

**Ornaments, Fingerings, and Authorship:  
Persistent Questions About English Keyboard Music *circa* 1600**

English keyboard music from the decades on either side of 1600 has been one of the most thoroughly researched of all early repertoires. Yet fundamental questions persist concerning the historical performance practice of many pieces. These questions reflect the nature of the sources, most of them manuscript copies of varying quality and provenance. Relevant treatises and other verbal accounts, as well as surviving keyboard instruments, are very rare. In most cases we know little about the copyists of the manuscripts or the circumstances under which they worked: whether they copied directly from composers' autographs, who played from their manuscripts and on what occasions, even in what city or country many pieces and sources originated. We therefore lack essential information for interpreting such things as the numerous ornament signs present in some manuscripts, or for reaching decisions about tempo and articulation, which depend on fingering and other aspects of performance. Correctly identifying the composer of a piece may also be fundamental for understanding its historical performance practice, but many attributions are uncertain, and in some cases we are unsure even of the national tradition to which a composition originally belonged.

It will probably never be possible to provide firm answers for the questions addressed below. But a broadened perspective on what constitutes a relevant source may lead to a broadened range of possible answers. For instance, it was once thought that players of this music were restricted to so-called paired scale fingerings, which caused players to slur small note values in groups of two.<sup>1</sup> As recently as 2010 an argument for a “new interpretation” of the mysterious ornament signs in this music argued that they stand for graces that are essentially identical to two of those used in eighteenth-century music.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, a view based on a small portion of the available evidence was generalized to cover the entire repertoire. My intention in what follows is to open broader perspectives on certain performance issues as they arise in three representative keyboard pieces from the virginalist repertoire (broadly understood). In a field as well worn as this one, it is inevitable that many of the observations made below have occurred to previous writers. Nevertheless, these case studies suggest that sources from outside England, particularly Italy, may shed new light on practices used in keyboard English music around 1600. Whether any

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<sup>1</sup> Thus Robert Donington wrote in the first edition of *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber, 1963): “early fingerings were devised to assist phrasing and articulation by enforcing separations where they are musically desirable” (p. 410); this is repeated in the “new revised edition” of 1989 (p. 476) alongside an illustration showing two-note slurs “implied by the [paired] fingering” given by François Couperin for his harpsichord piece “Le Moucheron” (ex. 217b).

<sup>2</sup> Asako Hirabayashi, “A New Interpretation of the English Virginalists' Ornament Signs,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 25/26 (2010): 93–123. Hirabayashi concludes that the two main signs of the virginalists “each had its own specific meaning” which was invariant regardless of context: “the single stroke indicated a mordent, while the double stroke indicated a short trill from above” (p. 119).

of the conclusions reached here can be extended to further works will require carrying out similar studies of additional pieces and their sources.

### **An ornament “table” and a prelude by Emanuel Soncino**

A prelude by Emanuel Soncino is preserved in the English manuscript designated by the siglum “Be” after its owner Edward Bevin, son of the composer and organist Elway Bevin, who died in 1638.<sup>3</sup> (See table 1 for a list of sources cited and their sigla.) Although not of great intrinsic musical interest, Soncino's prelude is one of several pieces in English seventeenth-century sources that were evidently used to train pupils in the performance of keyboard figuration, including scales and ornaments. Bevin's manuscript preserves it alongside comparable pieces by John Bull and Orlando Gibbons.<sup>4</sup> It also contains something that resembles the ornament tables found in later publications of keyboard music, although it is really a miniature composition which must have served pedagogic purposes (ex. 1).

Unfortunately, the end of Soncino's prelude is missing from the manuscript, and there are no concordances. The composer himself is mysterious, represented by only a single other known composition. The name Emanuel Soncino points to Italy, but the style and notation of the present piece are English or perhaps Dutch. The other work attributed to Soncino is a short chromatic fantasia (ex. 2). At first glance, it too might suggest Italy, but it is close stylistically to chromatic pieces by Sweelinck and by John Bull, who worked in the Spanish Netherlands from 1613 onward. The city of Soncino is in northern Italy, but the name is best known as that of a Sephardic family of printers whose prolific publications included the earliest printed Hebrew bible. The Dutch scholar Rudolf Rasch has argued that an important manuscript of Bull's music was prepared in Antwerp for a Sephardic patron;<sup>5</sup> hence the possibility cannot be ruled out that Soncino was Jewish.

The copy of Soncino's chromatic fantasia in Be is dated 1633, but that is not necessarily a date of composition, and both works could have originated before then. The composer's prelude recalls the well-known one by Byrd published about twenty years earlier in *Parthenia* (ex. 3). Soncino's prelude, like Byrd's, focuses on what we would call trills but with even greater single-mindedness, at least in the extant portion of the piece, which continued on a page now lost.

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<sup>3</sup> Elway and Edward Bevin were first distinguished by Robert Ford, “Bevins, Father and Son,” *Music Review* (1982): 104–8.

<sup>4</sup> Be contains seven works attributed to John Bull (BuK 2, 10, 38, 50, 51 [possibly by Tallis], 117, and 121; see *Musica britannica* [MB], vols. 14 and 19, ed. John Steele and Francis Cameron “with additional material by Thurston Dart” [London: Stainer and Bell, 1960], third, revised edition by Alan Brown [London: Stainer and Bell, 2001]) and eight to Orlando Gibbons (see MB 20, ed. Gerald Hendrie [London: Stainer and Bell, 1962]).

<sup>5</sup> Rudolf Rasch, “The Messaus-Bull Codex: London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 23.623,” *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Musiekwetenschap* 50 (1996): 93–127 (cited: 105ff.).

