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The Authority of the Bevin Table in the Interpretation of Ornament Signs in Elizabethan Virginal Music

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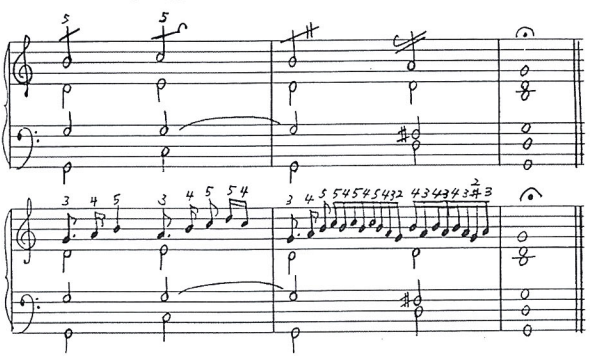
The Elizabethan era[1] saw the first great flowering of music for the virginal (or harpsichord). One of the prominent characteristics of this new music was the use of ornament signs. Elizabethan virginal music is peppered with ornament signs, such as the single stroke (/) and the double stroke (//). How should these signs be interpreted by contemporary performers? Unfortunately, there are no definitive instructions as to how these signs should be realised in performance. For example, no significant Elizabethan composer has left an ornament table that is known to have survived. For this and other reasons it is generally accepted of Elizabethan virginal ornament signs that 'their correct interpretation is often impossible to determine'.[2]

Today there is a widespread belief that Elizabethan composers did not use each sign to indicate a single, unambiguous ornament. Contemporary scholars and performers agree that each sign had a common or typical meaning, but assert that each sign was also used to signify other ornaments, depending on the musical context. Despite its general acceptance this position is not completely satisfactory, and leaves many unanswered questions. The current view is based on a variety of historical sources.

Due to the rarity of relevant original documents, those that have survived are of special importance. Chief amongst these is an ornament table, 'Graces in play', that appears in British Library Additional Manuscript 31403. The table gives clear instructions on how to realise several ornament signs. The manuscript in which the table appears is believed to have been compiled around 1635.[3] The manuscript consists of two sections in different hands. The first section contains 31 virginal pieces by Edward Bevin (1595-?),[4] together with pieces by Elway Bevin (c. 1554-1638), Byrd, Bull, Tallis, Gibbons, Soncino, and other Elizabethans. The second section contains organ and virginal pieces by Purcell, Frescobaldi, and others, and was compiled around 1700.[5] The second section is not relevant to the present thesis, and so will not be discussed further. The first section, probably a commonplace book, is neat, clean, and clear. It is believed that this section was compiled by Edward Bevin. No autographs by Edward Bevin are known to have survived, and so it is not possible to verify that the compilation is in his handwriting. However, the ornament table is signed 'Edward Bevin', in lettering that is clear and unambiguous. On this basis we can conclude that the ornament table, at least, is the work of Edward Bevin, and was not created by Elway Bevin, or any other English virginalist. Beyond this, the handwriting in the ornament table (including the signature) matches that in the remainder of the first section of the manuscript. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the entire section was written by Edward Bevin.

The ornament table appears in an otherwise unused space after the end of a piece by Gibbons. The table comprises four signs; the standard single stroke (/), and three others (ʃ , 𝄪 , 𝆓).
Of these signs the latter three are unique to the Bevin table.[6] Only the standard single stroke is known to have been used by other Elizabethan composers and copyists. For this reason, my discussion of the authority of the Bevin table is focused on interpretations of the single stroke.



The Bevin table is widely considered to be the most reliable guide to the realisation of the single stroke.[7] This is for two reasons. First, it is the only Elizabethan ornament table that is known to have survived, and second, it is regarded as providing an accurate indication of general practice among Elizabethans who composed for the virginal. The current interpretation of these signs is

influenced by the assumed authority of the Bevin table. If the Bevin table were shown to be less than authoritative, this would require a reappraisal of current interpretations of these signs. In this article I argue that there are reasons to doubt the authority of the Bevin table as an indicator of either the intentions of Elizabethan composers or the practice of Elizabethan performers. My conclusions about the Bevin table are based on my personal examination of the Bevin manuscript, together with over thirty other original manuscripts from the Elizabethan period.

