

*Proceedings of
the Musical Association*

Musical Association (Great Britain)

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND
DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE
ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC.

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1897-98.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

Passed at Six Special General Meetings, held on February 7 and April 3, 1876, on January 6, 1879, on December 6, 1886, on June 2, 1890, and on January 7, 1895.

OBJECTS AND CONSTITUTION.

1. This Association is called the "Musical Association" and is formed for the investigation and discussion of subjects connected with the Art, Science, and History of Music; and is intended to be similar in its organisation to existing Learned Societies.

It is not intended that the Association shall give concerts, or undertake any publications other than those of their own Proceedings, or the Papers read at their Meetings.

MEMBERS.

2. The Association shall consist of practical and theoretical musicians, as well as those whose researches have been directed to the science of acoustics, the history of the art, or other kindred subjects.

Any person desirous of being admitted into the Association must be proposed by two members. Foreigners resident abroad and distinguished in the Art, Science, or Literature of Music may be nominated by the Council for election as Honorary Members of the Association.

Elections will take place by ballot of the members present at any of the ordinary meetings, and one adverse vote is four shall exclude.

No newly elected member shall be entitled to attend the meetings until the usual subscription be paid.

SUBSCRIPTION.

3. The annual subscription to the Association is one guinea, which shall become due on the 1st of November in each year.

Any member may, prior or at any time after election, become a life member of the Association by payment of a composition of £50 10s. in lieu of future annual subscriptions, but in addition to any annual subscription previously paid or due from such member. Such sums shall from time to time be invested in legal security in the names of Trustees, to be appointed by the Council.

Any member intending to resign his membership shall signify his wish by notice in writing to the Secretary on or before the 31st of October, otherwise he shall be liable for his subscription for the ensuing year.

MEETINGS.

4. An ordinary meeting shall be held on the second Tuesday in every month, from November to June inclusive, at 3 p.m., when, after the despatch of ordinary business, Papers will be read and discussed, the reading to commence not before 3.15 p.m.

5. An annual general meeting of members only shall be held at the end of the financial year, to receive and deliberate on the Report of the Council, and to elect the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

6. Special general meetings may be summoned whenever the Council may consider it necessary; and they shall be at all times bound to do so on receiving a requisition in writing from five members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. At least one week's notice of such special meeting shall be given by circular to every member, and ten members present at any general meeting shall constitute a quorum.

7. Every member shall have the privilege of introducing one visitor at the ordinary meetings, on writing the name in a book provided for that purpose, or sending a written order.

COMMUNICATIONS.

8. Papers proposed to be read at the meetings may treat of any subject connected with the Art, Sciences, or History of Music, Acoustics, and other kindred subjects.

Papers will be received from or through any member of the Association.

Experiments and performances may be introduced, when limited to the illustration of the Paper read.

9. All communications read will become thereupon the property of the Association (unless there shall have been some previous arrangements to the contrary), and the Council may publish the same in any way and at any time they may think proper.

REPORTS

10. A Report of the Proceedings of the Association, including the Papers read or abstracts of the same, and abstracts of the Discussions, shall be printed and distributed to the members as soon as possible after the end of each session.

This Report will be arranged and edited by the Secretary, under the direction of the Council.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS.

11. The management of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, to be elected by ballot at the general meeting of the members.

The Council shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, and ten ordinary members of the Association.

The Secretary of the Association shall be *ex officio* an ordinary member of Council.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Auditors, and five ordinary members of the Council shall retire every year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

12. At the annual general meeting, the Council shall present a balancing list, showing the names of the persons

whom they propose for the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, and ordinary members of Council for the ensuing year. A copy of this list shall be given to each member present.

In voting, each member may erase any name or names from the balloting list, and may substitute the name or names of any other person or persons whom he considers eligible for each respective office; but the number of names on the list, after such erasures or substitution, must not exceed the number to be elected to the respective offices as above enumerated. Those lists which do not accord with these directions shall be rejected.

The Chairman of the meeting shall cause the balloting papers to be collected, and after they have been examined by himself and two scrutineers, to be appointed by the members, he shall report to the meeting the result of such examination, and shall then destroy the balloting papers. Auditors shall be appointed at the annual general meeting by the members, and the statement of accounts shall be sent by the Treasurer to the Auditors, and be remitted by them to the Secretary as time to enable the Council to judge of the prospects of the Association, and to prepare their report in accordance therewith.

13. The Council and officers shall meet as often as the business of the Association may require, and at every meeting three members of Council shall constitute a quorum.

ENACTMENT OR ALTERATION OF RULES AND REGULATIONS.

14. No rules and regulations can be enacted, altered, or rescinded, except at a special meeting of members summoned for the express purpose, the summons stating distinctly and fully the matter to be brought under consideration.

MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS
CONNECTED WITH THE ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC.

FOUNDED MAY 19, 1874.

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MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1896-97.

REPORT.

THE Annual General Meeting was held at the Royal College of Oculists on Tuesday, November 9, 1897.

PACIFICUS PACT in the Chair.

The following Report of the Council was read by the Secretary:—

The Council beg to present their Report of the Twenty-third Session, in the course of which the following writers have contributed papers: Dr. Sawyer, Mr. John Taylor, Mr. F. Condligham Woods, Dr. Ellis, Mr. George Langley, Mr. J. C. Ward, Dr. Annie Patterson, Mr. Friesinger, and Mr. W. H. Cummings. These papers, with their respective discussions, have been printed in the "Proceedings," a copy of which has been sent to all Members entitled to it.

The attendance at the Meetings has been well maintained, but the Council still think that an improvement is desirable and urge members to do their best to be present themselves and to exercise their privilege of introducing a visitor to each meeting. In this way much will be done towards upholding the position and character of the Association.

There has been a gratifying response to the Council's appeal for new Members, thirty-four of whom have been elected since the last Report. The membership now stands as high as it has ever done in the history of the Association. If the Council still press this matter upon the attention of Members it is not from any want of appreciation of their past efforts, but because they feel that the Association deserves the support of still more musicians, both professional and amateur, and because it is always necessary to make good the depletion that time inevitably brings. A new Prospectus has been printed, giving a complete list of all the papers that have been read before the Association. Copies have been sent to the Members with a request that they would distribute them; further copies may be had of the Secretary.

During the last two or three years a number of Life Subscriptions have been received, and the sum resulting

therefrom has, in accordance with the Rules, been expended in the purchase of Two and a half per cent stock, thus bringing the amount held by the Trustees to the nominal sum of £403 4s. 4d.

On account of the advancement of the Art of Music in this country during the Queen's long reign, the Council thought it would be fitting to take advantage of the Diamond Jubilee Year and to devote the last Meeting of the Session to a paper dealing with this subject. At their request Mr. W. H. Cummings undertook the task, and his lucid and comprehensive review was listened to by a large audience. In the evening of the same day there was held a Dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, which was attended by Members and their friends to the number of ninety-five. The occasion was so successful, and those present seemed so appreciative so greatly the pleasure of greeting each other socially, that the Council would like to obtain the opinion of Members as to the desirability of continuing the Dinner annually on the same lines, either at the beginning or end of the Session. Judging from the number of country Members present on June 8, many of these, living at a distance, would be glad to take advantage of such an opportunity for making the acquaintance of their fellow Members.

In accordance with the Rules, the President and Vice-Presidents retire from office, but offer themselves for re-election. Five ordinary Members of Council also retire: Messrs. C. A. Barry, Walter Macfarren, Chas. W. Pearce, Miss Dow, A. H. D. Frendergast, and T. L. Southgate. It is proposed to add Mr. Walter Macfarren and Prof. William Stanford to the list of Vice-Presidents and to nominate Messrs. C. A. Barry, C. W. Pearce, Miss Dow, A. H. D. Frendergast, and T. L. Southgate for re-election as ordinary Members of Council. Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, B.Sc., Mus.B., Lond., is nominated for the remaining vacancy, but Members are reminded of their right to nominate whom they please to any of the offices.

On the motion of Mr. Harding Bowers, seconded by Dr. Maclean, the Report was adopted. The Hon. Treasurer then projected his statement of Income and Expenditure, duly audited. The adoption of this was proposed by Mr. C. B. Edgar, seconded by Mr. Frendergast, and passed.

All the retiring officers were re-elected, while Mr. Walter Macfarren, Dr. Charles Maclean, and Prof. William Stanford were added to the list of Vice-Presidents. Mr. Clifford B. Edgar was elected an ordinary Member of Council.

Votes of thanks to the Officers of the Association and to the Chairman closed the Meeting.

NOTICE.

Papers or short communications for the Monthly Meetings are received from or through Members; these and suggestions as to suitable subjects and capable writers will be gladly considered by the Council.

Members are desired to make the Association and its objects as widely known as possible. The Secretary will forward Prospectuses and Nomination Forms on application.

Members preferring to do so can pay their subscriptions through their Bankers. A form for this purpose may be obtained of the Secretary.

Any change of address should be promptly notified to the Secretary, as occasional complaints of the non-receipt of books and notices are usually traceable to either old or insufficient addresses.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from November 1, 1896, to October 31, 1897.

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November 9, 1895.

PROF. E. PROUT, Mus. DOG., Vice-President,
IN THE CHAIR.

*SOME POINTS IN BACH'S TREATMENT OF THE
CHORALE.**

By HARRY DAWK.

There is no department of existing musical compositions which to me seems a more unending subject of interesting study than the chorale as it appears in Bach's works, vocal and instrumental. Bach's chorales have a value of their own, not only in a musical point of view, as a sheer pleasure to the cultivated ear, but as throwing light on the nature, limits, and functions of the tone-art. When the future Lassus appears and writes a new "Lassuscole," he will find that Bach's chorales will considerably assist him in any endeavour to fix the limits of our art and in discussing what the true aim of music should be. I shall have repeatedly to return to this point in the course of my paper. I cannot examine it in detail, as so many matters have claimed mention that I shall but slightly allude to each; and I must ask your pardon if the paper should appear discursive.

It may not be out of place if I state that in my opinion Bach is among all the great masters the one whose aims and position as a composer are most misunderstood. Since it has been part of the scientific training of a musician to write fugues, and because Bach was the greatest of fugue writers, he has consequently been put down as above all a scientific writer. This is, I think, very far from the truth. Bach was a creative, practical musician, doing his best to please and edify his public. He could, and did, use scientific means; but as means to an end, not for their own sake. The

* Works quoted: Erb's collection of Bach's Chorales (Edition Peters, Nov. 1895); Carl von Winterfeld's "Der evangelische Kirchengesang"; Spitta's "J. S. Bach" (English edn.).

composer who loved science, who would go out of his way to introduce it on every possible occasion, was not Bach but Mozart, who wrote a fugue as the overture to a comic opera.

Having confused so much of my belief, I have prepared you to hear that I am not this evening going to say anything on Bach's chorales from the harmony teacher's point of view. Something I must mention, but not much.

What is meant by the German word *Choral*? There is a common belief among English musicians that a *choral* means a hymn-tune sung by a Lutheran congregation. This is only half the truth. Among the Roman Catholic Germans a *choral* means the ecclesiastical plain-song sung by the choir, the *Cantor Choralis*. In Mendel's "*Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*" the *choral* is spoken of only in the Catholic form, just as in Grove's Dictionary it is spoken of only in the Protestant form. In English the word has, to avoid misapprehension, received an extra letter, a mute *c*; thus that letter has often been accented *cho*, and I have heard a song called "*The old Choral*."

With the Gregorian chorales Bach had but little to do; yet something, as the Leipzig churches had retained more of the Catholic form of worship, with much use of Latin, than was usual in Lutheran service. Bach's use of the Catholic form of the *choral* being but occasional, I will clear off that part of my subject immediately. When he treated Latin words he introduced the Latin plain-song at any specially dramatic passage. Thus, in the *B minor Mass*, the "*Credo in unum Deum*" consists of a severe fugue upon the priest's intonation. A case still more to the point, and still more suggestive, is the "*Confiteor unius baptisma in remissionem peccatorum*." After two themes have been figured, first separately, then together, above a moving *Basso continuo*, the bass voices, followed by the alto in canon, give out in measure the ecclesiastical plain-song to those words; then, the original key being reached, the temporarily interrupted movement of the *Basso continuo* is resumed, and the tenors begin the plain-song in *scandere*. All through this the double fugue has been continued; but the tenors act as a very telling part of their compass, and the other four voices are so written like that they do not obscure the chant. Consequently the whole piece appears to lead up to the proclamation of the rigid ecclesiastical dogma in the severe ecclesiastical chant. Without acquaintance with the Gregorian chorale the meaning of this wonderful piece is inaccessible, and even the purely musical construction is not clear; I know, at least, that this was formerly the case as regards myself. There is a similar case, less striking but highly suggestive, in the great "*Magnificat*," which was written for Christmas, when the sermon had to be on the subject of the

Redemption. Accordingly Bach emphasized the only clause of the Canticle which alludes to the Redemption by inserting the ancient plain-song as a *canto fermo* at the close, while the voices are singing "Suscepit Israel peccatum nostrum misericorditer sem." Elsewhere Bach combines the two forms of choral—the Gregorian and the Lutheran; this he does in a "Short Mass" in F. The "Short Mass," which consists of Kyrie and Gloria only, seems a Protestant liturgical form, and the combination of the two styles of music is metricable. Other composers, including his cousin Nikolaus (the "Jongh Bach"), Zachau, and Kahnen, had also combined the two styles. Bach's is profoundly subtle; the three upper voices are used feebly, while the bass sings "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison" to the plain-song of the Litany, the horns and choir playing the choral "Christe du Lamm Gottes."

I must mention that the "Leipzig Hymn Book," published in 1714, just after Bach settled there, includes the Latin Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Magnificat, and one or two hymns (printed in Roman type), showing that these were recognised as part of the regular worship. Spitta, in his account of the Leipzig services, does not mention this hymn book, which may be seen in the British Museum; and I have sent a description of it to the *Moscowitz's für Musikgeschichte*, as it is of considerable interest in connection with the Passion.

To the Lutheran choral I now turn. Some remarks upon the history of this form are necessary. In the two centuries which had elapsed from the appearance of the first specimens (Wittenberg, 1524), considerable changes had taken place in the tunes. Luther intended the chorales for the congregation; this is the principal innovation he made upon the Roman service, in which the congregation has no recognised share. Many of the tunes were adapted from the Gregorian plain-song, others from secular songs; others were specially composed. A large number of the earliest were formerly attributed to the Reformer himself. His claim has lately been generally discredited, and these tunes at most are now regarded as possibly his, while some writers deny him every one, even "Ein feste Burg."

Luther, and his musical editors, Walther and others, looked especially to the emphasis of the words; and the rhythm of the music is contrived to heighten this emphasis rather than to produce balanced musical phrases. (See "Ein feste Burg" in *Grove's Dictionary*, i., 484.) This is now called the "Rhythmic Choral," in contradistinction from the modern style of equal notes; and attempts have² recently been made to return to it. The first collection was

² Curwen's "Studies in Worship Music," second series, pp. 130-137.

printed on three sheets, and consisted of eight hymns with five tunes; in the same year (1545) appeared Walther's "*Geistlich Gesangb. Buchlein*," containing forty-three pieces treated polyphonically. This has been republished by the "*Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*." During the sixteenth century many such collections appeared, and the melody, as in England, gradually changed its place from the tenor to the treble. Still, real balanced tone was not attained; while the Calvinistic psalms, sung at Geneva, and imported into Britain, had tone from the first. The Lutheran composers commonly mixed duple and triple time, even in the same line of a hymn; this occurs in what is known in England as the "*Passion Choral*,"¹ published as "*Herrlich ist mir's verlangen*" in 1573, and presently as a secular song. Another peculiarity was the division of words in some of the voice parts, as if one voice sang the words, the others only *solf-geing*. Sometimes, too, the words are not in the same part throughout—e.g., in Kugelmann's arrangement (published 1545) of "*Alles Gott in der Höhe sei Ehr*" (used in "*St. Paul*" as "*To God on high*"), the words are in the highest part only, except in the penultimate line, when they are in the middle part only. I have noticed the same proclivity in certain early English works, both printed and MSS. During the seventeenth century the Lutheran chorales slowly approached their present shape; yet even those of Crüger (1598-1651) are by no means in the form known to us. A harmonising of "*Ein feste Burg*," published in 1638, shows the famous tune much altered from the original form, though not yet in balanced phrases:—

"*Ein feste Burg*," as harmonised in 1638 from C. von Winterfeld II., 253



* "*Hymnen Aranea und Blodorn*," No. 121.

† For instance, Ravenscroft's "*Great Doxology*" (1619) has examples

The influence of instrumental music began to set upon the tunes; this was derived from England, where, even in Luther's own time, our organists, notably Bayford, had shown great skill in composing litanies on a plain-song. I may in passing refer to A. G. Ritter's "*Zur Geschichte des Orgelspiels*" and the writings of Nagel and Seiffert for accurate, most interesting though not complete, of the debt German instrumental music owes to our Elizabethan and even earlier composers. When Scheidt and his successors developed the German organ style, they also used the chorales for the most *form* of elaborate pieces; and, as emulation progressed, the organ-playing dominated the service more and more and the words became less and less prominent. At last, in the organ chorales of Pachelbel (born 1633, died 1706), the tunes appear with equal notes throughout, and the change from the "Rhythmic Choral," depending on the declamatory emphasis of words, to the musical accent of tune, had thus been accomplished. Still, the change was not universal. The tunes were also very commonly used in triple time; Bach often did this. The extreme slowness at which the chorales were played doubtless made it easier for the congregations to sing either in duple or triple time, following the caprice of the organist. The pauses at the end of each line, and the formal interludes played, were common to the Lutheran and the Anglican services.

Just a reference to the words of the hymns will suffice. Luther had generally verified psalms or translations of Latin hymns, though he also contributed a few purely lyrical poems. In this point he differed from the Reformers of other churches, the Anglican included; there only metrical psalms and canticles were allowed, and there are certain congregations in Scotland and Ulster who still confine their singing to these. The lyrical style found great favour in Germany, and many fresh collections were issued; it was not unusual for the Christian Church, personified in each individual singer, to address or glorify Christ as her Redeemer in a strain of ardent fervour, combined with ruggedness and pedantry of diction which make the hymns even more quaint than Sternhold and Hopkins's wildest flights. A large number of hymns came into ordinary congregational use, but fewer tunes; several hymns were sung to one tune. In a class by themselves, and of liturgical importance, are the three Catechism hymns, "*Dies und die heiligen zehn Gebot*," "*Wie glauben wir an einen Gott*," and "*Vater unser in Himmelsreich*," which are the verified Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer; to these may be added "*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*," "*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*," "*Aus tiefer Noth*."

and "Jesu Christus unser Heiland," hymns to the Trinity, and for baptism, for confession, and for communion. These seven are all, but one, by Luther, and retain their prime importance to this day.

These remarks may give some idea of the state of congregational song when Bach left school at Lüneburg and returned to his native Thuringia. In the same year, 1703, he became organist at Arnstadt, in 1707 organist at Mülhausen, and from 1708-1707 at Weimar. This was his last post as organist; in his six years' service at Cöthen he was designated director of a Calvinistic court, and for the rest of his life was Cantor at Leipzig. From the age of eighteen to thirty-two he was occupied with accompanying the congregational hymns, and from earliest childhood till his death he loved to them. It was his task to show what, in the hands of creative genius, they could be developed into; and, to take a striking instance, he has changed "Ein feste Burg" from its previous clumsy form into a natural, vigorous tune,* and has built upon it an elaborate composition of the sublimest character.

In accompanying the congregation, Bach seems to have been not always judicious. At Arnstadt he played such complicated accompaniments that he was complained against, and in 1706, when he was asked to succeed Zachau at Halle, he was required to play "in five or six parts, the tone well marked, and an extraordinary embellishment." I cannot fully satisfy myself as to the purpose of his "organ-chorales"; they may have been intended to accompany the congregation, but I doubt that, and otherwise their use is not apparent. By *organ-chorales*, I mean those in which the tune is played throughout with complicated polyphonic accompaniments, the *chorale-pretudes* are to be played before the hymn, just suggesting it by using its first few notes, and probably the same was intended for the *chorale-fugues*. But the "organ-chorales," apart from their use as instructive pieces for Bach's pupils, seem to be pure music for its own sake; yet in at least one case they are varied according to the words. I refer to the fantasia on "O Lumen Glories unerschöpflich"; this goes through the whole chorale three times, first placing it in the upper part, next in the middle, and lastly on the pedals. In the third verse Bach changes the measure (from 3/4 to 3/2), and during one line introduces wailing chromatic harmonies in strange contrast to the diatonic style of the rest of the piece; the explanation is that the third verse has for that line "Somit müssen wir vertragen" ("Thus we must despair"), but as a pure instrumental composition the change of style for those

* "Hymns Ancient and Modern," No. 398.

† *Biblisch-Peters*, No. 397 (*Organ Works*, Vol. VII.) p. 42.

four bars is not quite satisfactory. It is justified if the words were being sung.

These organ chorales (including the variations and partitas) are beyond denial among the sublimest creations in instrumental music. Yet they do not offer much material for this paper, except considered as the germ whence came the stupendous choral-choruses written at Leipzig. To praise such conceptions as the mystic "Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele," of the Weimar period, or the gigantic later arrangements of the Catechism chorales published in the "Klaven-Uebung,"² would be a work of supererogation indeed. We can only admire, and study; with gratitude that such works were created.

In 1703 Bach settled at Leipzig, and for the next few years devoted himself almost entirely to sacred concerted music. Now the power of the chorale began to assert itself. What Bach had learnt as an organist and organ-composer he transferred to larger resources; and thence arose those choral-fantasies for chorus and orchestra, in which he displayed all his powers. He had a wonderful advantage in composing for a public which knew many tunes in connection with particular words; thus he could use the tune to suggest the words, while other words were being sung. In the cantata, No. 70, "Wachet, betet, sei bereit," the chorale on the Judgment Day (known in England as "Luther's Hymn") is played on the trumpet, while the bass voice sings an appropriate meditative; this is a very simple case, and might have occurred to any English composer. A more complex instance is one of Bach's most wonderful feats of science, the chorus "Es ist nichts Gesundes an unserm Leibe" (cantata, No. 21), which is really a choral-fantasy on the tune we know in England as the Passon Choral, and which was also used for "Ach Herr, mich armer Sünder." Very possibly the sermon preached upon the connection between the text and the hymn. Perhaps the finest instance of all is in cantata, No. 77, "Du sollst Gott danken Herrn loben." The voices sing a fugue on the words from St. Luke's Gospel, "Then shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself"; but Bach did not forget the words in St. Matthew's Gospel, "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." How could he enforce the lesson by means of music? He set the basses and a trumpet to play the Catechism choral on the verified Ten Commandments. Every man, woman, and child in the congregation had been taught that hymn and that tune, and must have seen and felt the meaning, addressed to the heart and intellect alike; would have understood, too, that the deep basses in long-drawn notes

indicated the severity of the law, and the piercing high notes of the trumpet behind the clearness of prophetic utterance. This case, perhaps better than any other, illustrates my allusion to the use of Bach's chorales to the investigation of the functions and limits of the tone-art. He will have to closely examine the means by which the auditors of that place received pleasure.

The instances where the chorus is similarly used, but with the words sung, are very many, and all interesting. I may just draw attention to the beautiful introduction of "Mit Fried' und Freud" (Luther's paraphrase of the "Nunc dimittis") into the bass solo, "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise," of the early cantata "Gottes Zeit" ("God's time is the best"); to the second number of "Ein feste Burg"; to the use of "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen?" in the tenor solo (No. 23) of the "Matthew" Passion; to the bass solo (No. 36) in the "John" Passion, accompanied by "Jesu Leiden, Pein, und Tod"; and the subtle introduction of two verses of "Warum soll' ich denn mich grämen?" above the fugue which closes the motet "Fürchte dich nicht" ("Be not afraid").