**Table 1. Sources and abbreviations***Manuscripts and sigla*

Be	London, British Library, Additional ms. 31403
Bu	Paris, Bibliothèque National, Fonds du Conservatoire, Rés. 1185
Co	London, British Library, Royal Music Library 23.1.4 (“Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book”)
Fo	London, British Library, R.M. 24.d.3 (“Will Foster's Virginal Book”)
Ly	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. Lynar A 1
O1	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 1113 (also known as “El”)
Tr	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (the “Fitzwilliam Virginal Book,” formerly 32 g.29)
Wr	London, British Library, Additional ms. 30485

*Bibliographic abbreviations*

BK	number of work in <i>William Byrd: Keyboard Music</i> , ed. Alan Brown, <i>Musica britannica</i> , vols. 28–9 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969–71, revised editions 1976, 1985)
BuK	number of work in <i>John Bull: Keyboard Music I</i> , ed. John Bull and Francis Cameron with additional material by Thurston Dart, third edition, revised by Alan Brown, <i>Musica britannica</i> , vol. 14 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2001)
MB	<i>Musica britannica: A National Collection of Music</i> (followed by volume number[s])

Ex. 1. Edward Bevin, illustration of ornaments (“Graces in Play”), from London, British Library, Additional ms. 31403, p. 5

The musical score for Ex. 1 is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of two staves. The right-hand staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The first two measures show a simple harmonic accompaniment. The third measure contains the text "The graces before is here exprest in notes." Above the notes in this measure are the fingerings: 3 4 5 3 4 5 5 4 3 4 5. The fourth measure contains a complex ornament consisting of a series of sixteenth notes, with fingerings 5 4 5 4 3 2 above it. The fifth measure contains another ornament with fingerings 4 3 4 3 2 3. The piece ends with a fermata over a whole note chord.

Ex. 2. Emanuel Soncino: Fantasia (“Cromatica”), opening, from London, British Library, Additional ms. 36661, p. 130

**Cromatica**

The musical score for Ex. 2 is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The first measure is a whole rest. The second measure contains a chromatic scale: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The third measure is a whole rest. The fourth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. The fifth measure is a whole rest. The sixth measure contains a chromatic scale: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3. The seventh measure is a whole rest. The eighth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature. The first measure contains a chromatic scale: G2, A2, B2, C3, B2, A2, G2. The second measure contains a chromatic scale: F#2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1, G1. The third measure contains a chromatic scale: G1, A1, B1, C2, B1, A1, G1. The fourth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#1, E1, D1, C1, B0, A0, G0. The fifth measure contains a chromatic scale: G0, A0, B0, C1, B0, A0, G0. The sixth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#0, E0, D0, C0, B-1, A-1, G-1. The seventh measure contains a chromatic scale: G-1, A-1, B-1, C0, B-1, A-1, G-1. The eighth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#-1, E-1, D-1, C-1, B-2, A-2, G-2. The piece ends with a fermata over a whole note chord.

Ex. 3. William Byrd: Prelude (BK 24), opening, from *Parthenia* (London, 1612 or 1613)

The musical score for Ex. 3 is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of two staves. The right-hand staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The first measure is a whole rest. The second measure contains a whole note chord. The third measure is a whole rest. The fourth measure contains a whole note chord. The fifth measure is a whole rest. The sixth measure contains a whole note chord. The seventh measure is a whole rest. The eighth measure contains a whole note chord. The left-hand staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature. The first measure contains a chromatic scale: G2, A2, B2, C3, B2, A2, G2. The second measure contains a chromatic scale: F#2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1, G1. The third measure contains a chromatic scale: G1, A1, B1, C2, B1, A1, G1. The fourth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#1, E1, D1, C1, B0, A0, G0. The fifth measure contains a chromatic scale: G0, A0, B0, C1, B0, A0, G0. The sixth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#0, E0, D0, C0, B-1, A-1, G-1. The seventh measure contains a chromatic scale: G-1, A-1, B-1, C0, B-1, A-1, G-1. The eighth measure contains a chromatic scale: F#-1, E-1, D-1, C-1, B-2, A-2, G-2. The piece ends with a fermata over a whole note chord.

\*Fingering from copy in GB Cfm 168 (Fitzwilliam Virginal Book)

Bevin's manuscript includes a few fingerings, but apparently only in spots where the choice of finger was not obvious by the conventions of the time. Elsewhere Soncino, or the copyist, seems to have taken for granted the standard English fingering system of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which places the first, third, and fifth fingers on so-called good or accented notes. Fingerings are especially numerous in a series of trills starting in m. 20, where they direct the player to use the fifth and fourth fingers of the right hand (ex. 4). Also notable here is the direction to repeat the third finger on two adjacent notes, although this is entirely normal in English fingering of the period.

A few fingerings elsewhere in the copy are harder to understand and possibly erroneous. Particularly uncertain is exactly how the left hand should execute the sequential figuration at m. 27 (ex. 5). In the first two instances of the motive at this point, the trill is played by fingers 1 and 2. But there are no fingerings for the left hand in m. 29, where an accidental appears for the first time in the trill figure. In view of the evident inaccuracies elsewhere in the manuscript, the fingering numeral 2 in this measure could actually belong in the left hand, on  $b\flat$ , much as another copyist indicated in the prelude by Byrd shown in example 3.

Thus far the motive in question has been described as a trill. But a written-out figure of this type is described as a *groppo* in Italian sources of the time. The term seems originally to have designated flourishes (“groups”) of various kinds, and Girolamo Diruta applies it to a diverse series of illustrations, most of which, however, are cadential figures ending in what we would call a long trill with closing turn or termination (ex. 6).<sup>6</sup> It is the latter alone which Caccini, among others, illustrates as a *groppo*.<sup>7</sup> Whether English musicians at this time consistently applied a single name to the figure is unknown, but the *groppo* written out in the second half of almost every measure in Soncino's prelude is surely distinct from the ornament on the downbeat (ex. 7). The latter is signified by the so-called two-stroke sign, whose interpretation remains in doubt despite more than a century of speculation.<sup>8</sup> Whatever its meaning, the double

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<sup>6</sup> Girolamo Diruta, *Il transilvano: Dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1593–1609); facs. with introduction ed. Edward Soehnlein and Murray C. Bradshaw (Buren: Knuf, 1983). Diruta illustrates *gropi* and other ornaments at two points in his treatise, giving extensive examples and discussion in vol. 1, ff. 9–12, and a shorter series of examples alone in vol. 2, *libro primo*, p. 13 (vol. 2 is headed *Seconda parte* on its title page; each “libro” of vol. 2 is separately paginated).

<sup>7</sup> Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601), sig. B3, shows a single example of a *gruppo* alongside the repercussive *trillo*. Others illustrating trill-like *gropi* include Riccardo Rognoni (*Passaggi per potersi essercitare*, Venice, 1592) and Giovanni Luca Conforto (*Breve e facile maniera . . . a far passaggi*, Rome, 1593); extracts from these and others are conveniently assembled by Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 288–9, albeit in a chapter misleadingly entitled “The Italian Trill 1590–1710.”

