasha¹²

“Oral” and “written”: two of the most highly charged words in linguistics, literary studies, ethnomusicology, and a number of other academic fields. Usually posed at odds with one another, these words are occasionally viewed as points along an evolutionary progression presumably followed by all cultures. Should the two be divided into a binary system, two “contraries” on opposite sides of the realm of conceptual possibility? Or is it more profitable to construct a timeline, leading from societies that use predominantly oral means of composition, transmission, and performance to cultures that integrate literacy more fully? Yet, perhaps it is not a timeline at all, but a three-dimensional space in which the orality or literacy of a given tradition can be modified by the current needs of the society that created it.

The orality-literacy debate is an age-old one in the academic community, and not one which I necessarily intend to resolve here. Rather, it is my intention to explore the various factors that contribute to the construction and interaction of oral and written elements of tradition, survey contemporary approaches to their study posed by linguists,

¹² George Quasha, “DiaLogos,” 485. The contraries to which Quasha is referring are Blake’s doctrine of Contraries in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, a series of texts that mimic biblical prophecy in form but reflect Blake’s own Romantic and revolutionary views. Blake states: “Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence./ From these contraries spring what the religious call Good & Evil./ Good is the passive that obeys Reason. Evil is the active springing/ from Energy. Good is Heaven. Evil is Hell.” Blake, xvi.

literary theorists, and social scientists, and demonstrate how the idea of an oral-literate continuum can be beneficial in the study of division violin music. Rather than placing a given tradition in one of two conceptual extremes (“oral” *or* “written”), we should seek out a progression focusing on a transitional space between them. Elements of a tradition can move towards orality or towards literacy on the continuum, depending on the needs of its society.

Conflicts among scholars centered on the relationship between oral and written modes of transmission within a given society take place frequently in literary theory and linguistics, as well as in the study of music. One opinion in linguistic theory poses a “Great Divide” between orality and literacy, where oral and written traditions are incompatible entities bridged by an awkward transitional stage.¹³ A more recent trend in communication theory, exemplified by the work of Ruth Finnegan, has led to the development of a “continuum” model to explain the relationship between oral and literate elements of a tradition. Oral and written components are combined in various aspects of the creation, transmission, and performance of a given text,¹⁴ and each text occupies a different place on a continuum of possibilities. The question is not one of binary opposition, but rather the degree of orality or literacy present within the text at hand.

Theories from linguistic and literary studies have also been appropriated by a handful of chant scholars, although the topic is not often discussed in the larger field of musicology. Leo Treitler has written at length about the relevance of the Parry-Lord

¹³ See Walter Ong, *Literacy and Orality: Technologizing the Word*.

¹⁴ A tradition is composed of multiple texts which may be oral or written.

approach to the study of Aquitanian tropes,¹⁵ and Helmut Hucke proposed a new way of studying Gregorian chant focusing on the rules and formulas used to generate chant melodies.¹⁶ Treitler has even discussed the interaction between oral and literate elements of tradition,¹⁷ though he does not directly mention a continuum between the two. More recently, musicologist Peter Jeffery has questioned the applications of literary theory to musicological study. His criticism of the work of Treitler and Hucke, in addition to his suggestion of integrating “ethnomusicological approaches” into the study of topics traditionally reserved for Western musicology, has led to much discussion and in some cases serious conflict among musicologists.

After clearing up some terminological issues, I will present an overview of linguistic theories that deal with the oral-vs.-written debate, and describe how they have affected musicological studies in recent years. In a later chapter, I will apply this discussion of methodologies borrowed from linguistics, traditional musicology, and ethnomusicology to the relationship between the oral and written elements of tradition in division violin music.

“Definitions” of Tradition

The constant dilemma of any scholarly pursuit is attempting to clearly define one’s parameters. Part of this daunting task involves assigning words to their appropriate

¹⁵ Leo Treitler, “Sinners and Singers: A Morality Tale,” 152.

¹⁶ See Hucke, “Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant.”

¹⁷ Treitler believes that oral and written elements of a tradition are deeply related, stating that “reflections about oral tradition simply cannot make any sense except in tandem with the consideration of music writing, its beginnings in the oral culture, and its interaction with the continuing oral practice.” “Sinners and Singers,” 146.

definitions, which always seem to change with each new paper or article published on a given topic. We are met with an especially chaotic string of terminology when referring to oral and literate traditions. What is “orality,” exactly? Ruth Finnegan admits that “part of the difficulty of many of the generalizations associated with these concepts is that simplified terms are used to try to encapsulate inevitably complex and varying processes, and many different aspects and institutions are only too easily lumped together under these simple-sounding labels.”¹⁸ In the same vein, Leo Treitler states that “much of the misunderstanding in this whole story arises because the word ‘oral,’ once it is proposed in the context of chant transmission, plunges down a slippery slope to ‘improvisation’ and thence to ‘unplanned,’ ‘impromptu,’ ‘capricious,’ all of them leading to ‘unstable.’”¹⁹ It is not within the scope of this paper (or my intention) to establish the “correct” definition of the term “oral tradition,” although in my discussion of the orality-literacy debate I hope to avoid the unfortunate connotations of orality listed above by Treitler. Rather than engage in the intellectual exercise of attempting to define the undefinable, I aim to explore what can be meant by “oral tradition” by surveying a few possible interpretations.

Let us consider what is meant by “tradition” itself before we examine the topic of orality. To Frank Harrison, the word “tradition” means four different things when used in regards to cultural studies. While the word “traditional” may refer to the “handing down” or transmission of knowledge or information, it may also be used to modify the actual text or material that is handed down itself. Additionally, the word “tradition” is frequently

¹⁸ Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*, 2.

¹⁹ Treitler, “Sinners and Singers,” 159.

personified, as in the phrase “tradition tells us.” Finally, “tradition” could also refer to the method or procedure by which things are passed down from generation to generation.²⁰

From the above descriptions, it is easy to see how “tradition,” with its many definitions, is responsible for much confusion and many misunderstandings among scholars. So, let me be more specific – perhaps I should limit the discussion to musical matters. Unfortunately, the term “musical tradition” is not much clearer. Harrison defines this as “1) acts of communication of and about organized non-linguistic sound; 2) the materials and practices which are thus communicated, and 3) the process by which, in the course of time, part at least of these materials and processes becomes solidified... and becomes in a certain sense sacrosanct, and hence impervious to doubt and questioning.”²¹ In a nutshell, any discussion regarding “musical tradition” should involve the examination of musical communication, practices, repertoire, and process. Perhaps this clarifies things a little, but Harrison’s definitions preclude the terms “tradition” or even “musical tradition” from signifying a single concept.

Peter Jeffery does not place importance in a universal definition for the term “oral tradition.” He instead asserts that this catchall term will always be used to define “all sorts of phenomena, which have manifested themselves in countless ways across the entire spectrum of human history and culture.”²² To Jeffery, “almost every variety of memorization, improvisation, variation, recomposition, teaching, learning, performance without written notation, adoption of pre-existent material, use of general-purpose

²⁰ Frank Harrison, “Tradition and Acculturation: A View of Some Historic Processes,” 114–115.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 115.

²² Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 10.

models, persistence of features deemed to be ancient – all these and more have at some time or another been called ‘oral tradition’ by one author or another: and each of them will be again in the future.”²³

Ruth Finnegan takes a similar avenue in her definition of “oral tradition.” Rather than trying to establish an umbrella definition, Finnegan divides orality into four main elements: mode of composition, mode of transmission, actualization in performance, and sources.²⁴ One can establish the degree to which each element is oral or written, and then consider its impact on the tradition itself. Each individual component is but a contributing factor to the overall “orality” or “literacy” of a tradition.

I agree with Jeffery and Finnegan in that the term “oral tradition” is, and perhaps should remain, multidimensional. For the purposes of this study, I will use the term “oral tradition” as a counterpart to the “written” or “literate” tradition, ever present in a culture and constantly changing its function.

The Orality-Literacy Debate

The meat of the orality-literacy debate in academia resides in linguistics and communication studies. There are many schools of thought, but I will focus only on three of them here, given their immediate relevance to musicological studies. Milman Parry and Albert Lord began the first serious inquiry into the relationship between oral and written elements of tradition, while technological determinists like Walter Ong headed a separate development in the study of oral and written as a dichotomy. Their “Great

²³ Ibidem, 10.

²⁴ Finnegan, “How Oral is Oral Literature?,” 60.

Divide” theories posed a situation where oral and written were thought of as two opposite sides of a spectrum upon which a given tradition would eventually “evolve” from an oral to a literate culture. These theories have been less favored in recent decades, having been replaced by the concept of an oral-literate continuum proposed by social anthropologist Ruth Finnegan. In this view, all traditions are composed of both oral and written elements. Even more recently, some scholars²⁵ have taken Finnegan’s idea to new heights, exploring the possibilities of the oral-literate continuum as a collection of verbal arenas or as a purely three-dimensional space.

Pioneering the Debate

Milman Parry is responsible for instigating much of the research that has been conducted on oral traditions in the twentieth century. He set out to answer the “Homeric question” – how was Homer’s poetry composed, and was it part of an oral or literate tradition, or both? Through examining the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as well as living oral traditions such as South Slavic epic poetry²⁶, Parry discovered compositional formulas that were used again and again in different parts of the poems. Parry defined these “formulas” as groups of words which are regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given idea.²⁷ He recognized that these formulas are essential in oral cultures, especially when performing or transmitting poetry. Parry’s work has since

²⁵ For a collection of essays based on Finnegan’s ideas, see *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, edited by Slavica Ranković.

²⁶ Lord refers to this poetry as “Yugoslav epic poetry” in his *Singer of Tales*, though I use the terminology “South Slavic epic poetry” to reflect current scholarship in the field. (Parry and Lord primarily studied epic poetry in the geographic area of Bosnia.)

²⁷ Adam Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse*, 272.

been developed by other scholars. They have discovered that a very small number of the words in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* did not belong to parts of formulas, and these standardized formulas were grouped around equally standardized themes.²⁸ Additionally, the stock formulas could be easily switched around while leaving the plot and tone of the epic unchanged.²⁹ Homer's words were not organized on a purely aesthetic basis, but instead their places were determined by formulaic rules of oral composition.

Parry used this information to create a study focused on the oral transmission of South Slavic epic poetry, which was further developed by Albert Lord who continued Parry's work after he passed away in 1935. Lord's seminal work, *The Singer of Tales* (1960), elaborated upon Parry's theory and essentially pioneered a new academic discipline. Both Parry and Lord isolated recurring formulas which were used in the oral composition and performance of South Slavic epic poetry, and hypothesized that it was the formulas themselves that were passed down rather than the complete poems. As in Homer's works, these formulas allowed for improvisatory composition using a set of stock phrases for each new performance. Poets used a standardized set of formulas, but organized them based on their own individual preferences. Through using these formulas, poets could easily compose and perform simultaneously. The repetition in Homer's poetry was easily explained by the presence of these formulas. Works like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were not merely recited from memory, but instead reflected largely oral practice of transmission, composition, and performance.

²⁸ Ong, 22–23.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 58.

Parry and Lord are responsible for pioneering the academic field of oral tradition, yet there are some unresolved issues with the application of their approach to other realms of study. For example, one element of Lord's approach to the study of oral composition in South Slavic epic that remains controversial is his view that oral composition only consists of composition *that takes place in performance*: "For the oral poet the moment of composition is the performance," writes Lord, "for singing, performing, composing are facets of the same act."³⁰ While the South Slavic poetic tradition studied by Lord did feature simultaneous composition through performance, many other traditions hold performance, composition, and transmission to be very different elements that may not necessarily be unified in their degree of literacy. Finnegan argues that Lord's view of oral composition, while applicable to his own study of South Slavic epic poetry, severely limits the types of texts that can be considered "oral" in composition. A universal application of Lord's focus on improvisatory composition would completely leave out all oral texts that are memorized prior to their performance, such as many religious texts and folk tales that are passed down through generations. Ironically, Lord never intended for his approach to be directly applied to the study of any tradition outside of South Slavic and Homeric epic poetry, and Finnegan even goes so far as to say that Lord's "disciples" have sometimes taken his 'oral theory' further than he would himself.³¹

The pioneering work done by Milman Parry and Albert Lord has been helpful to numerous scholars in their approaches to oral tradition, including musicologist Leo

³⁰ Albert Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 13.

³¹ Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*, 89.

Treitler (who will be discussed in depth later in this chapter). Although a universal application of the Parry-Lord approach would be unproductive, its central ideas remain relevant for scholars of all disciplines.

Approaching the Great Divide

The work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord has served as a springboard for further discussion of oral tradition and transmission throughout the twentieth century. Walter Ong also influenced the study of oral and written traditions with his view of how the literacy or orality of a given culture influences the thought processes of that society.³² Ong compares cultures both synchronically (oral and written cultures that existed at a certain point in time) and diachronically (across history), and seems to favor diachronic comparisons.³³ He discusses the transition process of societies from primary oral cultures³⁴ to literate ones, and also examines a “second orality” that is seen in Western cultures. This “second orality” is composed of orality which depends on extant written cultures to exist,³⁵ such as television and radio in many twenty-first-century societies.

Ideas such as Ong’s, sometimes referred to as “Great Divide” theories, show a distinct transitional period in which the advent of written language causes a culture to “evolve” from predominantly oral to primarily written modes of transmission. Although

³² See Ong, *Literacy and Orality: Technologizing the Word*.

³³ “Diachronic study of orality and literacy and of the various stages in the evolution from one to the other sets up a frame of reference in which it is possible to understand better not only pristine oral culture and subsequent writing culture, but also the print culture that brings writing to a new peak and the electronic culture which builds on both writing and print. In this diachronic framework, past and present, Homer and television, can illuminate one another.” Ong, *Literacy and Orality*, 2.

³⁴ Ong defines “primary oral cultures” as “cultures with no knowledge at all of writing.” Ibidem, 1.

³⁵ Ibidem, 11.

this is similar to Finnegan's continuum theory, it is nevertheless a timeline, presenting a linearity and singularity of direction from oral to written.³⁶ This theory assumes that oral (sometimes called "preliterate") cultures develop, go through a transitional period, and somehow "transform" into literate societies. The transitional stages described by Ong involve *aides-mémoire* such as notches carved on sticks,³⁷ although these are abandoned later in favor of fully literate processes. Although Ong never makes a direct value judgment regarding orality and literacy, he clearly views the literate tradition as that which all societies aspire to, having "never encountered or heard of an oral culture that does not want to achieve literacy as soon as possible."³⁸ Ong leaves little room for mixed traditions in his description, neglecting the idea that any given tradition may be made of both oral and written modes of performance, composition, and transmission. Orality and literacy are posed as binaries, mutually exclusive options that belong on either end of a linear spectrum.

Moving Towards a Continuum

In recent years, the "Great Divide" approaches have been supplemented by ideas featuring a mixture of oral and literate elements within a tradition. Rather than posing oral and written traditions in binary opposition, in which a given text is either oral *or* written, Ruth Finnegan suggests a model with oral and literate on opposite ends of a linear continuum. This idea first surfaced in her 1974 article, "How Oral is Oral

³⁶ Slavica Ranković, "The Oral-Written Continuum as Space," 41.

³⁷ Ong states that "true writing systems can and usually do develop gradually from a cruder use of mere memory aides." Ong, 84.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 171.

Literature?,”³⁹ in which Finnegan provides numerous examples illustrating the interactive relationship between oral and literate elements of tradition. She asserts that “the relation between oral and written forms need not just be one of parallel and independent coexistence, far less of mutual exclusion, but can easily exhibit constant and positive interaction.”⁴⁰ The idea of an oral-literate continuum allows for the complex interactions that occur between oral and written elements of transmission, composition, and performance, and is more applicable to actual cultures than the abstract conception of a purely oral or purely literate tradition. Many traditions may have both oral and written components, and cultures that primarily rely on written communication for some aspects of transmission can also have traditions that are composed, performed, or passed down orally.

In *Literacy and Orality* (1988), Finnegan questions whether or not oral and written forms of communication do in fact cause a “Great Divide” between oral and literate stages of society. She presents a compelling argument for the case against “the empirical and the methodological implications of technological determinism”⁴¹ presented by Ong and other mid-twentieth-century theorists. In contrast to the traditional view of the oral-literate progression, in which cultures slowly “evolve” from oral to written practices along a linear timeline, Finnegan has shown that a tradition can move in both directions on the continuum:

³⁹ “It is true that there are difficulties about accepting the contrasting types as universal generalizations but if [orality] and [literacy] are merely regarded as two poles with a continuum between, or as a model to illuminate reality, they can perhaps cast a useful comparative perspective on the data.” Finnegan, “How Oral is Oral Literature?,” 53.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 57.

⁴¹ Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*, 12.

Qualities which we have learnt to associate exclusively with post-Gutenbergian, author-generated poetry of literate and economically and technologically developed societies... can also be arrived at without the aid of writing and are fostered by hunting and gathering peoples such as the Eskimo of the 1920s, for instance. They produced a sophisticated, deeply meditative oral poetry, reflecting on the creative struggles poets encounter, with a poet occasionally making ironic comments on his own craft, or that of his opponent.⁴²

This example shows that oral poetry can, in fact, demonstrate characteristics that are more commonly associated with written traditions. Of course, it can be insinuated that the opposite situation may also occur: many written traditions today still maintain residue from their earlier oral forms.

Finnegan's oral-literate continuum is extremely relevant to all aspects of cultural studies. Each tradition (or element of a tradition) may shift back and forth on the continuum depending on the degree of orality and literacy relied upon for its transmission, composition, and performance. The two methods of transmission are placed at either end of a linear continuum, and there is no "Great Divide" between them. In addition, the orality or literacy of any given musical culture is quite malleable, and may change based on the current needs of the society and function that music is intended to fill. This perspective may be acknowledged by scholars in various disciplines, yet the general tendency in musicology is to focus on either oral or written elements of a musical culture, while the interaction between orality and literacy is rarely explored.

⁴² Slavica Ranković, "The Oral-Literate Continuum as a Space," 42.

Beyond the Continuum: Orality and Literacy as Place and Space

Finnegan's approach to the study of oral and written tradition has inspired much further research and elaboration on the topic. *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications* (2010) is a collection of essays inspired by Finnegan's work. Two of these essays in particular, by John Miles Foley and Slavica Ranković, provide particularly exciting possibilities for the interdisciplinary study of music. In "Verbal Marketplaces and the Oral-Literate Continuum," Foley presents the division of traditions not into oral and literate realms, but rather into three *agoras*, or "verbal marketplaces." Ranković's essay, "The Oral-Written Continuum as Space," further elaborates Finnegan's continuum with a three-dimensional model. Ranković shows that texts can be plotted on the model according to their medium, poetics, and social context (or more specifically, heteroglossia⁴³). This approach, along with Foley's, can be directly applied to the study of musical traditions.

John Miles Foley adapted Ruth Finnegan's concept of the oral-literate continuum by taking medium into account in the development and transmission of a tradition. He explores his goal of creating a "medium-based model of oral traditions"⁴⁴ in two ways. First, Foley divides his model into four categories of traditions that each have varying degrees of orality and literacy in their performance, composition, and reception. Second, Foley describes three "verbal marketplaces," or *agoras*, along the oral-literate continuum.

⁴³ To Ranković, "heteroglossia" is the degree to which a text is monologic (representing a single view) or dialogic (representing a variety of views or societal influences). The term "heteroglossia" was originally used by Mikhail Bakhtin in his essay "Discourse in the Novel" (1934) to discuss the modernist novel.

⁴⁴ John Miles Foley, "Verbal Marketplaces and the Oral-Literate Continuum," 20.

The four parts of Foley’s model consist of oral performance, voiced texts, voices from the past, and written oral traditions (see Table 1). Texts that fall into Foley’s first category, “oral performance,” are composed orally, performed orally, and received by an audience aurally – no writing is used whatsoever. In contrast to this is Foley’s idea of “voiced texts,” which are composed for the purpose of oral performance. Although these texts are intended to be performed orally and received aurally, they are written down, making them different from Foley’s first category. Texts belonging to Foley’s third category, “voices from the past,” contain both oral and written elements. Foley’s fourth category, “written oral traditions,” are composed, performed, and received through the aid of writing. Even so, it is evident that elements of oral tradition are still present in the written product.⁴⁵

Table 1. Foley’s medium-based model of oral traditions.

Category	Composition	Performance	Reception
Oral performance	Oral	Oral	Aural
Voiced texts	Written	Oral	Aural
Voices from the past	Oral/Written	Oral/Written	Aural/Written
Written oral traditions	Written	Written	Written

Foley further organizes traditions into three *agoras*, or “verbal marketplaces.”

These are the oAgora (oral), tAgora (textual), and eAgora (electronic). While the tAgora presents a fixed experience (since it is text-based), the oAgora and eAgora both present

⁴⁵ It is my belief that John Playford’s *Division Violin* (1684) fits squarely into this fourth category. This possibility will be discussed at length in a later chapter.

interactive “webs” for users to navigate⁴⁶ and constantly change over time. Foley calls the people who interact with these agoras “co-creators,” since everyone who interacts with texts that fall in the the oAgora or eAgora makes an impact on how the tradition changes.⁴⁷ This is in contrast to the tAgora texts, which may or may not be altered by users. Foley focuses on the continuum as a collection of places rather than a single linear timeline.

Slavica Ranković also questions whether the construct of the oral-written continuum as a single two-dimensional timeline is useful. She states that Finnegan intuits a plurality of continuums that “can be felt in her seminal work on oral poetry.... One cannot but wonder what these sets of continuums could be, and in what relation they stand to one another.”⁴⁸ Based on Finnegan’s suggestion of multiple continuums, Ranković creates a hypothetical model based on Finnegan’s suggestion of multiple two-dimensional continuums (see Figure 1). She then suggests a three-dimensional model of the continuum as space (see Figure 2).⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Foley ed. Ranković, 23.

⁴⁷ “How we manage the available, built-in options – how we co-create – will prove just as important as what those options are.” Ibidem, 25.

⁴⁸ Ranković, 43–44.

⁴⁹ Ranković originally uses “social context” in these models, but she chooses to limit her discussion of social context to heteroglossia as it applies to the z-axis. The social context axis represents a conflation of many other continuums, and Ranković isolates heteroglossia for the purposes of this study.