Ornamentation in Elizabethan virginal music

In the 16th century, ornamentation was an important performance technique for both vocalists and instrumentalists in Europe. For example, one very common technique that featured ornamentation was improvisation over a *cantus firmus*. From the Renaissance to the present day most theorists have divided ornaments into two categories: graces, and running figuration patterns called diminutions, or *passaggi*.[8] In diminution, shorter notes are substituted for longer notes or groups of notes. Diminutions tend to be free, running figures, while graces are shorter and simpler. On the Continent many different kinds of ornaments, both *passaggi* and graces, were used during the 15th and 16th centuries. They were either improvised or written out The situation was similar in England. English keyboard ornamentation existed long before it was codified in ornament signs. For example, in the virginal music of the Royal Appendix 58 (c. 1530) trills and turns are shown by groups of notes.

Ornaments came into use at about the same time on the Continent and in England. We cannot clearly identify the direction of influence (from England to the Continent, or vice versa), or whether there was any influence at all: ornaments might have emerged independently in different places. However, on the Continent there appears to have been much more theoretical writing, to judge from the surviving literature.

One substantial difference between England and the Continent was in the use of signs for ornaments. Two signs, the single and the double stroke, were employed throughout the Elizabethan era (but only in keyboard music). These signs are very common in Elizabethan virginal music, but they are virtually absent on the Continent. The only exceptions are Dutch composers, such as Sweelinck, who adopted Elizabethan ornament signs around 1600,[9] but used them more sparingly than the English. Elsewhere on the Continent the appearance and standardised use of ornament signs occurred much later. Thus, England can be said to have been the birthplace of ornament signs. The double stroke came into use around 1540 and the single stroke around 1570. Hunter notes that double stroke signs appear in sources that date from the mid-16th century such as the Evesham Abbey Bible and the Mulliner Book.[10] From manuscripts such as these it seems clear that the double stroke was born first.

Many Elizabethan composers used both written-out ornaments and ornament signs, such as the single stroke and double stroke, in their virginal music. Among these are William Byrd , Thomas Morley , Peter Philips , Giles Farnaby , John Bull , Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Tomkins , and Orlando Gibbons. Most surviving manuscripts are commonplace books, that is, collections of music that were intended for domestic use. Despite this, they are remarkably consistent in their use of ornament signs. In the music of William Byrd, one of the earliest and most important Elizabethan composers, both signs are employed, but with a preference for the double stroke over the single stroke. Later Elizabethan composers used the two signs more equally.

Interpretations of the Elizabethan Single Stroke

Between the end of the Elizabethan era and the 20th century there was little interest in the study of Elizabethan virginal music. For this reason there was little writing on performance practice for Elizabethan music. Scholarly interest in the intentions of Elizabethan composers did not begin until the last decade of the 19th century, with the work of Dannereuther.[11] Dannereuther argued that a single stroke can have several different realisations including a slide of a third upwards, a short appoggiutura from below or from above, a double appoggiatura, and a mordent.

In 1926, Herbert Andrews interpreted the single stroke as probably a mordent, though it might also indicate a slide. [12] Andrews did not give an explicit basis for his interpretation, indicating only that it was not based on a comparison of variant texts (such a comparison was the basis for his interpretation of the double stroke).

From that point onwards it has been generally accepted that the single stroke had an imprecise meaning. The

general consensus consists of two premises. First it is believed that the primary use of the single stroke was to indicate a slide. Second, it is believed that the single stroke was sometimes used to indicate a variety of other ornaments, depending on the musical context.