<sup>8</sup> Of many studies of the ornament signs of the English virginalists, perhaps the most thoughtful, although little-known, is that of David Wulstan in *Tudor Music* (Iowa City:

## Ex. 4. Emanuel Soncino, Preludio, from Be, mm. 20–2

## Ex. 5. Soncino, Preludio, mm. 27–9

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University of Iowa Press, 1986), 125–46. The following are more often cited, although not all are equally well reasoned or attentive to the numerous inconsistencies and problems in the sources: R. Beer, “Ornaments in old Keyboard Music,” *Music Review* 13 (1952): 3–13; Cecil Clutton, “Notes and Queries: The Virginalists’ Ornaments,” *Galpin Society Journal* 9 (1956): 99–100; John Harley, “Ornaments in English Keyboard Music of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” *Music Review*, 31 (1970): 177–200; Robert Donington, “Ornaments,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 13: 827–67; Peter le Huray, “English Keyboard Fingering in the 16th and early 17th Centuries,” in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), 227–57; Desmond Hunter, “My Lady Nevell’s Book and the Art of Gracing,” in *Byrd Studies*, ed. Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 174–92; and *ibid.*, “The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginal Music: A Brief Chronological Survey,” *Performance Practice Review* 9/1 (Spring 1996): 66–77. Hunter provides a selective digest of some of the collective wisdom from the above sources in “The English Virginalists,” section 3 of the article “Ornaments” in *Grove Music Online* (at [http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/book/omo\\_gmo](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/book/omo_gmo), accessed June 12, 2011).

Ex. 6. Girolamo Diruta, *gropi in accidentia* (selections), from *Il transilvano*, f. 9'



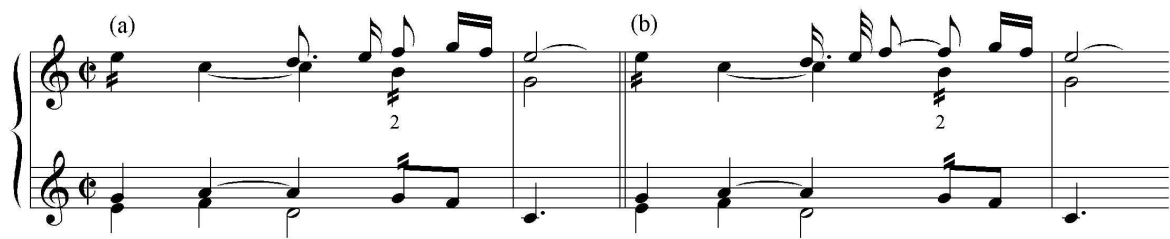
Ex. 7. Soncino, Preludio, mm. 1–4



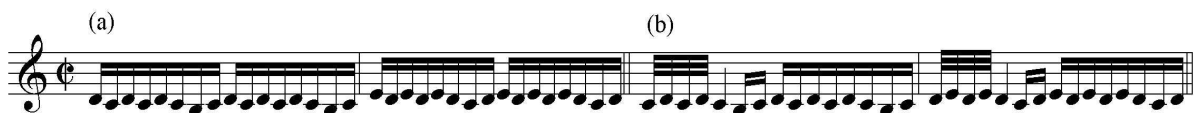
Ex. 8. Soncino, Preludio, mm. 7–9



Ex. 9. Two realizations of the one-stroke sign in Soncino, Preludio, m. 8



Ex. 10. Two realizations of the double stroke in Soncino, Preludio, m. 1



stroke is clearly distinct from the much rarer single stroke, found in this piece only once, in m. 8 (ex. 8).

Just a few pages earlier within Be is the so-called ornament table (see ex. 1 above). In fact this is a miniature theme and variation, a common type of virginalist piece. It even has an attribution to Edward Bevin, placed, as usual, at the end of the score. By comparing its mm. 1 and 2 with mm. 4 and 5, we might conclude that the one-stroke sign stands for a dotted slide, an ornament that is frequently written out in Italian vocal music of the period, although it does not seem to have had a consistently applied name.<sup>9</sup> Somewhat later English musicians called it a whole-fall or an elevation.<sup>10</sup> By similar reasoning one might imagine that the double stroke stands for a *groppo*. But Bevin's piece uses modified versions of the ornament signs which the transcription in example 1 attempts to reproduce.<sup>11</sup> These modified signs must have been invented to represent the free embellishment that combines with conventional ornaments in Bevin's variation; the normal symbols would have represented the formulaic ornaments alone.

It is easy to deduce from Bevin's little piece that the one-stroke sign in m. 8 of Soncino's prelude can be executed as a simple "elevation," although the precise rhythm might vary (ex. 9; compare ex. 8). But it is hardly practical to realize the double strokes in the same measure as *groppi*, as Bevin's piece might suggest if the alterations of the two-stroke sign there are disregarded. It is feasible, on the other hand, to play *groppi* on the downbeats elsewhere in Soncino's prelude, where a dotted quarter note usually bears the two-stroke sign (ex. 10a; compare ex. 7). Yet Soncino (or the copyist) is unlikely to have written out the *groppo* on beat 3 of most measures unless the symbol on the downbeat meant something different, as suggested in example 10b. The fact that the sign occurs in various contexts, and on various note values (see ex. 8), suggests that the double stroke found various realizations, like the letter "t" used in contemporaneous Italian lute and keyboard music and the cross or plus sign of later repertoires.

It does not follow from this that present-day interpretation of the two-stroke sign must be completely arbitrary. Diruta describes not only *groppi* but also various types of *tremoli* on half notes, quarter notes, and even eighths and sixteenths within running scalar passagework.<sup>12</sup> As

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<sup>9</sup> An early example occurs at the very beginning of Emilio de' Cavalieri's "Godi, turba mortal" from Intermedio VI for *La pellegrina* (1589). Caccini, who seems to regard this ornament as a type of *intonazione* (see *Le nuove musiche*, sig. B5), uses it at the beginning of line 6 ("O miseria in audita") in "Dovrò dunque morire?" from *Le nuove musiche*. Diruta calls these *clamationi* (see below).

<sup>10</sup> See Thurston Dart, "Ornament Signs in Jacobean Music for Lute and Viol," *Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961): 30–33 (cited: 32).

<sup>11</sup> Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, gives a facsimile of the original. For other examples of special signs in individual virginalist sources, see Hunter, "The English Virginalists," also note 28 below.