Figure 1. Ranković’s hypothetical two-dimensional model of the oral-literate continuum, isolating separate continuums of medium, poetics, and heteroglossia. The letters “*O*” and “*L*” represent oral and literate trends in tradition.

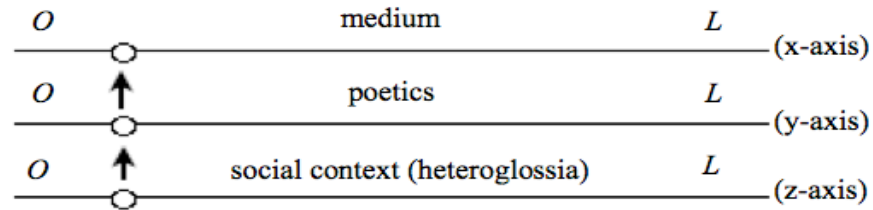
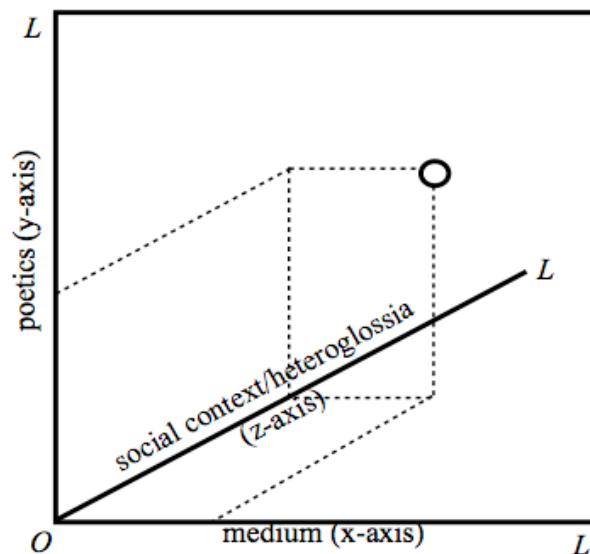


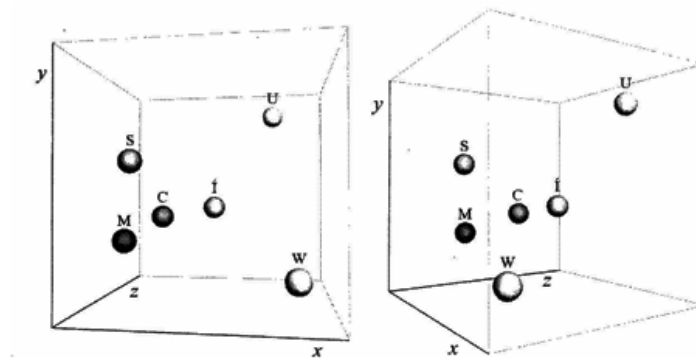
Figure 2. Ranković’s three-dimensional concept of the oral-literate continuum.



Ranković examines the orality and literacy of a variety of texts in her study, including Serbian epic songs (C), skaldic verse (S), Bosnian Muslim epics (M), Wikipedia (W), and the modernist novel, James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (U). She then maps each of these on x, y, and z axes independently in a three-dimensional model of the continuum (see Figure 3). In plotting specific works on the continuum as space, Ranković avoids

generalizing about entire cultures or bodies of work. She emphasizes that the plotting could have been drastically different had she picked different examples, and encourages scholars to use the model of the oral-literate continuum as space as a tool rather than a crutch.

Figure 3. Two views of Ranković’s proposed three-dimensional model of the oral-literate continuum with plotted case study texts.



Ranković’s three axes, representing medium, poetics, and heteroglossia,⁵⁰ each play an important part in where her examples are placed on the continuum (see Table 2). The x-axis represents the medium of transmission, mapping “the extent to which the composition of a text is likely to have relied upon the use of external textual recording media.”⁵¹ It comes closest to Ong’s idea of a chronological development from orality to literacy: Ranković explains that “the closer a piece is placed to the left, the easier it is for

⁵⁰ Though Ranković’s figures (here represented by Figures 1.2 and 1.3) list “social context” as the z-axis variable, she limits her discussion of social context to heteroglossia. I believe Ranković interpreted the social context axis to represent a conflation of many other continuums, and in this case heteroglossia was the most useful variable for her to isolate. The remainder of Ranković’s discussion about the z-axis centers around heteroglossia and how it relates to the social context of a work.

⁵¹ Ranković, 45.

us to imagine it (in its present form) as coming into being by relying purely on memory and various techniques of oral composition.”⁵² In terms of music, we may imagine more traditionally “oral” forms to the left, such as Gregorian chant melodies, while Beethoven’s symphonies are much more dependent on written composition and would be farther to the right on the x-axis.

Table 2. A summary of Ranković’s axes.

Axis	Left	Right
x axis: Medium	oral composition and transmission	reliance on writing for transmission and composition
y axis: Poetics	communal authorship tradition following of conventions/norms	individual merit or credit breaking of conventional rules
z axis: Heteroglossia	represented by a single view monologic	many different views/societal influences dialogic

Ranković’s y-axis represents the poetics of a given tradition, and “maps the extent to which a given text adheres to either of the usual sets of assumptions pertaining to oral or literary poetics, regardless of the actual medium in which it has been composed and/or transmitted.”⁵³ Texts close to the left of this axis more highly value communal authorship and the importance of “tradition” itself over individual merit or credit for a composition. Many traditional ethnomusicological topics would be plotted closer to the left side of the axis, while texts on the right would relate more closely to the concept of the musical “work” and many types of traditional Western art music. Ranković’s z-axis represents the

⁵² Ibidem, 45.

⁵³ Ibidem, 52.

degree of heteroglossia, or number of voices, represented in a tradition. To Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin, heteroglossia is determined by “the degree to which a text gives voice to a plurality of social forces,”⁵⁴ and discourse within a novel is either monologic (single voiced) or dialogic (consisting of multiple voices). Consequently, Ranković plots texts on the z-axis depending on whether they represent a single point of view or a number of different “voices,” or social groups and influences.⁵⁵ Texts closer to the right of the z-axis will be more dialogic, while the more monologic texts are on the left side of the axis.⁵⁶

Ranković’s transformation of Finnegans’ linear continuum into one of three-dimensional space with axes representing medium, heteroglossia, and poetics is applicable to many scholarly fields, including musicology. Musically, heteroglossia involves many variables. Musical texts that are dialogic (towards the right end of the spectrum) may involve contrapuntal lines, or multiple voices sounding simultaneously. Influences from other musical genres or composers are evident in these works, and a dialogic composition may feature a clear divisions between formal sections. Monologic

⁵⁴ Ibidem, 60. Though Bakhtin only used the term “heteroglossia” to describe the modernist novel, Ranković appropriates this term for her analysis of a variety of oral and written texts.

⁵⁵ Ranković also states that all texts are to some degree simultaneously dialogic and monologic, though discourses will tend to lean more towards one or the other. Ibidem, 60.

⁵⁶ Placement of texts on the z-axis may at times be counterintuitive. In her study, Ranković places Wikipedia on the most monologic side of the continuum, while James Joyce’s *Ulysses* is deemed to be the most dialogic. Since there is a large number of people involved in the creation of Wikipedia, one might assume that there are more voices represented in the text. This is not the case, however: even though many people are involved in the creation of the text, the potential for dialogism is “overridden by the need of the participating community to arrive at a unified, negotiated perspective, or strictly speaking, we identify a group of community as such because at some level it ‘speaks’ with a unified voice.... Paradoxically, a lot of products of communal authorship are likely to tend towards the monologic end of the z-axis.” Ibidem, 60–61.

compositions represent fewer external influences and internal voices, and would be plotted towards the left side of the z-axis.

Although a relatively new academic field in itself, the study of oral tradition has enjoyed a brief but extensive existence over the past eighty years. Milman Parry and Albert Lord served as pioneers for the new field of oral tradition through their study of formulas present in epic poetry. I have explained above, however, how their approach is not suitable for universal application to all cultures due to its emphasis on composition through performance. Walter Ong and other theorists who emphasize a “Great Divide” focus on the evolutionary nature of the progression from orality to literacy, yet these theories provide no explanation for the mixture of oral and written elements within a tradition. Ruth Finnegan’s idea of the oral-literate continuum, a spectrum upon which cultures can move in either direction, is a promising avenue for exploration. The concepts of musical *agoras* (Foley) and the continuum as three-dimensional space (Ranković) are exciting ideas branching out of Finnegan’s work, and further research should be done in these directions. The application of these approaches to the study of music would lead to a world of possibilities.

Orality and Literacy in Musicology

In general, there seems to be a problem with the lack of communication between musicology and other disciplines, especially in regards to the orality-literacy debate.⁵⁷

While some early music scholars have incorporated the works of Parry, Lord, and

⁵⁷ See Francesca Sborgi-Lawson, “Rethinking the Orality-Literacy Paradigm in Musicology.”

Finnegan into their work, the interaction between oral and written elements of tradition is not frequently addressed in musicology. It has been a topic of some debate whether music “is a language” or not, but this should not negate the validity of using analogies from linguistics. Scholars in the study of chant transmission have been especially willing to seek out new ways of applying ideas from linguistics and cultural studies to music. Leo Treitler has referenced both the Parry-Lord approach and Ruth Finnegan’s continuum in some of his works⁵⁸ that deal with with musical transmission. Helmut Hucke proposed a “new” historical view of chant transmission based on the examination of rules and formulas, such as those found by Parry and Lord in epic poetry. Peter Jeffery defined this “New Historical View” (what he terms “NHV”) in his book *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, and suggests we also integrate “ethnomusicological approaches” in the study of chant transmission. Through an examination of the theories that Treitler, Hucke, and Jeffery have used to examine Gregorian chant and the dialogues these methods have sparked, it is evident that more interdisciplinary collaboration is necessary in the study of the interaction between oral and written elements in music.

Leo Treitler’s Generative System

In many of his works on chant transmission, Leo Treitler explores the possibility of a “generative system” of chant, or as Jeffery suggests, a “grammar” of chant melody.⁵⁹ In some ways, this is similar to the generative formulas used by Parry and Lord to study

⁵⁸ Treitler, “Sinners and Singers,” 141.

⁵⁹ Jeffery defines a “generative system” as a set of conventions that a trained performer would have used to generate a particular chant, either in performance or in writing. Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 15.

Homeric verse and South Slavic epic poetry. Treitler defines this grammar as “principles that determine what will constitute a correct, or well-formed, melodic expression.”⁶⁰ This includes musical features like ranges, intervals, formulas, and cadential hierarchies. Equally important in melodic construction is rhetoric, or how an individual musician decides to order the above elements. To devise a generative system, one must analyze the structure and syntax of written melodies through comparing multiple versions of a single melody. The elements that these versions share fit into the “grammar” category, while their unique aspects are due to the rhetorical choices of a specific musician.⁶¹ Treitler’s focus here is not on transmission of specific melodies, but rather the passing down of a set of systems and formulas that would have been used for construction of melodies. The purpose of each “generative system” is to preserve traditions, and so it might not always encourage improvisation.⁶² Treitler mentions the Parry-Lord approach on occasion as a springboard for his theories regarding generative systems, but does not believe that the direct application of this approach is necessarily beneficial in musicological study.⁶³

Treitler’s applications of generative systems to music are mostly in relation to Aquitanian tropes. He argues that music historians must focus more on the transmission of musical systems rather than the generation of specific melodies or pieces.⁶⁴ Treitler also provides two different ways to study the transmission of musical traditions through

⁶⁰ Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 455.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 455.

⁶² Jeffery, 17.

⁶³ The idea of a generative system comes from Treitler’s work on Aquitanian tropes, not Gregorian chant melodies as Jeffery later suggests. Treitler, “Sinners and Singers,” 152.

⁶⁴ See Treitler, “Transmission and the Study of Music History.”

what he terms the “Modern Paradigm” and the “Medieval Paradigm.” While the Modern Paradigm reflects preferences that were present during the early formation of the discipline of musicology, prioritizing work generation over transmission, the Medieval Paradigm focuses on the interactions of variables of transmission of a work. The study of music as a series of “works” is not applicable to a large body of music history, and Treitler suggests the study of transmission as a plausible alternative to score-driven methods of historical analysis.

A “Re-Envisioning” of Cultures

Peter Jeffery, on the other hand, calls for a focus on the social, cultural, and anthropological contexts of Gregorian chant and critiques Treitler’s approach to chant study. He acknowledges the importance of the work done by historical musicologists, and proposes the integration of ethnomusicological methodologies and approaches into the study of Gregorian chant in order to better understand the society and context of the music. Oral transmission is inherently connected to all musical study, and it is not possible to study music by examining only the written sources.⁶⁵

Jeffery addresses various problems of chant transmission study, and the approaches of scholars such as Treitler and Hucke (the proponents of the “New Historical View”). He also suggests ethnomusicological approaches to chant study, and discusses how they would be useful in studying transmission. Jeffery points out that we must not view music history as a series of events leading towards our own period in time. Instead, we should

⁶⁵ Jeffery states that “the problem of oral and written transmission is not a narrow topic that can be split off from the rest of a musical tradition and studied independently; by its very nature it touches on virtually every other aspect of the subject.” Jeffery, 3.

take an “ethnomusicological approach” to musicology, and examine distinct musical cultures on their own terms.⁶⁶ Although this is a point made by various scholars today, it is an important reminder – many musicologists (consciously or unconsciously) still insist on viewing music on a timeline, and it is important to rectify this view through focus on agency rather than value judgements or seemingly “evolutionary” processes.

In his critique of Treitler’s work, Jeffery essentially presents the NHV through the lens of the Parry-Lord approach applied to music – musicians of oral traditions learned sets of “formulas” rather than specific melodies. Jeffery brings up various flaws about this theory, including the difficult terminology of “formula” and its various definitions and the fact that a composition’s orality and formulaicism are not necessarily connected. To Jeffery, the degree to which something is formulaic does not always coincide with how based in oral tradition it is.

Jeffery suggests that scholars who are intent on using the New Historical View should first limit their study of chant by genre and mode, then divide chants into Treitler’s “generative systems” (or what Jeffery calls “melodic families”). The study of these “families” leads to hypotheses about how the melodies were created and passed down. Although Jeffery acknowledges that it is impossible to reach absolute conclusions about purely oral melodies that have left no written evidence,⁶⁷ he does believe that it is possible to create a hypothesis about the interaction between written and oral tradition within a musical culture. Jeffery places importance on the examination of the workings of

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 5.

⁶⁷ “How can we possibly look ‘beneath’ or ‘behind’ our earliest written documents to envision hypothetically what the state of affairs was before they were written?” Ibidem, 9.

oral tradition within a given culture, in addition to “the interaction of oral and written processes during the period (however long it was) that the tradition metamorphosed from an exclusively oral to a predominantly written one.”⁶⁸ Even so, Jeffery makes no mention of the oral-literate continuum and seems to imply a “Great Divide” between oral and written traditions with his choice of phrases like “exclusively oral” and “predominantly written.” He does not account for the myriad traditions that are made up of both oral and written elements, and focuses on transmission while saying little about composition or performance. While *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures* clearly demonstrates the need for interdisciplinary communication, for the most part it focuses on bridging the gap between musicology and ethnomusicology. Other than his critique of the New Historical View, Jeffery neglects contributions from linguistic theory altogether.

Perhaps it is no surprise that Leo Treitler insisted that Jeffery seriously misunderstood his and Hucke’s statements about new ways to study chant transmission. Treitler denied that he ever intended to create such a universal theory as Jeffery’s construction of the “New Historical View.” As for Jeffery’s criticism of Treitler’s use of the Parry-Lord theory in chant study, Treitler insists that “that theory was for me only a springboard at the beginning of my thinking about the oral tradition of chant, and while I still believe in its relevance to our subject, I carried the analogy no further. I have long suggested its limitations as a model for the transmission of Gregorian chant.”⁶⁹ It seems that Helmut Hucke did not directly apply the Parry-Lord theory to his study of chant either: according to Treitler, Hucke “never took up the Parry-Lord paradigm, and his

⁶⁸ Ibidem, 9.

⁶⁹ Treitler, “Sinners and Singers,” 139.

analyses were never influenced by it.”⁷⁰ By overgeneralizing in his description of the New Historical View, Jeffery took Treitler’s ideas out of context and effectively created a musicological counterpart to the historical misuse of the Parry-Lord approach. While influential in the study of Aquitanian tropes, Treitler’s work with generative systems should not be universally applied to other fields of musicology. Treitler never intended to create a one-size-fits-all system for chant study, and using his work this way leads to inevitable misunderstandings amongst scholars.

Conclusion

The terms “oral,” “written,” and “tradition” will probably always continue to be controversial in the academic community. Even so, it is possible to view their relationship to one another in multiple ways. Parry and Lord isolated sets of stock formulas that explained transmission and composition in some oral traditions, yet their approach has sometimes been misunderstood and universally applied to oral traditions that do not fit the model of simultaneous composition and performance. Some might argue that Peter Jeffery’s misinterpretation of Treitler’s work and the artificial creation of a “New Historical View” for the study of Gregorian chant led to a similar problem. Walter Ong and the other “Great Divide” theorists, while influential, somehow seemed to miss that each tradition is composed of both oral and written elements. Their view of the timeline between oral and written traditions was evolutionary, and assumed that all oral cultures aspired to one day achieve literacy. Finnegan’s model of the oral-literate continuum, on

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 149.

the other hand, assumes that all traditions have both oral and written components. Each tradition can move back and forth on the continuum, depending on its current composition of literacy and orality.

Musical composition, transmission, and performance are all considered as separate elements that make up a given tradition as a whole, and therefore should be examined separately. Foley's *agoras* and Ranković's three-dimensional model of Finnegan's continuum are two promising approaches to the study of oral tradition that are directly applicable to musicological study. Through the integration of the models proposed by Foley, Ranković, and Finnegan, as well as approaches from traditional musicology and ethnomusicology, I will demonstrate the necessity of interdisciplinary collaboration in the study of oral traditions, musical or otherwise. In the following chapter, I examine a collection of sixteenth-century Italian diminution manuals, which illustrate the changing interaction between written and oral elements of the division tradition leading up to its presence in seventeenth-century England. I will return to the theoretical frames of Parry, Lord, and Ranković in my concluding chapter, and specifically apply them to my study of the seventeenth-century division violin tradition.

CHAPTER III

ITALIAN ROOTS OF THE DIVISION TRADITION

Should you have the best articulation imaginable yet have no knowledge of divisions,
your pains would be in vain.
The contrary is also true.

Nevertheless, you must understand that the art of playing divisions is nothing other than diversifying
a series of notes that are by nature brief and simple.

Silvestro di Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535)⁷¹

In order to learn more about a given tradition, one must first examine its historical background. This being said, it is essential to look at the sixteenth-century Italian diminution tradition prior to discussing seventeenth-century English violin divisions. As instrumental music began to take a stronger foothold in sixteenth-century Italy, diminution manuals grew in popularity. Many of the extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises that focus on divisions for various instruments have been described in detail elsewhere.⁷² It is essential to remember that these treatises provide mere fragments of a largely oral tradition, and it is difficult (if not impossible) to “reconstruct” their exact performance practice or real-world application. Rather than describing all of the manuals in detail here, or attempting to account for their oral aspects in the process of reconstruction, I will trace the written records of sixteenth-century Italian diminutions and discuss their relevance to the predominantly oral division tradition that was transmitted from Italy to England by the early seventeenth century. The changing balance between literacy and orality present in these treatises demonstrates the trend towards the

⁷¹ Silvestro di Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 15.

⁷² For more information, see Carlos Gámez Hernández, “Le Nuove Musiche: Giovanni Battista Bovicelli?” and John Bass, “Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography: Tradition in Sixteenth-Century Improvisation.”

increasing dominance of the musical score and authority of the composer.

Simultaneously, these treatises show the waning of improvisatory oral elements added by individual musicians in performance.

This chapter is intended to serve as a window into the sixteenth-century Italian diminution tradition in order to better understand the division violin tradition of seventeenth-century London. After defining what is meant by the term “division” and its various forms, I will survey a variety of Italian diminution manuals spanning from Ganassi’s *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535) to Rognoni’s *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620). These manuals differ in scope and content, yet they contain enough similarities to show general tendencies in Italian diminution practices throughout the sixteenth century. I compare the manuals using a madrigal common to many of them, Cipriano del Rore’s *Ancor che col partire* (1547). Finally, I describe how these manuals reflect a shift in reliance from oral to literate transmission of the diminution tradition and remark on how they relate to the later divisions of seventeenth-century England.

Divisions as Compositional Practice

Today, the terms “diminution” and “division” are often used interchangeably when referring to ornamentation practices in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century instrumental music.⁷³ Bruce Dickey explains the process of diminution as “dividing” the long notes of an unornamented melodic line into many smaller ones.⁷⁴ Frank Traficante defines

⁷³ I have chosen to use “diminution” or “division” interchangeably to refer to such practices in sixteenth-century Italy and seventeenth-century England.

⁷⁴ Bruce Dickey, “Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music,” in *A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 295.

“division” as “a technique of improvised variation in which the notes of a cantus firmus, or ground, are divided into shorter ones, usually not of the same pitch, and chosen with regard to clearly delineated rules of musical composition.”⁷⁵ Silvestro di Ganassi’s definition, found in his *Opera intitulata Fontegara* of 1535, is perhaps the broadest and most applicable to all categories of the practice. To Ganassi, “the art of playing divisions is nothing other than diversifying a series of notes that are by nature brief and simple.”⁷⁶ In short, the idea is to add spice to a well-known tune or bass line by ornamenting melodic pitches without disrupting the overall phrase structure. While melody acts as the main musical ingredient, divisions add taste or act as a corrective to make up for the inadequacies of the performer or the music itself. Here, the beat is divided into smaller and smaller sections, which differs from adding embellishments (like trills or grace notes) to the musical texture. Popular songs commonly provided the basis for divisions throughout much of the sixteenth century, while diminution manuals presented written-out examples and hypothetical performance versions of these songs to show performers how to tastefully ornament melodic lines.