The chorale-fantasias in which the "organ-chorale" found its highest development are wonderfully varied in form; the most usual plan is for the trebles to sing the tune in very long notes, the other parts singing imitative passages, or speculative if the words suggest it. Magnificent examples may be seen at the end of the first part of the "Matthew" Passion, and in cantatas, No. 1, "Wie schön leuchtet uns der Morgenstern"; No. 26, "Ach was Ehrung"; and No. 140, "Wachet auf." A few are in the style of a motet chorus—that is, the instruments, except sometimes the basses, play exactly with the voices throughout. There are three glorious examples at the end of Eit's collection of Bach's chorales. The first chorus of the "Matthew" Passion is a chorale fantasia, but in a form of its own; "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig" is sung by a sixth voice part, while two choirs, each with orchestra and organ, have their own words and their own musical themes, apparently ignoring the chorale which is the real theme. I cannot refrain from mentioning the exquisite chorale fantasia in the motet "Jesu, meine Freude," where the alto has the chorale. The true Psalterial chorale, in which each line is figured independently, the same naming when the fugue is substituted, reaches an amazing grandeur in the first number of "Ein feste Burg," which Bach composed for the Augsburg Consistory in 1736. Yet another form appears in the motet on the 140th Psalm, "Sorget dem Herrn ein neues Lied," where the chorale "Nun lob' und Seel' den Herren" is sung by one choir, the other choir interspersing methodical imitative interludes.

Now I reach what is perhaps the most interesting point I have to discuss: the introduction of a verse or some chorus, plainly set for four voices, into the Passions and cantatas. A great many of the cantatas and those, in the larger works such a verse is often interpolated. Whether they were selected by Bach, or by the rhetors of his texts, I do not know. These interpolations have been generally supposed in England, sometimes also in Germany, to have been intended for the congregation to join in. Spitta has already denied this, but his abstract reasons are not of much force. Far stronger, and to me quite convincing reasons, may be found in the treatment of the melodies. Bach does not only take a hymn tune and harmonise it, he also alters or even borrows it, as the sentiment of the words or the musical context may suggest. Even in the same work we may find the same tune given in several forms, the variations making it quite impossible to congregational singing. The matter may easily be seen in the Passions, still better in Erb's collection. Let us take the Passion Chorus, "*Herrlich ist mir's vertragen*." The simplest form of the tune is used in the cantatas "*Ach Herr mich armen Sönder*," "*Schon, lieber Gott*," and "*Komm du meine Todestunde*"; there the second line is—



In the "*Matthew*" Passion the tune is used five times (Nos. 22, 23, 25, 43, 78). In four of these the second line is nearly as above, one grace note being added after the penultimate crotchet—



But in the fifth occurrence the second line is entirely different—



There is yet another version at the end of the "*Christmas Oratorio*." Again, "*O Welt, ich muss dich lassen*" is used in the "*Matthew*" Passion twice; the two versions are by no means the same in the third line, and there are two other versions of this line in the cantatas "*Sei worden auch in den Barm-herzig*" and "*Meine Seele*" (Erb, Nos. 107-110, 281-4). Crüger's tune "*Herrlichester Jesu*" is also considerably

* "*Hymns Ancient and Modern*," No. 26.

different in the two *Passions** (*Bk.*, 55-68). "*Jesus meine Freude*," used in the motet founded on it and in the cantatas "*Schau' wohl' eine Liebe*," "*Jesus schlaft*," and "*Hier hab' ich*" (*Bk.*, 68-73), is another instance of diversity.

These modifications or embellishments are mainly suggested by the varying words of the different verses harmonised. I must here again touch on the question of the functions of music. Bach was one of the prophets who love to insert picturesque details, at times losing sight of the construction in pursuit of some whim of representing a single word, though his skill in pure music is sure to re-assert itself immediately. Whether the highest aim of music be to illustrate suggestively, or to please by its own formal perfection, is a task for the future *Leising* to decide. Bach sometimes carries his realism so far as to become ridiculous to modern tastes; but in his chorales the fixed basis of the melody prevents him straying from the main point, and we get exact balance between the intellectual suggestiveness and the musical construction. A few instances of the realism are worth mentioning. Naturally they are all illustrations of something unpleasant. An unprepared dissonance, or even an unexpected misce *très*, are sufficient to suggest something undesirable. The reverse can hardly be suggested by a single chord, another fact for the future *Leising* to meditate upon.

I will first take the eight-lined chorale, "*Christus der uns selig macht*," twice employed in the "*John*" *Passion*.† This tune consists of two halves, of which only the first line differs. The fourth line, and consequently the eighth, are identical with the second, except for being transposed a fifth lower. In the first setting, the words begin "*Christus der uns selig macht, kein Bö's hat begangen*" ("Jesus, who us blessed makes, no wrong hath committed"); at the word "*Bö's*" (wrong, wickedness) comes an unexpected minor triad, followed by a prepared diminished seventh, then:—



* "*Matthew*" *Passion*, Nos. 3, 22; "*John*" *Passion*, Nos. 4, 13.

† For instance, in *Christmas*—"For a full and rising again of money is here," he makes the bass voice hit a triad, with delicious effect, and spring up again.

‡ *Bk.*, Nos. 16 and 17; Novello's edition of the "*John*" *Passion*, pp. 64-65.

For the second harmonisation, a semitone higher, the words are "O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn, durch dein bitter Leiden" ("O help, Christ, Thou Son of God, by Thy bitter anguish"). The first line is treated as before, the next bar is strikingly different, although the first and third chords remain the same. Each time *Wieser* the unexpected effect to be on the third croche of the bar, and he delays the modulation till then, and does not prepare the diminished seventh. You will hear that the effect is startling, almost poignant—



The unexpected dominant seventh in the seventh bar at the word "Dich" (thee) in the first setting, and the repetition of the unprepared diminished seventh in the second setting at the same point, the word harmonised being "Unvergleich" (un-vietee, incomparability), deserve mention here; also the great contrast between the two settings of the sixth lines (bars 11 and 12), the words being respectively "falschlich verklagt" (falsely accused) and "fruchtbarlich bedenken" (profitably meditate upon).

Another very interesting case is at the end of cantata, No. 46, "Schauet doch und sehet." The chorale used is a verse of "O grosser Gott von Mache," the fifth line being "So schau doch an die Wunden sein" ("So look upon the wounds of Him"). At the word "wounds" there is the cutting dissonance of the major second and minor tenth, and I need not explain that it is much worse on voices than on the piano—



One of the embellishments of the melody "Herzliebster Jesu," already alluded to, is for the words "O dich gebuehet auf diese Marterstrasse" ("Which Thou hast brought upon this torture pathway").⁴ It is again an unexpected descent of seventh at a modulation. Complete lines with suggestive harmonies are occasionally found. Perhaps the most remarkable case of all is the last line of "Mach's mit mir, Gott, mach deinen Gott," used in the "John" Passion (No. 22); it consists of some unexpected and splendidly original chromatic harmonies following a series of diatonic progressions only—



The late Sir G. A. Macfarren, in his analysis of this Passion,⁵ has drawn special attention to this passage, writing very beautifully upon its effect. In addition I may point out that the chromatic major thirds are sung by low male voices, increasing the gloom of the change after the bright diatonic harmonies. The same tune,⁶ when used in the context "Wohl dem der sich auf seinen Gott," is treated quite diatonically throughout.

Nur must I omit the settings of "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen," in the Passions and elsewhere. The tune appears twice in the "Matthew" and once in the "John" Passion;

⁴ *Rev. 21*, Novello's edition of the "John" Passion, p. 14, bars 4-6.

⁵ Preface to Novello's edition.

⁶ *Rev.*, Nov. 37, 1871.

in all these cases it is most tenderly harmonised, the first line mainly in double successions of thirds and in close position—



But in the cantata No. 44, "Sie wurden auch in den Bann thum," the tune is used in quite different words, beginning "Then be, my soul, of courage"; and the harmonies are bold and wide—



The same words, however, are used in cantata, No. 13, "Meine Seufzer, meine Thänen," with harmonies resembling those in the Passion.

As regards sheer beauty of musical construction, apart from any significance or suggestiveness in the words, we must specially admire the harmonising of "Jesu, meine Freude," in the cantata "Scher dich' eine Liebe," still more the extraordinary inventiveness of the plain setting of "Wachet auf," and above all the wonderful pathos of "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen," as it appears in the "John" Passion.* We can only admire these, in all reverence for the genius that achieved them. Let any musician take "Wachet auf" as it appears ("Sleepers, wake") in Mendelssohn's "St. Paul," with thrilling trumpet interludes, but otherwise quite everyday harmonic progressions, and compare it with the setting at the end of Bach's cantata. Bach and Mendelssohn were indeed creating different *visions* of the hymn,† but all the separation between the high talent of Mendelssohn and the real genius of Bach may be seen by the comparison.

* Novello's edition, p. 31.

† See W. Garret Mason's "The Hymn Lyrics," p. 323.

It may be thought rather strange that Bach did not compose some striking original chorales. He left comparatively few, and none have passed into the popular repertory. In sacred part-songs, approaching the chorale but a little less simple, he was wonderfully successful; and his "—Gieb dich zufrieden und sei stille—" is one of the loveliest inspirations in music.

I have left too little space to deal at length with the last point I have announced—viz., the revived study of Bach's chorales. They were published by his son Emanuel, in 1799, without an explanation of their original purport and position in larger works; and they were long considered to be intended as independent models for counterpoint. The revival of Bach's vocal works, for which we have to thank Mendelssohn and others, has shown his real intention in them, and has increased the use of chorales as counterpoint subjects for students. Has this done good? I am afraid this question is doubtful. It has caused an altogether exaggerated attention to be given to harmonic successions, leading to the neglect of rhythmic variety and power, and to the weakening of melody. In the Schumann school this fault was often very perceptible. Open any work by Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven, and at once the eye falls on a whole variety of note-lengths; no such contrast is visible if one looks at a work of Mendelssohn's or Schumann's. This is of course not the fault of Bach's chorales, but of their exclusive use as the only models. They teach one department of music better than anything else can, but it is just the department to which the student is apt to attach even more importance, and to let himself be enslaved by. To the mature musician the chorales are a never-ending delight; the student requires to be continually cautioned in treating them and to be dowered with an alternative. To write a succession of four-part chorals, and call the top notes the melody, is of all ways of composing the easiest; and it is what a course of harmonizing and studying chorales may not improbably lead to, unless it is judiciously varied and relieved.

To sum up and deduce a practical lesson. Bach, more than any other composer of his time, and perhaps of any time, realized and acted upon the first two of the laws of art formulated by Ruskin in "*Aratra Pentelici*—

"All the free arts must be for the people.

"They must be didactic to the people, and that as their chief end. The structural arts, didactic chiefly by their manner; the graphic arts, by their matter also."

Bach, however, could do more, when dealing with chorales, to make his art popular and didactic, than is possible for composers of ordinary structural music. The instances I

quoted show that he fully trusted himself of the power to suggest comments, a power attained by the whole congregation knowing the connection between certain words and their tunes. He thus made a structural art didactic both by its manner and its matter. And it is instructive that in his first few years at Leipzig, Bach generally began his cantatas with a *dupli* chorus; afterwards chorale-fantasias were the rule, and a large number of cantatas are based upon an entire chorale (with perhaps a few interpolated lines of recitation), every one of the sacred or secular forms of art thus having been employed in the presentation of the wisestest verses. I have little doubt that Bach's works were at first regarded much as Tchaikovsky's "*Symphonie Pathétique*" or Wagner's "*Walküre*" are now—i.e., as brilliant show pieces to astonish the multitude, rather than as classical works. The contemporary allusion (by Müller) to "a certain incomparable Passion" which failed as Church music because it was too dramatic and secular, can only refer to the "*Matthew*" Passion. In trusting chorales, Bach felt himself on safe ground; and the emotions of the congregation at hearing such brilliant, difficult, and undeniably beautiful music must have been consecrated by their familiarity with the chorales. What those performances meant to the congregations for whom they were intended, we shall never know. The external elements which made their popularity then, are not exactly the elements which make popularity now, and Bach's works can never be universally popular again; but they remain for ever an unqualified source of pleasure to the cultivated musical mind. And they teach us the abstract lesson, the same lesson which Shakespeare's works teach, that the duty of the productive artist is to take the popular materials and popular style of his own day, and to use his very utmost skill in didactic work addressed to popular taste and comprehension. Then, should he possess real creative power, he will continually advance in his art, even to the highest summits; and should he also have the good fortune to live in a culminating period, his works will be immortal.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to ask you to join with me in giving our thanks to the lecturer for his most interesting, valuable, and exhaustive paper.

The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I have been sitting here listening to Mr. Davy with a great deal of pleasure, and also (excuse my saying so) with a considerable amount of exasperation, as he has taken nearly every word out of my mouth. I had thought of referring to a large number of things, particularly in connection with chorales, but Mr. Davy has dealt with the subject so completely that there seems to be little more to say. However, there may be one or two glossings in this field which has been so carefully and thoroughly reaped. First of all, Bach's chorales have been misunderstood. As a general rule, Bach is misunderstood, and I am afraid he always will be, by the general public, in the first place, because his idiom is utterly different from that of other composers. He speaks in a language of his own, and until you get thoroughly accustomed to his idiom, until you have, so to speak, saturated yourself with his music, you really often cannot tell what he is driving at. I am not ashamed to say that I was fifty years of age before I appreciated Bach at anything like his true worth. I have often said "he is the young musician's admiration and the old musician's adoration." I play his Forty-eight Preludes and Fugues nearly every day of my life.

MR. DAVY.—So do I.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I always begin my practice on the piano with them. Bach is so likely to be misunderstood, not only because of this difficulty of idiom, but also because, if I may say it with reverence, "he dwelleth in a height that no man can approach unto." He was the greatest of all composers. He was not only a perfect miracle of ingenuity, but a marvel of expression. There is a deep stream of emotion that without digging down below the surface cannot be found. I quite agree with the lecturer that the organ chorales were not intended to be sung to, principally because we get them in such a variety of forms. I am speaking of the organ arrangements, and I would give the same reason as he has given to the carolers—the congregation would never know where they were. There are some very interesting examples of the different styles of the harmonizing of the same chorale. There was one point Mr. Davy did not touch upon, and that was the very interesting way (and when he was talking I thought he was taking all my thoughts and would have tal-

We may learn that we should not be so fastidious about using what suits our purpose, come whence it may. I have worked for years and years to try and trace if the tune "Ein feste Burg" is secular or not. I have gone through thousands of tunes and cannot trace it, so I think it must be Luther's. Another thing struck me; why have we not a fine collection of English chorales? It was the very extreme stupidity of forcing all words into these two or three metres—common, long, and short—and making them uniform by Act of Parliament. In the celebrated "Unusually Psalms," of Coverdale, printed before 1539, which was supposed and thought to be entire, the words are in a great variety of metres. It is therefore much to be regretted that subsequent Psalms put such an unfortunate limitation on the construction of their stanzas. If only our poets and rhymesters had leaped out into a greater variety of rhythm we should now be delighted with a mass of English chorales of the sixteenth century. With regard to the manner of performing chorales on a Passion music, there is a great deal to be said about that. In the first place, the modifications upon the actual words in the same text are so beautifully portrayed in songs and other solo parts that there was no necessity to do it over again in chorals, unless Bach was looking into the future when they might be sung by the congregation. I could understand why he put them in if there had been no songs or beautiful modifications: I should have said he meant the chorales to take the place of the ancient Greek chorus. But that has already been done by soloists, and therefore I must say, with all deference to Dr. Fross and Mr. Davy, that he must have anticipated they would be sung by the people. You could not, I am sure, stop the congregation from singing them in St. Paul's; they will sing them and all that comes whether we like it or not. The fixed notes sung by members of the choir would not hinder the congregation from singing the plain melodies. As regards the unaccompanied compass of the tunes, if people choose they can sing a good top F and top G with fine effect indeed. I have for the moment forgotten whether in the original score Bach accompanied the chorales with instruments.

Dr. Fross.—Every chorale has got instruments and organ.

Sir JOHN SWINNS.—If that is the case, it is very much in favour of my argument; for Bach surely would not have used all his instrumental resources to accompany a choir, which Mr. Davy tells me consisted of only sixteen voices.*

Mr. Davy.—May I ask if in Coverdale's collection the words have tunes?

* Ordinarily there were (or should be, said Bach) twelve voices in each Leipzig choir; the various chorals were so double suited for the Passion service—(J. D.)

Sir JOHN STAINER.—Yes; every hymn has a tune. Many of them were copied straight out of the earliest German books. "Ein feste Berg" is given in *Concordia*.

Dr. MACLEAN.—Sir John Stainer's contention on the subject of the congregational singing of the chorales is supported by the analogy of the Salts "Passions" just one hundred years earlier; in each of which the action is interrupted some eight or ten times by chorales, and there has never been the slightest doubt that these were sung by the congregation. The lasture spoke of the Leipzig school using chorales and the Vienna school not using them. But it is noteworthy that Brahms has once used the chorus—namely, in his *Motet* (Op. 29, No. 1). The construction of this is peculiar. The chorus of seven phrases or phrases is first sung in harmony, the melody being in the treble. Then follows a movement consisting of seven *lugue* expositions one on the top of the other, the subject of each *lugue* being the corresponding phrase of the chorus melody. As the motet is for five voices, each exposition has just five entries and no more. The last phrase only is altered slightly to make a Coda.

Mr. DAVEN.—That is Fackelberg's form.

Dr. MACLEAN.—It might be supposed that a movement made like this would have no continuity, but in fact the effect is very satisfactory. This example shows at any rate that Brahms was not above using a chorus.

Mr. DAVEN.—Ladies and gentlemen, in reply I thank you for the kind way in which you have listened to the paper. I was afraid it would be very long and I shortened it considerably. I should like to mention that among the pieces I might have referred to there were three harmonisations of "Jesu Leiden, Pein, and Tod," only that the chairman had put them into his book on harmony. He has not drawn attention to the different words set by Bach. I would specially allude to the one he has placed second* in his book. In the last line but one occur singular harmonies to the words "When I have done something wrong"; there again you have the word "Een" (*evyl*). Bach has set it to an unexpected dominant seventh on a modulation, and the whole line of this setting modulates into the supertonic minor. The only purpose of that must be to illustrate the words which are "When I have done something wrong then touch my conscience." Contrast that with the other harmonising, the first in the chairman's book, to another verse of the same hymn. It is more than thirty verses long; a great many of Luther's are pretty long. I have heard "some 42" being sung in Germany. The first half of each verse relates to incidents of the Passion, and the second half is a moral reflection. With reference to the unpopularity of Bach, I do not think he was unpopular when

* *Erl. 65*

alive; he was looked upon more as one going in for showy effects, what we call clap-net; but I do not think he will ever be popular again among ourselves. It is remarkable that in France and Italy it is exactly the opposite. Not long ago Handel's "Israel in Egypt" and Bach's "High Mass in D minor" were both performed for the first time in Paris, in the same month. A leading French critic said about them, and the ordinary opinion was apparently the same; "Bach's work is immortal and does not require any explanation, as it appeals to everybody at once, but Handel is an antiquated old fossil, and unless you have had a little antiquarian interest of your own you cannot appreciate him and do not want to hear any more about him." That is in effect what was said by this leading critic, and "Israel in Egypt" has never been done in Paris again; but Bach's "High Mass" is done every year. True to Italy seems something similar. A few months ago I saw an account of a performance of old music at Rome by a new society. At the first performance one of the leading members of the Roman organisation played two of Bach's organ pieces. That was in Rome. So we must not be sure about Bach not being popular. Englishmen do not appreciate abstract ideas. They would wonder about the ten commandments being sung at the same time with the words "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself." They would not catch the idea readily, and Bach's phrases are not quite suitable to the English mind, nor yet to Germany. There is an idea that Handel is not known in Germany, but that is a mistake. A German has the satisfaction of knowing he has done what he has been ordered to do when he listens to Bach, and that is a great satisfaction to a German; but when Handel is given he goes to hear and enjoy.

DECEMBER 14, 1897

SIR JOHN STAINER, MUR. DOG., D.C.L., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Before I call upon Mr. Hadow to read his paper, I wish to say a few words of respect to the memory of our late friend and member, Mr. Bamster, who was regular in his attendance at the meetings of the Association and took a deep interest in its welfare. He was in many ways a remarkable man, and one who has left his mark on the profession, especially through the large number of his pupils, to whom he was a most unobtrusive and enthusiastic teacher. I never met any of his pupils who did not always speak of him with great respect and affection. As members of this Association the least we can do is to pass a vote of condolence to the widow, and send to her our expression of the great appreciation and regard in which we hold his memory.

This was unanimously agreed to.

FORM AND FORMALISM IN MUSIC.

By W. H. HADLOW, M.A., MRS. B., QUON.

No one can study the history of recent musical criticism without observing the remarkable change that has begun to repressend its method and even to affect its general standpoint. Once it was handed down through a series of authorised courts, the members of which differed no doubt as to their appreciation of this or that particular artist, but did so more by the manner in which they applied their tests than by actual disagreement as to the nature of the tests themselves. Musical science grew side by side with musical art, forming, line upon line, and precept upon precept, a solid body of traditions and custom; it was by reference to

that that new work was primarily appraised, and commended or blamed as much on grounds of loyalty as on grounds of inspiration. Now the critics of old times are themselves being criticised; tradition, usage, law are alike called in question, prescriptive rights are nullified or disallowed, and our new judges are elevating into a theory the advice of Lord Mansfield: "Give your decision boldly, but never justify it by appealing to the code."

Hence the public is growing bewildered not only by the eternal conflict between critic and artist, but by a fresh quarrel between two antagonistic schools of criticism. The old school, which I will venture for a moment to call the Formalist, was grave, learned, precise, full of importance and responsibility, rigidly orthodox in its tenets, loath to count out heresy, and unsparing to denounce and persecute. To it a rule of grammar had all the sanctity of a principle, and established usage was right because it was established, and all attempts at extension or innovation were handed over to a vigorous association. We are told that in the town of Magna Græcia, the citizen who was bold enough to propose a repeal did so with his neck in a rope, which was immediately tightened if he failed to desist. Formalist critics often went farther than the Tatarian law-giver and drew the noose without even considering the plea.

Now in the early days of an art these practices of strict observance may have their uses. They are the leading-strings without which the child cannot learn to walk; they are the stake without which the sapling cannot be trained to grow upright. But the nearer the art approaches maturity the less need there is for this undeviating conservatism, and as soon as it ceases to be necessary it tends to become discreditable. For obscure, it is wholly retrospective in its attitude. The facts from which its laws are gathered are facts of past history, and afford no basis for dealing with the "New Idiom" which genius may choose to tread. "Mexico," said the Conservators of 1860, "means good solid counterpoint in an ecclesiastical mode. Away with those Florentine upstarts and their absurd dramatic ideas." "Don't talk to us of Bach," said the Conservatives of a later century; "why his scale is not even in tune." And so the record has gone on. Beethoven was crude and eccentric because he did not write like Mozart; Schumann because he did not write like Beethoven; and our own day has borne witness to the last survivors of Methodism who, conspicuously hard to please, could find no beauty either in Wagner or in Brahms.

Of course a reaction was inevitable, and it has come in full force. The younger school, which I will take leave to call the Impressionist, has broken into open revolt, and tells us

roundly that laws only exist to give greater the pleasure of breaking them. As for criticism, it should be restricted to the personal note. Its business is not to argue or explain or give reasons, but merely to tell us that such and such a writer was pleased or displeased with such and such a composition. If it feels bound to justify its existence at all, it does so by abusing its predecessors; if it is called upon to advance any general statement, it informs us that So-and-so is the greatest symphonic writer since Beethoven, and that if we ask why, we are heartless and soulless Philistines. There is no longer any question whether tradition has been misinterpreted or maintained with an undue pedantry of emphasis; it is the very existence of tradition against which these gentlemen protest. As in Plato's Republic the close oligarchy has been succeeded by a democracy in which Jack is as good as his master, and the very animals bite and kick if you dispute their claim to the highway.