<sup>12</sup> Diruta, *Il transilvano*, vol. 1, ff. 10–11, shows *tremoli* and *tremoletti* on various note values. Diruta's treatise has been related to the virginalist repertory only rarely, and not in the



Diruta notes, both types of ornaments are written out in the keyboard music of Claudio Merulo, Diruta's teacher, who was organist in Venice and later Parma.<sup>13</sup> The practice appears already in Merulo's first book of *ricercars* (Venice, 1567) and continues in Merulo's later publications, such as the first book of *toccatas* (Rome, 1598). There one finds a variety of written-out ornaments ranging from short trills or *tremoletti*, on both accented and unaccented parts of the measure, to *gropi* and more elaborate types of *passaggi* and divisions (ex. 11a). Among these are the little trills that Diruta describes as characteristic of Merulo; these decorate a descending whole or half step by placing a short trill on an anticipation of the next lower note (see exx. 11b–c for the underlying voice leading). Although the Elizabethan double stroke often can be played on the beat as in example 10b, many instances of the sign can also be realized like Merulo's *tremoletti* (as in ex. 12, m. 3).

Absent from example 11, although present occasionally elsewhere in Merulo's volume, are what Diruta called *clamationi*, that is, slides in dotted rhythm.<sup>14</sup> Diruta explicitly prohibits *tremoli* made with the lower neighbor—mordents, in present-day terminology—which he says are never used by players of wind and string instruments. Nevertheless, one of the *tremoletti* in Diruta's relevant illustration—on the note *g'* in the last measure of example 13—is what we would call a mordent, and Diruta in effect admits that “many” (*molti*) play the *tremolo* in a way opposite his own teaching.<sup>15</sup> German sources of the time make it clear that musicians

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manner applied here; see, however, Willem Diederik Viljoen, “The Ornamentation in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book With an Introductory Study of Contemporary Practice” (D.Phil. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1986), chap. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Diruta prefaces his illustrations of *tremoletti* (vol. 1, f. 11) with the comment: “Sogliono alcuni, (& in particular il Signor Claudio Merulo,) usar certi tremoletti, quando le note discendono di grado, de intacar la nota, che segue” (Some, especially Claudio Merulo, are accustomed to using certain little trills to mark the following tone when the notes descend by step).

<sup>14</sup> Illustrated in *Il transilvano*, vol. 2, *libro primo*, p. 13. Diruta's illustration begins with successive ornaments on ascending notes (*f'*, *g'*), not unlike m. 1 of Bevin's piece; could the latter have been suggested by Diruta's example?

<sup>15</sup> *Il transilvano*, 1: 19: “Poi li tremoli si deve avvertire di far le notte in cotal leggiadria, & agilità, e non far come fanno molti, che fanno il contrario, perche gli accompagnano con il tasto di sotto, la dove devono esser fatti con quello di sopra, e se havete mai osservato sonatori di viola, di violino, e di liuto, & altro istrumenti, si da corde, come anco da fiano, dovete haver veudo, che accompagnano la nota del tremolo di sopra, e non di sotto come l'esempio vi domstra . . .” (And the trills must be made with such lightness and agility, and not as many do, on the contrary, when they accompany [the main note] with the one below when they should use the one above; and if you have ever observed players of the viola [da gamba?], violin, lute, and other instruments, whether strings or winds, you must have seen that they accompany the [main] note of the trill with the upper and not the lower [one], as the example shows you.” The second

Ex. 11. (a) Claudio Merulo, Toccata prima, from *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo, libro primo* (Rome, 1598), mm. 1–5, with illustrations of the underlying voice leading of (b) m. 2 and (c) m. 5

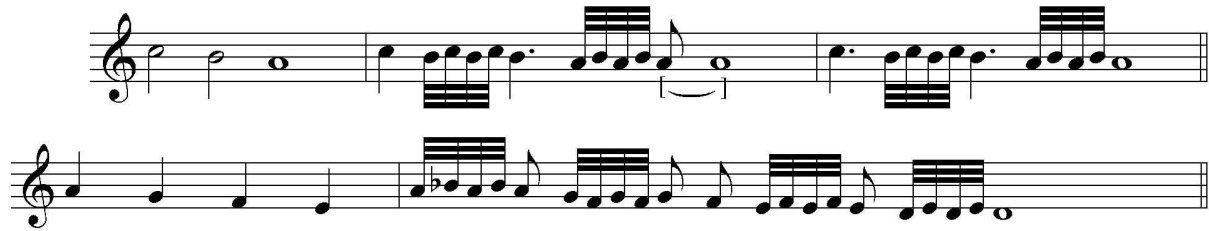
The image shows three musical staves. Staff (a) contains measures 1 through 5 of the piece. Staff (b) shows a detailed view of measure 2, and staff (c) shows a detailed view of measure 5. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a common time signature, and various rhythmic values and ornaments.

Ex. 12. William Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan (BK 54), from Fo, mm. 3–4, with possible realization of ornament signs

The image shows two musical staves, (a) and (b), each containing measures 3 and 4 of the piece. Staff (a) shows the original notation with ornament signs (a hook-like symbol) above certain notes. Staff (b) shows a possible realization of these ornaments, with the notes being decorated with grace notes and slurs. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a common time signature, and various rhythmic values.

measure of the illustration, if not superfluous, is remarkable for its free rhythm, which seems to require the addition of a tie (as shown). The edition of 1625 (which can be viewed at <http://imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/a/af/IMSLP14270-TransilvanoDialogoSecondaParte.pdf>) reads  $b^1-a^1-b^1-a^1$  in place of  $a^1-b^1-a^1-b^1$  for the second group of thirty-seconds.

Ex. 13. Diruta, *tremoletto*, from *Il transilvano*, vol. 1, f. 11



there understood both upward and downward shakes as different versions of the same ornament.<sup>16</sup> None of the double strokes in Soncino's prelude seems to require interpretation as downward *tremoli* or mordents. But the possibility of such an interpretation grows stronger as one turns to other pieces in English manuscripts. By Purcell's day the double stroke had come to mean specifically a shake, or trill, but German keyboard players such as Johann Kuhnau used a similar sign for the mordent.<sup>17</sup>

Whether English and northern European keyboard players around 1600 were using precisely the same ornaments as their Italian contemporaries is impossible to say. Merulo's publications appear to have been unique in their explicit notation of so many ornaments, *tremoli* as well as *groppi*. But it is unlikely that a musician such as Byrd, who was certainly attuned to Continental fashions in vocal music, would have been wholly ignorant of Italian keyboard traditions. Peter Philips, a pupil of Byrd whose music is discussed below, not only lived in Rome from 1582 to 1585 but afterward traveled extensively in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands.