Donington rejected the arpeggio, the appoggiatura, and the springer as realisations of the single stroke. In discussing the single and double stroke he argued that 'neither sign can bear a single meaning consistently'.[13] He suggested that two realisations of the single stroke are satisfactory in many cases : a dotted slide or an undotted slide. The sole historical source that Donington offered for this interpretation was the Bevin table. He considered several post-Elizabethan sources, such as writings by Christopher Simpson (1605-1669),[14] John Playford (1623-1686)[15] and Thomas Mace (1619-1709),[16] but rejected each of them as not being applicable to the use of ornament signs in virginal music.

Dart interpreted the single stroke as indicating an appoggiatura, a springer, or a rapid slide up to the main note from a third below.[17] In the 'Editorial Method' of the *Musica Britannica* Dart argued that the single stroke seems to be used as an arpeggio:

> Two special usages for ornaments are peculiar to Benjamin Cosyn's copies of keyboard music, and they must not be entirely overlooked. Concordances with other sources show that  means a trill with termination;  seems to mean  , perhaps with an auxiliary note or notes to smooth the gaps in the arpeggio. Cosyn's addiction to ornament-signs, indeed, was almost insatiable and their correct interpretation is often impossible to determine - notably for ornaments through noteheads ( or , for instance).[18]

Alan Brown argued that the single stroke was used to designate several different kinds of slide, such as a dotted slide, an undotted slide, and a slide before the beat.[19] His analysis focused on the music of William Byrd and many of his specific interpretations are based on the musical evidence of individual pieces by Byrd.

Curtis argued against the interpretation of the single stroke as a dotted slide or undotted slide, and instead suggested that 'from the point of both stylistic consistency and musical sense',[20] the single stroke should be realised as a mordent. However, like Donington and Alan Brown, Curtis suggested that the single stroke was not restricted to a single meaning.

The influence of later 17th - century writings

The interpretations of Dannreuther and Dart were derived in part from several later 17th - century writings about ornaments. Christopher Simpson and John Playford interpreted a single stroke as an appoggiatura or a springer. Thomas Mace interpreted a single stroke as a half-fall. Henry Purcell used a single stroke as an appoggiatura or a slide.[21]

Dannreuther accepted these writers as providing a guide to how ornament signs were used by their Elizabethan predecessors. However, there are several reasons to question the relevance of their works to the use of signs in the Elizabethan era. There are differences in the placement of strokes between Elizabethans and post-Elizabethan theorists such as Playford, Simpson and Mace. Donington asserted that in many of the Elizabethan cases the use of an appoggiatura or springer may not be musically appropriate.[22] As noted above, Donington argued that post-Elizabethan interpretations cannot be applied directly to the Elizabethan period. Of key relevance here is the fact that when Playford, Simpson and Mace discussed the use of the single stroke they were referring to its use in their own time; none of them made any reference to its use in the Elizabethan period, and none of them pretended to have any knowledge of how the sign was used by Elizabethans.

Tables from the post-Elizabethan period contain many signs, such as +, circles, dots, and curves, that are not found in music from the Elizabethan era. The Elizabethans used only strokes. Also, the placement of signs differs from Elizabethan practice. In written music all Elizabethans were very consistent in sign placements. Taken together, these considerations clearly indicate that post-Elizabethan interpretations cannot be assumed to apply to music from earlier eras.

The influence of the Bevin table

The Bevin table appears to have been overlooked until recently. Early 20th century scholars, such as Dannreuther

and Andrews, did not discuss it. Andrews referred to British Library Additional Manuscript 31403 in his 1926 edition of *My Ladye Nevells Booke* but did not discuss the Bevin table. The documented influence of the Bevin table on the interpretation of ornament signs begins in 1955 with Donington's article in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Other recent scholars such as Dart in 1963, have also discussed music from British Library Additional Manuscript 31403, but have not referred to the ornament table *per se* .