To a plain man this present scheme offers some obvious difficulties. We are ready enough to accept the personal impression of a critic who has already won our confidence—if he be Goethe or Saint Beuve or Matthew Arnold we listen to him often with curiosity, always with respect and sympathy. But the case is different when these gentlemen, of some of whom it may be said that they have their spurs yet to win, offer us for all guidance the benefit of their unsupported opinions. When Brown and Jones and Robinson tell us that they were delighted with this opera or bored by that symphonic movement, they are giving us not criticism but autobiography; interesting, no doubt, to those who read their memoirs, but from any other point of view a little irrelevant. We all know that the appreciation of music is a difficult matter, we are all constantly confronted with our own past errors of judgment, and when we ask for a test to distinguish the false from the true we need something stronger than the *ipse dixit* of a self-constituted authority.

And yet, perhaps, I have done the younger school an injustice. There is one negative principle on which the majority of its members insist and upon which they base their contributions to the science of music. This is the maxim that all criticism of form is obsolete, and, to adopt their expression, "pedantic"; that it is merely a matter of accident and syntax; that it cannot keep pace with the free frenzy of the artist; that, in a word, it is not criticism at all but only parsing. And it is because I believe this view to be fundamentally erroneous that I have ventured to address you this afternoon. That there may be some excuse for it in past misusage I will not deny—the whole history of formalism is evidence of the fact; but it is an odd method of curing disease to anaesthetize the patient. A sounder treatment

would be to distinguish the illegitimate from the legitimate use of formal criticism, and, as an opening step, to show that the latter exists.

It is noticeable that in all other arts judgment is more and more attaching itself to questions of form. One reason of the revolt against Mr. Ruskin is that, in the opinion of the present day, he has laid too much stress upon the idea of a picture and too little in comparison upon the painting. Our dramatists would soon find out their mistake if they tried to make purpose stand for halting structures or defective dialogue. Our younger poets and novelists, though no doubt they place themselves on the purity of their subject and the solidity of their sentiments, yet, if we may estimate by the verdict of contemporary enthusiasm, are even more conspicuous for their unswerving loyalty to perfection of style. It is surely a little incongruous that music, which is not articulate at all, which has no definite scene to paint and no definite message to deliver, should be judged on the ground of vague emotional impressions and apart from any canon or principle by which its form may be determined. Yet that such is the present view we may assure ourselves by a hundred examples. "Chopin is great," says one critic, "because he disregarded formal laws." "Brahms is at his best," says another, "when he lets his thought run free and forgets for a moment the restrictions of form." "Absolute-music," says a German master, who ought to know better, "absolute-music is it ends." It does not matter whether the compositions rhyme or scan or construct, whether they have any intelligible beginning or middle or end, all that we care for is to feed the senses with sound and to stimulate the nerves into an emotional fervour.

For the prevalence of this error the revolutionary party is in a high degree to blame. It is much easier to tell whether we have been emotionally stirred by a composition than to gauge whether it is or is not a fine piece of artistic work. The one is a mere matter of the momentary feeling, the other requires close study, some considerations, and, above all, some acknowledgment of a criterion. And the public, always indolent and always pre-occupied, is ready to accept any system which will exonerate it from the duty of deciding. "I know nothing about these questions," it pleads; "and I have no time to inform myself. Perhaps if there were any principles I would try to learn them, but my newspaper says that there are none to speak of, and that true criticism is the personal note. I suppose I am as good a judge of my own feelings as anybody else." But part at least of the fault lies with the administrators of the old system. They have done much to provoke this outbreak by rendering the study of form unnecessarily crabbed and unsympathetic, and of musical

judgment is ever to become whole again, is most content to follow a wider and more genial rhythm.

And first, the word "form" has often been used with far too restricted a connotation. It is hardly baroque to say that, in the expressed opinions of some musicians, "form" means the particular structure of a particular sonata movement; that it is constituted by having two tunes, called subjects, in different keys at the beginning and in the same key at the end; and that if you want a more precise designation you may, in virtue of these two tunes, entitle it Binary. That this view gives a somewhat inadequate account, even of the structural type with which it deals, need not here be mentioned; unfortunately it easily claims a sort of currency, and readily assumes an obvious rejoinder. "Anyone can write in form." "There is no difference in this respect between a poem of Beethoven and a student's exercise." And, most delightful of all, is the statement, which I have seen seriously made, that no composer paid any attention to form before the time of Haydn. Assuredly there is something wrong with a definition which, even in the heat of controversy, can admit of such misinterpretations as these.

Secondly, the study has been encumbered by an excessive adherence to a most unfortunate set of technical terms. They have been gathered without method, without principle, without much literary sense or tact; they come to us some from German, some from Italian, some from the elements of arithmetic; their very meaning is often indeterminate and their sound, in an English sentence, intolerable. Think of them for a moment: *Durchkomponiert*, *Codetta*, *Ternary*, *Transitional episode*, *Second inversion of the supertonic seventh*—and reflect on the fate of any writer who should endeavour to weave them into a piece of rhythmic and intelligible prose. Yet they are all meant to express plain matters of fact, they are the only names for the things that they designate—it is little wonder if men, outside the art, should grow impatient at a criticism which clothes itself in so costly and ill-fitting a costume. Of course I do not mean that any art can do without a vocabulary or that music has any monopoly in the matter. Montaigne, you remember, protested against the architects of his day. "They talk," he said, "of architraves and cornices and Doric and Corinthian columns, and I find them to name the ugly and decayed pieces of my kitchen door." But the terms used by architects have some dignity, some pedigree, some justification—they can be borrowed by the poet, they can set off the periods of the essayist. Neither Shakespeare nor Addison could have done anything with our musical technicalities. And not only are many of these words unattractive in shape, they are often inadequately chosen or

inadequately employed. Sometimes when we want a name there is none to be had—e.g., to distinguish the *Rondo* correctly used by Beethoven from the very different forms used by Rameau and Coperni. Sometimes, as *Andantino*, the name is one to which no precise meaning can be attached. Sometimes, as *Falso Relativo*, the name is one which carries an erroneous idea. And one of the charges which may justly be brought against formal criticism is that it has hitherto offered an extravagant respect to these terms, that it has made them into idols of the market place and has bidden us burn incense before their unworthy shrines. It is much to be wished that some saintness could arise and sweep the whole terminology from our temples; if that is impossible, at least we may restrict it to a minimum, or even try to suggest some more accurate and expeditious substitutes.

Thirdly, there has no doubt been too much insistence on the text-book. To condemn an effort as wrong because it is *unacademic* is not, perhaps, the strongest way of dealing with the problem, even when *academicity* implies a close and exhaustive knowledge of current methods. For the text-book, as a guide to judgment, has usually been marked by two very serious faults. In the first place it is, as we have seen, essentially retrospective, a mere summary or epitome of past practices as matters of fact. And in the second place, it seldom or never attempts to discriminate between law and custom, between those methods which are mere conventions of the surface and those which draw their vitality from a deeper root. The most superficial survey of musical history shows us that each generation has discarded some rules which were maintained and accepted by its predecessor; that it has in certain respects taken its own line and shaped its own customs afresh. But a more careful inquiry will, I believe, disclose the truth that under this transitory flux and movement there lie certain broad general principles, as fixed and unmovable as anything can be in human nature. And here at last we may come to a definition. Formalism means elevating convention to a level with law. Impersonalism means degrading law to a level with convention. And I would venture to plead that true criticism should begin by distinguishing between the two and should end by discovering that the one consists in a series of transitory and imperfect expressions for the embodiment of the other.

The reaction to such a theory may be partly explained by this minute of authoritative precept; it cannot for that reason be justified. Style is the only thing that lasts, and if we transfer the view from the court of style to that of emotional inspection we are basing judgments that are only too likely to be reversed on appeal. And the likelihood becomes

similarity if even on our own ground we have no better guide for decision than a momentary feeling or caprice. It is said that a French provincial magistrate once offered a pathetic remonstrance to his somewhat clamorous public: "I wish," he argued, "that gentlemen at the bottom of the room would make less noise. We have had to decide the last three cases without hearing a word of the evidence." But there is really not much use even in hearing the evidence if we deny ourselves the only means of estimating its purport. A composer may traverse some existing custom merely because he lacks the knowledge or the taste to recognise its value. He may equally do so because in traversing it he is obeying a higher principle. The critic's business is to weigh these alternatives, and the very material for doing this is a study of the laws of form.

When De Quincey wrote the phrase "condign reward," he was simply appealing from custom to common sense. There is no reason, except a somewhat unthinking fashion, for restricting the word "condign" to half its legitimate province. When an evening newspaper tells us that at a recent concert Madame So-and-so "negotiated a pianoforte solo with her usual matchless skill," it is but obliterating the frontier between style and slang. Milton writes "disarmed of cruelty," and in so doing catches his native language with a subtle artfulness. A contemporary poet writes "ful-filled of fears and justified of joys," and only reminds us of the enchanter's servant, who, to his own confusion, was filled with the spells that he did not understand. The *Quarterly* selected some of Keats' most exquisite lines as examples of bad scansion; but it does not therefore follow that there is no such thing as poetry. And the case is the same with music. The unreserved dissonance in the Finale of Mozart's B-flat Symphony is perfectly right; it obeys a formal law higher than the grammatical rule which it violates. When Beethoven writes consecutive fifths he does it with a purpose, and the critics who objected to them are now only remembered as carping and illiberal pedants. It is an insult to condone such things as these; they are not errors but truths, not examples of license but expressions of a nobler loyalty; and our duty is to interpret them and to find out the principles which they embody. But at the same time there are faults of musical style which are parallel to the "uplit infinitive," or the use of "like" instead of "as," faults which have no compensating gain, which are not committed in obedience to a higher law, which seem to owe their existence solely to lack of taste and deficiency of education. If our grammarians condemn them they may perhaps be giving judgment on a wrong issue, but at least they are dealing equitably with a criminal.

So it is in structure. That the second subject should be in the dominant, that the *Scherzo* should be in the same key as the first movement, that the *Pièce* should be quick in tempo and light in character—these are rules which could never have been anything but conventional. They had their uses as temporary guides, they were always liable to be overruled as the art advanced and progressed. Beethoven left musical structure in the most perfect state that the conditions of his time permitted; some parts of his work were developed by Schumann, most of it has been developed by Brahms and Tchaikovsky. At the present day we have lower conventions than any age that has preceded us, and the prospects of music are the brighter in consequence. But the great underlying principles—so easy to feel, so hard to formulate—yes, I believe, the same now as they were in the days when instrumental music first began.

I say "instrumental music," because vocal obviously owes a divided allegiance. So far as music is intended to illustrate poetry, so far is it amenable to a system that is not purely its own. Other considerations come into play, and though here also are principles to be discovered, yet they are not principles exclusively musical. There will be some compromise, some interchange of courtesies between the two, by which the actual claims of each may be somewhat obscured. It is so instrumental music, therefore, that we should look for the laws of Form, not of course because vocal music is lawless, but because its laws are more complex.

It would seem that the occasion of all true musical composition is the experience, by the composer, of a certain emotional state. Not that great music has usually or even frequently been written at a white heat of passion; but there is always in it something of the "*châleureux*" which Vogi noted as the essential characteristic of Schubert. So far, then, the artist is almost passive; his melodies come to him he knows not whence, and their material depends less on his deliberate choice than on the force or richness of his temperament. But—to follow the rough metaphor—when he begins to work at his material, to give voice and expression to the articulate idea, he finds that he has two functions to fulfil. One is to communicate his impression, to arouse by sympathy a corresponding state in his hearers; the other is to communicate it in the most beautiful form at his command. A work which does not carry the impress of some genuine emotion in its creator is simply a piece of dead mechanism—at best a technical exercise for the school, at worst a piece of merchandise for the market. And so far as my experience goes, such work as this may always be known by one plain indication: that it says nothing true which has not been said before. No doubt true music may sometimes

carry a momentary echo of past thought—Bethoven sometimes recalls Mozart, Brahms is sometimes indebted to Bethoven—but it recalls them as a child reproduces the features of its parents, not as a wax image reproduces those of its model. All true music, in short, is the direct outcome of its composer's temperament, and even if it borrow a phrase or a theme will do so in such a manner as to make them its own.

But it by no means follows that the value of true music varies with the intensity of its emotion. It has the whole gamut of feeling open before it—passion, humour, romance, contemplation, serenity—and we have no right to select between these and prescribe one more than another. For instance, the temper of Tchaikowsky's music is poignant, nervous, vivid, steeped in the imaginative melancholy of his fellow poets and novelists. The music of Brahms is essentially grave and earnest—he is of the same mind as Schybaas, or Dante, or Milton. But criticism has wholly overstepped its bounds if it declares that, because the Russian can stimulate us to a higher pitch of excitement, he is therefore the better artist. It would be as reasonable to decide that Verestchagin is a greater painter than Velasquez, or that Schiller stands on a higher plane than Sophocles. In a word, the reason for which we assign to Tchaikowsky his unquestioned place among the masters, is not because he communicates a particular kind of emotional stimulus, but because in so doing he has given us living monuments of artistic style and artistic construction.

For the first and last duty of music is to be beautiful, and beauty appeals ultimately not to sense alone nor to emotion alone, but to a higher æsthetic faculty in which both these are presupposed. And again, it must be remembered that in music the relation between form and idea is much more intimate than in literature. The latter may often give us examples of a thought clearly seen, but marred in the statement by crude or clumsy language; in music imperfect form means imperfect conception, and inadequate expression is a mark of weakness or confusion in the idea. A false rhyme in a stanza of verse implies no more than an incorrect fact; the thing said may be true in spite of it; a false rhyme in a melody implies, in addition, an ill-balanced mind, and the meaning of the passage suffers in consequence. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that in music form and conception are the *obverse* and *reverse* of the same set of relations, and that we cannot properly estimate the one without thereby judging the other.

If this be so formal criticism is more than justified. For it is only through the composer's expression that we can infer his thought, and these are the only two points with

which criticism is concerned. The soul of music does in a very real sense weave its own body, and if the soul be mean or self-indulgent the body will bear the inevitable marks of sickness and deformity. It remains, then, to investigate the signs by which health and disease may respectively be determined, and since the pathology of any art is irksome we may devote a fuller attention to the course of normal growth and development.

Now the chief requisite of musical composition is that it should be organic—that it should hold together as unity a diversity of separate parts. Take away the unity and it becomes chaotic; take away the diversity and it becomes listlessness; and both these are, on opposite sides, the negation of art. Again, the form, as form, must be interesting; it must carry the attention forward, it must raise expectations and bring them to their appropriate fulfilment. And as a general rule it may be said that the richer the content the more effectively will the work attain this end. Even when the artist seems to be struggling with a thought too great for utterance, or—what is often the same thing—attacking a problem of construction which he has not yet seen how to solve, yet even here, if his work be true and vital, the imperfect expression will mark a real stage in the advance and progress of evolution. Much more so when, as sometimes happens with a great artist, the incomplete expression itself supplies the experience by which, in a later work, it can be completed. In music, life is progress and progress is life. There is no great generation, there is no great artist—one may almost say there is no great composition—which has not in some measure aided the general development of the art. And in tracing the history of its development we are not only working along a line of the utmost interest, but in addition providing ourselves with a touchstone by which artistic work can be least imperfectly appraised.

In a sense, then, formal criticism is the denial of formalist criticism; the assertion that music progresses according to the laws of organic development and that in its growth there is no such thing as finality. And to this all evidence of musical history bears witness. The old modal counterpoint gave way to the harmonic counterpoint of Bach, and that again to the free polyphony of later days. Melody began with strict balance and antithesis and has learned in each generation to become more flexible, more diverse, more truly organic. Harmonic devices, at first vague and tentative, have strengthened and solidified to their present state of ordered complexity, and will advance farther as the years proceed. The little two-part structure which satisfied the early instrumental composers grew too narrow for its life, extended its limits, converged with the tripartite system, and from the

two together evolved our great cyclic forms of Sonata and Symphony. These again, modified and enriched by the lyric and romantic forms of the present century, have passed into the heritage of our contemporaries, who in turn are handing them on with increase for the administration of prosperity. Of course the law is not simple and uniform. There are a hundred qualifying causes—questions of race, of training, of personal temper and predilection—the stream has many tributaries, many islands, alternations of pool and rapid, of shallow and cascade; but it is the same river, gathering volume from source to sea, and growing wider and deeper as it flows.

Again, to insist upon this formal organization is not to depreciate the idea but to emphasize it. Design and expression are not antagonistic—they are hardly even separable. Expression without design would be mere stammering, design without expression would be merely academic accuracy, which is a synonym for bad design. No doubt it is possible to write "correctly," as the phrase goes, without any inspiration; but that kind of correctness has very little to do with organic structure. For my own part, indeed, I have never yet seen a composition in which the form was artistic and the thought poor, nor do I believe that such a distinction is intelligible. One might as well side with Da Vinci's art critic, who admits that the drawing is bad, the colouring vile, and the composition ridiculous, and yet reiterates his conviction that the "picture" is beautiful.

Mendelsay comes near the solution of the problem in a famous passage of the essay on Byron. "If by correctness be meant the conforming to rules which have their foundation in truth and in the principles of human nature, their correctness is only another name for excellence. If by correctness be meant the conforming to rules purely arbitrary, then correctness may be another name for dulness and absurdity." I say "comes near," for it may be urged that no rule of art is purely arbitrary; even conventions are founded on some ground of accepted practice, and claim obedience until they are superseded. But the contrast is valuable nevertheless. Correctness, if the term may be used at all of artistic work, is only a merit if it mean conformity to the law of natural development; and in this sense it is not one merit co-ordinate with others, but the excellence in which all alike are comprised. For if there be one law of music more firmly established than another, it is that base metal can never stand the test of workmanship.

Form then means balance, variety, and proportion, so organized by the genius of the composer as to set before us the highest type of design which the particular nature of the composition requires. And by this I wish to imply not

sely distinctions of emotional content—sad or playful, romantic or contemplative—every one of which carries its own natural expansion, but also the distinctions corresponding to those of lyric, elegiac, and epic in literature. For instance, it would hardly be reasonable to expect that a Chopin mazurka should exhibit, in form, the same kind of balance and proportion as a typical sonata movement of Beethoven. The conditions of the two are different, and to ignore this difference would be like judging a song of Shelley from the standpoint of "Paradise Lost." These lyric pieces are often short enough to be grasped by the mind with a single effort; they may, therefore, enjoy a freedom which would not be suitable in a longer and more elaborate work. Again, the first movement of Beethoven's *C-sharp minor Sonata* does not readily fall under any accepted system; but it is none the less one of the most wonderful pieces of organic structure ever written. So it is with the *Finale* of Tchaikowsky's "Pathetic" Symphony; so it is with some of Schumann's Novellietten and with the smaller paraforts pieces of Brahms. All alike are derived from laws which underlie the traditional structures of the sonata; but many of them have extended the tradition until they have far outstripped our established schema of nomenclature.

There is no need here to discuss any vexed question as to the relative merits possessed by this or that kind of instrumental composition. Enough that all alike, up to their measure, can embody these principles of organic form; and that they will only do so if they spring from a genuine and healthy emotion. It does not, of course, follow that everything written by a great composer is necessarily a masterpiece. Occasionally, as with Chopin, we may find a lyric poet who, when he attempts the larger forms, will sometimes overstep the limits of his power; the inspiration flags, the thought runs thin, and, *pois poins*, the form weakens. Occasionally, as in some works of Schumann, we may find a composer who lets his expression be affected by the influence of another art, and writes not with a single-hearted devotion to music, but with an allegiance divided between music and poetry. Schubert, again, will sometimes give us examples of careless workmanship, of style which is diffuse or uncertain—this means that for the moment his emotional state, though true and genuine, lacks the grip and vigor of perfect health. Again, even so supreme a master as Beethoven or Brahms may sometimes be pre-occupied with the solution of some purely technical problem, and may set before us not a picture but a study. None the less, however, does the great masterpiece make itself known to us by the witness of visible signs; by style which is flexible, varied, harmonious; by structure which is organized and coherent; by gradual development of

piet which carries our interest from point to point and from climax to climax. And indeed this is attested by the common experience of us all. A merely emotional impression, however deeply it strikes in the first instance, must necessarily weaken on each repetition. But in a masterpiece—Beethoven's "Appassionata," Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, Brahms's Sextet in D flat—we find that our first impression is the weakest, and that each repetition leads to the discovery of new beauties. All great work is inexhaustible, for it appeals not to the transitory in our nature, but to the eternal.

It would appear, then, that the basis of critical criticism is the law of organic development, together with such study of musical history as may show how the law has been operative through the actual growth and progress of composition. No doubt it is true that certain sequences and collocations of sound give special pleasure to the ear; that certain types of phrase and figure have a special effect on the emotions. A composer is great, not because he knows the existence of these facts—for every musician knows of them—but because, by that inexplicable mystery which we call genius, he can put them to their highest and noblest use. And if we acknowledge this we have, at any rate, some external test by which to appraise the work of the present time. For instance, every generation and, in a sense, every people has its own musical physiology, and the true artist will inevitably write in the natural language of his age and country. Again, as experience gathers, style will grow richer, fuller, and more diversified, a point which we may do well to remember before attacking the alleged "obscurity" of our own day. Again, it is of no small interest and value to observe how the organization of the separate movements is developing into that of the symphony or sonata as a whole; how the types of overture are extending into those of the orchestral poem; how the concerto, the latest of all to be emancipated from convention, is now winning its freedom beside the other great forms of structure. However poetic the sentiment of our criticism, we must allow our judgment to be guided by these facts, if we are to mean by it anything more than a bare statement of personal preference or dislike.

And only by so doing will it afford us any guidance for the future. We cannot forecast the particular manner in which the line will advance, or the particular types of composition to which that advance will lead. But unless the teaching of history be wholly false we can in some measure prepare ourselves for its direction. The language of music will modify as the ear becomes accustomed to new combinations of sound, but the modification will be gradual as all its predecessors have been. The few conventions that

still remains will tend to disappear, not by the violence and impudence of anarchy, but by steady progress towards a truer freedom. The forms which we know at present will be superseded as they have superseded others, but it is out of them that their successors will be developed. If we realize this we shall follow the line as it advances and keep ourselves, if not abreast of our pioneers, at least within sight of them. If we fail to realize it, then of two things one: either we shall do all that is in our power to retard progress by checking the work of true genius, or we shall turn aside from the path ruled by the empty rhetoric of some false prophet. In either case we shall add our mark to the melancholy record of past criticism, in which, for lack of principle, each generation has worshipped what its predecessors have hated and hated much that its predecessors have worshipped.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, I am more than delighted with that fine incisive paper just read by Mr. Hadew. He has given us a large amount of matter to think about, and he has expressed his ideas in a beautiful and polished manner. It is almost too good to be at once discussed; it is a paper that one wants to have before one and study; I should like to read that paper once or twice before criticizing it. The subject is of enormous importance. It is just possible that the healthy state of music in this country may largely depend upon a healthy state of musical criticism; very few could take up the question so boldly as Mr. Hadew has done, and analyse the functions of both critic and musician as to what they should do and what they should not do. The canons laid down in this paper are founded upon principle and not upon fancy. I ask you to join with me in thanking Mr. Hadew most heartily for the admirable paper he has given us.

This was unanimously agreed to.