Why, in any case, did Italian as well as English composers of the period normally write out the *gropo* while indicating other ornaments either by symbols or not at all? One reason might be that the accented first, upper note of a *gropo* is often a dissonance, especially when it decorates the leading tone in a cadential progression. In later music, this type of dissonance was cultivated routinely as an expressive *appoggiatura*. But the accented dissonance contradicted the idea, fundamental to Renaissance melody, that accented notes are good notes, that is,

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<sup>16</sup> Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach, *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur* (Leipzig, 1571), refers to both “ascendendo” “descendendo” varieties of what he calls the *Mordant*, under the heading “Die dritte Regel” in the “Kurze anleitung und Instruction für die anfehenden Discipel der Orgelkunst” (unpaginated) that serves as preface to the tablatures comprising the bulk of the book.

<sup>17</sup> For Purcell, see the “Rules for Graces” at the beginning of his *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (London, 1696), reproduced from a later edition in Alan Brown, “England,” chap. 2 in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 23–89 (cited: 77). Kuhnau explains his ornament signs verbally in the introduction to his *Neuer Clavier Übung Erster Theil* (Leipzig, 1698); facsimile in the edition by Karl Päsler, *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1901; rev. 1968).

consonances. The cadential *groppo* was a departure from this norm, perhaps even an instance of what Monteverdi called the second practice, a free and ostensibly more expressive use of dissonance. As such it might have required more explicit notation in order to confirm the composer's intention. The same is not true for *tremoli*, which begin with either an accented consonance, that is, the main note struck on the beat, or an anticipation of the main note, often dissonant but struck on a weak part of the beat.

Realizations of the double stroke that begin with an accented dissonance, like the later French *tremblement*, ignore the great change in musical style that took place over the course of the seventeenth century. Accustomed as we are to the precise system of ornament signs that developed in France during the Baroque, we may find the vagueness of the earlier system unsatisfactory, even disturbing. But even today, the expressions *trill* and *mordent* signify for most musicians something less definite than, say, Couperin's *tremblement*. It is clear that, for Diruta, a *tremolo* could be any number of short figures that oscillate between neighboring tones, whereas a *groppo* was something longer, not limited to cadential trills, as it was evidently becoming for other Italian musicians of the time. His English contemporaries might have used the terms *shake* and *group* (or their equivalents) in equally vague ways.

### **Fingering and ornaments in Byrd's setting of "Lachrimae" Pavan by John Dowland**

Questions about ornament signs recur throughout English keyboard music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries alongside the issue of fingering. The latter is arguably less urgent, as fingering does not affect actual sound or interpretation in the same way that the realization of ornament signs does. But just as the double stroke occurs consistently in certain contexts, the same fingering patterns are applied consistently to particular types of figuration. Although there is no reason to assume that practices were the same throughout this repertory, the "paired" scale fingerings shown in example 14 are of the type that was usual when fingering was specified.<sup>18</sup> In principle fingering should not dictate articulation or other aspects of interpretation—at least not according to the principles of modern fingering, which assumes the equal use of all fingers on both strong and weak parts of the beat. Yet practical experience suggests that the fingerings historically used in this repertory favored a lighter touch and a more even type of non-legato articulation than does modern fingering.

One reason for this is that regular use of the thumb encourages holding the hands relatively low and close to the keys, and this in turn favors sustained or legato playing. Although many historical sources do call for frequent use of the thumb, especially in the left hand, scalar passagework in virginalist sources typically involves the thumb in alternation with only the index finger, resulting in repeated pairs of the type 1–2, hence analogous to the repeated pairs 3–4 and 3–2. Unlike modern scale fingerings which alternate between the patterns 1–2–3 and 1–2–3–4 (or

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<sup>18</sup> Not all of the fingerings present in Be were visible in the scan seen here; some of those shown in ex. 14 are taken from the edition by Thurston Dart in MB 19 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1963, rev. 1970), which draws also on four alternate versions present in three concordant sources (one source gives the piece twice). Each version contains a different ending, and all but Be give note values double those shown.

## Ex. 14. John Bull, Praeludium (BuK 121), from Be (complete)

the reverse), paired fingerings are consistently binary, thus according with the rhythm of the figuration, which usually involves duple divisions of larger note values.<sup>19</sup> Even if the use of paired fingerings for binary melodic and rhythmic patterns has no implications for articulation, it eliminates a cognitive dissonance for the modern player that arises through the juxtaposition of regular binary musical patterns with irregular fingering patterns. This may not be a problem for players who have internalized the modern principle of equality of the fingers, but players comfortable with the historical patterns are likely to find it easier to learn new pieces. This is because the figuration fits the fingering better; a player using historical paired fingerings is less likely to run out of fingers at the top or bottom of a scalar passage, where a performer using modern fingering may be forced to introduce extra crossings of fingers and awkward shifts of the hand that are unnecessary for one employing historical technique.

Paired fingerings were by no means confined to virginalist practice. In the mid-eighteenth century Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach still gives traditional paired fingerings as alternatives for use in playing the scale of C major and others close to it in the circle of fifths, although he prescribes use of the thumb in more remote keys.<sup>20</sup> Bach gives no suggestion that his various scale

<sup>19</sup> Where triplets occur, they are typically at a higher durational level than the figuration; that is, “tuplets” in this music usually involve groups of six eighths or six sixteenths, each comprising three pairs; these occupy the time of a single half or quarter note, respectively, as is clear from the “colored” notation sometimes used for these passages.

<sup>20</sup> *Versuch über die wahrer Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1753–62), trans. William J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949), vol. 1, chap. 1, para. 63. What Bach actually writes is that scales “with few or no accidentals” permit a greater number of possible fingerings. Some of the latter involve old-

fingerings are meant to favor distinct types of articulation; on the contrary, he indicates that any type of finger crossing, whether of the third finger over the fourth or of any finger over the thumb, should involve a momentary overlapping of the two notes and thus legato.<sup>21</sup> This is the opposite of what is assumed by those who advocate that fingering should influence articulation by causing gaps or breaks where one finger crosses over another. Although it is possible to use the so-called paired fingerings shown in example 14 to produce two-note groupings of notes, the same fingerings can also promote an even non-legato, especially if one holds the hands higher than in later keyboard technique and turns them in the direction each scale is moving.<sup>22</sup>

One nevertheless does occasionally find fingerings marked in the sources that reflect groupings of notes that run against the usual binary divisions of the beat or measure. One instance occurs in Byrd's embellished setting of the famous "Lachrimae" Pavan by John Dowland. Byrd's setting survives in both the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book—designated "Tr" after its copyist Frances Tregian—and another early seventeenth-century manuscript known as Will Foster's book (Fo). Foster's copy gives a number of fingerings, particularly in mm. 58–61, where it is the second, not the third, finger that plays most of the "good" sixteenth notes (ex. 15). Equally notable in this passage, although quite typical of virginalist notation, is that each type of note value is beamed separately, so that eighth notes are not joined to sixteenths. This, too, may have no significance for articulation, yet it produces a distinctly different grouping of small notes from that produced by conventional modern notation. At the very least, the original beaming suggests that it would not be inappropriate to make a distinct articulation after the eighth note on each beat—as becomes unavoidable when one must lift the hand to move from the first to the second note in m. 59. This suggests in turn that, at least within the present passage, the motives comprising the melody move from the weak to the strong part of the beat, whether or not each pair of sixteenths is actually slurred to the following eighth.