The Bevin table has been accepted by Donington, Alan Brown and others as being an authoritative contemporary source for the interpretation of ornament signs in Elizabethan virginal music. Donington's interpretation of the Bevin table is particularly influential because it appears in *Grove's Dictionary* (1955) and the *New Grove* (1980). Donington stated that 'the evidence of this table should be taken seriously' [23] and, as noted above, used the table as the sole historical basis for his interpretation of the single stroke. Similarly, Alan Brown asserted the importance of the Bevin table, referring to it as 'the one nearly contemporary indication of the interpretation of ornaments'.[24] He argued that Bevin's interpretation of the single stroke is rarely appropriate for the music of William Byrd, but he appeared to accept it as being appropriate for the works of other virginalists.

In the Bevin table the single stroke is clearly shown as a dotted slide [example 1]. Following the Bevin table, Donington interpreted the single stroke as a slide in the dotted form popular at the beginning of the 17th century. The Bevin table suggests a single, unambiguous interpretation for the single stroke. However, Donington concluded that this interpretation could not be exclusive. His argument on this point was not based on historical sources *per se,* but on his assertion that in a musical sense the dotted slide does not work at every occurrence of the single stroke sign:

> the single stroke and double stroke ... appear sometimes to have had distinct meanings, it is by no means clear that they were always discriminated ... Neither sign can bear a single meaning consistently because solutions which are probable in one context are impossible in another. ... They may perhaps best be regarded as hints generally for some ornament rather than specifically for any one kind of ornament. Presumably the double stroke might have implied in many instances a more elaborate ornament than the single stroke, but even that assumption should not be relied on. In certain cases a single or double stroke may well have been intended as a visual aid to 'score-reading' rather than an ornament sign.... [25]

Thus, Donington did not accept Bevin's statement of a clear, unequivocal meaning for the single stroke. Donington did not refer to or comment on Curtis' analysis of the Bevin table or of the single stroke.

In arguing that a single stroke must be primarily but not exclusively a slide, Alan Brown appealed to the Bevin table:

> [Bevin's table] gives a slide, in dotted rhythm, as the interpretation of the single stroke. This dotted form, as Robert Donington explains, was popular in the 17th century, though by no means to the exclusion of the undotted form ....Most [single strokes] can still be played as slides.... [26]

Summary

For over 100 years there has been widespread agreement that there is not a clear distinction between a single stroke and a double stroke, and no definitive realisation of either sign. The single stroke is variously interpreted as a slide, mordent, appoggiatura, or arpeggio, while the double stroke is interpreted as a short trill, long trill, trill with termination, mordent, turn, appoggiatura, or tremolo. Most scholars have agreed that the performance of ornament signs depends on the musical context. This general thesis is derived from writings by post-Elizabethan theorists in which the single stroke was used to indicate an appoggiatura, slide, springer or other grace. More recently, revisions of the standard view have been strongly influenced by the Bevin ornament table, in which it is clearly indicated that the single stroke signifies a dotted slide. Following Donington, I have argued that the post-Elizabethan writers cannot be used as a guide to the use of ornament signs by Elizabethan composers. In the next section I suggest that the Bevin table is also an unreliable guide.

Edward Bevin and his ornament table

In the apparent absence of definitive tables from major Elizabethan composers of virginal music many scholars have turned to surviving documentation from lesser musicians of the period. Some of this is regarded as giving an accurate representation of the usage of Elizabethans in general. Prominent among these surviving documents is the ornament table of Edward Bevin.

Despite the importance of the Bevin table, it has received relatively little scholarly examination. Is it an accurate representation of the notational practices of Bevin's contemporaries? Is it appropriate to use the Bevin table as a guide to the realisation of ornament signs?

Who was Edward Bevin?