MR. SEYMOUR.—We should have been glad if our lecturer in condensing technical terms in music, and the use in our newspapers of descriptions of music which are beyond the capacity of the ordinary readers to grasp, had also told us what could be substituted for these terms. The apostle of iconoclasm ought also to offer us a constructive theory. If he had told us what he proposed to put in the place of these technical and necessary terms, we should have had the delightful pleasure of examining and criticising the new vocabulary. There must be technical terms in music as in

every other art—terms which those who are properly trained and educated quite understand and thoroughly appreciate as expressing some distinct meaning. Such terms do not appeal to the public any more than do the terms employed in engineering, electricity, astronomy, chemistry, and in other sciences and arts. Granted some of our musical terms are of foreign origin, some are borrowed from other arts, and some are not so exact and definite as they might be—still musicians understand them and that is sufficient. The ignorant may make fun of the "first inversion of the chord of the ninth," or the key of the "subdominant," but we know just what is meant. Strictly musical terms and expressions are not infrequently borrowed in other arts; a notable painter has labelled a picture "A Nocturne in Brown" and another "A Symphony in Violet," thus stealing our distinctive terms and applying them to another sort of art production, and which, to the mind of the general public, can convey no possible meaning. If Mr. Hadew had commented on the multifarious meanings of the word "tone" I should have been with him; but we cannot agree to condemn all our terms before we see what is proposed to take the place of them. When we know, then, this matter can be adequately discussed.

Mr. C. A. BAKER.—I want to say a word or two as to the abuse of musical terms. The lecturer suggested that our phraseology should be abolished altogether. With the Chairman's permission I will read a paragraph which I wrote twenty-two years ago. Mr. Barry then read the following paragraph from the *Monthly Musical Record* of March 1, 1895: "There is probably no one who has attempted to describe musical works in writing or who has read the descriptions of others, but has been as much struck with the poverty of the English language in technical musical terms, as with the absence of uniformity, both in regard to their use and meaning, displayed by various writers. As to the signification of such simple terms of expression as 'phrase,' 'stream,' 'section,' &c., English theorists are by no means agreed. The first movement of a sonata, quartet, or symphony, we constantly hear indifferently spoken of as written in the 'Sonata,' the 'Allegro,' the 'Grand Duplex,' or the 'Binary' form. The transitional passages connecting the leading themes of musical works are variously termed 'Bridges,' 'Connecting Phrases,' 'Cadenza,' 'Causeways,' &c. The middle part of such works, for which Germans have such expressive terms as 'Darschleung' and 'Dauerbreitung,' we often see spoken of as 'Free Fantasia,' 'Development,' and 'Working-out.' On this head we think we have said enough to prove that it would be to the advantage of both theorists and students could some

means be devised for definitely settling our musical phraseology, and that therefore it seems high time that the matter should be taken in hand either by the Musical Association or by a congress of musicians specially convened for the purpose." He subsequently remarked: Though I wrote this twenty-two years ago, I regret that neither the Musical Association nor any other incorporated society has as yet acted upon my suggestion.

Mr. SEYMOUR.—There is one term which cannot be dispensed with, and that is "tone."

The CHAIRMAN.—Just so. But we must not fall into a discussion upon terms, that was only a subordinate point of Mr. Hadow's paper. I do not know whether we should be great gainers by trotting out long academic vocabularies. I suppose Mr. Hadow is of opinion that it would be well to get a set of natural and simple terms which would smooth a great many difficulties met by residents and critics in discussion. It would certainly be a great advantage if there could be a uniform phraseology, but I do not know how one could make it compulsory.

Mr. JOHN TAYLOR.—I cannot see that the term "false relation," like many other musical terms derived historically, is at all incorrect or misleading. It, of course, signifies the collateral or concurrent presentation, or at least suggestion, of two distinct keys (originally hexachords or modes) at one and the same time—a result forbidden by the cardinal principle of unity underlying all music. With regard to the whole question of musical terminology, we can no more sweep it away, even were it desirable, than the English language itself. It is the outcome of the organic life of music—the result of an ever progressing evolution—and it can only die itself, like all natural movement, slowly—in course of time. No doubt, however, much might be done in this country towards systematisation by an authoritative congress of competent and unprejudiced musicians—"a consummation devoutly to be wished." One of the best things, Sir, you have said this evening is that music is the outcome of an evolution. Yes! all music is an evolution, based upon such inflexible and invariable laws as unity, variety, symmetry, balance, relational design, and so on. These laws alike regulate its natural material and the æsthetic selection which shapes this material into the creations of art. In so far as the technical human conventions, necessarily more or less fallible, which at any time regulate the theory and practice of music, accord with these eternal underlying laws, so far and so far only can they endure.

After a few words of reply from Mr. Hadow, the proceedings were brought to a close with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

JANUARY 10, 1898.

F. CUNNINGHAM WOODS, Esq., M.A., MUR.B.,
IN THE CHAIR.

ON MODERN SENSATIONALISM.

By CHARLES MACLEAN, M.A., MUR. DOCT., OXON.

MR. SOUTHGATE at the commencement said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am simply the mouthpiece of Dr. Mackan and I do not identify myself with all the statements in this paper—indeed, I dissent very much from some of them—but still I am very pleased to read the paper for him.

THIS paper, supplied in compliance with a request, has been written under circumstances which precluded any research, and I must apologise in advance for the absence of that quality. The subject-matter of the paper again is one on which there may be as many opinions as there are men, and I should wish to disclaim any desire to do more than stimulate discussion. One or two principles which are derivable from consideration of history or from reflection will be mentioned in this paper, and wherever I have any strong convictions of my own I shall express them without reserve. But on the other hand the subject is confessedly one of taste; and without going so far as to say that remarks on taste must necessarily provoke opposition, yet it is true that, as neither words nor understanding are very much involved in that mental operation, it is valued as the last stronghold of personal liberty. I beg then to say that discussion and counter-statement are especially invited.

The term sensationalism need not necessarily be used in a bad sense. All speech was sensational at early stages of human society. The language of nations began with exclamations, cries, and gestures. Then came imitative sounds for

objects. Thus for sentiments and abstract ideas, correspondences were found between modes of articulation and states of mind; for instance words denoting the articulation *at* were used for violent energy, words with *if* for gradual motion, words with *we* for duration, and so on. Later on, and especially in proportion to the fire and vivacity of the race, the imagination furnished metaphor. The Hebrew language of the Old Testament is very hyperbolic; misery drinks the cup of astonishment, wisdom is a lighted candle, &c. That perfect work the Arabian Nights has the same language. Odian is almost one continual metaphor, as when Fingal "holds a sword before him, terrible as the streaming meteor of night." And the metaphor was often accompanied by actual gesture. Jeremiah in sight of Babel broke a potter's vessel; and again threw a book into the Euphrates. Thus all languages have begun by being poetical, and if this quality of theirs is further analysed it will be found to be tinged with enthusiasm, magnanimity, and delicacy, which are connected with all the strong emotions of the human mind. Hence the still-abiding charm of Homer and Odian. As to the art products, poetry preceded prose, little though this fact is generally realised, and even preceded written speech. The Greeks and Romans of historical times rationalised an avowed sensationalism as part of their dramatic and oratorical system; for instance every speech of a Latin orator contained a part where the numbers or rhythm was strongly dwelt upon, and this constituted the sensational part of the speech.

But this poetical condition of language did not continue indefinitely. With extended human intercourse, speech became more precise and plain, the imagination became more subdued, the impulse of the senses was diminished, the understanding began to play a greater part. In Europe, when the barbarians as they were called of the north spread over the Roman empire, these more phlegmatic races obliterated the sensational accents tones and gestures of those whom they conquered. At the Renaissance men had almost lost the power of varied declamation and theatrical action, and the poet on that head seemed even incomprehensible. In this state of things it was that art stepped in to fill a void left in the world, to vivify and where necessary to startle the emotions. These hurried sentences must serve to illustrate what I have indicated, that sensationalism need not as a matter of course be a bad thing, but is rather connected with a fundamental part of our being.

I will put together some instances of what I should call good and bad sensationalism. For the former take the incentive to thought and emotion caused by the famous prospect from the Mootorio at Rome; where is seen in one view the whole of the eternal city of 7 hills which has

twice conquered the world: where the eye rests on the Palace, Vatican, and Quirinal, the embodiments of the three successive types of human power. Or take the Oberammergau Passion-play; a monument of faith, for it was instituted two centuries ago to ward off pestilence; inseparably connected with every-day industry, for it arose out of the wood-carving occupation of the inhabitants; and the most thrilling theatrical representation ever yet offered to spectators, while I would add not an unwholesome one. Every climax in art is a sensationalism; and there is no better and more legitimate example of climax than that of Shakespeare's, known to each schoolboy, "The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, The solemn temples, the great globe itself, Yea all that it inhabits, shall dissolve, And like the baseless fabric of a vision, Leave not a wreck behind." What I would perhaps call sensationalism of an indifferent or medium kind is such as startles the emotions, while leaving a competent judge undecided whether the effect is good or bad, whether the results are desirable or undesirable. For instance though Edmund Kean was a powerful actor, yet his style was acknowledged to be tricky and flashy, the poet Coleridge gave him but half-praise when he said that seeing him act was like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning. It is said however that there is no degree between the mediocre and the bad, and I pass to the latter. When Burke threw a dagger on the floor of the House of Commons, that was very bad sensationalism and ineffective. Byron with his stern sentiments and mock passions was a sensationalist to bad ends. The productions of such writers as Haysman, Zola, D'Annunzio, &c., are the very worst form of sensationalism. I would with the help of these examples define sensationalism as being good and bad, according as it tends to being either strong or refined on one side, and to being either weak or vulgar on the other. And it goes without saying that the scale is very delicately poised in this matter, so that a trifling difference will turn it to good or bad.

These preliminary and general remarks have appeared necessary before approaching the subject of sensationalism in the musical art; and I will now take as the first head of the latter the question of sensationalism in musical composition proper, subdividing that again roughly into the three questions of general style, design, and orchestration.

I.

It is probable of course that there have been sensational composers, those who have cared very little whether their ingredients were badly mixed or not provided that they produced a startling effect on the populace, long before modern times. I will not pursue that inquiry. The first

sensationalist who has cut a very considerable figure in modern times is Meyerbeer. His style was a lattage of the schools. Without denying to him immense musical ability or the power to produce occasionally sins of considerable if rather artificial beauty and march single of much power, I must say that taking him in his totality as an exhibitor of the musical art he seems to me to have been utterly the inferior of his contemporaries Asber and Halévy, and still more so of that great genius Rossini. And simply because, taking him in his entirety, he was always ready to subordinate beauty and propriety to popular effect. Mendelssohn felt himself totally antipathetic to the music of Meyerbeer, and I doubt whether there existed any more clear-sighted critic than Mendelssohn for music of his own time and of times anterior to himself. I consider that Meyerbeer was the arch-sensationalist, in a bad sense, of his day; and the fact that some of his operas thanks to the exigencies of the grand opera stage are still performed, does not alter that opinion. It is peculiar by the by that the production of three of his most successful operas, *Robert le Diable*, *Pacifflato*, and *Africaino*, coincided roughly with three French revolutions in 1830, 1848, and 1870, and I do not think this was entirely an accident. I suggested in a paper previously read before this Association that Meyerbeer's efforts seemed to be the direct outcome of French revolutionary ideas. The next case is that of Berlioz. There is something subtle and genuine in his music which will make him I think live far longer than Meyerbeer. When that is granted, he was no doubt a sensationalist of the most aggravated type, especially in his works written during the first 40 years of his life. I will again quote Mendelssohn, who said wittily, "with all his endeavours to go stark mad Berlioz never-was successful"; which means that with all his efforts the total result was tame. There was in fact a certain barbarism in his talent, which combined with his passion for effects perpetually militated against his otherwise pure musical instincts. The frank and healthy sensationalism of David's "*Donner*" contrasts very favourably with that of Berlioz. Even, the great virtuoso and St. Simonian, never emerged from the false atmosphere created by these two influences; the empty flashiness of the one, the extravagance of the other. He attempted the totally impossible task of creating a style for large musical works out of the materials of the pianoforte improvisatore or fantasia-maker. While of course recognizing the immense technical ability of his works, I do not think that they have the least prospect of prolonged existence, the *Symphonic Poems*, by which presumably he hoped chiefly to live, seem to me to be dead already. Wagner was no doubt a sensationalist, but in the best and highest sense. His

them or imitations were as entrancing as Liszt's were crude and feeble. He used every effect known up to his time, and every effect that he could think of himself, but he was not so shallow as to suppose that effects are of any real avail unless they have sound music behind them. In these remarks I am speaking of Wagner, as I was speaking of the others, in his principal developments; and draw a veil over those parts of his career when he was educating his power in the face of the public. To us who know the completed Wagner as he at least showed himself to the world, *Wotan* seems a scarcely tolerable piece of Italian, inferior perhaps to *Meyerbeer*. But this in passing. The *Venusberg* scene, the *Valkyrie's Ride*, are pieces of undeniable sensationalism, but with what extraordinary power and freshness of theme behind them! The death march of Siegfried is sensational in the highest sense that the word can be used, and is one of the most sublime compositions ever thought and penned. It does not need any feeble words of mine to show that Wagner was one of the master-minds of music, and that in point of sensationalism and in so far as he was a sensationalist he was but a head-on-light for others to follow,—if they have the capacity. In this rapid survey the next name which occurs is that of one who, doubtless owing to some just and sufficient cause in the history of human taste, but still I think without any true artistic basis, has lately been receiving an extraordinary amount of attention in England. I speak of the eclectic Russian Tschaiukowsky. This composer, who is of course a sensationalist, has been the subject of so much recent adulation that it will at least have the merit of variety if I say that I find myself unable after great effort to join in it. As to his eclecticism let it be said at once that it was good and judicious; his resulting compound is better and finer homogeneous, trifle the mechanical and jerky compound made by Meyerbeer. But still his style is but a compound made up from several sources, and I doubt whether eclecticism ever yet had a real success. As an opera writer Tschaiukowsky put aside the rough vigorous national beauty of which Glinka had been the pioneer, and looked abroad, especially to Germany, for his materials; and anything more heartily I do not conceive. But my reproach against Tschaiukowsky is not as to his eclecticism, which would pass if he made it succeed, but as to the inherent inequality and uncertainty of his compositions. He belonged to that class of writers, who are becoming I am sorry to say numerous, who write an empurpled one day, and soaring high the next day expect their reputation to attach to the latter while the former is spotted. This is not possible in music. No great composer

ever did it. In the simplest value of Schubert there is some touch which makes it not empty, but rather links it on to all other works of the same composer, and makes it not unworthy of appearing even by the side of the great C major Symphony. To take a composer nearer to Tchaikowsky, namely Rubinstein; who over-wrote himself, who had various defects, and is not much appreciated in this country; but still I think that he was a much greater man than Tchaikowsky, simply because his lesser genius came out even in the smallest thing he did, and in fact because he was an original composer. Rubinstein's career as a virtuoso took him sometimes, I am aware, in his compositions perilously near to the trivial; but I think his genius just saved him from ever actually touching it. What the peculiar and necessary power of sensitisation is in composers I cannot exactly define, so that I have little hope that my remark will carry conviction; nevertheless I am satisfied myself of its existence, and that it is one of the chief tests, almost the ultimate test, which separates true metal from base metal or alloy. Now Tchaikowsky's large orchestral works, by which he is chiefly known in this country, even when taken by themselves, exhibit just the want of this quality. Of course he was a passed master, the viceroyary effect of these recurring diatonic is exciting to the highest degree. But then (to say nothing of their coming in seasons and out of season) they seem to arise out of something insignificant and come back to something insignificant. In plainer language, the broad effect of long periods and sustained melodies which characterises great masters is wholly unknown to Tchaikowsky. His tunes give out generally at about the fourth bar, and after that short excursion he has to begin again, to repeat very or develop. Due to this cause the sentiment of Tchaikowsky even in his best chamber and orchestral works has always seemed to me sticky and incapable of producing a permanent impression on the human heart; and I speak after an at least patient survey of all his publications. One cannot deny that a writer of this stamp often attracts the attention by some charm; but so does a sourette sometimes charm with a smile. There is by the by a legend that Tchaikowsky spoke openly in disparagement of the works of Brahms, and I have certainly seen a published extract from some diary of his in which he attacked those works in no measured terms. As to the latter, men sometimes write imprudent things in their diaries, which they would not thank their friends to publish. As to the former, I shall believe that Tchaikowsky was guilty of this impudence when I hear it duly confirmed. Whether his powers enabled him to take the highest course in art or not, he was a thorough artist, and I

think he must have known that for all the essential qualities of greatness Brahms was his master and more than master. I have dwelt at length on Tchaikowsky because he illustrates my point of sensationalism unsupported with real strength by an example almost at our doors. With all deference to the English public, which is a very good one, I think they will find their present idol to have feet of clay. With respect to Richard Strauss I will do little more than offer his name for discussion, because I have heard but three or four of his works and that is not sufficient for forming a judgment. That he is a sensationalist is obvious. As a composer he is probably the most powerful wielder of the orchestra now alive. His themes are swept along in a gulf of sound, like trees and shrubs in an inundation. His beauties are elemental and subtle. With these remarks, which express no opinion on the point at issue, I will leave him to the adjudication of the audience. As a final to my remarks on sensationalism in general style, I would say that the chief preventives against this turning to ill seem to be, (a) breadth of melody, (b) contrast, (c) true polyphony: these form the core and heart of good music.

Now as to sensationalism in musical design. The chief phase in which this develops itself is perhaps what is called programme-music, and that liberated from accepted musical form. In a paper recently read before this Association, I showed the enormous preponderance of accepted typical forms in the music even of the latest date. And I might here add that there is not a single piece of Wagner's written for the chamber or concert-room which does not implicitly obey these canons. He had an art of concealing his design by making the themes of one section put in an appearance in another section; but when tenacity is taken along with theme, and tenacity is the ultimate test of modern form, his formal outlines become clear enough. So that the free-lances of present day programme-music cannot at any time quote Wagner as their type. But there are free-lances nevertheless, and regarding them I can only indicate their principle, and suggest that their success must depend on their special power. Their principle is that whereas dramatic action has been shown to be a possible substitute for accepted form, so the imagination of the concert-goer (aided by a programme-book) can effect the same. I do not deny that this is possible, or that weakness may be collected thereby. As to composers succeeding in this branch of art, it is evident that they will require much greater power without than with the aid of forms established by long generations of practical composers. A caustic writer has lately said that there were only two real classes of music, dramatic music and absolute music, and that those who found they could write neither of

these sat on the fence and wrote programme-music. Without desiring to join in this satire, I would point out that it has a basis of fact in at any rate the area at present occupied by programme music, which is insignificant compared with the two new and great worlds created of late by Wagner and his successors on the one side and by Brahms on the other side. Before leaving the question of sensationalism in design, I would say that literature as an element thereof is apt to have an exaggerated importance attached to it. It is a good device no doubt, but it is scarcely more than one form of thematic treatment, which is as old as the art of modern music. Just as good an opera can be written without this device as with it.

As to sensationalism in orchestration, the fundamental matter is that there is a popular error as to the part which orchestration takes in music. Orchestration is really only the handmaiden of design and invention; political effect without excellence in those is barren without a trunk, destined only for a moment's enjoyment; no amount of orchestration can turn a bad article into a good one. The less educated public however are very little sensible of these distinctions, and think that orchestration forms three-fourths if not the whole of the music. Meretricious art of course results from playing up (as it so easily does) to this fallacy, and such art was never so rife as it is at the present day. Neglect of the melos, patchiness of colour without reference to design, and tricks as individual instruments, are perhaps among the chief objectionable sensationalisms of the day. As to melos, analogy should be taken from the sister-art. Chromaticism, our heritage from Leonardo da Vinci and Correggio perfected in Rembrandt, is certainly not the art of setting white against black, but that of working shadow and its analogous colour in all their infinite gradations, and with reference to the complementary qualities of colour. And the great masters have invariably attached much importance to the melos; that which penetrates into the light on one side and the dark on the other and welds the two together. It is a fact known in tropical climates, to which I can testify from experience, that in nature strong light kills colour just as much as darkness does. I wish that the composers who deal only in pompousness and fortissimos would give heed to these points, which are equally true of their own art. There is no patchiness. Where colour in nature is most effective it is most widely sustained; a field of poppies, the hues of morning and evening, a "blue" mountain. But many modern composers seem to work through their scores taking the instruments at haphazard and as their hand lights upon them, rather than in accordance with some broad and well

bad-out scheme. The tricks on instruments are offensive, partly because they soon become formal and mannerisms, and partly because in some cases out of ten they are introduced to cover some passage which musically is bald and has nothing in it. Their name is legion, and they are sensationalisms of a bad kind.

II.

Wishing to give the plan of this paper some completeness, I had reserved a main-head for sensationalism of execution, but I will enter only enough not to leave the head a blank. The degraded school of Joachim still seems to me to produce the best violinists. On the pianoforte I am decidedly of opinion that the school known in this country as that of Sterndale Bennett still produces the players who give the most pleasure; with due deference to the technical powers of the hard hitting class who now mostly prevail. Sensationalism in the vocal art is not I think for the most part at the present day carried to any dangerous extent; the chest C's of the successors of Tamburini, the extremes of bravura, are now largely discounted in popular estimation.

III.

My third main-head is sensationalism as applied to musical drama, which is a large and important subject. When music allies itself to the stage, it finds itself at once in contact with all the fundamental considerations of the imitative arts. And of these, philosophically speaking, the deepest consideration is that of realism or its negative. The question of operatic sensationalism is practically in effect very little else than the question of operatic realism, and hence though this is a hackneyed theme I must with your permission enter upon it, if the object of this paper is to be fulfilled.

Art imitates by the resemblance of an image, but not by the substitution of an identical article. In other words, in every art there must be with respect to truth some fiction, and with respect to resemblance something incomplete. These distinctions make it art. The reason is that if nothing is left for us to exercise our imaginations upon, the chief pleasure is gone. In proportion to our surrendering the ideal we surrender our highest form of enjoyment. Plautus says very pregnantly, "*Porta tabulam quam caput alicui. Quamvis quod suspensum est gentium, operit tamen.*" "When the dramatic author enters upon his task, he seeks something which is nowhere existent, nevertheless he finds it." That is to say, he idealises. Aristotle gives three degrees of art in these

painters, Praxas, Dionysius, and Polygnotus; who respectively represented men as worse than they were, graver as they were, loquacious; and more beautiful than they were, gayer; and he gave the palm to the last. In the drama of the ancients there was vastly less illusion by reality, and much more illusion by imagination, than now; their drama controlled multitudes but made little attempt to deceive the senses. Shakespeare's plays were obviously acted with the most potent stage effects.

On the other hand various rebellions against these art-principles have been made, with more or less show of justification, in modern times. In poetry Wordsworth and his followers introduced at the beginning of this century a system of homely similes. In painting the Germans made the first realism with Cornelius and Overbeck; then the French with Courbet, then beginning with *Algo* our English Pre-Raphaelites, who confessedly put truth against beauty and introduced a terrific and microscopic variation of natural objects, thereby reducing their art in my opinion to an absurdity. In drama we have had of late what are vulgarly called "tearful and tender" or "cost and waistcoat" comedies making great encroachments, and not I think without some advantage. With less to be said for it there is also melodrama, which shifts its scenes incessantly and puts before the eyes every actual circumstance, ignoble or otherwise, which might have been described. In dramatic music Gluck and Wagner have substituted a very painful realism for what they found existing before them.

But note that all these revolts are exceedingly small in their effect. In spite of the pother made about the change, does any one really suppose that convention is less rampant in Wagner's operas than it was before? Do people in real life occupy five minutes in uttering a single sentiment, or stand in poses for an equal length of time to listen to them? Wagner was far too great a man not to understand the basis of the dramatic art, and in fact he did little more than substitute one set of conventions for another. No. The truth is that the great bulk of art of all kinds remains just what it was before, the subject of convention and ideal.