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fashioned paired fingering, whereas other keys "have only one execution," that is, one that involves crossing fingers over the thumb, as is clear from Bach's musical illustrations for other paragraphs within the same chapter.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., para. 62. Mitchell's translation of this paragraph distinguishes "crossing" of fingers from their "striking," but this reflects an idiosyncratic rendering of *Einsetzen*. The latter simply means substitution, in the sense that the hand shifts position so that the third finger might play a note that would otherwise be struck by 1 or 5.

<sup>22</sup> Also advocating a high position of the hands (or rather the wrists), albeit for another reason, is Mark Lindley, "Early Fingering: Some Editing Problems and Some New Readings for J. S. Bach and John Bull," *Early Music* 17 (1989): 60–9 (cited: 62). See also Desmond Hunter, "The Implications of Fingering Implications in Virginalist Sources: Some Thoughts for Further Studies," *Performance Practice Review* 5/2 (Fall 1992): 123–38 (esp. 124–5). Perhaps the most recent writer to discourage linking articulation to paired fingering is Christopher Stemberge in *Recercari, et canzoni franzese*, vol. I.1 of *Girolamo Frescobaldi: Orgel- und Klavierwerke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2009), p. xxx.

## Ex. 15. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, mm. 58–61

## Ex. 16. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, (a) mm. 46–8, (b) mm. 68–71

Similar groupings are suggested in many other instances where a chord on the downbeat is followed by a series of separately beamed smaller note values. Thus in m. 69 the arrival on the downbeat is followed by two statements of a three-note motive; the repetition of this motive articulates a hemiola (ex. 16b). Earlier, in m. 47, what looks like a chromatic half step ( $c\sharp''-c\flat''$ ) actually involves two distinct gestures in different parts, an arrival on the downbeat followed by figuration in sixteenths that decorates the inner voices (ex. 16a).<sup>23</sup>

In addition to occasional fingerings, the sources of Byrd's “Lachrimae” contain several typically rare but puzzling instances of the one-stroke sign. Example 17 illustrates several possible interpretations for the sign that appears in m. 60 of example 15. Perhaps least likely is that the sign here stands for a slide; playing the slide on the beat, following Diruta or Bevin, produces a harsh dissonance against the upper parts (ex. 17a), and playing it before the beat

<sup>23</sup> It is clear from the vocal version of Dowland's song that the melodic note  $c\sharp''$  is sustained implicitly through mm. 46 and 47.

Ex. 17. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, possible realizations of single stroke in m. 60

Ex. 18. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, (a) mm. 63–4, with (b) possible emendation substituting tie for single stroke in m. 63

Ex. 19. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, mm. 75–8



produces parallel fifths (ex. 17b).<sup>24</sup> Perhaps therefore the slide should be shortened to a single appoggiatura, still dissonant but not so glaringly (ex. 17c). An appoggiatura or “forefall” is indeed what the sign means in later English music, such as Purcell's. Another possibility, however, is that in this piece the single strokes stand for mordents (ex. 17d). Yet another possibility is that the sign in m. 60 is misplaced, and that it actually belongs in the right hand—where it might mean the same thing as later French symbols for acciaccaturas or *coulés* (ex. 17e). Another possibility relating to a misreading is that Foster's single stroke is a mistake for a tie (ex. 17f), although this would be more plausible in m. 63 (ex. 18).

Some of these suggestions may seem like special pleading. Elsewhere in this piece the double rather than the single stroke can be convincingly interpreted as a mordent, as in the second half of m. 76 and m. 77 (ex. 19). It may therefore seem illogical for the single stroke to receive the same realization. Yet both the meaning and the prevalence of the two symbols changed over time, the single stroke being unknown in some earlier sources and becoming increasingly common as one moves from Byrd to Bull and then to younger composers such as Gibbons. This could have reflected changes in the frequency with which particular ornaments were used—that is, a change in actual performance style, much as the upper-note trill with dissonant appoggiatura would eventually replace the older *tremolo* and *groppo*. But it could also have reflected only changing usage of the single stroke, which seems from the very beginning to have had different meanings for different musicians.

This becomes very clear in music attributed to somewhat later composers, especially Bull. Two sources for Bull's music associated with the copyist and composer Benjamin Cosyn employ numerous single strokes in contexts that make it difficult if not impossible to realize the sign as a slide (ex. 20).<sup>25</sup> Cosyn was particularly free in adding his own touches to pieces that he copied; his additions and substitutions range from individual ornament signs to entire variations within a variation set. Even if the single strokes that he added in some of his texts stood for mordents (as seems likely), other instances of the same sign already present in the pieces he copied could have meant something different. Cosyn might have been aware of the two possible meanings of the one-stroke signs in his manuscripts, but subsequent copyists working from the latter would have had no way of knowing which ornament signs were original and which ones were Cosyn's additions (with potentially different meanings). Further copies made from Cosyn's would therefore combine one-stroke signs of varying signification. Some such history might explain the anomalous ornament signs in Foster's copy of “Lachrimae,” as well as in other texts.

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<sup>24</sup> The note values of the written-out slides in ex. 17 could be reduced (e.g., to a dotted sixteenth followed by a thirty-seconds, or to two very quick notes of equal value), but the problems of voice leading would remain.

<sup>25</sup> Of the two sources, Co is Cosyn's autograph, although his hand is also found in Bu (the main copyist of Bu is no longer thought to be Bull, as Dart and others had supposed). Example 20 is based on Co; the small note values, which Cosyn writes without beaming, are grouped editorially for easier legibility. The fingerings and the single stroke on g' in the last measure of the example are from Bu (as edited in MB 27; Bu was not seen here).