In evaluating the reliability of the Bevin table we need to consider not only the table itself, but also the person who created it. What grounds do we have for believing that Edward Bevin was able or likely to have produced an ornament table that faithfully represented the practice of other composers? There are very few records of Bevin's life. This lack of documentation contrasts sharply with other Elizabethan composers and copyists, for whom we often have substantial surviving documentation. For example, for William Byrd we know, amongst other things, that he served as an organist at Lincoln Cathedal in 1563-72, and at the Chapel Royal from 1572, and that he was given a licence as a music printer from Queen Elizabeth I. Edward Bevin's compositions are found in only two manuscripts (British Library Additional Manuscripts 31403 and 36661), as compared with composers such as Byrd, whose works are found in dozens of manuscripts.

Among the writers who have argued for the authority of the table there has been no comment on the quality or sophistication of Bevin's compositions. Was Bevin a skilled musician? Was he a gifted composer? Specifically, do his compositions reflect sufficient understanding of musical structure to encourage us to believe in the authority of his ornament table? In British Library Additional Manuscripts 31403 and 36661 Edward Bevin's compositions are very elementary; they are simple, short, and not individual in style. His *Prelude* in British Library Additional Manuscript 31403 appears to be an imitation of a prelude that Bull wrote as a practice piece for beginners. The two pieces appear next to each other in the manuscript and are very similar. This example suggests strongly that Bevin was an amateur musician. This is consistent with the fact that he appears to have gone unnoticed by his contemporaries. It might be argued that the fact that he compiled this manuscript is testimony to his status as a serious musician. It is certainly true that Bevin devoted considerable effort to the creation of his manuscript. However, in itself this fact does not imply that he was sufficiently familiar with the practices of his contemporaries to qualify as an authority. In sum, there is little or no historical evidence to support the view that Bevin's table is an accurate record of general Elizabethan practice.

Ornaments in the Bevin manuscript

Let us now review the use of ornaments in the 31 compositions compiled by Bevin. Ornament signs are found in many of the pieces. Most of the signs are the standard double stroke (//). In addition, there are occasional single strokes (/). There are also three instances of a non-standard double stroke (), all of which are found in Byrd's *The Carman's Whistle*. No other signs appear in any of the compositions. In his own compositions (in both British Library Additional Manuscripts 31403 and 36661) Bevin used only the standard double stroke (//).

As noted above, the Bevin table comprises four signs, one of which is the standard single stroke (/). The other three appear to have been created by Bevin (). None of these appear in earlier works or those of Bevin's contemporaries, and none were adopted by later composers. Two of the signs () are not used even in pieces in the Bevin manuscript; that is, they are found *only* in the Bevin table. The third was the non-standard double stroke mentioned above (), and used only in a single piece by Byrd. The table does not include the standard double stroke sign (//); this omission is odd given that this sign appears frequently throughout the Bevin manuscript.

Is the Bevin table authoritative?

To summarise, Bevin listed ornaments in his table that he did not use in his manuscript, and peppered the manuscript with a sign (//) that he did not include in his table. This amateur musician created his own signs and put them in a table but then did not use them; moreover, no other Elizabethan composers are known to have ever used Bevin's creations. At a simple level these facts indicate that the Bevin table is patently unrepresentative of the use of ornament signs by Elizabethans. The inclusion of signs that are unique to this table, and the exclusion of signs, such as the double stroke, that were in common use (while including other signs that were in common use, i.e., the single stroke), is strong evidence that the Bevin table represents the idiosyncracies of an individual and does not reflect common Elizabethan usage. This suggests considerable caution in evaluating Bevin's use of the one sign that was used by his contemporaries, the single stroke. This problem has also been noted by Curtis:

> ... of the four ornaments given, three are never found employed in the music of any period, not even in the Bevin works copied in the same manuscript. The remaining ornament in the table, the single stroke, is given in [a] peculiar solution [example 1], quite unlike any slide or *Schleifer* to be encountered elsewhere ... .[27]