To be as brief as possible then since these preface-aries I will put my remarks on the present operative situation under three heads:—(a) The conventions of the opera stage are vastly more necessary, and consequently more reasonable, than those suppose who have not studied the essential conditions of the imitative arts, and who are ever ready to obey the individual impulse of the moment rather than give themselves up to the greatness of art and of precedent. If the opera is to prosper, there must always be due regard to the original principles of the art. (b) As to realistic

introductions, I am by no means entirely opposed to them. I see no reason in the abstract why an *Alceste* play should not be set to strong music and make a good opera. I only say that such introductions should be effected with great caution. Possible melodrama wedded to noise would not fulfil this promise. (4) The conventions must be carried out with power. The age demands excellence and will not tolerate mediocrity. There are many things which it seems to me require no change. I see no objection to a visible conductor and a visible orchestra interposing between audience and stage; because, in spite of Wagner's half-wish half-theory to the contrary, experience amply shows that that is necessary for the presentation of effective music. I see no objection to many dramatic exigencies, the prologue not really dramatic, introductory acted scenes to the same effect, soliloquies, asides, remarks to confidence, the singer addressing the audience rather than his interlocutor, &c. I see no objection to the thousand and one things which make singing in whatever form different from real life. But on the other hand there are many things which must move forward. The active bustling choruses of well-dressed and attractive personages which the managers of modern London musical farce put on the stage are conventional but they are interesting. The peasant choros of the *Maritimes* drama play a conventional part, but they are as dignified as any group in a picture of Rubens. These points may well be noted by those who mount grand opera, to the permanent removal of the ungainly women and ruffled men who glare at the audience, and occasionally at the signal of the prompter wave their arms and break into mechanical song. Arrangements may be made so that choruses can hear their accompaniments and not sing a quarter of a tone flat. Principals may be taught that one undeviating cycle of gesture, the hand outstretched, the hand to the breast, the hand to the hair, the hand clasped, and then *de capo*, is carrying convention beyond the limits of tolerance or effect-fulness. Conductors may be taught the same up to slipping their desks through a chorus. Ability should reign throughout, and if the audience is to make concessions the stage should by ability perform its share of the burlesque which is called operatic representation.

IV.

My fourth main-head is the sensationalism of criticism. The function of criticism is to apply taste from without to works of genius and art. A critic must have powers imaginative and analytical; a quick sympathy untrammelled by conventions or technical precepts; a natural sensibility; force

and kindly affections; a vigorous and well-disciplined understanding; a judicial composure dwelling above the fiftal region of prejudice. Above all he must have experience. I have read musical criticism in several languages, and am under the impression that in point of fulfilling these conditions our country compares on the whole favourably with any other. But nevertheless I must point out two not unknown sources of sensationalism, namely cant and malice, to denigrate one and express abhorrence of the other. As a species of cant I will quote the tendency to assign philosophical grounds to merely technical facts. And of this two examples which I have mentioned elsewhere. Psychological reasons have been given for Wagner's transformation of themes, where the simple fact was that he had to combine his system of leitmotives for different characters and ideas with long movements of uniform beat adapted from musical policy, and that involved frequent changes of the details of the leitmotive. Again Wagner has been said to have given on psychological grounds one distinct province to the voice and another to the orchestra; the truth being that he gave his singers the melody line whenever possible, but this was not often, because a single voice has a very limited range of pitch, while modern musical conception has a very wide one; many musical critics ignore the composer's melody line. A special cant of the present day is about conductors. After all that is said and done the primary function of a conductor is by moral and mechanical means to cause his orchestra to play together and keep time. He may in addition to that, but only in addition, cultivate certain excellencies; he can if he thinks fit attend the dynamic marks in his parts; he can with great discretion make scarcely perceptible changes in the tempo of continuous movements; if rehearsal time suffices he can instruct individual players. But some critics go far beyond the notice of such matters as these, and speak of the conductor almost as if he wrote the music and played all the instruments. At any rate the reckless comparisons between different conductors which are sometimes made, seem to be based more on individual fancy than on technical knowledge of the subject. As to the sensuousness of music, I think cordially that the criticism of our country while more independent than that of any other, and perhaps in consequence of that, is by comparison the most free from this stigma. But there are some exceptions; and though this is a paper on quite impersonal subjects, I must draw attention to certain especially wicked attacks lately made in the press. Such attacks can be for the moment faded or checked, but it will be an evil thing for music if any course of the public continues for the sake of obtaining its periodic interest to countenance this most vicious of all sensationalisms.

This concludes the divisions of my subject. I have endeavoured to show that sensationalism to be good must be sane and strong. Quintilian is so terse on this that I will take the liberty of quoting him. He says, "*Ornatus et virtus et fortis et sanctus sit; nec effeminatum levitatem et fœne sentimentium colorem amet; sanguine et virtute valeat.*" "Let ornament be with and strong and chaste, and let it not incline to effeminate levity and colour artificially dyed; let it prevail by blood and muscle." On the other hand sensationalists who act from an insecure base will catch the public for the moment and lose them in perpetuity. There is an Arabic legend that Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt because she put too much salt into the food of the angels whom her husband entertained; and this is not intended by the Arabs as a jest. There is also a Hebrew proverb that the camel went to seek hares and lost his ears. I commend these sayings to the notice of those who would try to catch the public by too saged means.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The first thing to do is to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Mackenzie for his paper and to Mr. Southgate for reading it, although, as he has said, he cannot agree with everything it contains.

MR. C. A. BARN.—I am very glad to second that proposal. This proposition was unanimously agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN.—There are other matters of interest to come before us later on, but I desire to say a few words on the paper we have just listened to. It seems to me that the general substance of Dr. Mackenzie's contentions was that he was aimed at men being national. Directly the composer was national, or showed distinct advance, Dr. Mackenzie seemed to have an idea that he must of necessity be a writer of sensational music. That, however, seems to be too strong a view of the case. Dr. Mackenzie may have wished to state the matter emphatically one way or the other, but we may think that his definition of the case is perhaps too general and too sweeping. One feels, for example, in the music of Brahms and Tchaikowsky (I speak my own opinion) that somehow they were caused by Dr. Mackenzie with the same break as being sensational in their works. These men went a very long way out of their way to avoid sensationalism, and were men who took time to write and to write efficiently. After all, it is merely viewing the matter from Dr. Mackenzie's standpoint. He might have said Haydn was at times sensational; but as to his being sensational, in the strict sense of

the word, it hardly seems to apply. In Brahms we seem to have a man who tried to bring music from the cold classic sonata form and to make it a living thing. Is it on that ground that he is placed in the list of sensationalists? There may be some of Liszt's works that tend to sensationalism, but could that be said of all his writings—"St. Elizabeth," for example? We are told that Tschakowsky's tunes "give out at the first four bars." To attempt a refutation of that statement we have but to turn to "*Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt*,"—one of his finest songs—and the absence of sensationalism is at once most noticeable. Tschakowsky would appear to be a man who pondered more on the problems of life than a large number of men occupying the position of great composers. The lecturer particularly extolled the style of pianoforte playing of Bennett's school. Sterndale Bennett wrote pianoforte music of absolute purity, which does not profess to be anything more than pianoforte music, and we must all feel that Dr. Maclean's remarks with reference to Bennett's style and absence of sensationalism were most happy. The latter part of the paper seemed to deal with stilted music which, for the most part, do not run now-a-days. Dr. Maclean held up to ridicule the fact of conductors often attracting the attention of hand or chorus by slapping the desk or book with the baton. Is that often done at our best concerts? How often our greatest conductors trust to their memories and have no score to slap! Dr. Maclean attacked the English press and spoke slightly of reporters generally. There are, of course, black sheep in every fold; but we have good reasons to congratulate ourselves on the wonderful independence of the press in England. In Italy notions have frequently to be paid for. France has its press, but the weight which it carries is not considerable. In England we have a free press, and one which is adapted to be generally beyond reproach. Irregularities do exist at times, but the wonder is that it is not more abused than it is. I trust that many of the members present will have remarks to make on the paper.

Mr. SECRETARY.—Ladies and gentlemen, I did not get this paper until this morning and only had time to scan it through in the next room, and so I can offer but few remarks with regard to it. I find myself in direct conflict to Dr. Maclean's views, and am sorry he is not here to defend his opinion and do the opposite of what dear Dr. Watts told us not to do—viz., to fight. I agree very much with the remarks of the Chairman, and do not think Dr. Maclean has been quite fair to some composers—Meyerbeer, for instance. He said his operas were written to show off the singers, and everything else obtained little consideration, for the story came down to the footlights and sang to the

audience. Now, as a matter of fact, Wagner's operas are not built up mainly of airs, but are of far larger construction. Viewed as a whole, Wagner's operas remind one of some grand Gothic cathedral; you cannot take any part away without destroying the edifice. He did not write operatic minnows for the music shops; his orchestration is not merely "turn-turn" accompaniments—we owe a great deal to him in this respect. The statement of the Chairman was quite true that nationality finds expression in music—for instance, how aptly does the music given to us by Berlioz accurately reflect his country. Sometimes his music is sensational—as, for instance, in his symphony, where the hero wakes up from his dream, goes to the scaffold and has his head cut off to the playing of that curious French brass band, which in Paris is supplied for this function, and recalls the accent of the criminal on the scaffold, but I think that is sensational music in which Berlioz did not excel. Again, in his "Requiem" he uses sixteen drums, after all an ineffective composition and, indeed, one of his poorest efforts. Now when Tchaikowsky wrote his music, I cannot think he had any idea of sensationalism; surely he has only put national feeling into his symphonies, into his passepierces, and, in fact, in all his music. He wrote in that national style because it represented the Slavonic temperaments and the accents of his country, and so was naturally very dear to his heart; it is not fair to charge him with sensationalism. With regard to the alleged sensationalism of early writers, how about the sensationalism of Haydn in his "Creation," where, after the passage "Let there be light and there was light," comes a tremendous bang on the chord of C major. Then is the "Surprise" Symphony, written according to the legend to prevent the people from dropping off to sleep as had been their custom in the slow movement; after a section of the theme has been delivered, we get a huge crash: this might be stigmatised as sensationalism! Dr. Nathan calydon and Miss Robinson, yet he sometimes is sensational and feeble. In that "Ocean" Symphony of his, he was so dissatisfied that, after its first performance, he wrote movement and movement to try and bring before us the action of the waves and all that appertains to the sea, but was not satisfied. I think that Liszt was sensational; an extraordinary pianist, carried away with the virtuosity of his own instrument, and not being gifted with an all-round originality, his music is mainly written to astonish and to touch us; he wrote for the gallery, and so much of his music is dead already. I am glad the Chairman spoke kindly of Sterndale Bennett; he is, indeed, charming music. It has been my privilege to hear him play, and a great pleasure it was. It is too big a task to-day to consider Wagner in

connection with sensationalism in music, at least, so far as operatic music is concerned. I think the remarks of the writer of the paper are in allusion to a notorious recent case in which the writer has been convicted of libel, and seems now to be endeavoring to evade the consequences of the verdict in the Law Courts. With that notable exception I see little to find fault with in our critical notions. In Italy you must pay for them or suffer. Germany is not quite so bad, though prejudice and cliques rather dominate there; and it is difficult in France to get a fair criticism. France exists mainly for French people; but in England we are free, and I believe our critics are honest, and but a few unknown nobody's endeavour to attract attention to their opinions by indulging in sensational writings.

Dr. HARTMAN.—The thought uppermost in my mind is, that our Chairman has most fairly and ably answered the principal points raised by the paper which we have just heard read, and I cordially agree with what he has said. It seems to me that Dr. Maclean has fallen into the very evil he has been deploring. His paper is one of the most sensational I have heard for a long time. Unfortunately, I arrived at this meeting too late to hear the Chairman's introductory remarks—consequently I imagined that Mr. Southgate was reading his own composition. However, I soon discovered my mistake, and it was an immense relief to find that the reader was not expressing his own sentiments.

Mr. C. A. BARRY.—I do think Dr. Maclean has gone rather too far in accusing Tchaikowsky of having attacked Brahms. He said he could not appreciate him as much as he would, but he did not attack him. It was Rubinstein that attacked Brahms.

Mrs. HARRY NEWMAN.—When I was recently in Moscow, Monsieur Koshkin, the friend and biographer of Tchaikowsky, gave me an account of an amusing interview between Brahms and Tchaikowsky. Both met in Hamburg, and Brahms asked Tchaikowsky to dinner. At first little was said about music, but after a time, warming over the meal, Tchaikowsky said to Brahms: "I have always had the greatest respect for you, but I cannot understand what makes people enthusiastic over your music." To which the German composer replied: "It has been a great pleasure to meet you, but I, too, must confess that I cannot comprehend what there is in your music that sets the world on fire." They laughed and shook hands, parting excellent friends. I think this shows there was no real bitterness between them.

Mr. W. W. CONNERY.—There is much to be said about Russian music, but I am unable to deal imprudently with such a wide subject. I may say that Tchaikowsky, though an eclectic musician, is sometimes national. Then his music has

just that sensationalism which belongs to Eastern world, nothing more. There is no artistic degradation. His music generally seems to me pure in style. Speaking of brothers, I was not aware that Tchaikovsky was among his detractors. His great opponent among Russian composers was Rubinstein, as Mr. Barry has just pointed out.

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Nora.—Not having been present to reply on Discussion, the above remarks have been since shown to me for that purpose. My paper was an attempt to arrive at a definition of where sensationalism in musical matters was a merit and where it was the reverse; and the chief point advanced in this connection was that it must have real strength behind it. In dealing with composers, I cited different individuals who illustrated this argument on one side or the other. I do not find anything in my lecture (which is printed above as it was sent in) to cover the remarks that I, (a) decried nationality in composition, (b) connected Brahms with sensationalism, (c) "attacked the English press and spoke slightly of reporters generally." I think these three heads represent the exact opposite of my opinions. I am glad that the lecture fulfilled its object of exciting discussion, and thank Mr. Southgate for having had the kindness to read it.

C. M.

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January 10, 1856

F. CUNNINGHAM WOODS, Esq., M.A., M.R.S.,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE GEORGI FLUTE.

By H. STANTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In introducing to your notice this evening the Georgi Patent Flute and the Georgi Patent Flute Head as applied to other style cylinder flutes, I beg, on behalf of Messrs. Joseph Wallis & Son, to thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me of demonstrating the superiority which we claim the Georgi flute possesses over other flutes.

The inventor, Signor Georgi, prior to his coming to England, had the flute, which will be played this evening—*viz.*, one without keys and descending to D, severely tested by the Conservatoires of Music at Rome, Parma, Bologna, and Milan, and after the most severe tests employed by the professors of music forming the committees of the different Conservatoires, with a view to seeing whether or no the flute did possess all those merits which the inventor claimed for his invention, and whether such a flute was really playable and likely to become useful to the flute-playing public, they decided that all that the inventor claimed had been proved, and granted him the certificate, of which I have brought copies, and shall be pleased to hand one to any gentleman desirous of reading them.

The claim of the inventor for his flute is, firstly, that a far superior, clearer, and purer tone is gained by the adoption of his mouthpiece; secondly, the necessary position for the player to assume in playing on his mouthpiece accords to the player a greater capacity of lung, and, in consequence, wind power; also, it gives him an easier position to play in, as it

does away with the necessity of having the arms and hands raised nearly level with the chin, which position all flute players will admit is very tiring during a long performance; and consequently the neck of the player is not twisted, but the head is kept in a straight position.

With regard to the fingering of the Giorgi flute, it is contended that pupils progress much quicker by not having any keys to trouble about and not having to learn complicated cross fingering in common use, and in consequence the Giorgi system is to be preferred. This was one of the tests employed by one Conservatoire of Music in Italy, the authorities of which wished to see the progress made by a beginner on the Giorgi flute and a beginner on the ordinary style (Boehm). At the end of three months both pupils were brought before the committee and played their respective flutes; the committee were unanimous in deciding that the pupil on the Giorgi flute was much in advance of the pupil using the Boehm flute. We can hardly expect that flautists who have mastered a fingering that answers all their purposes will throw themselves out of gear for some weeks to learn the Giorgi system of fingering, but we offer them an advantage in being able to change the head of their own flute for a Giorgi flute head, whereby they may have the opportunity of playing in a much easier position than their old one, besides producing a better tone.

In conclusion, I may say that the Giorgi flute is perfectly simple in its construction, there being no mechanism to get out of order, and, should any portion of it become damaged in any way, the parts can be replaced at a small cost in comparison with the cost of repairs of expensive flutes at present in use. Perhaps I may be permitted to mention that the total cost of a Giorgi flute is only £4 0s., in comparison with the cost of a flute on the Boehm system costing £15 to £40.

Our exponent, Mr. Green, flautist in the Grenadier Guards Band, is in attendance this evening, and will play first of all a piece on the plain Giorgi flute descending to D, which is a flute without any keys at all, and will afterwards perform on his own Boehm flute fitted with a Giorgi flute head. In criticising Mr. Green's performance on the plain Giorgi flute, it is only fair to say that he has only had the flute in his possession a short time, during which time he has been constantly called away by his military duties, which have prevented him giving as much time as he would have wished to the instrument; and, further, like all other first-class flautists, he has been in the habit of using covered holes, whilst the Giorgi flute on which he is going to perform to-night has perfectly plain holes, which makes rapid performances more difficult, as those of you who play the

here will be aware. However, those players who prefer to have all covered holes can have their desires fulfilled at a small cost.

As Mr. J. Finn has kindly brought here his Boehm flute and will play on it, an opportunity will be afforded you of hearing and observing the respective tones of the two instruments.

Mr. Green then played on the Giorgi flute a "Fantasia on Russian Airs," and was followed by Mr. J. Finn with a "Nocturne," by Jachenski, on the Boehm flute. Both gentlemen then played a Duet, an "Ardente" by Kuhlau.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. SORRENTU.—I should just like to make a few remarks. What an extraordinary thing it is that that which has been tried before so often comes up again, perhaps with some little improvements. The way in which the Giorgi flute is played, blown at the end instead of into the tube held transversely, reminds one of how the old *ney*, merely an open tube, was played in Egypt thousands of years ago, and is still played in the streets of Cairo. [A *fac-simile* of one was then shown; the original was taken out of an ancient tomb; it possesses six finger holes on the top, and one thumb hole underneath.] And I have here a *fac-simile* of another most interesting flute, of which two were found in the pyramid of Abnès; one is in the possession of M. Maspero, the current Egyptologist, and I went to Paris to see and examine this and another remarkable instrument. You will observe that like the Giorgi flute it has eleven finger holes. Now as we only possess ten fingers, it follows that two of the holes have to be covered by one finger. It is managed by putting one hole at the side (the top end), it can then be stopped by the middle joint of the first finger of the left hand, the top hole on the top being covered by the first portion of the finger. I may mention that I have already exhibited this particular specimen before our Association in 1890, and Mr. Finn showed that the complete chromatic scale could be played upon it, with the addition of the enharmonic seventh! It is curious that this *Abnès* flute and the *ney* combined seem to constitute the Giorgi flute, the instrument is played at the end and it has eleven holes. I may just mention that at Berger's Show, now running at Kensington, in the Arab head will be seen a player on a small *ney*.

THE CHAIRMAN.—In common with Mr. Southgate, I dare not lay any claim to being a flute player. That too may be the case with some of us here in the room. We, however, as musicians cannot help being greatly interested in seeing the application of that system of fingering which we are told has been known to exist so long before the Giorgi flute was introduced. I notice that there are gentlemen present who are flute-players, among them Mr. Welch, on whom I will call to say what he thinks of the Giorgi fingering and method of blowing.

MR. C. WELCH.—There are two separate and distinct peculiarities in the flute now brought under our notice; one, the way in which it is held, straight, like the English flute, not crossing like the German flute; the other the circumstance that it has no keys or other mechanism. This way of holding the flute, although novel, is by no means new. Besides the Egyptian one, which is turned slightly sideways, though the obliquity is much less than that of our flute, there is, I believe, a Chinese flute which is held straight. I was thinking, too, at the moment of a flute, said to have come from Africa (it is furnished with a tuft of camel's hair), in the possession of Mr. Tappan, of Oxford. It is contrived with a notch into which the player inserts his breath. The sound is easily produced and is agreeable to the ear. Bodin, whose name is so well known in connection with ring-keyed instruments, contemplated the idea of making a flute to be held straight. One day, when I was walking with him in Munich, not many months before his death, he put his walkingstick to his mouth, holding it as if he were playing on a Giorgi flute, and said: "If I were a younger man I would make a flute to be played like this. I suppose somebody will do it when I am gone." We immediately began to speak of something else, so that I did not learn from whence he derived the idea, how he proposed to construct the flute, or what was the object he had in view; but on going to the Italian Exhibition at Earl's Court some years afterwards, I saw the idea carried out. The instrument there exhibited was the Giorgi flute in its early form. It was not made of ebony, like that now before us, but of metal, and, instead of being keyless, was constructed with square keys of unannealed steel covering holes of the same shape, the fingering being quite different from that of the flute we are asked to examine, or any other flute. It will be observed that the Giorgi flute is not furnished with a cork, the performer's breath passing into the end of the instrument where the cork or stopper is usually placed. The cork, which closes one end of the tube of a flute, is not brought close to the mouth-hole. The nature of the vibrations which are set up in the column of air between the cork and the

mouth-hole is unknown, they never having, as far as I am aware, been subjected to examination by an anatomist. We know, however, that the length of this column of air has a great effect on the harmonics. Now Signor Georgi claims, I understand, to have greatly improved the harmonics. It is, I presume, on the dispensing with the stopper, and on other changes made in the upper end of the tube that the claim is based. The instrument shown at Earl's Court terminated in a cross-piece, in which, I have no doubt, there was a cavity or cavities to take the place of the interval between the cork and the mouth-hole, and in the flute below as I observe a recess at the back of the tube near the mouth-hole, intended, presumably, for the same purpose. I should remark that, with the flutes now in use, the great difficulty in execution lies in the top octave. If the notes are fingered as harmonics, they are so flat and so inferior in tone that Clinton used to say that if flute players were obliged to confine themselves to them the instrument would not be worth playing. On the other hand, if the high notes are fingered in the ordinary way, their manipulation in rapid passages is very difficult, for each note requires a double fingering. It might be compared to double stopping on the viola, with the difference that the flute player, instead of producing two notes like the violinist, produces only one. If, then, Signor Georgi has rendered the harmonics equal in tone and intensity to the double fingered notes, he will have conferred an immense benefit on flute players; but, should it prove that he has uprooted our present high octave without perfecting the harmonics, few will be disposed to have his head-piece applied to their flutes. As regards the other point, the abolition of the keys; its advantages are too well evident for it to be necessary for me to say a single word in pointing them out. A flute without keys is a dream which has haunted almost every ear who has attempted to apply his inventive powers to the instrument, but it has hitherto been regarded as a Utopian idea, as hopeless as the search for the philosopher's stone. Messrs. Russell & Carter have a drawer half-filled with models, some of which have been brought here to-day by Mr. Finn, and are on the table before us, the outcome of this inventor's dream. The digits of man are limited to ten, but the flute is pierced with eleven holes, the inventor's problem being how to cover these eleven holes with the ten fingers. Indeed, it is really more difficult still, for it has always been considered necessary to retain one of the digits, the right thumb, for supporting the flute, so that there remain but nine fingers for the eleven holes. One of these two difficulties Signor Georgi proposes to get over by an expedient which, had not Mr. Stoughton just shown us was known to the ancient Egyptians, would have seemed to be a perfectly new and original idea. He

close two holes with the first finger of the left hand, one with the first phalanx, the other with the third, or nail phalanx as it is called. For the other hole for which there is no finger, Signor Giorgi has recourse to a method which had often been previously suggested; he takes the right thumb from its office of holding the flute, and devotes it to closing the hole. Fifty years ago, when the Boston flute was coming into use in England, there were three men, each of whom was anxious to invent something better, Richard Carte, John Clinton, and Abel Siccama. The last-named, Siccama, constructed a flute with only one key, and proposed to communicate his ideas to the other two. One evening they met by appointment, Carte and Clinton signed an agreement in which they undertook not to divulge what was about to be disclosed, and then Siccama produced the model of his invention. Siccama had adopted the same plan as regards the right thumb as Signor Giorgi—in fact, the disposing of the right-hand part of his flute was identical save for note with that of the Giorgi instrument. The trio sat up the whole of the night discussing the project, Mr. Carte maintaining that the performer would be certain, sooner or later, to meet with a sequence of notes on his attempting to play which, in a rapid passage, the flute would fall from his hands. Possibly Signor Giorgi would meet this objection by saying that the statement might be true of the transverse flute, but not of the flute held straight. How this may be I cannot say, but I am sure that the new instrument will have a fair trial. It will neither be crushed by trade jealousy nor extinguished by professional prejudice. If the claims which have been put forward on its behalf are well founded, slowly perhaps, but surely, it will make its way. On the other hand, if, when it is put to the test of actual experience, it should be found wanting, the Giorgi flute will only add another to the many good intentions with which—well—with which the dinner at Messrs. Rudall's is filled.