Ex. 20. Bull, (a) “Melancholy” Pavan (BuK 67a), mm. 92–6, and (b) Galliard (BuK 78), mm. 15–16

Ex. 20. Bull, (a) “Melancholy” Pavan (BuK 67a), mm. 92–6, and (b) Galliard (BuK 78), mm. 15–16

Ex. 21. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, mm. 68–9, versions of (a) Tr and (b) Fo before correction

Ex. 21. Byrd, “Lachrimae” Pavan, mm. 68–9, versions of (a) Tr and (b) Fo before correction

Unfortunately, modern editors have often conflated ornament signs from different sources without indicating the provenance of individual symbols. This makes it difficult to identify patterns in the usage of these signs that might aid in their interpretation.<sup>26</sup> Alan Brown has suggested that Byrd's use of the single stroke diminished with time, noting the absence of the symbol from Byrd's pieces in *Parthenia*.<sup>27</sup> But the sign is also absent from what are presumed to

<sup>26</sup> The edition of Byrd's setting of “Lachrimae” by Alan Brown in MB 28 follows Fo as principal source, for ornaments as for other aspects of the text. But because Brown does not list Tr's readings for ornaments, his edition fails to make clear how widely the two sources diverge in this regard, nor does it indicate which signs are common to the two sources and therefore most likely to derive from Byrd himself.

<sup>27</sup> “England,” 49–50.

be much earlier works, such as the Fantasia BuK 13. Possibly Byrd himself never used the single stroke, or always did so sparingly. Hence all of the single strokes in “Lachrimae,” which must also be a relatively late work, might have been added by someone else.

A related issue arises in the rare instances where a copyist does seem to have used the double stroke as an abbreviation for a *groppo*. Although some have assumed that such substitutions prove the identity of the two notational forms,<sup>28</sup> the rarity of the substitution rather points against it. In one passage of “Lachrimae,” where Foster gives a double stroke on the note c#', Tr indeed has a written-out *groppo* (ex. 21a; compare ex. 16b). This, however, could reflect an accident of copying: in Fo the measure in question falls at the end of a system, and the copyist had insufficient space to write out the ornament. Another variant in the same measure (a' for e' in Tr), together with a correction in Fo at the same point (g' crossed out and replaced by e'; see ex. 21b), suggests that the real explanation for the substitution is a compositional revision in Byrd's lost autograph.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere both copyists write out *groppi*, although not always with the same number of notes. For instance, in m. 57, where Foster has a six-note *groppo* for the right hand (implying sextuplet sixteenth notes if interpreted literally), the Fitzwilliam book shows the figure as containing eight thirty-seconds. Both copyists give eight notes in the same ornament for the left hand on the fourth beat of the measure. Presumably, then, the exact number of notes was inconsequential, yet the *groppo* remained distinct from the ornament designated by the double stroke.<sup>30</sup> Only gradually did the similarity between the two types of trill, which now seems self-evident to us, become expressed through their indication by a single symbol—a process of convergence that apparently occurred even as the downward trill or mordent gained its own sign.

### Authorship, ornaments, and fingering in an intabulation attributed to Peter Philips

Byrd's setting of “Lachrimae” is quintessentially English. Yet it contains many elements of Italian style; the very name *pavan* or *pavane* probably comes from the Italian city of Padua. English and foreign styles merge again in the music of Byrd's pupils, notably Peter Philips, who is famous for his embellished keyboard versions of polyphonic madrigals, chansons, and consort dances. The best known of these arrangements are preserved in Tr, whose copyist had might have

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<sup>28</sup> E.g., by Hunter, “The English Virginalists.”

<sup>29</sup> The variants are overlooked in the discussion of this passage by Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 128. More convincing instances of an ornament sign substituted for a *groppo* occur within the source Wr, as in BK 71a (m. 42), BK 70b (mm. 5, 15, 38, and 83) and BK 88 (m. 1); all but the last of these is reported in MB 28. In at least some of these cases, the copyist of Wr (possibly the composer Thomas Weelkes) includes a special sign above the note resembling that of the later French *tremblement*; this is transcribed in MB 28 as the letter n.

<sup>30</sup> The volumes of *Musica britannica* containing keyboard music indicate such variants by placing an editorial slur struck by a short vertical line above the written-out *groppo*; where all sources give the *groppo* with the same note values, the vertical line is omitted. See, e.g., MB 28: xvi.

met and studied with Philips in Antwerp and later Brussels.<sup>31</sup> Music attributed to Philips also occurs in several Continental sources, especially the manuscript Ly, which contains as well an anonymous keyboard version of “Ecco l'aurora,” a madrigal by the Italian composer Luca Marenzio. The latter is included alongside Philips's signed intabulations in a recent edition of Philips's complete keyboard works.<sup>32</sup> A re-examination of the attribution to Philips opens up additional windows on issues of performance practice in the Anglo-Dutch repertory to which the piece evidently belongs.<sup>33</sup>

Philips's arrangements are unusual for the high level of virtuosity that they require of the player, exceeding that found in Byrd's arrangement of “Lachrimae.” In Philips's signed intabulations, including the well-known ones preserved in Tr, virtuoso passagework tends to be distributed throughout each setting. In “Ecco l'aurora,” on the other hand, embellishments fall chiefly in the second half of the work, the first half being left relatively plain. This would be unique for a work by Philips, although it reflects the unusual form of the original madrigal, which consists of essentially the same music repeated for the two halves of the poem. The anonymous keyboard arrangement in effect comprises a fairly straightforward transcription of the first half of the madrigal, followed by an embellished variation of the same music.

The form of the anonymous arrangement may not have any bearing on the question of who wrote it, and in other respects its style is certainly close to that of Philips's attributed works. Ly has been traced to both Germany and the Netherlands, but in any case it is clearly not of English origin.<sup>34</sup> Therefore it is not entirely surprising that fingerings and ornament signs within “Ecco l'aurora” are not always what we would expect within the English tradition. For instance,

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<sup>31</sup> The most recent study of the origins of Tr, quieting doubts previously raised about the identity of its principal copyist, is David J. Smith, “A Legend? Francis Tregian the Younger As Music Copyist,” *Musical Times* 143 (2002): 7–16 (a reponse to Ruby Reid Thompson, “Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: A Legend and an Alternative View,” *Music and Letters* 82 [2001]: 1–31); for possible contacts between Philips and Tregian, see Smith, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> *Peter Philips: Complete Keyboard Music*, ed. David J. Smith (MB 75) (London: Stainer and Bell, 1999).