Other terms that are synonymous with diminution or division, especially in England, are “breaking” or “playing upon a ground.” The foundation of an English division is typically a short melody accompanied by a ground bass. The ground is generally one selected from common sixteenth-century Italian bass patterns, and the melody (commonly a familiar folk tune) acts as a simple skeleton for what is to follow. Sometimes, the “ground” is the melody itself, and a bass line is provided to complement

⁷⁵ Frank Traficante, “Division,” *Grove Music Online*.

⁷⁶ Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 15.

it. In the process of division, the ground is stated once in its original form, and performers begin to improvise upon it by dividing it up into smaller and smaller parts (or “divisions”) the next time around. There are a number of ways the beat may be divided through the manipulation of rhythmic and melodic elements. The beat may be split up metrically using a variety of stock rhythmic phrases. To embellish melodically, a player might add ornaments of a scalar or arpeggiated nature before or after main melodic notes, while still maintaining integrity in the melodic structure. When more than one player is involved, the beat can also be divided harmonically: one player must continue to play the ground, while others improvise by playing different chord members or arpeggiated patterns within the chord implied by the bass line. With each reiteration of the ground, the divisions of the melody become increasingly complex and virtuosic.

To better illustrate this point, I have created a hypothetical example of the same tune ornamented in three different ways, emphasizing rhythm, melody, and a combination of the two (see Figure 4). While it is easy to abstractly think of melodic and rhythmic variation as separate forces, in reality it is very difficult to separate the two in practice. Although these rhythmic and melodic examples are not realistic examples of diminutions, they are designed to extremes of illustrate different possibilities for embellishment. In practice, a performer usually creates divisions upon an original tune through manipulating a mixture of rhythmic and melodic elements.

Figure 4. Various methods of dividing a melody. Original tune from “Duke of Norfolk,” Playford’s *Division Violin* (1684).



Some scholars have also cited similarities between division playing and improvisatory practices in jazz music. Bruce Dickey compares sixteenth-century diminution manuals to the “fake books” of twentieth-century jazz musicians, calling them “compendia of the building blocks of improvisation.”⁷⁷ He insists that diminution manuals show us a glimpse of “a transitory improvisation practice, which would otherwise be entirely lost.”⁷⁸ Considering that these written manuals come from a long tradition of oral improvisation, it is useful to examine them through the eyes of an improviser rather than through our modern conception of the “practicing musician.” These improvising musicians did not dutifully read what is on the page and convey it to the best of their abilities. Rather, they created variations on known tunes through a largely oral process. The melodies in these manuals, therefore, cannot be examined as musical

⁷⁷ Bruce Dickey, introduction to *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire* (Venice, 1592) by Riccardo Rogniono, 21.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 21.

absolutes in the modern sense; instead, they must be viewed as skeletons or vehicles for the diminutions themselves, examples and starting points that may be modified according to one's own musical preferences.

Although we are discussing a largely improvisatory tradition and the modern definition of "improvisation" carries with it a connotation of freedom and musical spontaneity, there were many sets of rules for the creation of divisions in the sixteenth century. The most notable of these was written by Aurelio Virgiliano. His manuscript titled *Il dolcimeolo*, dated from around 1590,⁷⁹ provides rules that outline how late sixteenth-century Italian musicians would embellish melodic lines. The first six rules, which are the most important, are as follows⁸⁰:

1. The diminutions should move by step as much as possible.
2. The notes of the division will be alternately good and bad notes.
3. All the division notes that leap must be good (i.e., consonant.)
4. The original note must be sounded at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the measure and if it is not convenient to return to the original note in the middle, then at least a consonance and never a dissonance (except for the upper fourth) must be sounded.
5. When the subject goes up, the last note of the division must also go up; the contrary is also true.
6. It makes a nice effect to run to the octave either above or below, when it is convenient.

Virgiliano's rules are a relatively accurate description of the division practice in Italy as it appears in written-out examples between 1580 and 1620,⁸¹ though many earlier authors of diminution manuals observed similar rules. The maintenance of the

⁷⁹ This manuscript is undated, but Bruce Dickey provides 1590 as a probable approximation.

⁸⁰ Bruce Dickey, "Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 296–297.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 297.

unornamented melody's original structure was of paramount importance, but one could alter it within reason by dividing the beat with stock rhythmic phrases or arpeggios and scalar figures.⁸²

Perhaps the most important of Virgiliano's rules is the fourth one, in which the original note must appear at the beginning, middle, and end of the division. This was also commonly reflected in earlier diminution treatises. Silvestro Ganassi, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, stated that "every division must begin and end with the same note as the unornamented ground,"⁸³ which is much like Virgiliano's fourth rule. While this rule serves to stabilize the melody contrapuntally, Bruce Dickey points out that it also gives the division a two-part structure: one formula for departing from and returning to the same note, and a second formula for the movement forward to the next note.⁸⁴ This structure helps the improviser remember what has already happened (transmission), and aids them in the construction of future melodies (composition).

Camillo Maffei, a virtuoso singer of Solofra (near Avellino in Southern Italy), wrote his own rules for diminutions in his letter to the "Illustrissimo Conte d'Alta Villa" in 1562.⁸⁵

⁸² The insertion of stock rhythmic and melodic phrases in division practice brings to mind the oral-formulaic composition studied by Parry and Lord. Though outside the scope of this project, the application of the Parry-Lord approach to the study of sixteenth-century diminution manuals is an area for future research.

⁸³ Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 18.

⁸⁴ Dickey, "Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 298.

⁸⁵ Horsley, "Improvised Embellishment in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphonic Music," 12–13.

1. *Passaggi*⁸⁶ should be used only at cadences, although some ornaments from one note to another (inserted within a definite melodic interval) may be used before arriving at a cadence.
2. In one madrigal not more than four or five *passaggi* should be used, for the ear may become satiated with too much sweetness.
3. *Passaggi* should be made on the penultimate syllable of the word so that the end of the *passaggio* will coincide with the end of the word.

The strict nature of Maffei's rules indicate that they were perhaps oriented towards singing in groups rather than playing ornamented versions of popular songs as a solo instrumentalist, or at least more so than Virgiliano's. Most writers of diminution manuals, or "ornamentographers,"⁸⁷ did not strictly follow either set of rules. Rather, they used them as loose guidelines for their examples of diminutions.

Although the various diminution manuals from sixteenth-century Italy differ from each other in presentation and material, most of them have a very similar two-part structure. In the first part, the authors usually provide simple intervallic, melodic, or cadential patterns, and show a variety of ways in which they could be ornamented. This portion of the manual was structured very much like the rhetorical manuals that were a common part of education in sixteenth-century Italy.⁸⁸ Each ornamentographer provides a variety of intervals and cadential patterns embellished in many different ways. Readers of these manuals were expected to practice and memorize these ornamentations until they would feel comfortable using them in practice. Timothy McGee suggests that personal taste was an important factor in determining which diminutions to use, stating that "the

⁸⁶ Maffei's use of the terms *passaggi* and *passaggio* are synonymous with diminution.

⁸⁷ The term "ornamentographer" was first used by John Bass in his article, "Would Caccini Approve?" Bass calls Italian diminution writers "ornamentographers," while the diminution treatises are "ornamentographs." Bass, "Would Caccini Approve?," 81.

⁸⁸ Bass, "Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography: Tradition in Sixteenth-Century Improvisation," 75.

writers also encouraged the students to pick and choose from the patterns according to their own tastes and abilities, and to strive to advance to the point where they could personalize their ornamentations by inventing their own riffs.”⁸⁹ Many ornamentographers included embellished versions of madrigals, chansons, or other popular songs in the second part of their manuals, giving their readers a chance to see examples of diminutions in practice. The ornamentographers and the readers were surely familiar with the texts of these songs, and diminutions were structured to rhetorically emphasize the meanings and ideas present in the texts.

A Survey of Italian Diminution Manuals from Ganassi to Rognoni

A survey of Italian diminution manuals is relevant for understanding this tradition of ornamentation and how it relates to the later practice of embellishing in seventeenth-century England. (For a complete list of the ornamentographers and manuals I discuss, see Table 3.⁹⁰) These manuals, though similar, differ in their degree of virtuosity, rhetorical emphasis, and didactic inclinations. After examining a handful of them, I present a brief comparison of diminutions on Cipriano del Rore’s *Ancor che col partire* (1547).⁹¹ There is clear trend towards increased virtuosity in diminutions at the second half of the sixteenth century, while at the turn of the century preferences developed for the “new style” of music advocated by Caccini.

⁸⁹ Timothy McGee, “How One Learned to Ornament in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy,” 2.

⁹⁰ The format of this table was inspired by a similar table by John Bass in “Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography,” 3.

⁹¹ For more complete analyses of diminutions on this madrigal, see the dissertations by Carlos Gámez Hernández and John Bass.

I begin my survey with the earlier sixteenth-century treatises of Silvestro di Ganassi and Diego Ortiz. Their treatises are outliers in some ways, but definitely set the stage for what is to follow later in the century. I also examine the more complex and ensemble-oriented division writing that occurred later in the century in Venice by Girolamo Dalla Casa and Giovanni Bassano. These two authors were *maestri di cappella* at San Marco, and wrote examples of diminutions that most likely occurred in large ensemble situations.

Table 3. List of authors (“ornamentographers”) and their manuals.

Author	Manual	Publication	Location
Silvestro di Ganassi	<i>Opera intitolata Fontegara</i>	Venice, 1535	Venice
Silvestro di Ganassi	<i>Regola rubertina</i>	Venice, 1542	Venice
Diego Ortiz	<i>Trattado de glosas</i>	Rome, 1553	Spain/Naples
Girolamo Dalla Casa	<i>Il vero modo di diminuir</i>	Venice, 1584	Venice
Giovanni Bassano	<i>Ricercare, passaggi et Cadentie</i>	Venice, 1585	Venice
Giovanni Bassano	<i>Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese</i>	Venice, 1591	Venice
Riccardo Rogniono	<i>Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire</i>	Venice, 1592	Milan
Giovanni Battista Bovicelli	<i>Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali e motetti passeggiati</i>	Venice, 1594	Milan
Giulio Caccini	<i>Le nuove musiche</i>	Florence, 1602	Florence
Giovanni Battista Spadi da Faenza	<i>Libro de passaggi ascendenti e descendent</i>	Venice, 1609 (reprinted 1624)	Faenza
Francesco Rognoni	<i>Selva de varii passaggi</i>	Venice, 1620	Milan

Late sixteenth-century Milan, on the other hand, was firmly rooted in the tradition of virtuosic solo playing rather than consort performance. The works of

Riccardo Rogniono⁹² and Francesco Rognoni illustrate this trend. Finally, I look at late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Venetian treatises by and Giovanni Battista Spadi da Faenza and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli. These manuals emphasize the “new style” pioneered by Caccini and his contemporaries at the turn of the century.

Silvestro di Ganassi

Silvestro di Ganassi⁹³ lived in Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century; he was a virtuoso recorder player and gambist, and wrote treatises for both recorder and viol. Additionally, he probably supplied ceremonial and court music for the Doges and instrumental music at San Marco.⁹⁴ Ganassi is credited with writing the first Italian diminution manuals, and is therefore the ideal starting point for my survey of division practice. Ganassi’s two early manuals, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*⁹⁵ and *Regola rubertina*, are essential to understanding the sixteenth-century Italian diminution tradition.

While Ganassi’s *Regola rubertina* is primarily a tutor on the technical aspects of gamba playing,⁹⁶ *Fontegara* describes diminutions in detail. Published in 1535, it is

⁹² Alternate spellings for the last name of Riccardo Rogniono include Rognono and Rognoni. To avoid confusion, I will consistently refer to Riccardo as “Rogniono” and his son Francesco as “Rognoni” within this chapter.

⁹³ An alternate spelling of his name is Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego.

⁹⁴ Howard Mayer Brown and Giulio Ongaro. “Ganassi dal Fontego, Sylvestro di.” *Grove Music Online*.

⁹⁵ I will hereafter simply refer to this treatise as “*Fontegara*.”

⁹⁶ *Regola rubertina* does include a few examples of diminutions, but does not follow the design of the other diminution manuals discussed in this chapter.

considered the first Italian manual to focus primarily on diminutions.⁹⁷ Ganassi outlines basic intervals and cadential patterns and numerous ways of dividing the interval while keeping the skeletal pitch structure of the original tune intact. His diminutions are primarily composed of scalar patterns with few leaps larger than a fifth. Changes in rhythmic patterns and melodic phrases are used to create variety and maintain interest.⁹⁸

Ganassi's most interesting contribution to the discussion of divisions is the way in which he explains that divisions can be created by changing the time, rhythm, and course of the melody. He splits division types into four groups: "simple," "mixed" (also called "compound"), "particular" ("special"), and "uniform throughout."⁹⁹ A division's classification into one of these groups is determined by the mixture of "simple" and "compound" melodic, mensural, and rhythmic elements that make up the division (see Figure 5).

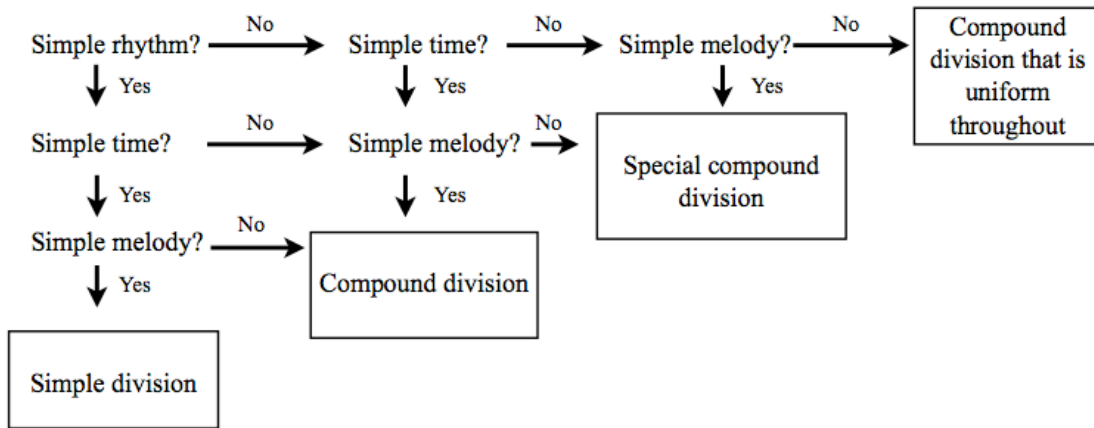
For a rhythm to be "simple," it must be composed only of notes that hold the same rhythmic value, and a "simple" time insinuates that the division will be played in only one time signature. Ganassi considers a "simple" melody to feature similar or identical melodic groups that do not vary from one to another. Ganassi explains that a "simple" division is, therefore, when the rhythmic, mensural, and melodic elements of a division are uniformly "simple."

⁹⁷ In addition to its importance as a treatise on ornamentation, *Fontegara* was a significant tutor on recorder playing. In the early chapters of *Fontegara*, Ganassi explains the fingering charts for the recorder, and how to produce notes by covering and uncovering holes, tonguing, and articulation. Peter goes so far as to say that "no other work of importance specifically for the recorder was published during the 16th century." Hildemarie Peter, preface to Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 4.

⁹⁸ This is, of course, excepting leaps of the octave on the original note of the unornamented ground.

⁹⁹ Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 15.

Figure 5. Ganassi’s classifications of “simple” and “compound” divisions.



A “compound”¹⁰⁰ division, on the other hand, must feature two “simple” elements and one “compound” element. Perhaps the rhythms in the division consist of varying note values, the division lacks identical melodic groups, or there are changes in time signature within the division. “Special” divisions are simple in two ways and compound in one, while “special compound” divisions are the opposite (with two compound elements and one simple element). Finally, Ganassi’s “compound division that is uniform throughout” is compound in all three ways.¹⁰¹ Through placing diminutions into these various

¹⁰⁰ Ganassi gives “mixed” division as an alternative for “compound.”

¹⁰¹ Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 15.

categories, Ganassi devised an easy way to explain types of ornamentation to his readers.¹⁰²

With *Fontegara*, Ganassi offers his readers an introductory look into the world of diminutions as a tool. He does not claim to be the ultimate authority on ornamentation practice, and presents his treatise as one of many sources concerning this technique.

Ganassi asks his readers to blame any faults they may find with his treatise on his limited knowledge about the practice,¹⁰³ and encourages them to also seek out other sources of information.

Ganassi's *Regola rubertina*, on the other hand, is much more oriented towards learning the technique necessary to play an instrument rather than the specifics of improvisation: it is written for viola da gamba, and considered by some scholars to be one of the most interesting and significant instrumental tutors to have survived from the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Published in Venice in 1542, its detailed descriptions of how to play the instrument are only comparable to those found in Simpson's *Division-Viol*, not published until over a century later in London. The similarities between Ganassi's treatise and Simpson's *Division-Viol* bring up some interesting questions. Ian Woodfield has

¹⁰² In addition, there are other elements of *Fontegara* that indicate that Ganassi was deeply concerned with the opinions of his audience: Ganassi owned a small printing press and showed concern with ownership over his self-published musical works. In his dedication of *Fontegara*, he specifically forbids others from reprinting his work without his permission, and even sets a specific copyright period for the treatise. This degree of ownership of a musical work, atypical for the early sixteenth century, intimates Ganassi's concerns with marketing and pleasing the general public. Even though it is considered the first Italian diminution manual, Ganassi's *Fontegara* is the only one that mentions such specific copyright requirements.

¹⁰³ "I now offer you this, my small work.... Should it contain defects, I pray your kind indulgence and that you will remember that it was for you that I gladly undertook this not altogether trifling task. Therefore, my kindly and most indulgent Reader, should I have failed to satisfy you, put the blame not on myself, but on my limited knowledge, and accept my goodwill." Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 89.

¹⁰⁴ Ian Woodfield, "Viol Playing Techniques in the Mid-16th Century," 544.

discovered a reference in *A Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Musick Books* (London 17 December 1691) to “A Book that treats about musick, by Silvester Ganussi,” possibly indicating that Ganassi’s works were known in England by the late seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ It is difficult to say whether Ganassi’s treatises were familiar to Christopher Simpson specifically, but this possible connection could strengthen the ties between division playing in sixteenth-century Venice and seventeenth-century England, and certainly deserves further investigation.

Ganassi’s *Regola rubertina* is a comprehensive tutor on how to play the gamba. After giving elementary instructions for viol playing, Ganassi’s main focus is on providing fingering systems and discussing the choice of fingerings based on musical concerns rather than practical reasons. The technical nature of the finger patterns he discusses indicates virtuosity that is not reflected elsewhere in the gamba repertoire of the period, and Woodfield stipulates that the technical prowess of virtuoso gambists drove the composition process rather than the other way around. Numerous examples from treatises from the mid-sixteenth century (including Ganassi’s) indicate that some viol players were capable of improvising florid divisions or chordal accompaniments for solo singers.¹⁰⁶

Although his fingering systems emphasize virtuosity, Ganassi believes technique to be a means to an end and argues that instrumentalists should try to match the variety and expressivity of the voice. Each instrumentalist should think of himself as an orator, and the primary goal must be to convey emotions and move the affections of the

¹⁰⁵ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 76.

¹⁰⁶ Woodfield, 547.

listener.¹⁰⁷ Ganassi advocates that the instrumentalist turn to the virtuoso singer for answers about when to use diminutions¹⁰⁸:

“You may ask me when and how to recognize the right time and place for using imitation, dexterity and grace, or when the tone and expression should be lively or suave. Know then, that your instructor should be a practiced and experienced singer. When a piece of vocal music is put before him, his first care, as you know, is to take into account the nature of the text. If the words are gay, he expresses them with gaiety and liveliness by means of his art and his voice; if on the other hand, the words are sad and heavy, he sings them softly and with melancholy. In like manner, your playing should be soft and sighing, or gay and merry, as though you were giving expression to words of the same nature.”

Even though this treatise is from the first half of the sixteenth century, Ganassi expresses concerns with rhetoric that are in some ways akin to the ideas of Caccini and other later sixteenth-century musicians. While other instrumentalists were becoming increasingly concerned with technical virtuosity for its own sake, Ganassi emphasized that moving the listener was the most essential purpose of diminutions. Ganassi’s prioritization of the text, emphasis on the imitation of the human voice, and comparison of the role of musician to that of orator all foreshadow the *nuove musiche* that appears at the turn of the next century.

Diego Ortiz

Diego Ortiz, a Spanish theorist and composer living in Rome and Naples in the mid-sixteenth century, published his *Trattado de glosas* in 1553.¹⁰⁹ Like Ganassi’s *Regola*

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, 547.

¹⁰⁸ Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, 89.

¹⁰⁹ Bilingual publishing of the treatise (in both Spanish and Italian) encouraged its wide dissemination across Europe.

rubertina, Ortiz's treatise is specific to viol players. Unlike Ganassi, however, Ortiz assumes that his readers are familiar with basic technique and the treatise deals exclusively with diminutions,¹¹⁰ suggesting the growing popularity of the gamba and wider accessibility of basic instrumental tutors in Italy by the middle of the sixteenth century. The *Trattado* consists of two parts: Book I provides examples of how to improvise, while Book II describes how to play viol with accompaniment and shows practical applications of the diminutions from the first book. In Book I, Ortiz provides a set of stock embellishments upon cadences (or *clausulas*) that musicians should practice and incorporate into their own playing, thus avoiding "free" improvisation.¹¹¹ He assures his readers that "with little work one will play perfectly"¹¹² regardless of musical experience or skill level, provided they follow his directions: his readers must re-write the melody they wish to ornament, then replace original melodic notes with stock phrases from his collection.¹¹³ Ultimately, the selection of appropriate diminutions should rest on the reader's discretion, level of technique, and good taste.¹¹⁴ Though Ortiz provides his readership with some freedom of which variations to choose, he strictly regulates the

¹¹⁰ Ortiz indicates that his treatise "is addressed specifically to viol players and deals exclusively with ornamentation, leaving the fundamentals of viol playing to the tutors." Julia Ann Griffin, "Diego Ortiz's Principles of Ornamentation for the Viol," 92.

¹¹¹ He agrees with Ganassi (and later Virgiliano) that "the first and most perfect way" to vary a given text is to always match the first and last note to the pitch of the unornamented ground that was varied.⁴ Peter Farrell, "Diego Ortiz's *Trattado de Glosas*," 6.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, 7.