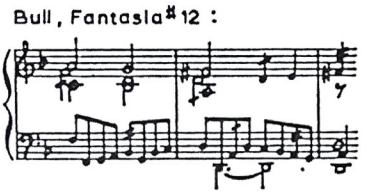
Even if Bevin had been a great composer, it would be difficult to argue that his table carried any authority beyond his own manuscripts. Consider the general history of ornament tables. French composers never tired of writing their own ornament tables and recording detailed instructions on how ornaments were to be played in their music. For example, F. Couperin described fourteen different ornament signs and used all of them in his *Pieces de Clavecin*.[28] Some ornaments were indicated by different signs by different composers. For example, D'Anglebert in his *Pieces de Clavecin*[29] and Rameau in his *Pieces de Clavessin*[30] used a single stroke to indicate an arpeggio on a chord, while F. Couperin, in his *Pieces de Clavecin,* and Chambonnieres in his *Les Pieces de Clavesin de Monsieur de Chambonnieres*[31] used a vertical wavy line to indicate an arpeggio on a chord. The converse was also true, as when Chambonnieres used a kind of single stroke to indicate a *coulé,* while D'Anglebert used this sign to indicate an arpeggio. In such cases it was not only convenient but also necessary that each composer should provide his own ornament table.

English Baroque composers, such as Henry Purcell, may have been in a similar situation, creating a personalised ornament table to illustrate their use of signs. A major contrast with the Bevin table is that Purcell and the French composers actually used their own ornaments in their music, while Bevin did not. In addition, French composers' tables were adapted or reconsidered by their contemporaries or later composers, such as J. S. Bach . We have no evidence that Bevin's table was ever noticed by any of his contemporaries or successors.

In addition, the dotted slide does not make musical sense as a realisation of every instance of the single stroke. Even scholars who accept the Bevin table as a reliable source have admitted that it leads to musical difficulties. We might expect that if Bevin's instructions do not apply to other manuscripts they should at least apply to his own. But even this does not appear to be true. One of the pieces in the Bevin manuscript is *The Carman's Whistle,* by Byrd, which employs quavers, crotchets, dotted crotchets, minims, dotted minims and semi-quavers (with the latter being written-out ornament figures). If the single stroke in bb. 10, 14, and 22 were a dotted slide, these would be the only three dotted quaver note figures in the entire piece (112 bars).[32] The presence of only three dotted note figures would be very much against the character of the piece. Thus, the interpretation of the single stroke as a dotted slide is implausible even in Bevin's own manuscript. The sole explanation that has been offered in support of the Bevin table on this point is that the dotted slide was popular at the time the table was created.[33]

Dotted slide figures are common in pieces by Byrd, Bull, Tomkins, Farnaby and other Elizabethans. However, dotted slides function as important and characteristic elements of the pieces, occurring many times in a given piece. I believe that the contradiction between the belief that Bevin's table is reliable and the fact that Bevin's table does not work on actual music has encouraged the idea that the single stroke was used to indicate a variety of ornaments. Curtis arrived at the same conclusion and stated it emphatically:

> To use this peculiar slide as an interpretation of the virginalists' single stroke would, in many cases, result in stylistic absurdities. In [Example 2], a solution according to Bevin (or Dart) would result in sharp dissonances patently out of keeping with the style of the period... [34]



The theory that the single stroke must be at least a slide relies on the authority of the Bevin table. The present analysis makes it clear that the Bevin table has no credible relation to the use of the single stroke sign by Elizabethans. Thus, the interpretation of the single stroke as a slide is without apparent historical foundation.

Why was this table created?

Given the above, it is reasonable to ask why Bevin created the table. It is possible that he created the table for his own amusement. The manuscript is a commonplace book that may have been intended for his own use, and not for distribution or publication. In effect, it is an autograph. Many composers have added irrelevant material to their autographs. For example, Beethoven left numerous sketches that he probably never intended for anyone but himself.