<sup>33</sup> The present observations about the attribution of “Ecclo l'aurora” are extracted from a paper presented by the author during the conference “Networks of Keyboard Music c. 1600: Focus on Jan Pieterzsoon Sweelinck and Peter Philips” at McGill University, Montréal (February 11–13, 2011). Publication of the paper, entitled “What Is a Composer? Problems of Attribution in Keyboard Music from the Circle of Philips and Sweelinck,” is anticipated in the conference proceedings.

<sup>34</sup> On Ly generally, see Pieter Dirksen, “New Perspectives on Lynar A1,” in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe: Keyboard Studies of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36–66. In his keynote lecture for the conference mentioned in the preceding note, Dirksen identified the copyist of Ly as Martin Düben, brother of Andreas (Anders) Düben, who studied with Sweelinck.

the numeral 2 falls on accented notes in several passages (ex. 22). Unlike the examples in Byrd's "Lachrimae," these fingerings do not seem to have been elicited by anything unusual in the music. In addition, the use of the double stroke differs somewhat from what one finds in English manuscripts, nearly always falling on accented notes. This suggests a less sophisticated approach to ornamentation than that of Byrd, whose music, like Merulo's, employs ornaments in a wider variety of rhythmic configurations, including *tremoletti* on passing notes (signified by double strokes on weak parts of the beat). Philips's own works—that is, those bearing attributions—generally contain very few ornament signs. Many English musicians, including his teacher Byrd, might not yet have been in the habit of writing them when Philips left England for Rome in 1582, and as even fewer Italian musicians used ornament signs Philips may never have begun doing so later.

Again, this does not necessarily reflect anything about the authorship of "Ecco l'aurora," for the ornament signs, like the fingerings, may not stem from the composer. But together with the work's anonymous transmission and singular form, the placement of the ornament signs contributes to the impression that this version of "Ecco l'aurora" could have originated not with Philips but with a German or Dutch contemporary—perhaps a pupil of Sweelinck, whose music is well represented in the same source. Sweelinck was strongly influenced by Byrd and other English composers, yet his keyboard music not only is distinct stylistically but, we must assume, differed in its original performance practice.<sup>35</sup>

One element of that practice might have been French. Dutch culture has always been profoundly influenced by that of France, and Sweelinck's vocal works include settings of the psalms with French texts.<sup>36</sup> One therefore is not surprised that, in addition to preserving pieces by Sweelinck and Philips, Ly is one of the few surviving sources of French keyboard pieces from the early seventeenth century. Among these are three courantes attributed to "La Barre"; which La Barre is unknown.<sup>37</sup> The copies of these pieces in Ly include ornament signs that initially appear very different from the ones found in English pieces; they are transcribed in example 23 as small letter Zs. But they could have originated as a quick or cursive way of writing the English double stroke or some similar sign. How the symbol was realized is unknown, but there is no

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<sup>35</sup> John Butt, "Germany and the Netherlands," chap. 4 in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, 147–234 (cited: 172–3), makes the similar point, based on Ly, that Sweelinck's fingering might have differed from that of the English virginalists.

<sup>36</sup> *Pseaumes de David, mis en musique*, 4 vols. for four to eight voices (Amsterdam, 1604–21), texts from the metrical version of the psalms by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze.

<sup>37</sup> These are edited by Bruce Gustafson and R. Peter Wolf in *Harpsichord Music Associated With the Name La Barre* (New York: Broude Trust, 1999); not included are additional courantes from Ly that are anonymous or bear other attributions, discussed by Dirksen in "New Perspectives on Ly A1," 48–51.

Ex. 22. Anonymous (after Luca Marenzio), "Ecco l'aurora" (PK 6), (a) mm. 62–7, (b) mm. 79–82, from Ly

The image displays two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system, labeled (a), covers measures 62 to 67. It features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measure 62 starts with a treble clef and a common time signature. The bass line includes a fingering of '2' above the first measure. The second system, labeled (b), covers measures 79 to 82. It features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). Measure 79 starts with a treble clef and a common time signature. The bass line includes fingerings '2 2 13' above the first measure and '5 4 3 2 1' above the second measure. The treble line includes fingerings '2 4 3 2 3 2' above the first measure and '3 2 3 2' above the second measure. The second system also includes a section labeled (b) starting at measure 80, with fingerings '5 4 3' above the first measure. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks.

23. "Courante de La Barre," opening, from Ly

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the opening of "Courante de La Barre". The first system is in 3/4 time and features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The second system is in 7/8 time and features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks, including 'z' above notes in the first system and 'p.' below notes in the second system.

reason to assume that it was the same as the *tremblement* of later French keyboard music.<sup>38</sup>

Like “Ecco l'aurora,” this courante may be a reworking made in the Netherlands of a foreign composition, in this case a French dance tune. We cannot be certain what fingerings were used in it or how its ornament signs were realized. In fact, however, the same uncertainty holds for music about which we may think we know more, including the works attributed in the sources to Byrd and Philips. Lacking autographs, we have no certainty which, if any, of the fingerings and ornament signs in the sources belong to the composers. Although English copyists were relatively consistent in their use of ornament signs and their placement of numerals for fingerings, differences between the two copies of “Lachrimae” could reflect distinctions in the performance practices employed by their respective scribes or users. Both copies obviously belong to the same broad tradition, but they just as obviously represent somewhat different ways of playing the same piece. Byrd's original, if there ever was a single such text, is gone.

“Ecco l'aurora” appears to stand at some distance from the English tradition, yet it belongs with “Lachrimae” to a broader northern European tradition that stretched from England across the Channel to Germany and the Netherlands, and which was by no means isolated from the rest of Europe. To what degree players in different areas had truly distinct practices remains to be seen, but only through close analysis of individual sources and their musical texts can we expect to make progress toward better understanding the details of historical practice in this repertory. The generalized solutions offered in the past to the puzzles of ornament signs and fingerings in this repertory, although fulfilling the desire of many players for simple, easily remembered solutions, have no historical or musical justification. As in other aspects of historical performance practice, rule-making is the enemy of both imagination and scholarship.

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<sup>38</sup> Dirksen, “New Perspectives,” 49, identifies the “z” sign with one designated *agrément* in the ornament table of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers's *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1665). The latter consists of “an appoggiatura from below with mordent,” but it is difficult to apply that interpretation in the “LaBarre” courantes of Ly.