¹¹³ "One must take the voice that is to be varied and write it out again. When he arrives at the place he wishes to vary, he should go to the book and search for that formation of notes; if it is a cadence, in the cadences, and if not, in the other notes. He may take that which suits him best and put it in place of the plain notes. In all the places he wishes to vary, he may do in like manner." *Ibidem*, 7.

¹¹⁴ Ortiz states that users must take their own technical ability into account while making their decisions regarding ornamentation, "because, even though the variation is good, if the hand cannot manage it, it cannot show up well, and the defect will not be in the variation." *Ibidem*, 6.

possible options according to what he finds acceptable.¹¹⁵ Ortiz's comment reflects an assertion of control over performance practice by the composer, and an increasing reliance of sixteenth-century amateurs upon written musical instructions.

Book II of Ortiz's *Trattado* begins with a series of *recercadas*. All approaches to diminutions that Ortiz provides are equally valid, and the reader may again choose among the options based on his own good taste. Ortiz begins each *recercada* with slower-moving divisions, and accelerates them towards the end of the phrase.¹¹⁶ His variety of options for diminution provide his readers with endless possibilities, reflecting a broadening interest in rhythmic patterns and the awareness of one's own ability and the importance of good taste in employing ornamentation.

Ortiz also discusses divisions on through-composed pieces, stating that any popular song can be played on the harpsichord, "as is customary to do"¹¹⁷ while the viol player ornaments specific voice lines. Ortiz makes it clear that the ornamentation of any combination of the present vocal parts is fair game, and the violist can even switch between parts as pleases him.¹¹⁸ Ortiz also provides the reader with different examples of

¹¹⁵ This is a sharp contrast from Ganassi's remark about his own "limited knowledge" of the practice some twenty years earlier.

¹¹⁶ The slower-moving *recercadas* are not designed as training pieces, but equally viable options for ornamentation. To Bass, "the slower the material moves, the more it is divided into clear sections that create global structures over the course of the piece. As things start to speed up, this approach gradually gives way to more organic development, using smaller bits of material in sequence to create structure." (Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 16). Crum also comments on this rhythmic interest, stating that "the excitement of these pieces lies partly in the complete rhythmic independence that the divisions have from the regularity of the ground" (Alison Crum, *Play the Viol*, 98).

¹¹⁷ Farrell, 9.

¹¹⁸ "Even if the principal subject is to be the bass, the player may leave it and play on the tenor or alto, or soprano if that seems better to him, taking from each voice that which should best suit his purpose." Ibidem, 9. These *bastarda* versions of ornamented madrigals, composed of multiple voice parts, are not present in Ganassi's treatise but became quite common later in the sixteenth century.

ornamentation over the same melody, so that he can satisfy a variety of different tastes and each individual can “take what seems best to him.”¹¹⁹ Additionally, he presents the possibility of improvising an additional voice that is not based on any line of the original song, although he supposes that this would take compositional chops that most performers did not have at the time. Ortiz says that he would “not obligate anyone” to this task, “for it presupposes ability in composition on the part of the player to do it.”¹²⁰ This statement suggests that Ortiz did not necessarily think about the improvisation of diminutions as a type of composition, nor did he expect the musicians who were reading his treatise to be able to engage in compositional processes. Rather, he expected them to read off the page, and eventually create their own stock phrases similar to his *clausulas*.

Divisions in Later Sixteenth-Century Venice

Venice was a flourishing musical center throughout the sixteenth century. The advent of music printing made it much easier for composers to disseminate their works, and many musicians were employed at San Marco. The number of church musicians increased while Zarlino was *maestro di cappella* at San Marco, and in 1568 a permanent group of instrumentalists was created to aid in celebrating the most important feast days.¹²¹ Two virtuoso cornetto players, Girolamo Dalla Casa¹²² and Giovanni Bassano, began their careers at San Marco playing in this ensemble.

¹¹⁹ Bass, “Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography: Tradition in Sixteenth-Century Improvisation,” 168.

¹²⁰ Farrell, 9.

¹²¹ Giulio Ongaro, “Venice.” *Grove Music Online*.

¹²² Dalla Casa is also occasionally referred to as Girolamo da Udine.

Dalla Casa and Bassano wrote some of the most important treatises on diminutions from the sixteenth century. Dalla Casa was the first *maestro de' concerti* at San Marco, and Bassano was Dalla Casa's immediate successor when he left in 1601.¹²³ Many prominent composers (such as Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli) were working in Venice at the time, which surely influenced the improvisation techniques and repertoire of consort musicians at San Marco. Dalla Casa and Bassano both chose a variety of contemporary songs upon which to base their embellishments and instructions for ornamentation. These ornamented versions of well-known madrigals, chansons, and motets give us a valuable insight as to which songs were most popular in late sixteenth-century Venice, as well as clues regarding performance practice at San Marco.

Dalla Casa's diminution treatise, *Il vero modo di diminuir*, was published in Venice in 1584. Dalla Casa's goal was to create a practical manual for all musicians (including vocalists), which shows the growth in popularity and viability of diminution manuals in sixteenth-century Venice.¹²⁴ Dalla Casa applies his ornamentation directly to musical examples that would have been well known in sixteenth-century Venice instead of providing a set of abstract embellishments that performers could apply to their own music like Ganassi does. By choosing popular songs for his illustrations of diminutions, Dalla Casa makes his examples much more relevant and practical for the performer than earlier sixteenth-century manuals without a contextual framework. Dalla Casa's ornamentations differ from those by Ganassi and Ortiz in a number of other ways, namely

¹²³ Selfridge-Field, 297–298.

¹²⁴ In his introduction to the treatise, Dalla Casa states: "I believe that everyone who desires to learn these diminutions will find my examples helpful for any sort of instrument, because, in truth, it is for this aim that I have exercised my modest labors." Jesse Rosenberg, "Il Vero Modo Di Diminuir: Giralamo Dalla Casa: A Translation" 112–13.

in their simpler nature and prioritization of phrase clarity. He did not intend his ornamented parts to be virtuosic; they were meant to make sense within the context of the larger melodic line rather than act as stand-alone pieces.¹²⁵

Dalla Casa's job as *maestro de' concerti* at San Marco dramatically affected the types of written ornaments that he applied to music on the page. Since he frequently worked with large performing forces, he had to utilize relatively simple ornamentation in order to maintain the integrity of the original music. Dalla Casa also provides opportunities for the inner voices to improvise,¹²⁶ which reflects the growing acceptance in performance practice of embellishing all of the voice parts rather than just the soprano line. This emphasis on diminutions intended to be performed by consorts is a unique development in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Giovanni Bassano's treatise, *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie per potersi esercitar nel diminuir terminatamente con ogni sorte d'istrumento* (1585), is similar to Dalla Casa's in that it has both a table of ornaments and a small assortment of embellished songs that were popular at end of sixteenth century. Bassano published his *Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese* in 1591, which Bass views as a counterpart to *Ricercate*: this book does not have diminution tables, but is rather a compilation of 47 different

¹²⁵ Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 18.

¹²⁶ Dalla Casa specifically mentions his version of Cipriano de Rore's *Alla dolce ombra* "with diminutions upon each of the four parts, so as to accommodate all of the singers." Rosenberg, 113.

ornamented songs.¹²⁷ Dalla Casa and Bassano's manuals are acutely similar,¹²⁸ and provide written examples of consort improvisation in mid-sixteenth-century Venice.

Diminutions in Milan at the End of the Sixteenth Century

While large consorts were popular in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century, the Milanese tradition emphasized individual performers. Virtuoso ornamentation and increased technical demands of the performer are reflected in various Milanese diminution treatises of the time.¹²⁹ Riccardo Rogniono and Francesco Rognoni were two of the most important writers of diminution treatises in Milan at the end of the sixteenth century. Both of their treatises contain elements in common with other sixteenth-century Italian diminution manuals, such as embellished examples of intervals and cadences. However, they also document the changing preference in style of ornamentation from the technical virtuosity of the late sixteenth century to the new expressive style campaigned by Caccini. While Rogniono's treatise shows the beginning of this change, Rognoni's stands at its end.¹³⁰

Rogniono's *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire* was published in 1592 in Venice, although Rogniono was living in Milan at the time. According to Bruce

¹²⁷ Additionally, this manual includes motets, making it the first instance in which sacred pieces were used for diminutions in manuals alongside secular songs. Bass, "Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography," 234.

¹²⁸ There are, however, some slight differences between the manuals. While Dalla Casa tended to ornament equally between vocal parts, Bassano focused more intently on ornamentation of the treble line. This decorated soprano line and more basic inner and bass voices more closely resembles Ortiz's diminutions for solo and accompaniment. Bassano's embellishments are also generally more complicated than Dalla Casa's, and prioritize individual virtuosity over phrase clarity or equality of voices.

¹²⁹ Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 25.

¹³⁰ Dickey, Introduction to *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire*, 24.

Dickey, Rogniono's diminutions in *Passaggi* are more systematic, more informative, and broader in coverage than other similar treatises.¹³¹ While the first part of the treatise is a set of exercises, the second part is a collection of songs upon which performers can play diminutions once they learn the system of rules. The first half of the treatise reflects Rogniono's didactic leanings: in addition to stock diminutions on cadences and intervallic patterns, he gives the performer sequential patterns based on scales. This practical approach shows that his divisions are designed to help the performer learn violin technique and improvisational skills simultaneously.¹³²

Rogniono includes three complete songs in Part II of *Passaggi*, choosing one motet, one madrigal, and one chanson.¹³³ In contrast to other ornamentographers, Rogniono provides multiple versions of each song, allowing his readers to choose between "easy" and "difficult" settings. Rogniono's diminutions sometimes venture up to a major ninth away from the original tone for rhetorical emphasis, blatantly contradicting Virigiano's rule that a "diminution should not separate from the subject further than the interval of a fifth, either above or below." This bending of the rules indicates a growing sophistication of the musical amateur, and an increasing reliance upon the written page for instruction and creative ideas.

Written ornamentation strongly emphasized the moving of the affections and use of the new expressive singing style in the late sixteenth century. According to Dickey,

¹³¹ Ibidem, 21.

¹³² Ibidem, 25.

¹³³ These are Palestrina's *Domine quando veneris*, Rore's *Ancor che col partire*, and Crecquillon's *Un gai Bergier*.

Francesco Rognoni's work rests at the crossroads of this change.¹³⁴ Rognoni, son of Riccardo Rogniono, was the head of instrumental music at the ducal court and *maestro di cappella* at Santo Ambrosio Maggiore in Milan.¹³⁵ He was a virtuoso violinist like his father, and may have written the first extant violin treatise.¹³⁶ Rognoni's ornamentation treatise, *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620), is considered by some scholars to be the last representative of the Italian diminution tradition.¹³⁷ It is divided into two parts, one emphasizing vocal techniques while the other is more instrumentally oriented. While Rognoni includes diminution examples that are typical of most sixteenth-century treatises, he also provides many newer small-scale ornaments and emphasizes text expression over technical virtuosity,¹³⁸ hallmarks of the new expressive style. Rognoni's combination of *passaggi* and smaller ornaments¹³⁹ shows a growing emphasis on rhetorical affect and grace in Milanese instrumental performance practice at the end of the century.

Bovicelli, Caccini, and Spadi: Diminutions at the Turn of the Century

The new style brought with it a more intense focus on the relationship between words and music. Virtuoso diminutions became less popular, and the priority shifted to

¹³⁴ Dickey, Introduction to *Passaggi*, 22.

¹³⁵ Stewart Carter, "Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620)," 5.

¹³⁶ He is thought to have published *Aggiunta del scolare di violino* in 1614, though no copy of this work exists today. *Ibidem*, 6.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, 6.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, 6.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 28.

text emphasis and moving the affections of the listener at the expense of flashy ornamentation. While some pioneers of the new style banned divisions completely,¹⁴⁰ others made harsh remarks against them, arguing that they were used at the expense of the music. In his *Il Desiderio* (Venice, 1594), Ercole Bottrigari provides a telling example of the outrage some theorists felt regarding the use of *passaggi*:

“Because of the presumptuous audacity of performers who try to invent *passaggi*, I will not say sometimes but almost continuously, all [of the players] are trying to move at the same time as if in a passage-making contest, and sometimes showing their own virtuosity so far from the counterpoint of the musical composition they have before them, they become entangled in their own dissonance — it is inevitable that an insupportable confusion should occur.¹⁴¹”

Bottrigari’s comment shows that the musical structure of a piece was often easily lost because of the poor choices of amateur performers who prioritized technical virtuosity over musical integrity.

At the wane of the sixteenth century, more and more musicians were realizing that constant passagework did nothing but get in the way. Giulio Caccini was one of the first musicians to emphasize in writing that ornamentation should always be used to support the meaning of the text and move the affections of the listener. In his *Nuove musiche* (1602),¹⁴² he asserts that diminutions should not be used extensively in vocal or

¹⁴⁰ Frederick Neumann and Jane Stevens, *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 515.

¹⁴¹ Ercole Bottrigari, *Il desiderio or concerning the playing together of various instruments* (Venice, 1595), cited in Collins, “Reactions Against the Virtuoso,” 143.

¹⁴² Although a seventeenth-century translation of *Le nuove musiche* was printed in later editions of John Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, I have chosen to use Hitchcock’s translation for the purposes of this project. Hitchcock states that the anonymous seventeenth-century translator does not do Caccini’s words justice, and presumes that this “English gentleman” was not particularly familiar with music or the Italian language.

instrumental music.¹⁴³ Ornaments should be used to move the affections and emphasize the text, not placed according to musical variables.¹⁴⁴ Not only does Caccini believe that *passaggi* are not essential to good singing style, he asserts that they are only used by musicians who are unable to play or sing with grace naturally. Caccini describes *passaggi* as “a kind of tickling of the ears of those who hardly understand what affective singing really is,”¹⁴⁵ and claims that if musicians actually knew what they were doing, “*passaggi* would doubtless be loathed, there being nothing more inimical to affective expression.”¹⁴⁶ After Caccini’s time, performers prioritized text clarity over virtuosic displays of florid divisions. They used diminutions for rhetorical affect, and some composers of vocal music like Caccini were painfully explicit in their instructions for rhetorical ornamentation. Music theorists at the end of the sixteenth century also strongly favored the exclusion of excessive passagework and ornamentation.¹⁴⁷ Composers of early opera and monody seemed to favor the new style, and intentionally excluded extensive vocal *passaggi*. When *passaggi* were appropriate, they tended to be written out.¹⁴⁸ These

¹⁴³ Caccini does admit that the use of *passaggi* is “more suited to wind and stringed instruments than to the voice.” Caccini, 2.

¹⁴⁴ Caccini believes that, if musicians insist on using *passaggi*, their use should be strongly regulated: “if these roulades must still be employed, let it be done according to some rule observed in my works and not either by chance or according to contrapuntal practice.” Ibidem, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Even so, Caccini does make exceptions to his statements. As a virtuoso singer, he occasionally admitted brief *passaggi* up to half of a beat in length and often exempted final cadences from restrictions. Caccini also deems small graces permissible, since “they pass by quickly and are not *passaggi* but merely an additional bit of grace, and also because with good judgment there are exceptions to every rule.” Ibidem, 4–5.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem, 5.

¹⁴⁷ For numerous examples, see Collins, “Reactions Against the Virtuoso.”

¹⁴⁸ One example of this is Monteverdi’s *Exulta filia Sion* of 1629. Here, Monteverdi specifies where the singer is supposed to ornament, and much less is left up to the discretion of the individual performer. Neumann, 517–518.

written-out *passaggi* were less common for instrumental performers starting at the end of the seventeenth century, and composers rarely spelled out diminutions in Italian instrumental music until after 1700.¹⁴⁹ Even after this date, they rarely did so with any consistency.¹⁵⁰

Bovicelli's manual on vocal ornamentation,¹⁵¹ *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (1594), shows some of these trends. While the treatise discusses ornamentation, it also mentions issues such as vocal articulation, text underlay, and virtuosity of the performer. His treatise is divided into two parts, following the tradition of other sixteenth-century diminution manuals. However, it differs from the others in that it includes many different sacred examples as well as one of his own compositions.¹⁵² Bovicelli's inclusion of a larger variety of repertoire shows that diminution manuals were becoming increasingly widespread, and more attention was being paid to the written documentation of ornamentation practices of both sacred and secular works. Bovicelli's inclusion of his own composition alongside those written by famous composers of the century demonstrates a growing awareness of the role and authority of the composer, as well as the growing conception of written music as a musical work.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 523.

¹⁵⁰ Neumann describes how Vivaldi's notation widely varied from "skeletal to fully written-out diminutions, while most of his slow movements are in the middle range... that allowed for further embellishment." *Ibidem*, 523.

¹⁵¹ Bovicelli is unique among this selection of ornamentographers in that he has the background of a virtuoso singer.

¹⁵² "Bovicelli is the only ornamentographer not to include embellished chansons, as well as being the only one to include his own compositions." Bass, "Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography," 57.

Giovanni Battista Spadi's¹⁵³ *Libro de passaggi ascendenti e descendent* represents a different voice in the early seventeenth-century diminution tradition. It was first published in Venice in 1609, though no copies of this edition have been found.¹⁵⁴ This treatise has a two-part structure like the other Italian manuals, although there is no formal separation of the two parts. The first part includes written-out examples of ascending and descending cadences, steps, and thirds, while the second part consists entirely of two Cipriano del Rore madrigals, including *Ancor che col partire*. Spadi's manual is only thirty pages long, and does not feature a dedication or table of contents. This may indicate the fact that Spadi was writing for a specific audience rather than the general public, seeing as the authors of all of the previously mentioned manuals included written material such as dedication pages, tables of contents, and thoughts on correct performance practice. Additionally, Spadi was an active performer, and writing this diminution manual was in addition to all his other musical duties. It could have been the case that he simply did not have the time or inclination to formally dedicate the volume and provide written-out performance instructions to his readers. Spadi's diminutions themselves are virtuosic, and do not rhetorically emphasize the text as Bovicelli's do. The differing approaches used by Bovicelli and Spadi document the conflict between virtuosity and rhetorical declamation within the division practice at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁵³ Very little is known about Giovanni Battista Spadi. He was a student of Giulio Belli, and spent much of his life in his hometown of Faenza. Archival records show that he had become a sought-after cornettist and trombone player in his hometown by the 1590s. For more information, see Domenico Tampieri's article, "Giovanni Battista Spada e Tomaso Fabri."

¹⁵⁴ The earlier edition is assumed to have existed because the 1624 edition is referred to as "newly reprinted and corrected" on its title page. Without both editions available for comparison, it is impossible to discern how the 1624 edition is different from the original.

A Comparison of the Manuals Through Rore's *Ancor che col partire* (1547)

To illustrate the difference between the various ornamentation manuals, I will look at one particular madrigal embellished by several ornamentographers, Cipriano de Rore's *Ancor che col partire*.¹⁵⁵ Originally published in Venice in 1547, Rore's madrigal was one of the most popular of its time. Because of this, many ornamentographers decided to use it to show possible examples of embellishment. The text of the madrigal, by Alfonso d'Avalos, deals with the popular theme of parting from and returning to one's lover. Though usually remarked upon in regard to sexual imagery, this theme is also perfect for an analysis of divisions: most of Rore's original ornamentation in the superius line (mainly on words like "ritorno") strictly follows Virgiliano's fourth rule.¹⁵⁶ It is not my intention to conduct a detailed analysis of the various treatments of this madrigal, or discuss rhetorical elements in depth.¹⁵⁷ Rather, through a comparison of the ornamented superius parts by Dalla Casa (1584), Bassano (1585), Rogniono (1592), Bovicelli (1594) and Spadi (1609) with the original by Rore (1547) (see Appendix A), I will highlight major similarities and differences between the manuals, and show how the Italian diminution tradition changed in the fifty years before its transmission to England.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, I was unable to uncover a song that had been ornamented by all of the ornamentographers discussed. I will exclude Ganassi and Ortiz from this comparison, since their manuals do not include *Ancor che col partire*.

¹⁵⁶ Virgiliano's fourth rule: "The original note must be sounded at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the measure and if it is not convenient to return to the original note in the middle, then at least a consonance and never a dissonance (except for the upper fourth) must be sounded."

¹⁵⁷ For an extended discussion of these rhetorical elements, see Part III of John Bass' "Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography."

¹⁵⁸ For simplicity's sake I will focus on a handful of ornamented superius lines, and not examine bastarda versions of the madrigal. For more versions of the madrigal, including four bastarda versions, see Richard Erig and Veronika Gutmann, *Italianische Diminutionen*, 187–210.

Dalla Casa's embellished version of *Ancor che col partire* strongly reflects the meaning of the song's original text, a tendency noticed in many of his ornamented works. To John Bass, Dalla Casa's ornamentation of this madrigal appropriately "highlights each double entendre, and perhaps adds a layer of persuasiveness to the madrigal."¹⁵⁹ Dalla Casa chooses to musically emphasize the words "partire" and "ritorno," thus reminding the listener of the underlying meanings present in the original song.¹⁶⁰ He starts with a statement of Rore's original material, and his setting becomes the most complex in the section that begins with "De la vita" in m. 27. It seems that Dalla Casa was aware of the importance of this fragment of the text in the larger scope of the poem, since the points of "returning" make up the important arrival points of the work.¹⁶¹

Dalla Casa carefully chooses which sections to leave unornamented and which sections to heavily embellish throughout the poem. In general, words that deal with leaving and returning receive most complicated ornaments, while unadorned sections deal with time and emotion. Bass points out how these elements, which would normally be common madrigalisms, are left bare for rhetorical effect: "by not ornamenting the sections concerning time and emotion, Dalla Casa is also able to draw attention to them – subtly – by presenting them as written in the original."¹⁶² The alternation between simplicity and elaborate ornamentation, emphasis on text clarity, and rhetorical elements

¹⁵⁹ Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 24.

¹⁶⁰ According to Bass, the poem "is a rather intense double entendre focusing on the pleasure, in both the innocent and the naughty sense, of leaving and returning." Ibidem, 24.

¹⁶¹ Bass, "Rhetoric and Musical Ornamentography," 225.

¹⁶² Ibidem, 228.

all are hallmarks of Dalla Casa's diminution style, and reflect trends that are continued throughout the rest of the sixteenth century.