Dr. HARRISON.—I just want to ask two questions. Is the Giorgi flute without keys, can you play in any key? And, secondly, can you play any passage rapidly?

Mr. STANFORD.—I am not a flute player and cannot speak critically, but Signor Giorgi will be in London in a week or two, and I shall be glad to arrange a meeting with him. In answer to the questions I would say it can be played in any key, and so far as a rapid passage is concerned it can be played very much more rapidly if you have covered holes, but it does not alter the position of holding it.

Votes of thanks to Mr. Green and Mr. Pine were passed unanimously, and a similar compliment to the Chairman closed the meeting.

CHARLES W. PEARCE, Esq., Mus. Doc.,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE STRUCTURE OF PLAINSONG.

By H. B. SWISS.

It is proposed in this paper to examine briefly into the present state of our knowledge as to the musical structure of Plain-song. Until about twenty years since, when the Benedictine monks of Solesmes began to publish the results of their systematic study of the mass, theories on the art were founded mostly on conjecture. The reason for this was that the chant was composed more than two centuries before the earliest and very rudimentary treatise on the subject was written; that the few later works treated of things from a different point of view to ours, so that they are not very easy to understand; and that by the time writers became more in accord with us moderns, say the fifteenth century, the rendering of Plain-song had become so corrupted that all theoretical treatises were completely worthless. Practically, therefore, all that we have to work upon is the mass itself, with some vague indications in treatises of about the ninth century, which may or may not be comprehensible, and may also be twisted to mean anything we like. The notation in which the music has come down to us is in four forms—viz., the Alphabetic, the Dancer, the Neumatic, and the Square notation. The alphabetic is but rarely met with, and was probably only used for instruction books. The Dancer is used in the MSS. formerly attributed to Huchald, but these only contain a few examples illustrating the treatise. The neumatic was the notation in general use down to the eleventh century, when it was gradually converted into the ordinary square notation. Now this last shows us exactly the notes to be sung, but very little more. If properly printed in the style of all MSS. until the sixteenth century, the plain-song is fairly well indicated, and it sets very serviceably, far better than modern notation, for singers acquainted with the spirit of Plain-song; but by itself it is as useless as "Rule Britannia," written in minims would be. But when this square notation is coupled with its forerunner, the neumatic, a different state of things appears. The square notation shows only the notes; the neumatic shows most of the notes but almost everything else that converts notes into music. The approximate time value (all that can be given is reditative), the phrasing, the expression, all is given in the neuma as clearly as in a modern composition. For example, the *psalter* only expresses two notes of which the first is lower than the second, but neither the usual value of the first

TABLE OF NEUMS.

virga *1/1/1*positum *1 . .*clivus *1/1/1*percellens *1/1/1*percellens
fons *1/1/1*palatus *1/1/1*sarcophagus *1/1/1*sarcophagus
rampant *1/1/1*

secundus / / /



tertius / / /



quartus / / /



quintus // // //



sextus / //



septimus //



octavus /



nonus / //



decimus / //



note nor the interval of the second. But it has four different forms, which must necessarily mean four different readings of the note-group—i.e., that the first note of the group is accented, but that each note may have a longer or shorter duration according to the form of the accent. And it has even a fifth variety, which I take to be a turn on the first note as indicated by the wavy form given to the lower line (see accent at end of second line in the *Antiphona*, p. 70).

Thus besides these distinctions in the notes themselves we have what are called Romanian letters, which were added to the MSS. at St. Gall in the eighth century by Romanes, who had been sent from Rome to instruct the Frankish clergy. These indicated that a note was to be held, or to be sung quickly, or to be strongly accented, and so on, all pointing to the fact that Plainsong was intended to be rendered in a thoroughly artistic manner. And the notable peculiarity of these marks of expression is that, if a trained singer who is acquainted with the general spirit of Plainsong sings one of these melodies, he will interpret it instinctively in the manner that Romanes marked in his MS. eleven hundred years ago. And he does this because the music being purely vocal, a melody composed for the mere delight of using the voice, he feels that while it affords full scope for his exercising the creative powers of the true artist, the general outline is determined by the music itself. I think I have said sufficient to show that the two notations taken together, the neumatic and the square, must enable us to arrive at a fairly accurate interpretation of a Plainsong melody. Of course at present controversy rages fiercely over innumerable matters. The last that fired has been a work on the neumes by M. Houdard, entitled "*Le Rythme du Chant Grégorien*," which is a direct assault on the position taken up by the Solennes Fathers. My impression is that, so far as he is right, he misunderstands the Solennes teaching; while, on the other hand, he attempts unsuccessfully to fit the vast number of facts he has collected together to a preconceived theory. The theory propounded by M. Houdard is that the neumes show that Plainsong was not recitative but in strict time, and that the note-groups, whether of two, three, or even notes up to seven or eight, all equalled one other. M. Houdard qualifies the strictness of his theory to some extent, so that it is not quite possible to say whether in execution this sort of rhythm would be carried out; but certainly the examples he gives in modern notation are almost impossible of execution, and much inferior in beauty to the same melodies sung after the method of Solennes. This system appears to be the one which is founded on the same basis, and though experience may show that the actual

execution of melodies at the Abbey may admit of modification, it does not seem probable that any violent departure from the method will be made. When it is once granted that Plainsong is recitative, it is evident that no notation can exactly express the rendering that will be given to it by a good singer, while the renderings by a choir and by a soldier will naturally differ in delicacy of detail. The better the choir and the more accustomed they are to the music, the better will be their rendering; but a body of voices can never have the flexibility of the single singer. And in our views as to the interpretation of the chant we must always remember that it was written for Italians with flexible voices, and that the complaint was made even in the eighth century that the Frankish monks with their harsh voices could not execute the florid passages. The result was that notes of ornament such as the *quillama* were also omitted from MSS. in the square notation, and the tempo of the ornate melodies was reduced to what one now hears in most Roman Catholic churches.

The essential theory underlying the neumatic notation is of course that the first note of every *neuma* or *note-group* is accented. A *neuma*, in fact, may be said to represent a modern bar, and the result is that we have a succession of bars containing various numbers of beats—two, three, four, five, six, or seven. There are traces of a certain balance being preserved among these unequal time-measures, but the rules which govern it await the farther critical examination of students.*

Having thus briefly taken stock of the materials at our disposal, let us now consider the results that have been attained in the study of the art. The rhythmical structure of Plainsong is founded on that of a prose sentence. This depends on the accentuation of the syllables, and as the succession of accents in prose is irregular, we get what is called *free rhythm*, in contradistinction to *fixed rhythm*, which is the characteristic of poetry, where the accents occur at regular fixed intervals. This is the real distinction between Plainsong and modern music. The ancient hymn melodies cannot be strictly termed Plainsong, since they are merely forms of free measured music in an ancient formality. It is the melodies set to a prose text which are Plainsong, and this is an *art non gradu*, which apparently cannot be imitated, though there seems no reason why not, if its principles were thoroughly understood. Modern recitative was an independent invention and not a development of Plainsong, and it would be interesting no doubt to compare the different lines on which the two species of music have been developed.

* See further "The Elements of Plainsong" (Winton) p. 66.

Plain-song contains two essentially different structural forms, the Antiphonal and the Psalmodic, the former being derived from the antiphons and the latter from the psalm-verses. We will first consider the antiphons. They are short melodies in free rhythm, the accentuation being quite dependent on the text. They may be simple and syllabic, or they may be ornate, with several notes to a syllable. The simple form is probably the more ancient, for it is a characteristic of the classic music that has come down to us that there is rarely more than one note to a syllable. Now as the text is prose the music has to follow exactly its accentuation and rhythm, and no note must be dwelt on longer than is necessary for its pronunciation. To take the Antiphon *Confitebor*, if we were to write it in modern measured music we should have approximately—



with the time signature altered at every bar, as the strong accents should fall on the tonic accents of the words, and the number of syllables between these accents always varies. And this translation can only be approximate, for the time required for the pronunciation of the different syllables is never quite the same. This antiphon is only the half of a psalm-verse, and consists of a period which is broken in the middle, but this division is scarcely more than for the purpose of taking breath. When the whole of a psalm-verse is used there is a true pause at the colon and a real interruption of the melody. Some few examples contain three distinct periods. The antiphons which are used for the particles are longer and more ornate, but are equally divisible into two or three periods. The melody of the antiphon class, which was sung by St. Augustine on arrival in England,² consists of four periods, each divided into two cola, and a fifth period consisting of the Alleluia.

Another class of antiphons was the Alleluia after the Gradual (page 70). This begins with a melody for the Alleluia, and a long jubilation on the last syllable, forming what we may reckon as two periods. A psalm-verse follows, also of two periods, and the melody of the Alleluia is then repeated, making six periods in all, but of different lengths and broken up into unequal cola. Introits, offertories, and communications

² "Deprecator Te" (Wotanc) 24.

also belong to the orphictonal species, which includes the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus,* except the earliest music to these texts, which, with the *Credo* and the melodies to the Gloria in Excelsis, was psalmodic.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for plainsong, each consisting of five staves. The notation is written on four-line red staves with black neumes. Latin lyrics are written below the staves.

Top System:

- Staff 1: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 2: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 3: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 4: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 5: *in die solemnitatis*

Bottom System:

- Staff 1: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 2: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 3: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 4: *in die solemnitatis*
- Staff 5: *in die solemnitatis*

Let us turn now to the Psalmodic species of Plainsong. The practice from which this was developed was simply that of intoning a sentence with a fall of the voice at its close, as in our versicles and responses. This is peculiarly applicable

* "The Ordinary of the Mass" (Vienna) in 1611

in Latin, which generally has an unaccented syllable at the end of a sentence. English is not so regular in form, but when there is not a trocheic or dactylic ending the final syllable in the great majority of cases may be treated as



common. In French, on the other hand, the final syllable is generally accented, so that this language cannot be adapted to Phrasing. On this basis of the usual close of Latin sentences being generally on an unaccented syllable, let us see how the ancients treated the recitation of the

treble, but the inflection becomes a short melody, the penultimate note of which carries the accented syllable. In the first, sixth, and eighth Tones two notes precede the accent, the two-note group in the sixth Tone being treated as a single note; but the first of the two added notes may be accented or not, and this is also the case with the third added note in the fourth Tone. This is because the melody has no fixed rhythm beyond the accent or *salutendo* on the penultimate note, and I believe the explanation is that, when the chant leaves the resting note for a lower note, as in all these Tones, there is no reason why this note should not be sung as easily to an unaccented as to an accented syllable. It is like the second syllable in a dactyl which, it is true, is stronger than the third, so that it is no violence to give it an accent, but does not demand it. Now if we turn to the fifth and seventh Tones we find a difference. There the resting note is left for one higher, and consequently an accented syllable must be given to it, so here the filling in of a third syllable has to be provided for. In the fifth Tone this is done by touching again on the intermediate note before the unaccented one; in the seventh Tone by doubling the unaccented note. Why should this not be done in the fifth Tone? Because in both cases the note that is filled in is the resting note. This is a curious example of the skill, or rather the naturalness that pervades all Plainsong. Everything is done that in practice tends to ease in the singing, and though this interpolation of a note in the fifth Tone looks so impracticable on paper, I have found a very rough choir do it almost of their own accord as soon as they were told they might. I suppose the reason is that the power of the resting note makes itself felt, when, as in good chanting, it is given its proper weight and the inflection is treated lightly and as a mere appendage to it. We have examined only the simple forms of the collage, but the more fluid ones are treated in the same way. When the single notes have been elaborated into groups they should be treated as single notes, and not split up among syllables.

It may not be amiss to compare the known with the unknown, an Anglican Chant with a Tone. The form of ending was originally the same, the penultimate bar representing the accented penultimate note of the Tone, but in course of time the notes of this bar, if more than one, have been split up among the syllables if necessary, instead of remaining grouped on the one syllable as in a Tone. The last note too has lost its characteristic of being the second syllable of a treble, and has gained an accent, with the result that the whole treble, or a group of even four syllables, is allotted to it, and the beginning of the inflection is thrown further back into the *psalm-verse* than it would be in a Tone.

The use of vocal harmony also precludes its being pointed on true principles, for, in the example given, the treble part might be pointed as to the fifth Tone, but the alto part must be like the first Tone. The consequence is that to effect a compromise the Anglican Chant has to be sung in fixed rhythm, so that the prose of the psalm is forced into the proscrutinous bed of regular metre.

A more elaborate form of simple psalmody is to be found in the phrasms of the Creed (page 76). There are two forms of ending, depending on whether the final syllable is preceded by an accented or an unaccented syllable. The length of the inflexion too is not fixed, but varies according to the length of the text, notes being added or omitted as occasion requires, and only in an extreme case are there several reciting notes. The inflexion is also expanded when necessary, so as to give the reciting note the first strong accent. It is also a development of the psalm-form to have different reciting notes in the two halves of the melody. This peculiarity occurs also in the *Tones perigrinus*. There are other phrasms in the Creed, but the one selected forms the greater part of the melody, and a close examination of the whole composition shows that the simplest materials were so skilfully treated that no imitation has been equally successful. Merbeck was a long way behind, for his Creed is antiphonal rather than psalmodic, while Dunstons is not to be mentioned in the same breath. The original MS. of his *Missa Agia* proves to be written in measured notation, though it was afterwards printed in square notes, because that was the fashion of the day for Church music. Although so simple, the Plainsong melody of the Creed, owing to the modifications that it undergoes in successive phrasms, escapes the monotony that is inseparable from all modern settings to unalterable modern chants in fixed rhythm.

We have seen how the single syllable antiphon was developed into the highly ornate form of the Alleluia. The same process took place in the psalmodic form, so that it is often hard to distinguish between the two; but the intermediate stage is interesting, and of this the *Tracts* (page 76) supply examples. The inflexion is slightly elaborated, the reciting note is doubled on the accented syllables, and the inflexion is very ornate. The peculiarity, moreover, of the inflexion is that here, for the first time, the music is more important than the words. In the *Tones* the accentuation of the syllables, especially at the end of the verse, decided their apperment to the notes, but in the psalmody of the *Tracts* the music is the master. In the example the last three syllables are allotted to the last three phrases of the inflexion quite irrespective of accent. It is not difficult to see that the reason is that the accent of the syllable is lost

in the number of notes sung to it. The primary idea was, no doubt, that the penultimate phrase corresponded to the penultimate note in the trochaic Two-ending, and was the most important of the three groups; but, as this importance showed itself in the melody, it was not necessary that the words should accord with it, while it was necessary that there should be no doubt which syllables were to be sung to the three phrases.

We will examine this peculiarity a little more closely. We all recognise the charm of good oratory or of a good literary style, but it is questionable if any modern critic can exactly define them. It is easy enough to point out defects, but not to lay down distinct rules for attaining perfection. We know that one phrase may run more smoothly than another, but we cannot tell why it does. Now with the Latin it was different. They could identify faults in the rhythm of prose as easily as we can point out mistakes in poetry. Modern poetry depends upon accent, not on quantity, but the prose of Cicero depends like Latin poetry, on quantity. So important a part is played in Roman oratory by the quantities in the last few syllables of a sentence, that Cicero (p. 8. 107) in his "De Oratore" and Quintilian (a.m. 42) in "Institutiones Oratorie," discuss the matter very fully, laying down certain rules to which good oratory must conform. The grouping of these final syllables is called the *cursus*, which is of two kinds: metrical, if depending on the quantities of the syllables; rhetorical, if depending on their accentuation. The metrical was what was used in clause times; the rhetorical was in fashion later, between a.d. 400 and 600.

The forms of the metrical cursus were:—

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Vox</i> | $\bar{g}l\bar{o}r\bar{i}a\bar{m} \text{ } \bar{c}o\bar{n}g\bar{r}i\bar{g}e\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{r}.$ |
| 2. <i>Placus</i> | $m\bar{e}m\bar{b}r\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{f}i\bar{r}m\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{r}.$ |
| 3. <i>Tardus</i> | $\bar{l}i\bar{b}r\bar{i} \text{ } \bar{v}i\bar{c}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{m}.$ |
| 4. <i>Triposodus</i> | $\bar{c}u\bar{r}\bar{s} \text{ } \bar{v}i\bar{c}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{m}.$ |

and Cicero says further that the last syllable is always long—i.e., through its ending a sentence.

But besides quantity, Latin also contained accent, which was then an elevation of the voice, not a prolongation of the syllable, and towards the year 400 the conflict between quantity and accent resulted in the supremacy of the latter. The effect of the change was probably that, whereas, e.g., *infans fīdēfātē* used to require eight beats for its pronunciation, it was now pronounced *infāns fīdēfātē*, i.e.

five beats. But this change having taken place in the language, there was a corresponding alteration in the verse.

Rhythm only recognises two forms, either of two or of three syllables, for it is impossible to pronounce more than two perfectly unaccented syllables together. Rhythm, as fact, requires either double or triple time; anything else is a combination of these measures. The new rhythmic verse was therefore founded on the metrical, by accent taking the place of quantity as follows:—

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. Versus | glórian cóngrégatúr. |
| 2. Planus | uénitúr firmatúr. |
| 3. Tardus | írā victóriā. |
| 4. Tripondus | éuā víctóriā. |

Of these the *versus planus* and its derivative, the *versus tardus*, were most commonly used. Observe that, though of course exceptions occur, the caesura is not immediately before the accented syllable nearest to the end, but between the unaccented syllables which precede it, and this makes the phrases run smoothly. The last syllable is unaccented, and though making a feminine ending the last syllable is always long, which rule enables English, with its often long though not necessarily accented final syllables, to adapt itself to the genius of Plainsong.

These four forms of verse, of which the *versus planus* became now the most common in place of the *versus velox*, governed the style of official Latin between the years 400 and 600, according to the evidence of the Papal Bulls of that period. They then fell into disuse, to be again revived in the twelfth century. In the "Paléographie Musicale" the Solomon Pather has shown that the greater part of Plainsong is evidently based on the *versus*, especially the *versus planus*, and draw the deduction that it must have been composed during the period when the laws of the *versus* were generally recognised. Instances of the five-syllable cadence of the *versus planus* meet one at every turn in all psalmic portions of the Service, and, when an extra unaccented syllable occurs at the end, the melody always provides for this as in the psalm-tones. It is found in a simple form in the Preface and the Paternoster, in the Gradual and the Benedictus, and in still more elaborate forms in the psalmody of the Introits and the Responses. In the specimen of the Respond Psalm on page 26 there is an intonation as usual to fix the tetrachord, the starting note then follows with an amplification on some of the accented syllables, and then begins the intonation of five

In the more complex Psalmody of the Tracts the music is altogether superior to the Inflection. In the examples we have a cadence of three note-groups, and though the form is evidently based on the trochaic ending, as in most of the text given, yet in *Silberth*, where the accent falls on the antepenultimate instead of the penultimate syllable, there is no adjustment of the extra unaccented syllable, but the last three syllables go to the last three groups. The accentuation of the syllables is evidently merged in the more elaborate musical phrase. The only explanation seems to be that the more florid the music the more it is independent of the text, on which it imposes the accentuation derived from the original model.

From this elaborate Psalmody of the Tracts, where the reciting note often disappears, the step is not far to that of the Graduale of which the different phrases contain the characteristics of a psalm-tone—i.e., an intonation, a reciting note, and an inflection. The first phrase of *Justus et palma* is very clear. There is the intonation on *Just*, then the reciting note, and then the inflection beginning on the *et*, the accented syllable nearest the end of the phrase. In the next phrase we may consider the notes on *adversus* either as an ornamentation of the reciting note, or as beginning the inflection on the fifth syllable from the end—i.e., treating *adversus* *Libani* as an example of the *versus* phrase. The next phrase has a longer reciting note and begins the inflection on the accented syllable *et*, filling in a note for the intruding short syllable *in*. These last two phrases have had no intonation, but the next has one on *in* *de*, and on this syllable rises to the reciting note, which it decorates, and the inflection begins, as in the preceding phrase, on the accented syllable of the crotic *Domini*. Each of these last three periods ends with a cadence which is called a *jubilum*. The verse *Ad conversionem* may be analysed in the same way; but the music is of a more florid description, as it was intended to be sung by the best singers of the Schola. The accented penultimate syllables in *uener* and *traxer* each carry a considerable number of notes, but the closing phrase on *per uocem*, where the choir would join in, is quite simple, and the *jubilum* at its close was a well known ending. In the older MSS. these *jubila* are generally omitted, as they were so well known that it was not worth the trouble of writing them down. It is worth noting that the reciting note is not the same throughout the melody.

Let us now turn to the tonality, which is always an interesting and mysterious subject. M. Gervaut has recently published a work, "*La Mélodie antique*," which deals at considerable length with the antiphons, and, while showing that most of them have come down through the ages in their

original form, endeavours to account for certain difficulties in the tonality of others which have hitherto defied explanation.

In order to consider M. Gervart's theories, we must examine the whole question of Placing tonality as explained

ORIGINAL

das - ten at pal - as flo - re -

let - ter - est de - dret U - la -

ad - U - pit -

et - bi - tar

in do - no De - ar - al.

V Ad ar

by him. The ordinary explanation is that there are eight modes, or scales, consisting of the octaves beginning on every note of the diatonic scale of A, but with only the four notes D, E, F, G as finals—i.e., one final to every two modes, and

that as no accidental the $\flat^*$ may be introduced to avoid the interval in the melody of the *tritone*, F to B. The question has always been why this $\flat$ should be allowed, because an examination of the melodies shows that the alleged reason is insufficient, and the further explanation that it provides for the transposition of a melody does not cover the whole ground.

The Greek *modus* consisted of octaves taken out of the great scale of A, beginning, not as we usually reckon our scales, from below, but from above downwards.

TABLE OF MODI.—I.

CLASSIC MODI.	Scale or A scale: from the average Modus to 1—F	NAME.	CLASSIC MODI.
α to α	FF ($\flat^*\flat^*\flat^*$)	{ <i>Stolian</i> or <i>Hypodorian</i>	II. A— α
β —G	GG ($\flat^*$)	{ <i>Iastian</i> or <i>Hypophrygian</i>	IV. B— β
γ —F	A ($\flat$)	<i>Hypolydian</i>	VI. C— γ
δ —E	B $\flat$ ($\flat^*\flat^*\flat^*$)	<i>Dorian</i>	I. D— δ
ϵ —D	C ($\flat^*\flat^*$)	<i>Phrygian</i>	III. E— ϵ
ζ —C	D ($\flat$)	<i>Lydian</i>	V. F— ζ
η —B	E $\flat$ ($\flat^*\flat^*\flat^*\flat^*$)	<i>Mixolydian</i>	VII. G— η
α			
G			
F			
E			
D			
C			
B			
A			

* We will speak of $\flat^*$ as $\flat$ and $\sharp^*$ as $\sharp$.

The compass was that of the octave, and the final was the lowest note of the octave in most of them, but (see Table II) the *Iastian* and the *Hypolydian* had three forms—the normal, the strong, and the weak. The strong *Iastian* had the normal compass, but $\sharp$ for the final. The weak had the normal G for the final, but the compass $d-D$ of the *Phrygian*. The strong *Hypolydian* had the normal compass, but a for the final, while the weak had F for its final but the range $c-C$ of the *Lydian*. Now to bring these octaves within a reasonable compass for the voice, they had to be transposed so that the range should in all cases be $f-F$. If the scale of A be accordingly transposed, as in the second column of Table I, it will be found that the classic modes all lie within the desired compass $f-F$; but the curious effect of the transposition is that the key-notes of the transpositions of the A scale are in exactly inverse order to the original finals of the modes. Boethius, when he wrote his famous treatise on music, evidently knew little of the practice. He had heard that the transposed scales were in an ascending order, so that that which served for the *Molian* Mode was the lowest, and that for the *Iastian* the next higher, and so on, but he was quite oblivious of the original position of the modes. He seems to have known that the *Molian* was the A octave, and he accordingly starts fairly with that mode, but he makes the *Iastian* mode begin on B , and so reverses their whole order. The result has been endless confusion and mystification to the student.