Consider also the form of the table [Example 1]. Some harmony is written in for the left hand, which is unnecessary for an ornament table. The realisations of the signs are given for the right hand, but the realisations are not individualised. Rather, they are related to each other musically, appearing to create a melody line. In addition, the last bar contains what appears to be a final chord that is entirely unrelated to the function of an ornament table. These characteristics suggest that 'Graces in play' may be a short piece of music, and may not have been intended as an ornament table.

Conclusion

Many scholars have accepted the Bevin table as being authoritative. This table is the sole original source for several current theories of the realisation of ornament signs in Elizabethan virginal music. My analysis indicates that the Bevin table is probably not an accurate record of how these signs were realised in the Elizabethan period. In addition, there is no evidence or any theoretical basis to support the belief that the post-Elizabethans' ornament tables are related to the Elizabethans' ornament signs. Thus, it may be necessary for us to consider alternative interpretations of Elizabethan ornaments.

Footnotes

(1) In this essay 'Elizabethan' is employed as a shorthand to cover the virginal music of the period c.1570-1640.
(2) T. Dart 'Editorial Method' in *Musica Britannica,* vol. 19 (London, 1963), p. xvii.
(3)J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music,* vol. 1 (London,1992), p. 53.
(4)J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music,* vol. 2 (London,1994), p. 243.
(5)J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music,* vol. 1 (London,1992), p. 53.
(6)A. Curtis,*Sweelinck's Keyboard Music* (London, 1969), p. 207.
(7)For example, R. Donington, 'Ornaments' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S.Sadie (London, 1980), pp. 857-859, and A. Brown, 'A Critical Edition of the Keyboard Music of William Byrd' (diss., Cambridge University, 1969), pp. 132-134.
(8)H. Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth Century Music* (London, 1976), p. 1.
(9)Curtis op.cit. p.205
(10)D. Hunter, 'My Ladye Nevells Booke and the Art of Gracing' in *Byrd Studies,* ed. A. Brown and R. Turbet (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 175-176.
(11)E. Dannreuther, *Musical Ornamentation* (London, 1893), p. 18.
(12)H. Andrews. 'Historical Note' in *My Ladye Nevells Booke 1591.* (New York, 1926), p. xxxii.
(13)R. Donington, 'Ornaments' in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. E. Blom, 5th ed. (New York, 1955), p. 432.
(14)Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol, or, The Art of Playing Extempore upon a Ground* (London, 1659), p. 12.
(15)John Playford, 'A table of Graces proper to the Viol or Violin,' in *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick,*(London, 1674), p. 116.
(16)Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), p. 102.
(17)T. Dart, *The Interpretation of Music.* (London, 1954), p.120.
(18) Benjamin Cosyn was an Elizabethan copyist and composer. He compiled British Library Royal Music Library Manuscript 23.I.4, which contains his own pieces together with works by Bull and Gibbons.
(19)A.Brown 1969 *op.cit* .p.139
(20)Curtis *op.cit* .p.207
(21)Henry Purcell 'Rules for Graces' in *A Choice Collection of Lessons* for the Harpsichord or Spinet, (London, 1696).
(22)Donington 1980 *op.cit* ..858.
(23)Donington 1955 *op.cit* .p.433 and 1980 *op.cit* .p.858
(24)A. Brown *op.cit* .p.132.
(25)Donington 1980 *op.cit* .p.858
(26)A.Brown *op.cit* .p.132-5
(27)Curtis *op.cit* .p.207
(28)Francois Couperin, 'Explication des Agrements, et des Signes,' in *Pieces de Clavecin, Premier livre* (Paris, 1713).
(29)Jean Henry D'Anglebert, 'Marques des Agrements et leur signification' in *Pieces de Clavecin* (Paris, 1689).
(30)Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Pieces de Clavessin* (Paris, 1724).
(31)Jacques Champion de Chambonnieres,'Preface' in *Pieces de Clavesin de Monsieur de Chambonnieres* (Paris, 1670).
(32) *Musica Britannica* vol. 28. no. 36
(33) Donington 1955 *op.cit* .p.432
(34) Curtis *op.cit* .p.207

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