While Dalla Casa generally leaves words related to numbers unadorned, Bassano frequently uses madrigalisms on words such as "mille" and "volte" (see mm. 39–40) in the texted version of his ornamentation on *Ancor che col partire*.¹⁶³ However, he does not do this every time these words occur. In mm. 42–43, they are left relatively unornamented and closely resemble Rore's original superius. Bassano also refrains from embellishing "tanto son dolci," whereas he draws attention to "gli ritorni miei" with heavy ornamentation.¹⁶⁴ Like Dalla Casa, Bassano "creates rhetorical continuity and uses different musical patterns to color the text and emphasize key rhetorical moments."¹⁶⁵

In his ornamented version of the madrigal, Rogniono provides a heavily embellished "solo" line alongside a simpler, more accompanimental part, rather than alternating between original and florid material as Dalla Casa does. Bass asserts that Rogniono's ornaments are more florid than Dalla Casa's, and "the ornamentation and the original are woven into a much more seamless fabric."¹⁶⁶ Technical playing is the main focus, while rhetoric takes a secondary role. This tendency reflects the performance practice in Milan at the time, since virtuoso soloists were more highly prized than consorts or ensemble players.

¹⁶³ Bassano also provided an untexted version of this madrigal. Since the two versions are similarly oriented, I have chosen to only examine the texted version. Bass asserts that Bassano's texted and untexted examples have a "nearly identical" approach to phrase structure that is text-driven rather than determined by purely musical conventions (Ibidem, 254). Erig provides both examples in *Italianische Diminutionen*.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, 252.

¹⁶⁵ Ibidem, 252.

¹⁶⁶ Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 26.

Like Dalla Casa and Bassano, Bovicelli uses his diminutions to rhetorically emphasize the text of *Ancor che col partire*. One way in which he does this is through the use of his “downbeat model.”¹⁶⁷ Gámez Hernández points out the dissonance created by this on the syllable “ti” of “partire,”¹⁶⁸ (see m. 4), which emphasizes the unpleasantness and tension associated with parting. The “return” (mm. 33–35) is then treated with florid divisions. The fact that Bovicelli provides this contrast shows his shift towards rhetorical thinking and prioritization of supporting the text through music. Bovicelli also offers a unique treatment of the word “vita” (m. 28), where the notes B and B flat alternate around A, which is the principal melodic pitch. This is a method of ornamentation that does not occur in other diminution manuals.¹⁶⁹

Spadi’s ornamentation of *Ancor che col partire* shares few similarities with earlier treatises. He ornaments most sections, and his setting of the madrigal features eighth notes where others use smaller note values (see mm. 28–29). Spadi also includes motives that seem to have little to do with the text, like the ascending scalar figure in m. 9.¹⁷⁰ Spadi seems to use ornamentation in places avoided by other ornamentographers, like “Tant’è il piacer ch’io sento” (mm. 23–24) or “da voi vorrei” (mm. 46–48). This seemingly uncommon use of florid divisions may relate more to virtuosic performing traditions than to the rhetorical outlook shared by many other sixteenth-century

¹⁶⁷ Whereas the “pre-beat” model features a passing note on the weak part of the beat, Bovicelli’s “downbeat model” places a dissonant passing note on the strong beat before resolving, thus creating a suspension. While the “pre-beat model” was more common, the “downbeat model” allowed for an emphasized dissonance on a strong beat, which could be used to rhetorically emphasize the text. For more information, see Neumann, *Ornamentation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 312.

¹⁶⁸ Carlos Gámez Hernández, “Le Nuove Musiche: Giovanni Battista Bovicelli?,” 21.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 23.

¹⁷⁰ Variations of the same figure also occur in measures 12, 18–19, 36–37, 43, 48, and 65.

ornamentographers.¹⁷¹ The examination of versions of Rore's *Ancor che col partire* shows the breadth of possibilities regarding ornamentation by the end of the sixteenth century, and indicates that the ornamentographers felt a growing need for the written documentation of these diverse practices.

Italian Influences in Seventeenth-Century England

After 1580, variations that resembled Italian diminutions began to appear in England.¹⁷² Many Italian instrumentalists, including members of the Bassano family, lived in London and worked at the English court.¹⁷³ They were undoubtedly familiar with traditions similar to what is represented by the mid-sixteenth-century Venetian manuals. There is also evidence for the presence of Ganassi's publications in London by the end of the seventeenth century. Additionally, Caccini's new style of singing and his *Le nuove musiche* was known in England relatively soon after its publication: two of his monodies are found in Robert Dowland's *Musical Banquet* (1610).¹⁷⁴ Although Caccini's songs were popular in London, his strict rules for ornamentation were not always followed in practice. Ironically, Dowland's written-out versions of Caccini's monodies are heavily ornamented, directly contradicting Caccini's instructions in his preface to *Le nuove musiche*. Bass suggests that these heavily ornamented versions are recordings of extemporaneous performances rather than compositions intended for performance from

¹⁷¹ More research is necessary to uncover more about Spadi and his musical background: perhaps then we will be able to determine his motivations and reasons behind documenting divisions in this manner.

¹⁷² Imogene Horsley, "The 16th-Century Variation: A New Historical Survey," 132.

¹⁷³ Members of the Bassano family were wind players at the English court from 1540-1665. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 39.

¹⁷⁴ For more information about these manuscripts see Bass, "Would Caccini Approve?"

the page.¹⁷⁵ This reinforces that these ornamented versions of songs were meant to serve as examples rather than absolute versions of a musical work. As John Bass concludes, “it may be that performing *Amarilli* just as it appears in *Le nuove musiche* is like a jazz player doing *Summertime* just as it is printed in the score of *Porgy and Bess*.”¹⁷⁶ There will always be oral elements to any given tradition that are impossible to recover from their written-out counterparts.

Although Caccini’s assertions in his Preface were not always strictly observed by performers in London, it is evident that both the Italian diminution tradition and this “new style” of singing had reached England by the early seventeenth century. Additionally, there were many Italian musicians on the peninsula already by the time of Henry VIII’s reign, and Italian virtuosos of both vocal and instrumental music had a strong impact on the English musical scene throughout much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Chapter IV, I will discuss the influence of these Italian diminution manuals and the impacts of social political contexts on the music of seventeenth-century London. The traditions transmitted from Italy had a significant effect on English musical practices as the awareness of the composer’s role as documenter continued to grow. In England, documenters of divisions (like John Playford and Henry Walsh) increasingly specified oral elements of performance practice in written-out ways. The next two chapters will examine these contributions in detail, and further explore the journey of the division tradition along the oral-literate continuum.

¹⁷⁵ Bass observes that the manuscripts contain simple continuo realizations, bars that contain a varying number of beats, and a tendency to stretch the poetry in order to accommodate ornamentation. “Would Caccini Approve?”, 87.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 82.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN PLAYFORD AND THE DIVISION VIOLIN TRADITION IN LONDON

There consisteth in the practice of singing and playing upon Instruments, great knowledge,
and the most excellent instruction of the mind.

I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (save at his private recreation and leasureable hours)
proove a Master in the same, or neglect his more weighty imployments: though I avouch it a skill worthy
the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince.

Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1634¹⁷⁷

Though the division tradition originated in Renaissance Italy, it soon grew into an arena for virtuosic solo display in seventeenth-century England. This appropriation of Italian musical techniques was nothing new: *Musica transalpina*, the first printed collection of Italian madrigals with English words, was released in London at the end of the sixteenth century. This two-part anthology held a total of 81 Italian madrigals by composers like Lassus, Ferrabosco and Marenzio, and greatly influenced the early seventeenth-century English music scene.¹⁷⁸ This italophilia was not limited to the realm of music, however: translations of Italian *novelle*, poetry, and drama were also popular in England beginning in the century. Additionally, treatises and travel books painted vivid pictures of Italy and its inhabitants for Londoners.¹⁷⁹ The works of William Shakespeare, many of which featured Italian settings such as Venice (*The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*) and Rome (*Julius Caesar*, *Titus Andronicus*) also contributed to the preference for all things Italian.

¹⁷⁷ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 98–99.

¹⁷⁸ The two parts of this anthology were released in 1588 (first part) and 1597 (second part).

¹⁷⁹ Michele Marropodi et al, eds. *Shakespeare's Italy: Functions of Italian Locations in Renaissance Drama*, 2.

Considering this environment, it is no surprise that the Italian diminution tradition made a strong impact in seventeenth-century English musical practices. As middle-class citizens began to have more leisure time, consort playing became a widespread domestic activity. Written-out divisions based on Italian models served to instruct novices in the principles of composition through improvisation. They also provided amateur players who were unable to improvise themselves with music to play that was at least reminiscent of spontaneity. The ability to improvise upon a ground became a marker of high social status, and the division tradition soon assumed a role in society similar to the one it attained in Milan and Venice at the close of the sixteenth century.

Consequently, it was not long before written-out versions of improvisations became highly marketable in London. Christopher Simpson first released his *Division-Viol* in 1659, which details the foundations of viol technique and division playing for the amateur musician. By the latter part of the century, however, the viola da gamba was no longer the only instrument favored by the growing English middle class. The violin took on a new popularity, and numerous tutors for the instrument sprang up in the London marketplace. It was not long before John Playford, an eminent publisher in seventeenth-century London, produced *The Division Violin* in 1684. This publication and its subsequent editions illustrate the popularity of division playing among the bourgeois in London, and show the gradual transformation from largely oral to increasingly literate methods of composition, transmission, and performance in seventeenth-century English society.

Political and Musical Changes in Seventeenth-Century London

String playing has a long history at the English court dating back to the Tudor era.¹⁸⁰ At the court of Henry VIII, musicians played string band music, which they learned from each other rather than from reading notated music on a page. Many of these musicians were foreigners from the Continent, and strongly influenced musical practices at court. Elizabeth I had a preference for Italian dances, and dance masters from Italy were hired at court beginning in 1575.¹⁸¹ Music at court continued to flourish until the Interregnum, and the string band practice maintained its improvisatory roots. After Cromwell and the Puritans overthrew the Stuart monarchy in 1649, music was banned from the court and churches and the theaters were shut down. Cromwell instituted strict rules about musical practices in public, yet he was fond of music within his own home and hired many former court musicians to play in his private chambers. Middle-class Londoners turned to sheet music for entertainment, because music was removed from public places and many could not afford to hire professionals as Cromwell did. Playing consort music became increasingly fashionable, and impromptu concerts in bars and taverns were quite common. The professional musicians, dismissed from their positions at court and in theaters, found employment through giving public concerts, playing in private chambers, and instructing amateurs. The market for sheet music flourished, and amateur musicians became increasingly skilled at their craft.

¹⁸⁰ For a comprehensive history of the string band at the English court, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*.

¹⁸¹ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 115.

After Cromwell's death and a brief political crisis, the monarchy was restored and Charles II reclaimed the throne in 1660. He loved the French style, and sought to emulate it in his own court after his return to England. Charles II increased the number of violins at court from 15 to 24, seeking to create an ensemble similar to Louis XIV's *Vingt-quatre violons*. The Twenty-four Violins of the English court would only perform as a single group on occasions of great importance, and were often divided in half for their work at court or in theaters.¹⁸² French operas were frequently performed at court, and many of them included French-style allegorical prologues designed to honor the king.¹⁸³ Charles II did not institute state opera, but he produced operas at court and frequently attended the theaters and generously supported their productions.¹⁸⁴ Music reclaimed its former place in London society, and the growing middle class could choose freely from attending public musical events or creating music in their own homes. Amateur musicians continued to purchase sheet music, and instrumental tutors remained popular long into the eighteenth century.

The Advent of Industry: Music Publishing in London

With a growing middle class, an influx of musicians from the Continent, and an increase in publishing activity, London was a wellspring for numerous music publications in the seventeenth century. However, even with a growing market, printers and

¹⁸² Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 288.

¹⁸³ Many French composers and performers who were visiting England or living in London participated in these productions. Rebecca Herissone, "Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England," 272.

¹⁸⁴ The works in both types of venues showed a strong French influence. *Ibidem*, 273.

composers faced numerous challenges. Intellectual property rights did not exist as we conceive of them today,¹⁸⁵ and printing was originally controlled by whoever held a royal patent regardless of the composer's permission. Printing patents were no longer awarded after 1641 when the Company of Stationers obtained this responsibility in London. This company, first incorporated about a century earlier, was in charge of overseeing the rights of authors, printers, and printer-publishers, a change that foreshadowed the development of eighteenth-century copyright laws in England.¹⁸⁶

The logistics of music printing also caused a number of problems for publishers in the seventeenth century. Music notation was difficult to produce using moveable type, the most common and cost-effective way of printing. High-quality paper was also necessary for printing music, given the particularities of the notation. The low musical literacy of the general population further reduced the market value of sheet music,¹⁸⁷ thus making the possibility of a publisher like John Playford to actually profit from the release of musical publications seem unlikely. Yet, profit he did. Playford released a series of instrumental tutors to increase the public's interest in music and overall musical literacy in London. Despite the London Fire of 1666 and the Plague one year earlier, Playford maintained his shop in the Inner Temple and continued to be one of the most important musical figures of seventeenth-century London.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 246.

¹⁸⁶ Ong, 129.

¹⁸⁷ Herissone, 247.

John Playford

John Playford was born in 1623 into a family of music publishers, scribes, and stationers, and began his seven-year apprenticeship with John Benson in London in 1640.¹⁸⁸ He was not always a publisher of music, nor was he always on the best side of the Stationer's Company. Shortly after beginning his career as a publisher in 1647, Playford became involved in the underground printing of Royalist pamphlets. His publications detailing the execution of Charles I even led to a warrant for his arrest in 1649,¹⁸⁹ and he decided to begin publishing music shortly thereafter. Playford acquired his shop in the Inner Temple in 1650, and published *The English Dancing Master*, his best-known title, in 1651.¹⁹⁰ He was promoted within the Stationer's Company shortly after the Restoration of King Charles II, and he was elected to the Company's governing body, the Court of Assistants, in 1681.¹⁹¹ Playford passed away in the mid 1680s, and his death was commemorated by Nahum Tate's "Pastoral Elegy on the Death of Mr. John Playford," set to music by Henry Purcell.¹⁹²

As the owner of a publishing company, Playford had great control over the dissemination of music in London and essentially dominated the English music publishing trade from 1651 until his death. Before Playford, music printing was generally subsidized by wealthy patrons who are mentioned in the dedicatory pages of publications

¹⁸⁸ Nicholas Temperley, "John Playford and the Metrical Psalms," 343.

¹⁸⁹ Nicholas Temperley, "John Playford and the Stationer's Company," 204.

¹⁹⁰ This publication provides music and instructions for English country-dances of the mid-seventeenth century that we might not otherwise know of today.

¹⁹¹ Nicholas Temperley, "John Playford and the Metrical Psalms," 343.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, 344. Playford is thought to have died between 1684-1687, but Temperley estimates he passed away in 1686 or 1687.

in return for their support.¹⁹³ Playford, however, “was among the first individuals within the field of music to initiate the shift from patronage-based to more strictly commercial activity.”¹⁹⁴ He focused on the preferences of his potential customers, and his goal was to publish music that would be purchased by the greatest number of amateur musicians.

One of Playford’s most successful publications was Christopher Simpson’s *Division-Viol*, first published in London in 1659.¹⁹⁵ This manual’s approachable nature indicates that it was designed with the middle-class English gentleman in mind. Like its sixteenth-century counterparts, *The Division-Viol* featured grounds that people would know, usually taken from popular motets or madrigals. Playing divisions on the viol was a common activity in mid-seventeenth century London, and this manual was designed to help amateurs learn the techniques necessary to participate. The second edition, printed in 1665, included a Latin text to appeal to both English and Italian audiences and widen the circulation of the publication.¹⁹⁶ The treatise remained in vogue, and editions continued to be released even sixty years after Simpson’s death.

The *Division-Viol* consists of three parts, and gives basic details about how to play the viol as well as how to improvise diminutions upon a ground. Out of the three sections of Simpson’s treatise, the last is the most relevant to learning to play divisions: here, Simpson describes how an amateur musician can learn how to improvise upon a ground within the context of ensemble playing. Simpson suggests playing through the ground

¹⁹³ This is also common to many of the Italian diminution treatises of the sixteenth century.

¹⁹⁴ Herissone, 249.

¹⁹⁵ *The Division-Viol* was dedicated to John Bolles, the son of Sir Robert Bolles and a student of Simpson’s who went on to receive great acclaim as a viol player in Italy.

¹⁹⁶ This is similar to Ortiz’s publishing approach mentioned in the previous chapter.

first without embellishments for three reasons: it gives the other musicians a chance to hear the ground plainly before divisions are made, it helps the improviser become more familiar with the ground, and it reinforces the sense of tempo. The second time the ground is played, the improviser can divide notes into smaller and smaller values as he sees fit. Once he feels as if he has played enough, the improviser “may then fall off to slower discant or binding-notes, as [he] sees cause,”¹⁹⁷ and another musician may take a turn. Simpson also encourages amateur musicians to be spontaneous with their divisions rather than writing them out beforehand, stating that he has “known this kind of extemporary musick, sometimes... pass off with greater applause than those divisions which had been most studiously composed.”¹⁹⁸ While amateurs learned the techniques of division playing from the page, they were expected to mimic free improvisation in their performances. This represents a combination of written transmission and oral performance within the tradition, different than the predominantly oral processes of string band at court in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Playford published many other musical manuals and treatises throughout his life, most of which fall into three categories: tutorials and treatises, collections of songs and instrumental pieces, and psalm collections.¹⁹⁹ The majority of Playford’s publications were compilations of works by various composers: of the hundred or so music books Playford published during his 35-year career, only six featured one single composer.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Treitler, *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History (Revised Edition)*, 636.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 638.

¹⁹⁹ Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, "Playford."

²⁰⁰ Herissone, 252.

When Playford mentions composers' names, they come after the genre of the publication and were presented as just one of its selling points.²⁰¹ Playford included many popular tunes in his works, and prioritized the accurate documentation of past and present versions of these songs so they would not be forgotten.²⁰² This would certainly explain Playford's tendency to prioritize the genres of the pieces over their composers. Playford published genre-oriented musical publications for the majority of his life, the last of these being *The Division Violin*, published one year before his death.

Playford's *Division Violin*

First published in 1684, *The Division Violin* is very similar to the third part of Simpson's treatise in a number of ways: Playford does not provide a textual explanation of divisions for the amateur, but instead includes 26 pieces, twenty of which are divisions with written-out examples of improvisation.²⁰³ As in Simpson's treatise, amateurs presumably learned the grounds first, and then played through the written-out divisions.²⁰⁴ Through doing this they were exposed to some possible ways the ground could be divided, and they could create their own divisions once they were familiar enough with the stock phrases. Although some of the divisions Playford provides are quite playable by novices, others involve techniques that require a more advanced level of playing.

²⁰¹ Ibidem, 250.

²⁰² Temperley, "John Playford and the Metrical Psalms," 331.

²⁰³ The other pieces include three unaccompanied preludes and three Scottish melodies.

²⁰⁴ The majority of the grounds in early editions of *The Division Violin* are notated after the series of divisions, which suggests that the musically literate population would have been familiar with them before consulting the publication.

The Division Violin is primarily a collection of grounds and notated possible improvisations, and clearly reflects Playford's tendency of organizing publications by genre rather than composer. Still, Playford lists each contributor's name next to his ground in the table of contents, giving credit to all of the composers with the exception of a few anonymous tunes. Many of the musicians, such as Thomas Baltzar and Davis Mell, were virtuoso violinists who served in the king's employ and presented public concerts. They would have been well known to a musically educated middle class. As more editions of *The Division Violin* were published, more contributions were added: in the second edition, Playford mentions that he has "made several new Additions, especially two excellent Divisions upon a Ground, composed by that famous Master of Musick Mr. Anthony Poole."²⁰⁵ *The Division Violin* is a compilation of divisions by various composers that was altered as needed, and shows the growing influence of middle-class society in musical dissemination and printing.

Even though *The Division Violin* was designed for the amateur violinist, it is evident that Playford had in mind those amateurs who were already familiar with violin technique. His earlier publications, *The Dancing Master* (1651), *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654), and *Apollo's Banquet* (1669) all include sections that briefly describe how to play the instrument, and players of *The Division Violin* could presumably refer to those publications for guidance on technical aspects of violin playing.²⁰⁶ At this point in history, violin-family instruments were becoming readily available to the middle

²⁰⁵ John Playford, *The Division Violin* (1685), 1.

²⁰⁶ In 1658, Playford began to include instructions of how to play the violin in his *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 268.

class, and amateur violinists would have been able to buy instruments from several London makers by the 1650s.²⁰⁷ Also, a number of violin tutors began to spring up at the end of the seventeenth century. John Lenton's *The Gentleman's Diversion or the Violin Explained* (1693) was a useful tutor for amateurs just learning the instrument. Although little is known about Lenton himself, he was a court violinist who played under Charles II. Lenton's tutor was intended for very inexperienced players,²⁰⁸ and detailed how to hold the bow and violin in the French style that was popular during Charles II's reign. The end of the book includes easy pieces for two instruments, which are laid out in table-book format.²⁰⁹ Most of the other inclusions are simple binary dances, although there is one ground and one canon as well. As violin tutors grew in popularity, they helped sustain a market for musical anthologies like *The Division Violin* well into the eighteenth century.

Publication History of The Division Violin

The Division Violin has a complicated publication history, because it was released in limited quantities according to public demand. (For a relatively complete publication history of *The Division Violin*, see Appendix B.) This led to frequent publications of only a few hundred copies at a time.²¹⁰ John Playford published the

²⁰⁷ Ibidem, 268.

²⁰⁸ Malcolm Boyd and John Rayson, "The Gentleman's Diversion: John Lenton and the First Violin Tutor," 330.

²⁰⁹ This layout allowed players to read the music at home from a table.

²¹⁰ Playford alludes to this in his preface to the second edition, where he states that "since that small Number I first printed are sold off... I have without delay printed this second Impression, wherein I have corrected those few Errors which pass'd in the former, and made several new Additions."

original first edition himself in 1684, and sold it out of his shop in the Inner Temple. When Playford died, his son Henry took over his publication duties and released all subsequent editions of *The Division Violin* until the end of the seventeenth century. He introduced a second volume of *The Division Violin* in 1688 as a counterpart to the first. John Walsh later acquired publishing rights to both parts of *The Division Violin* and began publishing them in 1705. They were released once more in 1730, though only as reissues of earlier editions.