But to accompany the seven transposed modes on wind instruments, such as were used in public performances, the player had either to use a different instrument for every mode, or, in later times, a flute like that which has been discovered at Pompeii. By a very ingenious contrivance this instrument was capable of playing all the modes, but had to be prepared beforehand by certain holes being stopped and others left open for the particular mode to be used. The accompaniment of soloists on the lyre presented, however, fewer difficulties. Their vocal scale was necessarily not so restricted, and, moreover, only five modes were used for lyrical music, so that by slight chromatic alterations they could all be brought within a reasonable compass. The lyre was originally tuned in the diatonic scale from D to aa , with the $\sharp$ but without $\flat$. The lower D was kept for accompaniment only, and the remaining eleven notes, E to aa , served for the melody. This range was sufficient for the following modes if transposed—

1. *Dorian*, a to aa , with $\sharp$.
2. *Phrygian*, G to g , with $\sharp$.
3. *Iastian*, weak, G to g , with $\flat$.
4. *Lydian*, F to f , with $\flat$.

To provide for two other modes an extra string was added tuned to $c^{\sharp}$, and this gave, omitting $c^{\flat}$ —

5. *Æolian*, G to g, with $f^{\sharp}$ and $c^{\sharp}$.
6. *Iastian*, natural, F to f, with $f^{\sharp}$ and $c^{\sharp}$.

The next step was to alter the tuning of the strings c, d, $c^{\sharp}$ to B, c, d, which allowed of the transposition of the last two modes a tone higher. We thus have a scale of thirteen notes from D to aa, including both $f^{\sharp}$ and B, which was commonly in use for lyrical music in the second century. This was extended downwards to A (and even F) by later theorists, and we thus again find ourselves in presence of the great scale of A, with the addition of the $f^{\sharp}$, which is no longer a parasite.

So far as we know the music of the lyre was the only species that was regularly cultivated, for, with the exception of a doubtful specimen of Pindar, all the compositions which have come down to us are for this instrument. Until the third century lyrical music was a Greek art, and practised at Rome itself chiefly by Greeks. About that time it took root, but again decayed with the transfer of the seat of empire, in A.D. 330, from Rome to Byzantium. Such as it was, however, it formed the basis for the ecclesiastical music which was in course of development. The music in seven modes with accompaniment of wind instruments had been reserved for the pagan temple worship. The music of the lyre in five modes was that of private life. And of these five modes the fragments which have been preserved are only three; the Dorian, Iastian, and *Æolian*. The less sober Phrygian and Lydian modes are conspicuous by their absence, though there is a small instrumental piece in the *Hydolydian*.

The earliest Church music, of the date of which we are absolutely certain, consists of the hymns written by St. Ambrose towards the end of the fourth century. Those of which he is certainly the author are: "Deus creator omnium" (120),^{*} "Iam surgit hora tridui" (124), "Æterna verum conditor" (125), "Veni redemptor gentium" (126), "Miserere celsi jani Dei," "Ego jesus horis explicans." Probably he is also the author of "O lux beata Trinitas" (127), "Hic est dies verus Dei," "Splendor potius glorie," and "Æterna Christi moneta" (131). They are written in our ordinary long measure, and the accents are quantitative, not coincidental; by license, however, the first syllables of the first and third feet in a verse may be long. But it seems probable that the change which had already begun to operate in the pronunciation of Latin—*æ*, the displacement of

^{*} The numbers refer to "*Plauting Hymn Melodies and Sequences*" (Yimint) as 121.

quantity by accent, affected the hymns as their popular rendering, and that the short syllables became rather lengthened, so that the hymns are rather too drab than triple time. Now it is remarkable that all the above hymn melodies, which can be ascribed to the earliest times, belong to the three principal modes of the type: the Dorian, Iastian, and Solian; and, since there are two forms of the Iastian, they exhibit four modal forms out of the five of which we have classic examples. The exception is the strong Hypolydian (D—F, final A), of which there is only a small instrumental piece. But against this our ecclesiastical spectrum contains the strong Iastian and the two mixed modes—Iastian-Solian and Aelian-Iastian.

We will now turn to the antiphons, which were mostly composed before the year 600. The simpler examples are short melodies of one or more phrases sung with a psalm, supposed to be in the same Church mode, and ending on its final. But about some of them considerable doubt has always existed, one writer referring them to one mode and someone else to another. It is not surprising this should be the case when we recognise the confusion that was caused by Boethius; but the matter gets a little clearer when we take account of the modes in which the hymns of the same epoch are written. All these modes are found in the antiphons, and, in addition, the Hypolydian in its three forms, though it is comparatively rare. Plainsong usually in the year 600, when St. Gregory edited the melodies, was, therefore, that of the old Greek modes, transposed by the addition of F to the great scale of A. The music has survived in a fairly accurate form; but we have no treatises of the period beyond the earlier one of Boethius, who has been shown to have quite misunderstood what he was writing about.

In the sixth century the first treatises on Plainsong appear, and they show a totally new and Byzantine system of music, which regarded the scale not as a succession of eight notes, but as composed of two tetrachords. In pure Byzantine music these may vary considerably and produce innumerable scales, but the first note of the upper tetrachord in the Greek modes used for Plainsong happened to be in all cases a perfect fifth from the final. In applying the Byzantine system to the music in use, the theorists therefore took the distinct pentachords on D, E, F, G, and named them *protos*, *deuterios*, *tritos*, and *tetartus*—first, second, third, and fourth modes—beginning the upper tetrachords on the perfect fifth.

TABLE OF MODES.—II.

CHURCH MODES.			CANTUS MODES.		
NAME.	Octave on	Final.	No.	Octave on	Final.
<i>Æolian</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	I.	<i>D</i>	<i>D</i>
<i>Iastian, normal</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>G</i>	VII.	<i>G</i>	<i>G</i>
<i>" weak</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>G</i>	VIII.	<i>D</i>	<i>G</i>
<i>" strong</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>b</i>	IV.	<i>B</i>	<i>E</i>
<i>Hypolydian, normal</i> . . .	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	V.	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>
<i>" weak</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>F</i>	VI.	<i>C</i>	<i>F</i>
<i>" strong</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>a</i>	II.	<i>A</i>	<i>D</i>
<i>Dorian</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>E</i>	III.	<i>E</i>	<i>E</i>

These four Church modes were next supposed to have two forms, the *authentic* and the *plagal*. In the latter the octave began on the first note of the upper tetrachord transposed an octave lower, but the final remained that of the authentic mode. The melodies in the ancient *Æolian*, *Dorian*, and normal *Hypolydian* and *Iastian* modes were then allotted to Church modes as in Table II. But the *Hypolydian* and *Iastian* had besides the normal two other forms, the *weak* and the *strong*. The weak *Hypolydian* therefore became the third plagal mode (VI.), and the weak *Iastian* the fourth plagal mode (VIII.), the finals being the same as in the normal forms, though their compass was different. But to bring the strong *Hypolydian* and strong *Iastian* modes into the system was a different matter.

The final of the strong *Hypolydian* being a whole its compass was *1—F*, it was transposed a fifth lower and called a first plagal mode (II.), while its transposition required the low *B*, a new note in the scale, and not taken into account by the theorists, who made this Church mode the *diatonic octave* on the low *A*, instead of the octave on *B* with *E*g.

The strong *Iastian* has for its final *f* and the compass—*G*. Transposed a fifth lower it becomes a second plagal mode (IV.), but the fifth from its final *E* was the imperfect fifth *F* instead of the perfect *F* of the real mode, the *Dorian*, which

begins on E. This note occurs very rarely in the course of antiphons in this mode, and as they began mostly in the same way as antiphons of the normal Iastian, or seventh mode, it was the common opinion that the melodies were mixed, beginning in the seventh mode and ending in the fourth. An antiphon must be in the same mode as the Psalm to which it is attached, but if an antiphon be in a mixed mode, or in what seems to be a mixed mode, as with these strong Iastian melodies, how should the psalmody be chosen? In modern times it has become the rule to let the class of the antiphon govern the psalm tone, but in the sixth century it was as often at not the case that the psalmody was governed by the opening of the antiphon, so that for instance we find that the antiphon *Ex Aegypte*, beginning in the seventh and ending in the fourth mode, is classed by Regine among the seventh mode antiphons, while it is now treated as in the fourth mode.

The foregoing explanation of the growth of Plainsong society is, I think, a fair abstract of M. Gevaert's views, but then arises the question, what authority is there for the authenticity of the melodies as we have them at the present day? The following are the only data on which we can positively rely. The antiphons can be divided into three groups according to their text:—

1. Melodies to *Afflicto* and to verses from the Psalms or Canticles (before A.D. 550).
2. Antiphons drawn from other Biblical sources, or specially written for the festival, which were in use in A.D. 600.
3. Antiphons from the Acts of the Martyrs, &c., composed during the seventh century.

Until the eleventh century there was no notation in regular use which expressed the total value of the chant, and we have no MSS. earlier than the ninth century which even supply the *memoria intona* of the notes. The only grounds then for our believing that we possess the original melodies must be something quite apart from the earliest documentary evidence. That something is the surprising fact that the melodies of the antiphons, numbering over a thousand, which are contained in the service books of all the countries of Western Europe, are practically uniform. And these melodies came into use in the various countries at different times. Probably England was the first to receive them from Rome at the hands of St. Augustine in 597, and 120 years later the Anglo-Saxon missionary, St. Boniface, introduced them into Germany,

while later still, about 750, the Frankish Empire adopted the Roman chant direct from Rome in place of the Gallican.

But though we find practical uniformity in all MSS. of the thirteenth century, there is a certain group which shows considerable discrepancies, and, as might be expected, they are the antiphons which may be attributed to the strong Ionian mode. Our data for an explanation of these discrepancies are few, but, so far as they go, seem to suffice. The neumatic notation is no guide, but in 850 Archdeacon of Eborac classified the antiphons under their modes, and then in 900 comes Regino of Prüm with his *Treatise* and the *Temorus* (tabulating the antiphons of the Offices and of the Mass. And about the same time we have Huchald, or the unknown authors of the *Enchiridia* and other works attributed to him, and lastly the author of the *Commensuratio*. These last works contain many examples in the Huchaldian or Dieckman notation (page 88), and so give us some ground to work on. Most of the antiphons are classed in these works under the modes to which they are now considered to belong, but there are certain exceptions. These are the melodies which are classed under the third mode, the pentachord of which E—G contains the tritone F—G. The dominant of the mode was originally, as in others, the fifth ♯ according to the *Commensuratio*, but the dislike of the tritone caused the dominant to be moved to c, and by the middle of the eleventh century this change seems to have been universal. But the antiphons in the mode, although they were consequently altered, were necessarily not all treated in every country in the same way, so that their melodies differ amongst themselves.

Another cause of error was when a third mode melody has been converted to the first mode by dropping a degree in the scale, owing perhaps to the opening phrase containing only first mode intervals through the omission of the characteristic second, E to F. Some melodies remain unchanged, but out of seventy antiphons classed by Regino under the third mode, only five or six have escaped alteration, one of these being *Pax benigne*. The discrepancies between the classification of the antiphons under their modes by Regino and that current in later times are extremely very striking, and are treated by M. Gervart as certain well-defined lines. His work is the most instructive which has yet appeared, and should be closely studied, especially by English musicians, for the versions in our Service Books, with which he is apparently unacquainted, confirm several of his theories.

We have now considered the formation of the totality of Plainsong, but there is one peculiarity which has not been touched on. The modes are diatonic, but the scale includes

versions of the antiphons. Some explanation may perhaps be found in the way in which the writer of the *Commentaries* regarded the notation he used. In its normal form, a succession of tetrachords, it represented the scale shown on the diagram, but these signs, as appears from the explanation in the *Enchiridion*, of pentachords as C and D, were not always absolute; they were certainly sometimes relative—i.e., they did not represent D, E, F, G, but that the note was a tone or a semitone from the one last sounded. So we gather from a series of figures showing the pentachord in an ascending and a descending form, one of which figures is given above. The regular forms are the major and minor C, D, E, F, G, and D, E, F, G, a, and the chromatic, one of which is shown on the right limb of the figure, are C, D, B♭, F, G, — G, D, E, F♯, G—D, E♯, F, G, a, and D, E, F♯, G, a. The upper tetrachords would be altered in the same way, but as the B♭ was already provided for by the ♯, the only addition there would be the *di*. The effect of these accidentals was to change the mode, while the range of the pentachord remained unaltered. Thus to flatten the B in the pentachord C—G converted the seventh mode into a first mode pentachord, while to flatten it in D—a transposed the pentachord from the first to the third mode. To sharpen the F in C—G made a fifth mode out of the seventh, and the same change in D—a made a seventh out of a first mode.

Now of these four modes the first and the seventh are the ancient *Æolian* and *Iastian*, the third mode is practically the strong *Iastian*, and the fifth mode is the *Hypolydian*, which was not used in the Greek-Roman music nor in the early hymns, and first appears in the antiphons. But mixed modes were in use both with the *psalms* and in the hymns and antiphons, though the only modes which were so used were the *Æolian* and *Iastian*. M. Gevaert proposes to amend several of the antiphons, but it is possible the corrections should not be made in the way he suggests, and that the solution of some of the discrepancies he perceives in the melodies should be sought in the direction indicated by Herr Jacobsthal. In our English books we have a very good example of the transposition of a mode in the Offertory *In die solemnitate* (page 69). The melody as it stands in the MS. is transposed a fifth higher than its original use, so that it begins on G instead of on C, and the F in the notation is the equivalent of E♭; but this transposition replaces it in the octave of the classic *Æolian* mode instead of that of the first Church mode to which it is attributed. For the purpose of comparison with the Huxfordian system we will consider it as if it were in first-mode form. Up to the end of the phrase *venite* we therefore find that the melody is in the first authentic mode, but the last note is flattened, and this

chromatic alteration continues down to the middle of the Alleluia, when E disappears and the melody closes in the original mode. The accidental converts the first-mode pentachord D, E, F, G, A, into D, E♭, F, G, A, the equivalent of the third-mode pentachord B, F, G, A, B. The prevailing note in the opening first-mode phrase is the mediant F, and in the third-mode portion of the melody this is still the prevailing note. The intention of the composer has therefore obviously been to mix the modes, but to keep the pentachords within the same range. In the byzantine modes were mixed, but without any change of key. Here we find a distinct and interesting advance on the older system, by the mixture of the *Alolan* and *Iastian* modes in such a way as to have an identical mediant throughout. We now know the reason for this accidental in the English MSS., but in the Middle Ages the theorists in France were troubled by what they considered a corruption, and accordingly transposed the third-mode phrases a tone higher, and in this form it is found in the *Solenne* edition of the *Gradual*. The result is certainly not so graceful as the English version, for by the elimination of the E♭ the transition to the third mode is peculiarly harsh, and the return to the first mode has to be effected by an alteration of the melody. For facility of reference to what has been said on the Huchaldian theory of the pentachords, and to the modern numbering of the modes, part of the melody has been referred to as being in the third mode, but it is, strictly speaking, in the fourth mode, which is only another form of the third.

The question of course may be asked, whether the English version, with the modulation as *verse*, is more correct than the French, which keeps the whole piece in the same key. The sources will decide it. A MS. of Rouen date, which is probably a copy of one brought from Rome in the eighth century, while our version represents the English tradition since 1550, spells the note on *ave* with a *j*, and the next note on *dir* with an *e*; *j* means "look out, the note is lower than you expect it to be"—*e*, E♭ not E♮, and *e* means "repeat the note." These Rouenian letters together verify the English version; the E♭ on *ave* is lower than would be expected, though by stressing a point it might be contended that the E♮ satisfied this condition; but the next note is the same—E♭—in the *Sarum Gradual*, but in the French is F, a semitone higher than the E♮, if that version be adopted, because the following sequence of notes requires this. The reformer did not mind altering the melody just by two notes, but he did not dare change the body of the melody itself, though he damaged the artistic *ensemble*. Another question as to the use of accidentals is whether they were used as real accidentals or only for the purpose of

modulation, as in the above example. Here Jacobsthal understands the pseudo-Huchald to say they were so used. Other translators of the treatise cannot see this meaning in the text. However, if there was such a use of an accidental it occurred in this Offertory *In die solennitate*. It does not appear in any MS so far as we know, and we can only conjecture where this last chromatic should be inserted.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, our first duty is to give a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper. Will those who are in favour of that kindly show the same in the usual way?

Carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, one finds it very difficult in dealing with this subject to get away from the ideas associated with modern music. We see, therefore, at a serious disadvantage, because this ancient plain-song is the growth of a civilization differing widely from ours. But when a modern musician is capable of laying aside the prejudices of early education and of life-long habits, plain-song is to such an one a veritable revelation; for its study leads him into quite a new sphere, where his ideas become enlarged by the discovery of melodic values probably never thought of before. Once freed from what has been not ineptly termed the "slavery of the modern leading note," the mind becomes broader in its melodic conceptions, and experiences almost what amounts to distaste for the excessive use of the softer progressions of chromatic intervals. It is the absence of the cadential properties of this very leading note in the Church's modal system which makes the harmonization of Gregorian music such a difficulty to the musician of to-day. He cannot realise a scale which ascends to its eighth degree by the step of a whole tone, nor can he picture to himself a satisfactory ending to any musical composition in which the bass does not rise a fourth or fall a fifth. But if he will only make a few experiments with the limited harmonic resources of each mode, he will be astonished to find how many endings are possible; endings, too, which are really beautiful in effect, in spite of the absence of that "joy for ever"—the modern leading note. Having got so far, a considerable step will have been made towards the due appreciation of the beautiful and venerable art of plain-song. We must have observed just now, whilst listening to these hymns, *de*,—which were so

admirably sung for us by Mr. Vernon Taylor—how very expressive this old music is, and what an excellent vehicle it makes for the proper delivery of the words. When visiting Oxford a short time since, I went to the Church of the Goodley Fathers, where I was much delighted with the capital results which had been obtained by the use of the Solemnus system of plain-song. It is worth a journey to Oxford to hear how well those little parish-school boys are trained. I was there on November 4, and they sang the long used Psalm in the second tone. The wonderfully clear articulation and accentuation of the words were quite a revelation to me. I never heard anything of the kind more beautiful in my life, and I can only hope that such a system of chanting may become more prevalent than it is at present. These old tones certainly appear to be very simple, and the elasticity of their rhythm does seem to me to convey the meaning of the words far more effectively than modern music does. Mr. Briggs called attention to the Anglican chant. We must not forget that this is a metrical poem, and, as such, can never be used artistically for the singing of prose words. We were also reminded by the lecturer that the last note of each section of an Anglican chant had often to carry a number of syllables—long words like “*testamentum*,” “*righteousness*,” &c. Such a formidable array of hammered-out syllables at the end of a verse (or half-verse) of the Psalm has almost the effect of an extra “*rolling note*.” That seems to me to be the fault of that otherwise excellent book the “*Cathedral Psalter*”—we do get such a jumble of syllables on the semi-breves before the double bar of the chant. Attempts have been made over and over again to get rid of this difficulty in Anglican chanting, and I hear there is another new book—the “*Free-Rhythm Psalter*”—coming out very shortly, which professes to deal with this long standing grievance; but with the Gregorian tones sung in the Solemnus manner this defect seems to vanish altogether, and the music carries the words along with it just as one thinks it ought to do. I have alluded to the difficulty of harmonising Gregorian melodies. Dr. Wesley was once asked by a pupil how they could be harmonised, and he replied: “My friend, take Hymns Ancient and Modern and play the tunes all through regardless of key signatures and accidentals and then you will have some idea of what Gregorian music ought to sound like.” I will not detain you longer, as most other gentlemen, no doubt, would like to speak.

Mr. SEYMOUR.—I rise as the Chairman asks, but did not intend to say any words upon a subject so archaic and little understood; only those who have a perfect knowledge of the old system can possibly discuss it. I myself regard this old notation as an interesting antiquarian study rather

than one of modern utility. In Dr. Pearce's speech I detected a little inclination to undervalue the modern sharpened leading note, the seventh of the scale; at the time of this transition from the old tunability, it gave singers some difficulty to determine which interval to sing. The raising of the leading note, like the introduction of other chromatic intervals, constituted a part of the *musica fusa* or *colenda*, which composed of the fifth and sixth centuries employed, but did not mark as their essence. The development was of great interest, and practically from that descends our chromatic modern music. As a matter of fact, the Chinese and others use the flattened seventh, and it is still open for us to employ it in modern music. However, our ears have got so accustomed to the sharpened seventh that we cannot well stand the flattened interval. At the period of the old music we have heard to night harmony hardly existed. In those days modern music demands it, and we must have chromatic intervals. With respect to the advantage of the words being more clearly heard and defined in Gregorian chanting, I am quite with our Chairman. In metrical chanting there is a tendency to glibly and pass over the words too quickly; it is not so where Gregorians are employed for chanting, but I think the same should be confined to that exclusively, and metrical hymns be fitted with modern music. In speaking about ancient Greek music, Mr. Briggs mentioned that different instruments were employed for different modes. In Pompeii there was discovered a flute on which were some rings encrusted with age and dirt; it is doubtful for what purpose they were intended, but I think that possibly it supplies a clue to the way of altering these modes. Perhaps the rings could be turned round and so made to cover some of these holes, closing some and leaving others open according to the mode played on. Perhaps Mr. Welch is better able to tell us whether these rings were used for the purpose of shifting the scale of the flute from one mode to another.

Mr. C. Wincen.—The flute alluded to by Mr. Southgate, a player on which was not obliged to have recourse to a different instrument for every mode, was, in principle, not unlike the clarinet constructed in our own time to enable a clarinetist to dispense with two of the three clarinets with which those who play the ordinary clarinet find it necessary to provide themselves. The flute found at Pompeii was formed of a cylindrical tube pierced with fifteen holes. Outside the tube, fitting so closely to it as to be air tight, were fifteen sockets, rings, or short tubes, one over each hole. The sockets were separate from each other. Each could be moved round, but not up and down the tube. In each socket there was an opening. By turning round a

socket until the opening in it was, or was not, over the corresponding hole in the tube, the hole could be either opened or closed. Thus it was in the power of the player to so adjust the sockets before commencing his performance, as to leave only such holes open as would be required for the particular mode in which he was going to play. A copy, or rather a restored model of the instrument, has been made by M. Victor Mahillon. It was shown amongst the instruments lent for exhibition in the Albert Hall in 1883.