The Division Violin was first advertised in 1683 as a volume “containing a choice Collection of late Divisions composed for the Treble Violin to play to a ground; fairly engraven on Copper Plates; being the first Musick of this kind ever published.”²¹¹ Although the division tradition had been present in England long before the 1680s, Playford was emphasizing the newness of notating what was once an entirely improvised tradition. By filtering the oral elements of the division violin tradition through written means, Playford was able to convey essential elements of the tradition to the layman or musician who read music but did not feel comfortable “composing” it. Playford continued to market *The Division Violin* in this way: by the second edition, it is advertised as “the first Musick of this kind made Publick.” This advertisement equates setting something in print with making it “Publick,” as if the tradition in its oral form was not marketable or well known in the middle class. These statements show an increasing reliance on (and preference for) literate means of transmitting the tradition.

²¹¹ Douglass Ross Harvey, “Henry Playford: A Bibliographical Study,” 480.

As the subsequent editions and parts of *The Division Violin* were released, advertising for the publication became more efficient. Playford and his son Henry relied more heavily upon the written word to sell their product, and the production of the second part of *The Division Violin* was advertised in 1688 as “containing the newest Grounds for the Treble Violin.”²¹² Again, the newness of the grounds is what is emphasized, though the ground basses themselves stem from older Italian practices. The new element is presumably the written-out nature of the improvisatory variations. The first and second “parts” (or volumes) were frequently marketed together beginning in 1693, and were later sold together as a set (beginning in 1699). This demonstrates not only a desire but a *need* for both parts of the publication, as if musical amateurs were unable to create their own divisions after having studied the first book. While the improvisational techniques used in both books is the same, the contents of each book continued to change according to current taste. This is reflected in the additions of repertoire that is representative of different nationalities. The second edition features both “Johnny Cock thy Beaver, a Scotch Medly” and “A New Scotch Hornpipe.”²¹³ A reprint of the 1688 edition further includes “An Italian Ground” and a ground attributed to “Mr. Baptist of France,” presumably Lully.²¹⁴ By the sixth edition, the Scottish tunes remain but the divisions attributed to French and Italian sources have largely been removed and replaced by ones by English composers.

²¹² Ibidem, 491.

²¹³ Scotch tunes maintain their popularity in *The Division Violin*, and are advertised on title pages of the second part of the publication beginning in 1689.

²¹⁴ It is also possible that “Mr. Baptist” could refer to Giovanni Battista Draghi, an organist who was master of the king’s Italian musicians by 1673. Draghi “became so thoroughly an English subject that he was known as Mr. Baptist.” J.A. Westrup, “Foreign Musicians in Stuart England.”

As Henry Playford continued to release new editions, names of composers began to creep from the table of contents onto the title pages. John Playford's original emphasis on genre is still present, but well-known composers are now more frequently mentioned along with secondary information about the publication. The 1689 reprint of the second part of *The Division Violin* mentions the addition of "a Solo by Mr. Thomas Farmer," while the second edition of this volume features "Several Solo's" by "Signior Archangelo Correlli" himself. John Walsh's sixth edition of the first part does not mention specific composer names on the title page, but includes "Aditions of the newest Divisions upon Grounds and Chacons by the most Eminent Masters." His release of the second part follows suit, including "several solos by Arcangelo Corelli and others... with Additions of the newest Chacons Allmands Preludes and Choice Cibells Composed by the best Masters."²¹⁵ The publication's focus had switched from the newness of the divisions themselves to the nature of the composers who contributed to them. It is no surprise, then, that *The Division Violin* remained popular well into the eighteenth century, thanks to the publishers' impeccable ability to change each new edition according to evolving taste.

A Comparison of the Editions

In the examination of individual editions of *The Division Violin*, it is essential to recognize that the pieces included are not intended to be exact recreations of actual improvisations. Rather, they are written approximations of previous performances, or

²¹⁵ Ibidem, 783.

possible examples of what the improvisatory practices could have been. Amateurs may have read from the page, but the chance that their interpretations exactly matched the written notes is extremely unlikely. In certain cases, composers may have submitted their works to Playford, or Playford may have attended live performances and documented what he heard there. Whatever way these divisions were notated, they should be viewed as written fragments of a largely oral practice.

For this study, I have been able to examine the second edition (1685) and the sixth edition (1705) of the first part of *The Division Violin*.²¹⁶ The second edition of *The Division Violin* contains 30 pieces, the majority of which are divisions upon a ground. The other compositions include airs, preludes, and tunes reflecting mid-seventeenth-century Scottish musical influences. The cover of the publication (see Figure 6) features a smart-looking gentleman playing the violin while seated rather leisurely in a chair. His music is open on the table before him, presumably acting as a tool for learning how to perform divisions. Neither a music teacher, nor other musicians are present. Several musical instruments adorn his walls, showing that he is a man of culture, taste, and musical literacy.

²¹⁶ Though many editions of this publication are lost today, other editions do exist and would be worth examination. This will be a project for future research. I have chosen to examine only the “first part” of the publication, since the “second part” was published long after Playford’s death and may be outside the scope of this study. For complete tables of contents of the second and sixth editions of the first part of *The Division Violin*, see Appendix C (second edition) and Appendix D (sixth edition).

Figure 6. Cover of the second printed edition of Playford's *Division Violin* (1685)



Through marketing *The Division Violin* in this way, Playford is stating that the violin can be a respectable consort instrument, and for a small fee, anyone can be a musical gentleman. Amateurs can learn music in the comfort of their own homes, and need only a manual of instructions to do so. A music teacher may not be necessary, provided the written music is of high enough quality.

Also, Playford does not include any names or pictures of composers on this cover: instead, the emphasis is entirely on the genre of the division itself. When composers are mentioned in the table of contents, they are mostly listed by last name next to their ground. Most of the contributors to this edition include famous violinists of the

previous generation, Baltzar, Mell, and Banister²¹⁷ being the most prominent. These violinists were primarily active in the middle of the seventeenth century, and their inclusion in *The Division Violin* over twenty years later attests to the continuing popularity of the division tradition. The second edition of *The Division Violin* shows a strong affinity with improvisatory violin division pieces and techniques that would have been common decades before its publication.

Walsh's 1705 edition of the first part of *The Division Violin* differs in many ways from Playford's second edition of 1685. Gone is the man playing violin at home on the cover page: he has been removed in favor of text about the publication itself (see Figure 7). Walsh evidently paid great attention to detail in the layout of text and variation of type settings. Here, he advertises "Several Excellent Grounds... by the most Eminent Masters," and includes contributions by familiar composers such as Henry Eccles, Giovanni Bononcini,²¹⁸ and Henry Purcell.

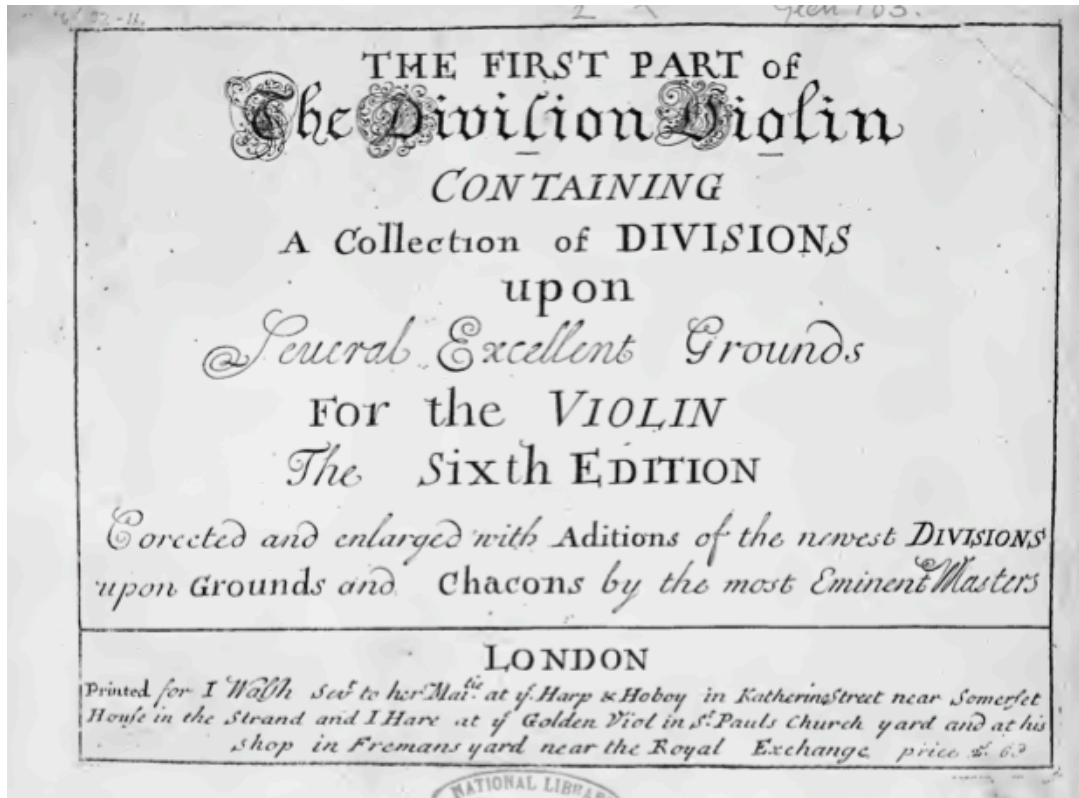
While much of the first half of the publication remained the same (including standards like "St. Paul's Steeple" and Baltzar and Mell's variations on "John, come kiss me now"), many familiar divisions were removed and replaced by an increased number of through-composed preludes, airs, and pieces for two violins. Perhaps this change reflects the public's growing preference for music that is formally composed and notated as opposed to improvisatory sketches. Titles of pieces begin to include information such

²¹⁷ I am referring to John Banister Senior, violinist at the English court from 1660-1667.

²¹⁸ Playford's table of contents simply refers to a "Bonancini," which makes it difficult to discern which member of the Bononcini family is actually referenced. Giovanni Bononcini is the most likely contributor due to his international reputation and ties with London in the early eighteenth century when this edition was released.

as key areas, indicating a need for more written particulars about the music and a preference for making the titles appear more like the trendy Italian sonatas of the time.

Figure 7. Cover of the sixth edition of *The Division Violin* (1705)



Many of these pieces are in larger print than their preceding counterparts, and Walsh sometimes placed five or eight staves²¹⁹ on a page in contrast with Playford's nine.²²⁰

²¹⁹ A Prelude by Bononcini takes up five staves, while the "Chaconne by Mr. Finger" is two pages of eight staves each.

²²⁰ Since Playford originally printed *The Division Violin* using engraved plates rather than moveable type, the first half of the publication appears exactly the same on the page as it did in every other preceding edition.

This makes the music easier to read, and suggests the possibility that an increased number of amateur players spent more time reading the music from the page and teaching themselves at home. Most of the new divisions in this edition also include bass lines at the top of the first page of each piece, in contrast to Playford's addition of the ground bass after the set of divisions. This may indicate that amateurs were less familiar with the Italian basses, and had to learn them from the page first or read them while playing. The inclusion of the bass line at the top of the page also reflects a growing reliance on literate information for learning to "improvise" divisions.

The Divisions on "John, come kiss me now"

Although the differences between these two editions of *The Division Violin* clearly show a trend towards increasingly literate presentations of the tradition, much more is illustrated through a direct comparison of divisions themselves. The most common ground in *The Division Violin* is "John, come kiss me now," used in three sets of divisions attributed to Davis Mell, Thomas Baltzar, and Henry Eccles. (For the complete settings of "John, come kiss me now" by Mell, Baltzar, and Eccles, see Appendix E.) The different ways that these composers each set their divisions reflect the transformation from primarily oral to increasingly literate means of composition, transmission, and performance. After comparing the contexts of the composers themselves, I will discuss how their versions of "John, come kiss me now" show a definite shift towards the use of the written page in documenting a predominantly oral practice.

The English violinist and composer Davis Mell²²¹ lived from 1604 to 1662 in London. He was appointed to the violin band at court in 1626, and was a well-known violin teacher in London for much of the mid-seventeenth century.²²² Despite his reputation during his lifetime, many scholars today view him as a weak composer who pales in comparison to his contemporaries. Peter Holman states that “some of [Mell’s] solo pieces require considerable virtuosity, though they are mostly feeble as music,”²²³ and that “Mell was no match for Baltzar,”²²⁴ a contemporary of his at court. Peter Walls mentions that Mell’s pieces in Playford’s publications are “musically limited,” though he admits that they “show greater technical development” than those by Mell’s predecessors.²²⁵ However, these views do not take into account the purpose behind Mell’s written music. It is essential to keep in mind that Mell’s contributions to Playford’s publications reflect the division tradition as it was in the early seventeenth century. His background was that of a court violinist and composer, and he was familiar with the English division tradition as an oral process. Mell may not have seen much use in notating what he already knew, leading to the seeming simplicity on the page. Mell’s written fragments must be viewed as representative of the oral nature of the division practice, and cannot be judged by the modern conventions of a heavily literate society.

²²¹ Davis Mell is also referred to as “David Mell” or “Davy Mell” in a variety of sources.

²²² John Playford refers to Mell in *A Musical Banquet* (1651) as one of the ‘excellent and able Masters’ of the violin in London. Mell also worked in Cromwell’s household from 1656 until 1658, and began playing at court once more after the Restoration where he was a senior member of the Twenty-Four Violins.

²²³ Peter Holman, “Mell, Davis.” *Grove Music Online*.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²²⁵ Peter Walls, “The Influence of the Italian Violin School in Seventeenth Century England,” 579.

In contrast to Mell, Thomas Baltzar was a German virtuoso who quickly became famous throughout England for his commanding performances. A student of Johann Schop, he was born in Lübeck in 1631 and spent some time at the court in Sweden before moving to London in 1655. He visited Oxford in 1658, where he presumably met Davis Mell. Their divisions on “John, come kiss me now” most likely record a playing contest between the two musicians.²²⁶ According to Anthony á Wood, Mell “play’d farr sweeter than Baltzar, yet Baltzar’s hand was more quick and could run it insensibly to the end of the finger-board.”²²⁷ Wood’s comment shows that, while Mell’s playing was pleasant, Baltzar’s virtuosity was unprecedented in seventeenth-century London. Baltzar returned to the king’s service in London after the Restoration, and became a member of the King’s Private Music until his death in 1663.

The third composer who uses “John, come kiss me now” as a basis for improvisation in *The Division Violin* is Henry Eccles Jr., an Englishman born in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Not much is known about him, other than that he was a violinist and composer, and comes from a family with strong ties to English court music.²²⁸

Each of these musicians represents the division tradition at a specific point in time. While Mell’s divisions reflect the practice in England during the early part of the seventeenth century, Baltzar’s rendition of “John, come kiss me now” shows the

²²⁶ Peter Holman, “Mell, Davis.” *Grove Music Online*.

²²⁷ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 268.

²²⁸ Henry Eccles Sr. was a musician who was appointed to the King’s Private Music in 1689. He was most likely a brother of Solomon Eccles, another violinist and composer in the king’s employ who was mentioned in earlier editions of *The Division Violin*.

virtuosity that was admired in London by the middle of the period. Eccles' divisions document the preferences of amateurs for an increased amount of information written out on the printed page at the turn of the eighteenth century. The comparison of the divisions by these musicians on the familiar standard "John, come kiss me now" shows a change in *The Division Violin's* position on the oral-literate continuum.

Mell's "John, come kiss me now" appears to be the simplest of the three versions in Playford's publication. The theme is stated at the beginning, but the diminutions seem to peter out at the end as they would in a real-life improvisatory situation. His close repetitions of Variation 6 (in Variation 11) and Variation 8 (in Variation 13) are not the markers of a compositional weakness: rather, they indicate that his divisions closely represent how the piece may have been played in a live performance situation. The theme is not restated at the end: instead, Mell finishes with scalar passages, insinuating that the performer would have continued improvising long after playing through the variations on the page.

Baltzar's version of "John, come kiss me now" differs greatly from Mell's, though the two were presented side by side in the first edition of *The Division Violin*. It falls into a teleological musical form of sorts with a clear beginning, middle, and end. The variations begin with a simple theme, which returns at the end in a chorale setting with broad chords and double stops that give the player a feeling of conclusion. What comes in the middle is a set of variations, each having a distinct quality apart from the others. In these variations, Baltzar uses a variety of virtuosic violin techniques, including large leaps across strings, double stops, and playing in high positions. Baltzar's divisions

resemble the theme and variations movements as composed by his contemporaries elsewhere: Marais wrote a similar set of variations on the Follia ground, and even Bach's Chaconne begins with a chorale that is restated at the end of the piece. The organization in Baltzar's "John, come kiss me now" is not seen in Mell's, and reflects the convention of teleological form in music of the mid-seventeenth century. The onset of this convention in written music suggests the beginning of an end to the once entirely oral practice of improvisatory division playing. Baltzar's "John, come kiss me now" is immediately followed by one of his preludes, a highly-ornamented through-composed work that simultaneously imitates improvisation and precisely details on the page what the violinist is supposed to play.

Eccles' version of "John, come kiss me now" does not reflect a teleological form like Baltzar's, but instead shows an increasing reliance of the musical amateur on literate elements of the division tradition. Although it is one of the longest pieces in the sixth edition of *The Division Violin*, most of the information present on the pages of Eccles' variations would have been easy to improvise for any of Mell's contemporaries. While most of Baltzar's divisions focus on individual virtuoso techniques idiomatic to the violin, Eccles' variations all seem quite similar to each other. The last three variations are nearly identical, with the exception of rhythmic diminution. The eighth notes in Variation 17 are divided into sixteenth notes in Variation 18, keeping the pitches and figurations intact. In Variation 19, the pattern is further subdivided into thirty-second notes. This practice would have been intuitive for violinists at the beginning of the century, and much ink would have been saved had Eccles thought that amateur violinists of the early

eighteenth century were up to the task of improvising rhythmic diminutions. Even if Eccles did not formally submit the piece for publication, Walsh could have examined it and decided not to include the extra diminutions if he thought them unnecessary. From this, I conclude that the early eighteenth-century musical amateur would have preferred to read the extra notation on the page, whereas the amateurs of Mell and Baltzar's time may not have needed the additional written information to come to the same result.

These variations on "John, come kiss me now" also demonstrate how many of the pieces at the end of Walsh's sixth edition are longer than their earlier counterparts. While Mell's version takes up two pages, Baltzar's spans over three. Henry Eccles' divisions on "John, come kiss me now" stretch over six pages. This is largely due to the use of eight staves per page rather than nine, and the predominance of sixteenth and even thirty-second notes in the later variations. Even considering these variables, Eccles' version of "John, come kiss me now" is considerably lengthier than the two variations by Mell and Baltzar. It is heavily detailed in its notation, leaving little room for improvised ornamentation by the performer. The additions made to *The Division Violin* by the early eighteenth century appear more complex on the page than their earlier counterparts and clearly demonstrate a preference for written-out music. However, longer divisions do not necessarily indicate greater complexity and virtuosity. Rather, they may suggest a need for amateurs to see information in writing that may have once been part of an entirely oral tradition.

It is difficult to tell how these versions of "John, come kiss me now" came to be notated in Playford's *Division Violin*. Perhaps the first two are after-the-fact accounts of

what happened in Oxford in 1658 when Baltzar and Mell crossed swords. Alternatively, they could have been written down by each violinist independently and submitted to Playford for publication. Either way, Mell's divisions more clearly reflect the Renaissance improvisatory tradition that was present in string consort playing of the early seventeenth century. Additionally, Mell's changes of motivic material in the middle of variations show the flexibility of an improviser. Baltzar, by contrast, denotes a clear, teleological development in his variations on "John, come kiss me now." The theme is stated at the beginning, and Baltzar's rendition of the tune finishes with a chorale, indicating a conceptual ending to the work. Mell's divisions, however, are no more "musically limited" than Baltzar's. Each violinist was working with what he knew best – Mell with improvisatory technique, and Baltzar with virtuosity and a stronger conception of through-composition. The version of "John, come kiss me now" by Henry Eccles, in contrast, reflects neither the improvisatory nature of Mell's divisions nor the formal nature of Baltzar's. Instead, it demonstrates the need on the part of the amateur for more written-out information at the dawn of the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Although the violin had a long history in England as a court instrument, it was not until the seventeenth century that it became of interest for amateur players. During the Commonwealth, the middle class of London was denied music in public venues and consequently resorted to bringing music home in the form of printed tutors and consort music. Music publishing flourished, and John Playford successfully released and

marketed numerous publications, including *The Division Violin*. Playford's publications eventually passed into the control of his son Henry, and later to John Walsh at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Through a comparison of John Playford's second edition of *The Division Violin* with Walsh's sixth edition, we can see an increasing reliance on literate means of transmitting the tradition. The three versions of "John, come kiss me now" present in the sixth edition of *The Division Violin* show a shift from a more improvisatory tradition in English division violin playing to a more structured approach by the composer or publisher to notate specifics of performance. By the early eighteenth century there is a clear shift from oral to written methods of composition, transmission, and performance in the English division violin tradition.

CHAPTER V

WRITTEN AND ORAL CONVENTIONS OF *THE DIVISION VIOLIN*:

APPLICATIONS OF ORAL-LITERATE THEORIES

AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

At the most subtle level, the stylistic context of any repertory is closely linked to all of the social forces that shape human (and therefore musical) history, and a truly complete picture of a style can only be assembled through an interdisciplinary study that brings together as much information about a period as possible.

David Douglass²²⁹

The Division Violin clearly shows a shift from predominantly oral to increasingly literate methods of transmission, composition, and performance, which can be further examined through the use of the literary theories I discussed in Chapter II. After reviewing the Italian roots of the English division tradition, I examine different ways in which these theories used to study written and oral traditions in other fields can be applied to this music. Parallels exist between Ong's elements of literate societies and the culture of seventeenth-century London, and the South Slavic epic poetry and Homeric verse studied by Parry and Lord share many similarities with early violin divisions. Finally, Ranković's continuum models are extremely useful in the study of the three versions of "John, come kiss me now" examined in the previous chapter. After plotting these variations on two- and three-dimensional graphs, I discuss how Ranković's ideas could lead to further research in the medium, poetics, and heteroglossia of musical traditions.

²²⁹ David Douglass, "The Violin," in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 169.

Italian Diminutions

Through examining the notated ornamentation practices of a variety of Italian ornamentographers, we can better understand the background of the English division tradition. Ganassi's *Fontegara* contains some of the most rhythmically complex patterns of the Italian diminution treatises, and his manuals are more didactic, similar to those of Rogniono. Both authors present technique as a means to an end, and strongly emphasize rhetoric. Ganassi's motivation for writing was to share his knowledge with the general musical public, and he explicitly admits in his dedication that his mere contribution to the study of ornamentation is not an attempt to claim absolute authority over performance practice. Perhaps this is his way of acknowledging the malleable nature of the largely oral diminution tradition of the early sixteenth century.

Similar to Ganassi, Ortiz fashioned a series of *recercadas* from which performers could choose at will depending on their taste and their abilities. Ortiz displays more virtuosity in his diminutions, which is understandable considering that he was writing for solo viol and accompaniment. Ortiz advocates that performers adhere firmly to the structure of the original melody, and not let diminutions get in the way. Good taste is essential in ornamentation, and he admonishes performers who play divisions poorly without this structural awareness.

In contrast to Ortiz, Dalla Casa and Bassano wrote their embellishments within the context of a multi-voice texture. Dalla Casa ornamented multiple voices, while Bassano focused more on the treble line as if the piece were to be played or sung by a soloist with "accompaniment." Dalla Casa and Bassano both used popular secular songs

to show practical examples of diminutions. Although some of their diminutions may have been playable by amateurs, they primarily wrote musically complex embellishments that reflected the activities of professional musicians at San Marco. These diminutions were most likely written-out approximations of past performances, and were not necessarily intended to be played from the page.

The later sixteenth-century diminutions of Rogniono, Rognoni, and Bovicelli more strongly demonstrate the tradition of soloistic performance and the burgeoning presence of the Baroque solo sonata in Milan. Rogniono's treatise is a didactic manual like Ganassi's, and takes the process of learning how to play an instrument strongly into consideration. It is written in multiple clefs simultaneously, which indicates even broader usage and importance of written diminution manuals. Bovicelli's treatise is considerably more oriented towards singers, and he includes ornamentations on motets as well as his own composition as examples. This shows a growing awareness of the ornamentographers in their role as composers towards the end of the sixteenth century. Spadi's *Libro de passaggi* contrasts with other manuals in its use of simpler passagework and motivic figures. It also seems to have less of a rhetorical slant than earlier manuals. Francesco Rognoni's *Selva* presents vocal and instrumental techniques as two parts of one treatise rather than integrating the practices into one whole. Rognoni also includes many smaller-scale ornaments neglected by earlier ornamentographers, which reflects the growing preference for these simpler types of ornamentation at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This combination of traditional diminutions with new ornamental

practices documents the change in improvisational performance practice as the tradition of writing out diminutions in manuals came to a close in Italy.

Throughout the sixteenth century, musical embellishment increasingly began to be viewed less as a show of virtuosity and more as an intellectual exercise.²³⁰ Although these manuals do not document exact performances or specific compositional intentions, they provide a window into the world of the improviser. Many elements of this oral tradition are lost today, but these written fragments hint at practices that were once quite commonplace. Also, the changing publication and dissemination of these manuals reflects a rise in the publication and production of music for commercial purposes, and a growth in middle-class musical activity. This examination of diminution manuals is valuable for understanding multiple aspects of instrumental performance practice and music production throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Ong's Elements of Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England

The trends present in these written fragments of a largely oral tradition reflect a growing reliance on literacy in the society of seventeenth-century England. Many of Walter Ong's elements of literate societies are also present here. Through examining these, we may understand what sort of impact the politics and print culture in seventeenth-century England had on musical practices and notation.

One of Ong's elements of literacy is a tendency for record-keeping and documentation. Journals and diaries grew prevalent in England by the end of the

²³⁰ Bass, "Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 27.

seventeenth century, and the records kept by eighteenth-century individuals like Samuel Pepys and Roger North demonstrate the apparent need for the documentation of everyday occurrences. For Ong, this trend in journal-keeping is a uniquely seventeenth-century phenomenon. The diary itself represents the ultimate fictionalization of the documenter and the reader, creating a kind of “imitation talking” that could only occur through the written word. This is only possible in highly literate societies, and is a direct consequence of print culture. Ong notes that personal diaries are a late literary form, “in effect unknown until the seventeenth century.”²³¹

Ong also discusses how print culture is responsible for segregating individual works by closing them off from others and making them into self-contained units.²³² We see a parallel development in music printing in seventeenth-century England, where London publishers printed and marketed individual musical works and genre collections. These musical texts established a sense of permanence and fixed experience, and remained long after their composers (and in some cases, publishers) were gone.²³³ The recognition of individual composers grew stronger throughout the seventeenth century, and the Statute of Anne (passed in 1709) took the power of copyright regulation away from the Stationers Company and gave it to the government. The courts established a copyright term of 14 years, giving authors rights to their works and the choice about which printers could be licensed to publish them. The idea that sound could be owned

²³¹ Ong, 101.

²³² Ong, 131.

²³³ Playford’s *Division Violin* continued to be published well into the eighteenth century.

and created by an individual and then set to paper must have affected the way people thought of improvisatory divisions.

Another element of literate societies is an increasing reliance on printing to increase standardization and error correction.²³⁴ The divisions in later editions of *The Division Violin* reflect this, and give more details to the performer in written form. These notations insinuate a “right way” of performing divisions, in great contrast to the oral division practice of the early seventeenth century and the improvisatory-like diminutions credited to violinists in early editions of *The Division Violin*.

Additionally, Ong points out that literate societies are oriented towards consumers rather than producers of a given work.²³⁵ Manuscript culture is directed towards the producer, because an individual copyist would have had to spend a great deal of time creating each copy of a work. Print, however, is easily produced in great quantities, and is consumer-oriented. Pieces in later editions of *The Division Violin*, like Eccles’ divisions on “John come kiss,” reflect these characteristics: much of the information on the pages of these variations is there specifically for the early eighteenth-century consumer, and would not have been needed by practitioners of the tradition fifty years earlier. Through examining these trends seen by Ong in largely literate societies, it is easy to see how the division music of seventeenth-century London reflects its larger environment and the culture that created it.

²³⁴ Ong, 103.

²³⁵ Ong, 120.

The Division Violin and the Parry-Lord Approach

There are numerous parallels between the studies done by Parry and Lord and the possibilities for the division violin tradition. South Slavic epic poets used what Lord termed “generative formulas” to improvise an ordering of stock phrases for each new performance. By the same token, seventeenth-century violinists used a set of stock phrases for their performances, and ordered them based on individual preference. The ordering process is what is improvisatory, while the formulas themselves are standardized within the tradition. Treitler references the work of Parry and Lord in his discussion of a “generative system” for Gregorian chant. To Treitler, a generative system is “a set of conventions that a trained performer would have used to generate a particular chant,”²³⁶ which is composed of two elements: “grammar” and “rhetoric.” The grammar of violin divisions would include ranges, intervals, and stock formulas used by most performers or composers. The “rhetoric,” on the other hand, is the way in which an individual musician would order the grammatical elements stated above. Peter Jeffery also outlines a practical approach to constructing Treitler’s “generative systems” that is relevant to the study of violin divisions. His steps are as follows:²³⁷

1. Select the genre and mode of the chant type (or division type) you wish to examine.
2. Divide chants (divisions) into “generative systems” (Treitler) or “melodic families” (Jeffery)
3. Catalogue chants (divisions) in each “system”
4. Choose one “system” and attempt reconstruction of its rules through melodic analysis.

²³⁶ Jeffery, 15.

²³⁷ Jeffery, 21.

I have applied Jeffery's steps to the study of violin divisions, hoping to discover a "grammar" and "rhetoric" of the division tradition. I closely examine melodic and rhythmic elements of the three divisions on "John, come kiss me now" by Mell, Baltzar, and Eccles²³⁸ in Appendix F. In my study, I divided elements of each division into rhythmic and pitch-related categories. The rhythms used in these divisions are either homogenous (uniform throughout the measure) or varied (changing between two or more stock phrases within one measure). In reference to pitch, the divisions are either melodic (following one or more melodic lines) or chordal (outlining the chord implied by the ground bass). Through isolating these divisions, it was possible to isolate which rhythmic and melodic elements were shared by all three composers and thus common to division playing in general, and which were more composer-specific. Following Treitler's outline, the shared rhythmic and melodic elements between the variations are the "grammar" of violin division playing,²³⁹ while the more unique aspects are rhetorical choices made by the specific composer (see Figure 8). Through isolating these components, one is able to construct a relative "grammar" and "rhetoric" of violin divisions.



The comparison of rhythmic and melodic components of these divisions demonstrates some of the idioms that were typical of division playing, as well as others more specific to each composer. Mell uses a large number of varied rhythms in his divisions on "John, come kiss me now." He outlines implied chords with arpeggiated

²³⁸ Treitler advocates examining multiple versions of a single chant melody in his discussion of generative systems (Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 455). In an attempt to follow Treitler's process, I chose to examine three divisions upon a single melody ("John, come kiss me now") rather than a selection of divisions on different tunes.

²³⁹ In this case, the "grammar" of division playing includes variables presented in the original tune of "John, come kiss me now."

patterns in many of the variations, and in others he infers polyphony through the use of double stops, creating a contrapuntal texture. Eccles, on the other hand, uses mostly homogenous rhythms and arpeggiated figures in his divisions. Baltzar’s divisions show the greatest melodic variety, yet they exhibit primarily homogenous rhythms. Each composer uses the stock phrases (or “grammatical” elements) in different ways, and demonstrates their own individual “rhetoric” of division playing.

Figure 8. A summary of the “grammar” and “rhetoric” of the three variations on “John, come kiss me now.”

Grammar	Rhetoric
Stock rhythms from the tune of “John, come kiss me now”: 	Mell: bariolage passages; independent voice lines, triple rhythm not seen in other divisions, i.e. 
Melodic idioms from the tune of “John come kiss”: i.e., octave leaps, leaps of a sixth Idioms typical of any division playing: - Scalar passages - Arpeggios - Neighbor notes - Passing tones - Chords outlining the bass line	Baltzar: extensive use of counterpoint/individual voice lines (Var. 3); four-note chords; wide leaps (last beat of each measure in Var. 11); large string crossings; chorale voicing of theme Eccles: repetition of a single rhythmic and melodic pattern for the duration of an entire measure; extensive rhythmic diminution; sustained pedal tone throughout measure (Var. 17)

These divisions on “John, come kiss me now” obviously share some “grammar” in common with their earlier Italian counterparts as well: it would be equally feasible to create a generative system (and thus define a grammar and rhetoric) for Italian diminutions. The isolation of specific rhythmic and melodic stock phrases within the division violin tradition and the changing relationship between these variables are areas for future research. It could be possible to create a more definitive grammar of division

playing as Treitler did with Aquitanian tropes, or establish distinct melodic families as was suggested by Jeffery. These studies would aid in the examination and exploration of the interaction between oral and written elements of a given tradition, and shed light on how music reflects the society around it.

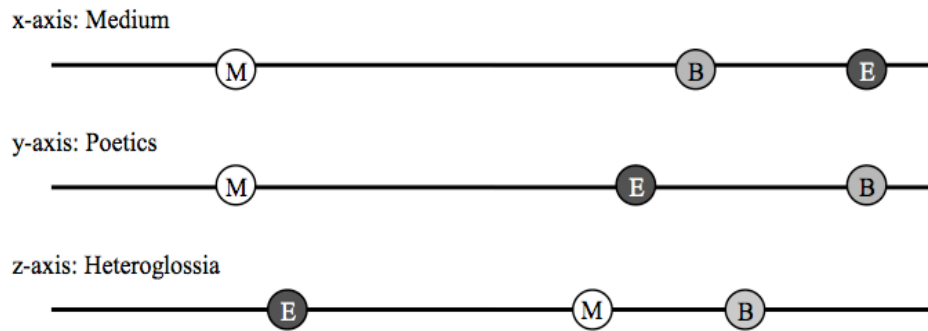
The Division Violin on Ranković's Continuum

Ruth Finnegan's oral-literate continuum offers an array of possibilities for the study of oral and written traditions, but I have focused on Ranković's idea of two- and three-dimensional space in the examination of the versions of "John, come kiss me now" by Mell, Baltzar, and Eccles. Though each of these divisions is present in the sixth edition of Playford's *Division Violin* and would have been well known to the musically literate middle class of seventeenth-century London, they occupy distinctly different spaces in Ranković's oral-literate continuum as a two- and three-dimensional space. In general we see that Baltzar's and Eccles' versions are in the outer ranges of the three-dimensional graph, while Mell's version lies closer to the center of the continuum. This is not the case when measuring social context (or heteroglossia), however: here, Baltzar's variation is closest to the right on the two-dimensional graph (at the top of the three-dimensional graph), while Eccles' version is on the left (or closer to the bottom of the three-dimensional graph).

In Figures 9 and 10, I show two- and three-dimensional examples of the divisions on "John, come kiss me now" plotted on Ranković's continuum. Mell's version is closest to the left on the x-axis: the sparse nature of the notation indicates that it is most heavily

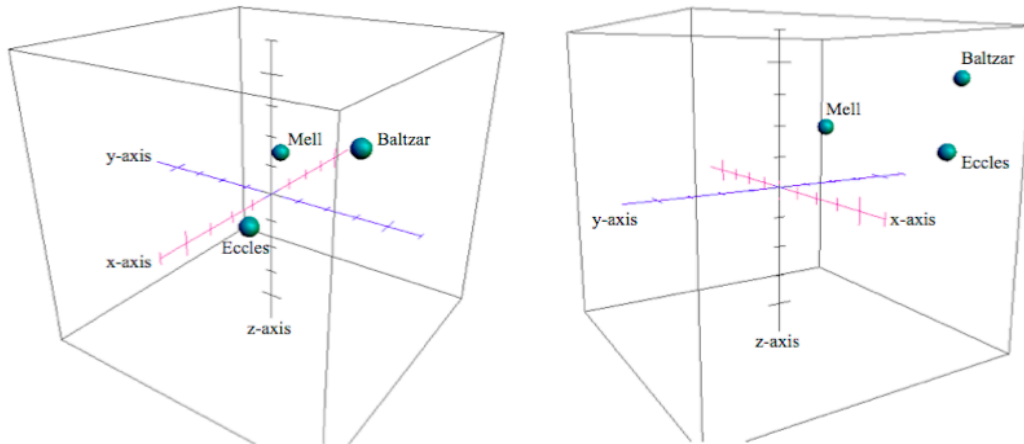
reliant on elements of oral tradition. Baltzar’s setting is in the middle, since it is through-composed, yet allows for some variation. Eccles’ is the closes to the right of the x-axis, because he notates things that an improviser would have known how to do. A similar pattern is noticed when examining poetics of the three variations (represented by the y-axis).

Figure 9. Ranković’s two-dimensional continuum with the variations of “John, come kiss me now” by Mell (M), Baltzar (B), and Eccles (E).



Mell’s variation is the closest to the left of the y-axis, since it is more heavily reliant on tradition and communal authorship. Baltzar’s version of “John, come kiss me now” is the most individual, and belongs the furthest to the right of the axis due to the fact that it is through-composed and has a clear teleological form. Eccles’ variation, while similar to Mell’s in structure, is still firmly reflective of a single composer’s view. I have placed it somewhere in the middle of the other two variations.

Figure 10. Two alternate angles of a three-dimensional oral-written continuum with mapped divisions on “John, come kiss me now” by Mell, Baltzar, and Eccles.

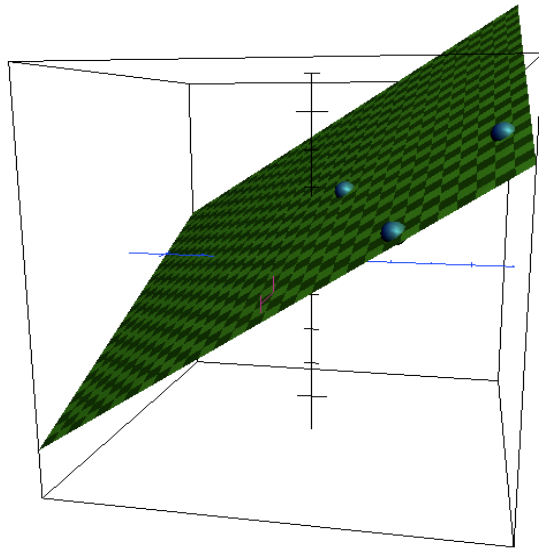


The heteroglossia of these three variations is the most intriguing component of Ranković’s oral-written continuum. This variable does not necessarily correlate with written and oral conventions of a given tradition. Baltzar’s variations on “John, come kiss me now” are clearly the most dialogic, and therefore on the rightmost side of the z-axis. Baltzar uses three- and four-note chords, and multiple “voices” sound simultaneously through contrapuntal lines. Baltzar’s inclusion of a chorale-like variation and use of teleological form show an impact of societal musical preferences on the work. Baltzar uses many different violinistic techniques in his divisions, and there is a clear difference between each of the variations. Eccles’ variation, on the other hand, is the most monologic of the three pieces. We do not see as many external influences in his work, and the use of chords is for homogenization rather than variety. For example, Eccles suggests that the performer play a series of whole three-note chords rather than outline

independent contrapuntal voices with double stops. Eccles' variations are connected only through rhythmic consistency, and there is little depth in the phrases and contours he uses. Mell's version of "John, come kiss me now" falls in the middle of these two extremes. Unlike Eccles, Mell uses distinct lines and includes passing tones in his divisions, but they are not as varied as Baltzar's. Heteroglossia is an essential component to consider in the study of oral and written traditions, because it brings to light variables that may otherwise be overlooked.

We could take the idea of Ranković's continuum one step further: since there are three plot points on the graph, we can establish a plane of commonality between these three points (see Figure 11). Theoretically, other musical texts could be mapped alongside them.

Figure 11. Interpolation of plot points on Ranković's continuum, creating a plane of commonality between the points.



Because they reside on the same plane, these texts would all share commonalities within the oral-written continuum as space, regardless of their relative degrees of orality or literacy within their society or tradition. This addition of more plot points representing different traditions or (elements within traditions) is outside of the scope of this project, but it could lead to new ways of relating music cross-culturally.

These variations on Ranković's continuum illustrate that any tradition will be necessarily a mixture of oral and written elements of varying degrees. The medium, poetic, and heteroglossia (or social context) all differ in each of these variations on "John, come kiss me now," and they do not necessarily line up equally on the oral-literate continuum. Despite their differences, each of these variations belongs squarely within the seventeenth-century division violin tradition. By plotting additional points on the continuum (within and without the division violin tradition), we can discover additional ways of relating musical traditions to one another and exploring the degrees of orality and literacy within them.

Final Conclusions

The division violin repertoire is but one case study in the framework of oral and written traditions. Through examining its background in the Italian diminution tradition alongside the socio-political context of seventeenth-century England, we are able to see a window into the oral elements of division violin music that has until now been largely ignored. The study of different editions of *The Division Violin* and variations on "John, come kiss me now" further illustrates how the division tradition began exhibiting more

strongly literate elements of transmission, composition, and performance at the end of the seventeenth century.

We may conclude that the division tradition is surely composed of elements that are both written and oral. Since we are missing the evidence of a once heavily oral tradition, I have used its written fragments to discern more information about the tradition and its meaning in society. This space between the “oral” and the “written” deserves further examination in all musical genres. Elements of a tradition are not set on a chronological path from one to the other, but remain in a state of constant change within a three-dimensional continuum. The contrary nature of “oral” and “written” is not composed of stagnant opposition, but rather the two elements are constantly “turning,” changing, and influencing one another. May they continue to turn, and may we continue to appreciate the delicacy of the balance between them.

APPENDIX A

RORE'S *ANCOR CHE COL PARTIRE* WITH DIMINUTIONS

Ancor che col partire

Original superius compared with diminutions by Dalla Casa, Bassano, Rogniono, Bovicelli, and Spadi

Superius (1547)
Dalla Casa (1584)
Bassano (1585)
Rogniono (1592)
Bovicelli (1594)
Spadi (1609)

An - cor - - - - che co'l par - ti - -

An - cor - - - - che co'l par - ti - -

An - cor - - - - che co'l par - ti - -

An - cor - - - - che col - - - - par - ti - -

An - cor - - - - che co'l par - ti - -

An - cor - - - - che co'l par - ti - -

5

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

- re - - - - lo mi sen -

2

Ancor che col partire

10

- - ta mo - ri - re, Par -
- - ta mo - ri - re, Par -
- - ta mo - ri - re, Par -
- - ta mo - ri - re, Par -
to - mo - ri - re, Par -

14

tir vor - rei o - gn'hor - o - gni -
tir vor - rei - ogn' hor, o - gni -
tir vor - rei ogn' hor, o - gni -
tir vor - rei o - gn'hor o -
tir vor - rei ogn' hor, o - gni -

Ancor che col partire

3

18

— mo - men - to, Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,
 — mo - men - to, Tant t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,
 — mo - men - to, Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,
 gni mo men - to, Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,
 — mo - men — to, Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,
 — mo - men — to, Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to,

23

Tan t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De
 (Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De
 Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De
 (Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De
 Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De
 Tan - t'èil pia - cer ch'io sen - to De

4

Ancor che col partire

28

la vi - ta ch'ac -
la vi - ta ch'ac -
la vi - ta ch'ac -
la vi - ta ch'ac -
la vi - ta ch'ac -
la vi - ta ch'ac -

31

qui - sto nel ri - tor -
qui - sto nel ri - tor -
qui - sto nel ri - tor -
qui - sto nel ri - tor -
qui - sto nel ri - tor -
qui - sto nel ri - tor -

34

no; Et
no; Et
no; E
no; Et
ri - tor - no Et

38

co - si mil - l'e mil - le vol - te'il gior - no, mil - l'e mil - le vol - t'il
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - te'il gior - no, - mil - le - mil - le - volt - e'il
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - te'il gior - no, mil - le mil - le vol - te'il
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - t'il gior - no, (mil - le mil - le vol - t'il
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - te'l gior - no, mil - l'e mil - le vol - te'l

Ancor che col partire

6
43

gior - no Par - tir da voi vor -
gior - no Par - tir da voi vor -
gior - no Par - tir da voi vor -
gior - no) Par - tir da voi vor -
gior - no Par - tir da voi -

47

re - - - i, Tan - to son
re - - - i, Tan - to son
re - - - i, Tan - to son
re - - - i, Tan - to son
- vor - - - re - i Tan - to son

Ancor che col partire

7

52

dol - ci gli ri - tor - ni me

dol - ci gli ri - tor -

56

ni mie - i, Et

ni mie - i, E

Ancor che col partire

8
60

co - si mil - l'e mil - le vol - te'il gior - no, mil - l'e
co - si mil - le e'mil - le vol - te'il gior - no, mil - le'e
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - t'il - gior - no, mil - le'e
co - si mil - l'e mil - le vol - t'il gior - no, (mil - l'e
co - si mil - le mil - le vol - t'il gior - no, mil - l'e

64

mil - le volt' il gior - no Par - tir da
mil - le vol - te'il gior - no Par - tir da
mil - le vol - t'il gior - no Par - tir da voi - vo -
mil - le vol - t'il gior - no) Par - tir da
mil - le vol - t'il gior - no Par - tir da
mil - le vol - t'il gior - no Par - tir da

68

vo i vor re i,
vo i vor re i,
re i,
vo i vo re i,
vo i vor re i

This system contains five staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are instrumental accompaniment. The fourth and fifth staves are vocal lines with lyrics. The music is in a 3/4 time signature and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

73

Tan - to son dol - ci gli ri - tor -
Tan - to son dol - ci gli ri - tor -
Tan - to son dol - ci gli ri - tor -
Tan - to son dol - ci gli ri - tor -
Tan - to son dol - ci gli ri -

This system contains five staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are instrumental accompaniment. The fourth and fifth staves are vocal lines with lyrics. The music is in a 3/4 time signature and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

10

Ancor che col partire

77

ni
ni mie
ni mie
ni mie
tor ni mie

80

ni
i.
i.
i.
i.
i.

APPENDIX B

PUBLICATION HISTORY OF *THE DIVISION VIOLIN*

Date	Part	Edition	Publisher	Notes
1684	1st part	1st edition	John Playford	Advertised in 1683: "The Division Violin; containing a choice Collection of late Divisions composed for the Treble Violin to play to a ground; fairly engraven on Copper Plates; being the first Musick of this kind ever published. Printed for J. Playford, near the Temple Church" (Harvey 480). Copy of this edition held by GB Lbl.
1685	1st part	2nd edition	John Playford	Advertised in 1684: "The Division-Violin; containing several new and choice divisions for the Treble-Violin to a Ground-Bass: :all of them fairly engraven... Price 2s. 6d." Title page states that it is "The Second Edition, much enlarged." Copy of this edition held by GB Ob. In preface, Playford states "since that small Number I first printed are sold off... I have without delay printed this second Impression, wherein I have corrected those few Errors which pass'd in the former, and made several new Additions." Harvey 481
1687	1st part	2nd edition	Henry Playford	Reissue of 2nd edition.
1688	1st part	3rd edition	Henry Playford	Price: 2s. 6d. Possibly held at J Tn.
1688	2nd part	1st edition	Henry Playford	Reprinting of first edition. No copy has been located. T.C. II.231 (1688 Trin): "There is Printing, and will suddenly be published... The Second Part of the 'Division Violin'; containing the newest Ground for the Treble Violin... Engraven on Copper-plates." (Harvey 491)
1689	2nd part	1st edition	Henry Playford	Reissue of 1688 edition. Title page: "The Division Violin: Containing the Newest Divisions to a Ground, with Scotch Tunes of Two Parts for the Treble-Violin; and a Solo by Mr. Thomas Farmer." (Harvey 489). Copy held at US Ws D1742.
1690	2nd part	1st edition	Henry Playford	Another reissue of 1st edition. Copy has not been located. Advertised in 1690: "The Division Violin, the Second Part; containing several Divisions and Grounds, etc. By Mr. Tho. Farmer." Harvey 511
1692	2nd part	2nd edition	Henry Playford	New edition with material added. No copy has been located. Advertised in 1692 T.C. II.410 (1692 Trin): "The Division Violin, the Second Part newly printed; with the Addition of several new Grounds and two Solo's: printed on Copper plates."

Date	Part	Edition	Publisher	Notes
1693	1st part	3rd edition	Henry Playford	Reissue of 3rd edition. Incomplete copy located at GB Lbl. Title page: "The Division Violin (The first Part) Containing a Choice Collection of Divisions for The Treble Violin To a Ground Bass, all fairly engraven on Copper Plates, being of great benefit and delight for all Practitioners on the Violin, and are the first that ever were printed of this kind of Musick." Advertised in TC II.464 (1693 Trin): "The First and Second Part of the Division Violin... Printed on Copper Plates." Wing, RISM, and GB Lbl catalogue all provide 1695 as publication date, but this is probably incorrect due to the fact that advertisements for this edition began in 1693. (Harvey 537-8) Price: 2s. 6d.
1693	2nd part	2nd edition	Henry Playford	Inclusion of italics and black lettering in title page: "The Second Part of The Division Violin : <i>Containing the Newest Divisions to a Ground, and Scotch Tunes of Two Parts for the Treble-Violin, with Several Solo's; by Signior Archangelo Correlli, and others. (rule) The Second Edition Corrected, with large Additions.... Sold by H. Playford near the Temple Church: Where the First Part may be had. 1693.</i> " Price: 1s. or 1s. 6d.
1699	1st part	4th edition	Henry Playford	Advertised starting in 1699, two books now sold together. "Printed for, and sold by, Henry Playford... in 2 Books... Price of both 4s. 6d." (Harvey 648) Copy has not been located.
1701	1st part	5th edition	Henry Playford	Reissue of 3rd edition. Title: "The FIRST PART of The Division-Violin ; CONTAINING A Collection of DIVISIONS upon several Grounds for the TREBLE-VIOLIN. <i>The Fifth Edition Corrected with Additions. LONDON, Printed on Copper-Plates, and sold by H. Playford at the Temple-Change, where the Second Part may be had. 1701.</i> " (Harvey 715) "Advertised widely, usually in conjunction with the second part and without referring to a specific edition" (Harvey 716). Price: 4s. 6d. for both parts. Copy held by GB DRc.
1701	2nd part	3rd edition	Henry Playford	Title: "The Second Part of the Division Violin, containing the newest Divisions to a Ground, and Scotch Tunes of 2 Parts for the Treble Violin, with several Solo's. By Signior Archangelo Correlli, and others. The 3d Edition, corrected with large Additions..." Copy has not been located, but this edition was widely advertised (Harvey 716).

Date	Part	Edition	Publisher	Notes
1705	1st part	6th edition	John Walsh	Reissue of 5th edition. "Sixth edition with additions of the newest divisions." "This 'sixth edition' is probably a re-issue (re-impression) from the engraved plates of the fifth edition issued by Henry Playford, perhaps with the addition of some new material. It was re-issued again in about 1730" (Harvey 781). Noted in Smith no. 167: "The First Part of the Division Violin Containing a Collection of Divisions upon Several Excellent Grounds for the Violin The Sixth Edition Corected and enlarged with Aditions of the newest Divisions upon Grounds and Chacons by the most Eminent Masters. London Printed for I. Walsh.... price 2s. 6d." (Harvey 782-3)
1705	2nd part	4th edition	John Walsh	Reissue. "The Second Part of the Division Violin Containing the newest Divisions upon Grounds for the Violin as also several solos by Arcangelo Corelli and others the Fourth Edition Corected and enlarged with Additions of the newest Chacons Allmands Preludes and Choice Cibells Composed by the best Masters The whole Fairly Engraven" (Harvey 783).
1730	1st part	6th edition	John Walsh	Reissue.
1730	2nd part	4th edition	John Walsh	Reissue.

APPENDIX C
TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR THE SECOND EDITION
OF *THE DIVISION VIOLIN*

THE DIVISION VIOLIN, SECOND EDITION (1685), PUBLISHED BY JOHN PLAYFORD

Pieces listed in bold typeface are included for the very first time. Pieces crossed out have been removed from the publication.

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
1	Mr. Redding's Division on a Ground	Valentine Reading	division	Bass and melody not well matched? Nelson 240.
2	Paul's Steeple, a Division on a Ground	Anonymous	division	Tune "Paul's Steeple." Also found in <i>Dancing Master</i> (1651).
3	A Division on Mr. Paulwheel's Ground		division	Bass part in simple binary form. "breaking bass technique" Nelson 243
4	Old Simon the King, a Division on a Ground. The First and Second Part.	Anonymous	two-part division	Based on "Old Simon the King." also "song of the king"? ballad?
5	A Division on Mr. Farrinell's Ground	Farinelli	division	Follia
6	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Simpson	Christopher Simpson	division	
7	A Division, called Tollet's Ground	George Tollet	division	
8	Another Division on Paulwheel's Ground	John Banister	division	
9	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Simpson	Christopher Simpson	division	Also present in Simpson's own treatise.
10	Roger of Coverly, a Jigg.			Scottish tune.
11	A Division on John come kiss, by Mr. Mell	Davis Mell	division	Melody: "John Come Kiss Me Now," an English folk song. Bass: passamezzo moderno.

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
12	A Division on John come kiss me now, by Senior Balshar.	Thomas Baltzar	division	Melody: "John Come Kiss Me Now," an English folk song. Bass: passamezzo moderno.
13	A Prelude for the Violin, by Senior Balshar	Thomas Baltzar	prelude	
14	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Frecknold	Frecknold	division	
15	A Prelude for the Violin, by Mr. Mell.	Davis Mell	prelude	
16	A Division on a Ground, by Cor. van. Schmelt.	Cornel van Schmelt	division	
17	A Prelude for the Violin, by Mr. Mell.	Davis Mell	prelude	
18	Another Division upon Paul's Steeple.		division	Tune "Paul's Steeple." Also found in <i>Dancing Master</i> (1651).
19	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. John Banister, in F fa ut.	John Banister	division	
20	A Second Division on a Ground by Mr. John Banister, in B mi flat.	John Banister	division	
21	Another Division on a ground, by Mr Tollet.	George Tollet	division	
22	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Becket (<i>Another Division upon a Ground by Mr. P.B.</i>) (<i>includes "turne over"</i>)	? Beckett	division	
23	Johne, cock thy Beaver, a Scotch Medly.		division	Scottish tune. The full tune to "Johnny, cock thy Beaver" is written out after the ground.
24	A Division on a Ground for two Violins, by Mr. Robert Smith.	Robert Smith	two-part division	Printed in table-book format.

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
25	An Ayre for two Violins, by Mr. Banister	John Banister	two-part ayre?	First and second treble parts printed on the same page.
26	A new Scotch Horn-pipe.			
27	A Division on a Ground, called, Greensleeves and Pudding-Pyes.		division	
28	A third Division on a Ground, by Mr. John Banister, in D sol re.	John Banister	division	
29	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Anthony Poole, in D sol re. <i>(A Division upon a Ground Bass. By Mr. Anthony Poole)</i>	Anthony Poole	division	Special instructions included regarding how to play through the ground bass.
30	Another Division upon a Ground, by Mr. Anthony Poole, in E la mi.	Anthony Poole	division	

APPENDIX D
TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE SIXTH EDITION
OF *THE DIVISION VIOLIN*

THE DIVISION VIOLIN, SIXTH EDITION (1705), PUBLISHED BY JOHN WALSH

Pieces listed in bold typeface are included for the very first time. Pieces crossed out have been removed from the publication.

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
1	Mr. Reading's Division on a Ground	Valentine Reading	division	
2	Paul's Steeple, a Division on a Ground		division	
3	A Division on Mr. Paulwheel's Ground		division	
4	Old Simon the King, a Division on a Ground the First and Second Part		two-part division	
5	A Division on Mr. Farrinel's Ground	Farinelli	division	Follia bass.
6	A Division on a Ground by Mr. Simpson	Christopher Simpson	division	
7	A Division, call'd Tollet's Ground	George/ Thomas Tollet	division	
8	A Division on a Ground by Mr. John Banister in D__sol__re Flat			
9	Another Division on a Ground by Mr. Simpson	Christopher Simpson		
	(Another Division on Paulwheel's Ground)		division	
	(A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Simpson)		division	
10	Roger of Coverly, a Jigg.			Scottish song

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
11	A Division on John come kiss me, by Mr. Mell	Davis Mell	division	Melody: "John Come Kiss Me Now," an English folk song. Bass: passamezzo moderno.
12	A Division on John come kiss me now, by Senior Balshar	Thomas Baltzar	division	Melody: "John Come Kiss Me Now," an English folk song. Bass: passamezzo moderno.
13	A Prelude for the Violin, by Senior Balshar	Thomas Baltzar	prelude	
14	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. Frecknold	Frecknold	division	
15	A Prelude by Bononcini	Bononcini	prelude	
16	A Prelude for the Violin, by Mr. Mell.	Davis Mell	prelude	
17	A Division on a Ground, by Cor. van. Schmelt.		division	
18	A Prelude for the Violin, by Mr. Mell.	Davis Mell	prelude	
19	Another Division upon Paul's Steeple.		division	
20	A Division on a Ground, by Mr. John Banister, in F__fa__ut.	John Banister	division	
21	A Second Division on a Ground by Mr. John Banister, in B__mi __flat.	John Banister	division	
22	Another Division on a Ground, by Mr Tollet.	George/ Thomas Tollet	division	
23	A Division on a Ground by Mr. Becket	Samuel Beckett	division	
24	Johnny cock thy Beaver, a Scotch Medly.			Scottish tune.

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
25	A Ground for two Violins, by Mr. Smith.	Robert Smith	two-part division	
26	An Aire for two Violins, by Mr. Banister	John Banister	two-part air	
27	A new Scotch Horn Pipe			Scottish tune.
28	Chacone by Mr. Finger in D #	Finger	Chacone	
29	A Ground for two Violins by Mr H Purcell	Henry Purcell	two-part division	
30	Mr Fingers Division on a Ground in D #	Finger	division	
31	A Ground by Mr Henr Eccles in A #	Henry Eccles	division	
32	A Division on John come kiss me by Mr Henr Eccles in G #	Henry Eccles	division	
33	A Prelude by Signior Pepusch	Pepusch	prelude	
	A Division on a Ground, called, Greensleeves and Pudding Pyes.		division	
	A third Division on a Ground, by Mr. John Banister, in D sol re sharp.	John Banister	division	
	A Division on a Ground, by Anthony Pool, in D sol re.	Anthony Poole	division	
	Another Division upon a Ground, by Mr. Anthony Pool, in E la mi.	Anthony Poole	division	
	A New Division to a Ground.		division	
	The First Division on a Ground of Mr. Solomon Eckles.		division	
	The Second Division on a Ground of Mr. Solomon Eckles.		division	

No.	Title	Composer	Type	Comments
	Mr. Thomas Baltzar's Prelude.		prelude	
	An Italian Ground.		division	
	Mr. Baptist of France his Ground.		division	

APPENDIX E

**DIVISIONS ON “JOHN, COME KISS ME NOW” BY MELL,
BALTZAR, AND ECCLES**

MELL'S DIVISIONS ON "JOHN, COME KISS ME NOW"

A: 2 John come kiss (18) Violin

A Division upon a Ground by M^r. David Mell.

(19)

10

12

13

The Ground Basse

C. 2.

BALTZAR'S DIVISIONS ON "JOHN, COME KISS ME NOW"

A. 2. Sen.^r Baltzar's Division on a Ground. (20) Violin.

John come kiss mee

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a violin piece. The title at the top is "A. 2. Sen.^r Baltzar's Division on a Ground. (20) Violin." Below the title, the first staff of music is written. The second staff has the lyrics "John come kiss mee" written below it. The music continues on ten staves, with various rhythmic values and accidentals. The paper is aged and yellowed.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. The score consists of ten staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is dense, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together in groups. A large number '21' is written above the first staff, enclosed in a circle, indicating a repeat sign. A double bar line with a repeat sign is located between the sixth and seventh staves. At the bottom of the page, the instruction 'Turn over.' is written in a cursive hand. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.

(22)

The Ground Base

ECCLES' DIVISIONS ON "JOHN, COME KISS ME NOW"

A new Division upon the Ground Bass of John come kiss me. Compos'd by
M^r Hen^r Eccles Jun^r

* Bass

15

Ters over

(54)

Handwritten musical score on page 54, featuring ten staves of music. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *f*. Measure numbers 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 are visible.

A handwritten musical score consisting of eight staves. The notation is dense, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score includes several annotations: a '15' above the third staff, an 'I4' above the sixth staff, and another '15' above the eighth staff. At the bottom of the page, the text 'N' is centered, and 'Tata over' is written on the right side.

(56)

16

17

18

Tira over

(57)

A handwritten musical score on five staves. The notation is in a single system, with each staff containing a melodic line and a corresponding bass line. The music is written in a style characteristic of 18th or 19th-century manuscripts, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values, such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The paper is aged and shows some staining. The number (57) is written in the top left corner.

A page of handwritten musical notation on five staves. The notation is dense, featuring many beamed notes and rests. The first staff has a circled number '58' at the end. The bottom staff concludes with a dynamic marking 'P' and the word 'FINIS'.

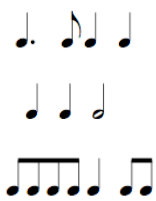


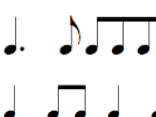
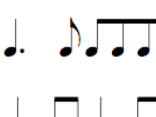
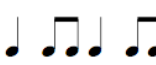
APPENDIX F


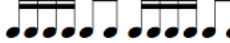


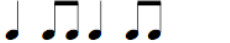


VARIATION ANALYSES OF THE DIVISIONS ON

“JOHN, COME KISS ME NOW”

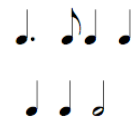




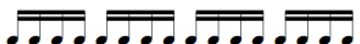


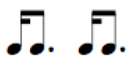
Rhythm is either homogenous (the same rhythm for the entire measure) or varied (changes within a measure). Pitches are either melodic or chordal.


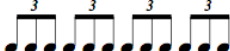
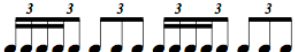



Mell, “John, come kiss me now” Variation Analysis

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
1 (Theme)	G3 - D5	Varied: 	n/a
2	G3 - D5	Varied: 	Melodic: Original melody ornamented with passing tones
3	G3 - A5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors and passing tones
4	A4 - A5	Varied: 	Melodic: Scalar figures
5	G3 - A4	Varied: 	Melodic: Scalar figures (lower range)
6	G3 - B5	Varied: 	Melodic: Double stops Independent voice lines


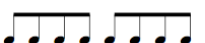

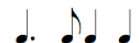

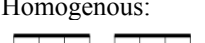
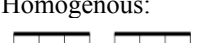


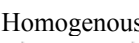

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
7	G4 - E5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with passing tones
8	D4 - A5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors and passing tones
9	B3 - A5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors
10	G3 - A5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios
11	G3 - B5	Varied: 	Melodic: Double stops Independent voice lines
12	G3 - A5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios Barriolage passages
13	G3 - A5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with passing tones





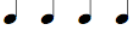



Baltzar, "John, come kiss me now" Variation Analysis

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
1 (Theme)	G3 - D5	Varied: 	n/a
2	G3 - G5	Varied: 	Melodic: 3 and 4-note chords Sustained lines
3	G3 - A5	Homogenous: 	Melodic: Individual voice lines (i.e., penultimate measure) 3 and 4-note chords
4	G3 - D6	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios Wide Leaps (G3-B5)
5	G3 - D6	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios Wide Leaps String crossings
6	G3 - D6	Homogenous: 	Melodic: Scalar patterns Descending scales in thirds
7	G3 - B5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors
8	G3 - B5	Homogenous:  but sounds like : 	Chordal: Descending arpeggios First note of each 16th-note group adds melodic interest

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
9	G3 - C6	Varied: 	Melodic: Descending scalar patterns Turn-like figures Leaps
10	G3 - B5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors Large ascending leap at the end of each measure
11	G3 - B5	Varied: 	Chordal: Descending arpeggios Large ascending leap at the end of each measure
12	G3 - D6	Homogenous: 	Melodic: Individual voice lines 3 and 4-note chords Extensive double stop passages
13	G3 - C6	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios Downward leap of a sixth, upward leap of a fourth
14	G3 - D6	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios
15	G3 - A5	Varied (mixture of different rhythms)	Melodic: Chorale voicing of theme

Eccles, “John, come kiss me now” Variation Analysis

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
1 (Theme)	D4 - G5	Varied: 	n/a
2	D4 - G5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggiated figure with slurs
3	G3 - G5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower neighbors and passing tones
4	B3 - G5	Varied: 	Melodic: Descending 3-note scale followed by leap or step on fourth beat
5	B3 - E4	Varied: 	Chordal: Ascending arpeggios with passing tone (mostly alternating between root and third of chord)
6	G3 - E5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Ascending and descending arpeggios with passing tones
7	G3 - B4	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Repeated arpeggios
8	G3 - C5	Varied: 	Chordal: Ornamented single pitch with sixth below
9	D4 - G5	Varied: 	Chordal: Arpeggios ornamented with lower and upper neighbors
10	G3 - C5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Long, sustained three-note chords
11	E4 - C5	Varied: 	Chordal: Two-note double stops

Variation	Range	Rhythm	Pitch
12	G3 - E5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Arpeggiated figure with some passing tones
13	D4 - C5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Repeated arpeggios (no passing tones)
14	D4 - B5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Repeated arpeggios (no passing tones)
15	G3 - D5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Repeated arpeggios (no passing tones)
16	G3 - F5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Two-note double stops Octave leaps (descending)
17	G3 - C5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Sustained pedal tone throughout measure Alternation between two pitches in chord
18	D4 - C5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Sustained pedal tone throughout measure Alternation between two pitches in chord
19	G3 - C5	Homogenous: 	Chordal: Sustained pedal tone throughout measure Alternation between two pitches in chord

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