Mr. JOHN TAYLOR.—With regard to plain song it seems to me that one aspect of the subject has perhaps been somewhat lost sight of—viz., its place in the great evolution of the modern from the ancient (notably the Greek) tonality. We find instances of distinct modulation, as in the example now before us, illustrating the progress of this evolution. After all, the ultimate evidence must be found in the thing itself, as, e.g., in geology and the sciences generally, from the examination of which we get our deductions in a scientific way. Our example opens in the key of C in mainly its relative minor aspect. There are the minor and major tonality in this principal key, the modulation into the subdominant (or F) key, and the return into the principal (or C) key. It is very remarkable that at least the earlier Greek systems were explicable by one accidental (the modern B flat) and indicating the subdominant key. Here, too, we find the modulation into the subdominant key and not into the dominant. This is, to my mind, indubitably based in each of these parallel cases upon the suggestion of Nature herself, as indicated in the harmonic chord. It is her own simple and formulaic modulation. The fixed static tonal element is well asserted in the first six harmonics by means of the vibrational primes 1, 2, 3, 5; but with the seventh harmonic comes the suggestion of æsthetic dynamic selection or movement in what is termed the harmonic seventh, and this into a subdominant and not a dominant key. We have here then a pure minor tonality, the alternation of the major tonality, the distinct modulation, not, be it observed, into the dominant which as requiring greater motor or descriptive force, was an after discovery, but into the subdominant key of the relative major. I would again submit, sir, that too little attention seems to have been hitherto paid to the fact that plain-song constitutes a distinct stage in the evolution from the ancient Greek system, based, in their scientific aspect, upon tonal vibration; and the development from these, through the medieval or modal systems, into the modern system of keys. In connection with Dr. Pearson's able and interesting remarks upon the Anglican chant, and in order merely to show the practicability of retaining or reproducing the smoothness and dignity of the Latin plain-song in English or Anglican

pointing. I may, perhaps, mention the fact that more than twenty-five years ago I had the privilege of pointing the entire Psalter for Anglican chanting, under the auspices of the late Dr. J. B. Dykes, of Darlaston (the eminent hymnologist) and other authorities of the day; and that this version was in practical use for nearly ten years with the greatest success and the approbation of many clerical and professional critics. It was generally admitted that the relegation of the last syllable of each verse to a single note, and, generally, of each metrical syllable to at least one note, which constituted the guiding principle of this *epitaphic Psalter*, could be and was actually done.

Mr. Benson.—What Mr. Taylor has said is certainly very interesting. The bulk of plain song was certainly composed before the year 900 A.D.; thus there is a great gap to Elizabeth's time. In the Ambrosian hymns the modes are mixed, but they were never mixed by modulation into another key, they always remained in the great scale of A; but in this Offertory the modes are mixed by the insertion of an accidental so that the range is unaltered.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the meeting.

MARCH 4, 1896.

A. H. D. PRENDERGAST, Esq., M.A.,
IN THE CHAIR.

*BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CAREER OF SIR ROBERT
P. STEWART, KT., MUS. D., TRIN. COLL., DUBL.,
PROFESSOR OF MUSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF DUBLIN.*

By REV. O. J. VIGORLEN, M.A.

I had hoped that the MS. of the Memoir of Sir R. P. Stewart, which I have been engaged upon for more than two years, would by this time have been published; but for one reason I am glad of the delay, for the statue just erected to Stewart's memory is to receive its inauguration a week hence at the hands of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on Leinster Lawn, one of the best sites in Dublin, and to which the public there has liberally contributed.* This important circumstance seemed rightly to claim the first place as an enduring memorial of the lamented professor, which those "who run can read" at a glance; whilst a memorial in the shape of a book requires some hours of leisure to peruse and some spare cash to procure. But I now hope that the publication of the Memoir of the lamented professor which I have written may not be much further postponed.

Meanwhile I have been induced by a kind invitation from the Council of this Association to prepare a brief outline of the career and character of my dear and valued friend, so

* This unique event in the artistic history of the British Isles is worthy of remembrance. Is there any other public issue of a monument in our land?

whose tuition some half-century ago I owe the small amount of knowledge and appreciation of the "Divine Art" that I possess. Robert Prescott Stewart came of a Scots-Irish stock on the father's side, from whom he inherited his strong talent for literature, in the acquisition of which he has been hardly equalled, certainly not excelled, by any musician in our own time. He was born on December 25 (Beethoven's birthday), 1841, two years before that great composer's death, and eight years before the decease of Sir John Stevenson. Stewart's mother was Irish, and he owed to her his deep love of music. Strange to say, however, that her son's earliest penchant as a boy was to be sent to sea; and it was not without difficulty that the lad was persuaded to become a choir boy. This really has a ludicrous side, for an enduring and insuperable dislike of the sea was one of his strongest characteristics. The sea, if I may so phrase it, was his pet aversion. His letters and diaries are replete with the avowal of his utter abhorrence of Neptune and all his works. I may say, in passing, it was with great difficulty that his friends in the University Choral Society induced him to cross the Channel in the summer of 1862 to visit the Great Exhibition. Had it not been for this homage of the sea Stewart would have made his genial personality known in England long before he did, and would have established an earlier and a riper acquaintance with his distinguished musical contemporaries in Great Britain. It was owing to this (as Sir J. Stainer has said) that the subject of my sketch was comparatively so little known over here; may we not add, so much less appreciated by some than his brilliant gifts deserved?

Robert Stewart was well instructed as a boy in the elements of Greek and Latin, and also in drawing (for which he had great aptitude), under the masters of Christ Church Cathedral School. The Rev. Mr. Crosthwaite was his chief instructor, so far as music was concerned, but it did not include counterpoint. It was to him Robert Stewart one day, when he was eleven or twelve years old, brought a Te Deum he had just completed. A glance at the MS. sufficed to show plenty of minor faults, besides the unpardonable six—consecutive fifths and octaves! The query put to his teacher by the ingenious chorister "Are these wrong?" shows that the young composer had been largely self-taught, so far, indeed, was there ever a disciple of Katerpe or Polyhymnia that didn't try his "practice hand" without waiting for his master to urge him? But the lad must have possessed an unusual ability and industry to come out third in a prize anthem competition at the age of thirteen, when Dr. Walmesley was first and Mr. John Smith (afterwards Mus. B. and Professor of Music in the University of Dublin) was second. Two of Stewart's uncles—one, now close upon eighty, Mr. Benjamin Miller,

senior Vice-Choral, Christ Church, Dublin; and the other the well-known and venerable Mr. Joseph Robinson (now in his eighty-third year), the best musician of his day in Dublin—and a few others have given me some particulars of Stewart's early youth. He displayed great diligence in copying music (his handwriting being bold and clear), and this brought him both praise and peace, the latter very acceptable, as his family was poor. We hear also of his perseverance in organ practice, and helpful influence exerted over his fellow choristers, getting them around him as often as possible for practice, beating time with a roll of paper, hardly ever looking at the music himself, so strong and sure was his memory.

Mr. John Robinson, the eldest of four gifted brothers, was organist of Christchurch Cathedral, and, being absent on one occasion, the presenter appeared and urged the choir to do their best, as there was no one to take the organ. A little nudging and whispering, and Stewart modestly offered to act as substitute. "Do you think you can manage it?" was the natural query; and the thirteen-year-old chorister quietly replying in the affirmative, mounted the narrow steps which led to the organ loft (then and for long after perched high up in the West Gallery), and played through the whole service without a hitch. In the year 1844 John Robinson died, and Stewart succeeded him as organist both at Christchurch and Trinity College Chapel, being then a little more than eighteen years old.

This early bloom of musical talent in one destined to become eminent in the craft has been matched by Jeremiah Smith, Atwood, the Wesleys, and a few others; though all these must yield to the amazing precocity of Croft, who, at the age of eleven, was deputy, and at fifteen was elected organist of Christ Church, Oxford, and seven years later succeeded Hayes as Professor of Music!

As a successful writer of glens also Stewart early developed his gifts; yet art catches its greatest votaries, and fifty years have—we must confess—stated many of Stewart's early compositions. Mr. Curwen (senr.) has left on record an excellent proof of his facility in glen writing, in his interesting sketch in the *Musical World* (September, 1893): "In 1892 Dr. Stewart competed for prizes offered by a society at Ashton-under-Lyne (near Manchester), when no less than seventy-three glens were sent in. These were reduced to six, and ultimately to two. One was entitled 'O Phœbeus!' and was far votes ahead, the other (written in quite a different style) was named 'Summer.' After several trials the first prize was adjudged to the former, and the latter (which had an oblique parallelism consequent) received special commendation. On the envelopes being opened both

place were found to be by Dr. Stewart, the Ashton Olive Club pleasantly congratulating him "on alone being capable of beating himself!"

At the age of twenty-one Stewart succeeded Mr. Jas. Robinson as conductor of the Dublin University Choral Society, which had been successfully instituted ten years before by that gentleman, with the co-operation of at least one great and good man still living, Dr. Graves, now Bishop of Limerick. This was in 1838, and the Society had proved successful, a success (I may add) which has continued to this day. In his letter of resignation to the committee, Mr. Robinson recommended his young friend in these words: "Mr. R. Stewart is beyond doubt the best musician in this country, and in saying that I do not except myself." Mr. J. Robinson's professional engagements had at the time become very exacting, owing, amongst other things, to the founding of the Antient Concerts Society, of which he was the first conductor, and which flourished for thirty or forty years.

Stewart first came into prominence in public life more than fifty years ago, on the occasion of the organizing of the largest concert ever given for a charitable purpose in the Irish metropolis. The object was the relief of the poor at the time of the great famine in February, 1843. All the chief musical societies of Dublin contributed their quota to make up the chorus and orchestra of age performers; but besides these, several vocalists and players came over from Liverpool and Manchester, as well as a contingent from London. The "Israel in Egypt" was the only music performed. The leading soloists were Irish, amongst them Messrs. Joe, William, and Frank Robinson, the last named having a sweet and well-trained tenor voice. Stewart was the conductor, and nobody did he carry through his great undertaking; the impetus left by the young man on this memorable occasion serving to put him at once at the head of his profession. The net amount realized was £184.

Stewart having thus become a man of mark, his engagements were largely increased inside the College walls as well as in the capital and its environs. This additional work evoked all his energies and talents, but at the same time they imposed on him a heavy burden of constant and exhausting labour in the disorganization and practice of his art, a labour which though remunerative was not more than enough for the wants of an increasing family—(he had married at the age of twenty-one)—having regard to some provision for the future. Of this he was ever mindful, never running into debt or (more *Belshazzar*) leaving the master's care and responsibilities to shift for themselves! To sum,

perhaps, he appeared to be somewhat generous; but numberless testimonies put into my hands abundantly prove his many and great kindnesses, especially to poor students; not only in refusing any remuneration for long continued and careful instruction in music; but also in applying his own resources to forward the interests of promising but impoverished applicants to artistic excellence. Indeed his good nature was inexhaustible. It was in the summer of 1851 that Stewart, after much persuasion from friends, made up his mind to visit England. The chief inducement was of course the great Exhibition then open in London, to which all the world was flocking; but it is doubtful if even that delightful and unique display of industrial art and science would have offered a sufficiently enticing bait to one so home-loving and so abhorrent of travel by sea, had it not been for his keen desire to inspect the collection of musical instruments (organs especially) which was exhibited in Hyde Park, and his hope of meeting with eminent men in his own profession—hitherto only known to him by name. That this visit was beneficial to Stewart in many ways is undoubted: it broke up his insularity, it softened his prejudices (of which he was not devoid), it broadened his sympathies, and gave him a wider outlook over the vast field of his art; and, as we can see from many remarks in his University lectures, it convinced him of the shortcomings and deficiencies of the artistic resources of his own country, while it increased his perception of the many and serious hindrances which hampered the pursuit of art in the Irish metropolis.

Nothing, whether sportive or serious, ludicrous or literary, that had to do with music was without interest to Robert Stewart, who lived as much in the past as the present; and who, by the help of his astonishing memory, seemed to have all "the spoils of time" within his reach. This was exhibited habitually, and with it was blended an amazing *amphitryon* which sometimes took a fantastic form. It is undeniable that amid the solemnities of the Cathedral service Stewart oftentimes might be seen turning round on the organ stool, and, while keeping things going with the pedals and his left hand, would correct mistakes in a hymn-tune, or the false harmonies of an ambitious pupil, or write an answer to a note from the Dean or the Precentor; or (as I myself saw him do) scribble out a chest for some impatient friend (the organ felt being always full of visitors) in a key quite remote from that in which he was playing!

In the coming by and by you may perhaps read of many such fantastic *jeux d'esprit*; and it was the remembrance of some of these, no-doubt, which led one of the most cultivated and eminent members of this Association to say, not by any means with an unkind implication, "Stewart's talent was

gigantic, but he had too many tricks!" Well, be it so; he dearly loved a joke (and those wretched jokes in the realm of sound), and he put out many a joke of his own, as sparkling and as evanescent as a firework—and as harmless!

Let me now refer to Somers at the time (just forty-seven years since) when he received from the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, his Mus. B. and Mus. D. degrees: all the incidental expenses, including a full set of robes, being defrayed by the members of the University Choral Society, and the statutory fees remitted by the College.

I will first read an extract written for my "Memor" by a very old and highly valued as well as highly gifted friend of my own, and who was a pupil of Stewart half a century back—I refer with pleasure to one who is amongst us to day as our visitor, Rev. Dr. Wm. Tarrant, Rector of St. John's, Melbourne, and, moreover, the only Mus. Doc. in our great Southern continent!

"My recollection of Sir Robert Stewart—'Dr. Stewart,' as he was then called—dates back to childhood, when as a chorister in Christ Church Cathedral, and long after, I regarded him with a degree of veneration approaching idolatry; nor has that feeling altogether left me to this day. As a willing learner at his feet and a student of the art in which he excelled, I still have the most vivid recollection of his almost magical powers on an instrument which he made his own, and to which his peculiar touch and treatment added a new charm. Having heard many great organists in my day, I venture still to hold the opinion that, however brilliant and artistic their performance, none excelled, and few approached him in tenderness and pathos, in evoking the spirit of the divine music, and in what might be called the power of sympathy, expressed in the higher and more devotional character of music revealed in the tones of the organ. I was seated up with him a good deal, not only in the Cathedral, but during the old University Choral Society days, when a few of us were picked out to sing at the College choral concerts. These, also, we were all charmed by his pianoforte accompaniments to the various classical works in rehearsal. To this day I can vividly see and hear our conductor, as he sat at the piano, and wove in, delicately and skilfully, the different orchestral effects, always accentuating the vocal parts to help an amateur choir.

"Sir Robert Stewart's 'Staccato Pedal' was, in my opinion, a remarkable feature in his organ playing. At times his foot seemed to glide over the notes with a lightness and softness which may be aptly described as 'a touch of velvet'; and in rapid passages the pedals were handled—if I may be allowed the expression—with all the delicacy and dexterity of practised fingers.

"Another striking excellence of his performance, and one which all experienced organists would appreciate, was his clever adaptation of orchestral effects in accompanying great choral works; while his organ arrangements from cantatas and other selections of sacred music, played as 'voluntaries' during the Cathedral service, were, as 'sacred and Worth,' eloquent, touching, and beautiful—an something which, once heard, could never be forgotten.

"Of Sir Robert Stewart it may be said with truth, that his attainments in every branch of the divine art stamped him as a genius of no common order; as one, in fact, upon whose like the 'Island of Saints' (land of sweet pathetic music) can hope seldom to look again. In the realm of creative musical power he may perhaps have had worthy compare among his countrymen; but as a profound musician, a sound theorist, and brilliant executant, Ireland may be justly proud of such a son."

This account of R. P. Stewart's organ playing may be supplemented by a brief extract from reminiscences of Dr. Humphrey Mischke (still living), one of Stewart's oldest friends: "When Mendelssohn's Organ Sonatas were first published (some time in the forties), Stewart was so fascinated with them that he went straight away to Christ Church Cathedral, and, locking himself in with the blower, he worked at these sonatas day by day till he knew them by heart. On the Sunday following, after he had played No. 1 of this set, his friends came rushing up to the organ loft to ask what he had been playing, and great was their astonishment when they saw no music on the desk. He, with his usual love of fun, refused to give them any information, and teased them about their ignorance in not knowing such classical works!"

"On one occasion" (continues Dr. Mischke) "I was with Dr. Stewart in the organ loft of St. Patrick's Cathedral, when a slip of paper was handed to him on which was written the name of a piece of music, and these words added: 'A good many years ago I heard you play this; if you remember it will you play it now?' Sir Robert did so; but after service he said to me, 'I have never even thought of that bit of music for these fifteen years.'"

"This is another anecdote" (continues Dr. H. Mischke), "which was related to me by Stewart himself, of one of his early organ recitals in the North of England: 'A young man, a clever amateur, came into the organ loft, and requested to be allowed to turn over the music pages for me. "Alas!" said I, pretending to be disturbed, "I find I have come without my music!" The polite young man immediately asked what hotel I was stopping at, and the number of my room, and said he would take a cab at once and fetch

it for me; adding "that perhaps I would play something at once to keep the audience from becoming impatient." "But what adds to the difficulty (said I, smiling) is that I have left my music in Ireland; but if you will place the programme before me I will do my best." Whereupon I began, and played the whole of the appointed music through, to the evident astonishment of my young friend." "

At the Dargan Industrial Exhibition in May, 1883, Stewart presided at a large organ which Tallord had just completed for the Rev. R. Corbet Singleton, of Radley, Oxford. It was found, however, at the rehearsal the day previous to the opening ceremony, that this instrument was too flat in its pitch by half a tone. There was great consternation, as the orchestral band was unable to play in so low a pitch and it was too late to have the organ re-tuned; so the whole performance was threatened with collapse. Stewart immediately undertook to transpose all the organ parts of the score half a tone higher. This extraordinary feat he carried out to perfection, to the delight and enthusiastic admiration of his friends. The members of the orchestra—the major part of whom came from England and the provinces—were astonished at what happened, and expressed unbounded amazement at such a marvellous exhibition of artistic skill. Even his *father Achais* (Dr. M'Carthy), who had been an eye-witness of Stewart's dealing in his art on so many occasions, was greatly impressed by this unexpected display; and as he well said, "only thorough musicians could appreciate the difficulty of the task, who knew what it was to transpose at sight the intricate harmonies of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, and Mendelssohn, from whose writings the programme of the Festival was made up." Mr. Joseph Robinson, who had known so many proofs of his young friend's marvellous powers, said at the public meeting in the Mansion House, after Stewart's decease: "I was perfectly astonished at the facility with which he effected his difficult task on that occasion, and the brilliancy of his performance."

No doubt the subject of this memoir was gratified by the distinction of Knighthood conferred on him by the Lord Lieutenant in 1872; but Sir Robert probably valued more the compliment paid him ten years previously, when the University of Dublin elected him as their musical professor. In this capacity he did much service to music by raising the standard of examination, which example was followed some years after by Oxford and Cambridge. As a lecturer there was no man more delightful to listen to. His natural eloquence at once attracted attention, while his special gift of explanation compelled even the duldest understanding to grasp his meaning.

The Tercentenary of Trinity College, Dublin, was an event unique in the history of the University of Dublin. But I have no intention of sketching for you the week's celebration, during which there was a constant succession of functions—academic, vice-regal, musical and literary. Jupiter Pluvius mercifully withdrew in favour of the Sun-god, and there was no drawback to star the programme, which was the result of careful forethought, unmitigated labour, and generous expenditure on the part of the Board of Trinity College and their officers. One memorable feature was the performance of the Tercentenary Ode written by Professor Armstrong, of Queen's College, Cork, and the music composed by Stewart. I quote a few remarks by the former: "There were passages in that composition which expressed the emotions I had felt when writing the lines in a way that appeared to me miraculous. I found there the best that had been in my own mind intensified and elevated, and surrounded with innumerable beauties which only music could embrace. And yet it was not so much, perhaps, in the melody of the work that the power and depth and nobility of Sir Robert Stewart's musical genius exhibited themselves, as in the magnificent orchestral colouring."

Sir Robert Stewart died very suddenly on Easter Eve, 1894. The sad event made a profound impression in Dublin, and in less than a week an important public meeting was convened and attended by the leading officers and representatives of the University and of the Cathedral, when it was resolved to set up a public memorial to Ireland's most distinguished musician, which eventually took the form of a white marble statue erected on Leinster Lawn.* Besides this, memorials have been placed in St. Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals, the inscriptions on which are as follow:—

Inscription on tablet under stained-glass window erected in St. Patrick's Cathedral:

This window was erected in the glory of God and in living memory of Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Vice-Chancellor, and for 45 years organist of this Cathedral, in whose services he devoted his great gifts and matchless skill, and by them aspired to the worship of God, and the service of devotion among men. His master hand is stilled, but his work remains in the prayers and praises, not only of this Cathedral, but of all the Churches throughout the land.

N.B.—This dedication composed by Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, F.R.C.D.

* This statue was unveiled by the Lord Lieutenant on March 25, 1898.

Inscription on memorial brass in Christ Church Cathedral.

1896.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN MEMORY OF

ROBERT PRESCOTT STEWART, Esq.,
DEACON OF WINDS.

Trained as a Chorister in the Cathedral School,
He was appointed Organist at the age of six years,
And continued in that post during fifty years.
His name stands foremost among the many who,
For seven centuries,
Devoted their musical talents to the service of God
Within this Ancient Sanctuary.
Upright in life and modest in spirit,
He gained the warm affection of a large circle of
Friends, and Universal honour and respect.
A brilliant organist and composer, he surpassed
His peers in the Use and Mode of Service
In this Cathedral Church,
And
Enriched its Library with many noble compositions.
Born 1811.
He entered into his Rest on Easter Eve, 1894.
"We praise Thee, O Lord," &c., &c.

N.B.—This last phrase is given in musical notes, being the opening theme of Stewart's grand *Te Deum* in E flat.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, our first duty is to thank Mr. Vignoles most heartily for his very interesting paper, which has given us a great deal of information about Sir Robert Stewart and his work.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN.—One of the letters quoted by Mr. Vignoles mentioned a performance by Sir Robert Stewart upon "the great organ," by Hill, in the 1891 Exhibition; but the instrument, popularly known then as "the great organ," was built by Willis, and I would ask whether that organ or Hill's was really referred to.

MR. VIGNOLES.—Mr. George Herbert tells me that the one Stewart played was Hill's.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Notice has been made of the fact (known to most of us) that Sir Robert Stewart strenuously urged the imposing of an arts test as a preliminary to examinations for musical degrees at Dublin University; and it struck me that he was possibly influenced by recognising the advantage of his own good general education. As to his gloss having, to a great extent, become obsolete, that may

be accounted for by their having been mostly written for mixed voices, and such glees seem to have gone comparatively out of fashion, while male-voice glee singing still holds its own. In reference to the subject of prize glees, it may be mentioned that in the year 1886 the "Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club" offered four prizes for a Catch, a Canon, a Serious Glee, and a Cheerful Glee respectively, and that Dr. Colcott succeeded in carrying off all the four prizes; one of the glees being the well-known "Go, little boy." I was glad to hear the remarks of the lecturer upon Stewart's light pedalling, for it has often occurred to me that too much use is made of the pedals. The late S. S. Wesley and James Tuck would often accompany an entire Psalm without using the pedals except for one or two occasional effects, which, consequently, always held. Many players seem to find no rest for the soles of their feet except on their pedals, they should remember that an orchestral writer would keep his double-basses continuously at work.

Mrs. J. SEYMOUR CURWEN.—I should like to say just a word about Sir Robert Stewart as a teacher. I was only his pupil for a few organ lessons, but I had the pleasure of seeing him give lessons at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. He could (as he says in a letter to me) make himself a child, putting himself on a level with his pupil. One lesson I specially remember. Seating himself at the piano he gathered us girls around, and taking up a book which happened to lie on the instrument he opened it at random, playing the first passage that came well asking some question about its form, key, chords, &c. He gauged the general knowledge of the class by the variety of questions which were suggested by the score as he turned over the pages, playing all the time. In the same letter to which I have referred, he says: "I avoid conventionalities and technicalities." He left out conventional terms and put in familiar terms. He was an intuitive psychologist, able to present new facts in the light of the old. One appreciates such lessons more now than at the time.

Mr. SEYMOUR.—We have had from time to time various notable musicians commemorated at our meetings, some of whom ought to have been more appreciated during their life. I may mention Sir Samuelle Bennett, Sir George Macfarren, and, after him, Sir Frederick Ouseley. The Council are grateful to Mr. Vignoles for what he has said about Sir Robert Stewart. I can claim an acquaintance with Stewart extending over several years. I suppose Stewart's misfortune was (if it be one) that he was born in Dublin and not in England. He was little known in England. When I asked Mr. Mann to play a piece of his at the Crystal Palace, the Introduction of the "Eve of St. John," he was much struck with the beautiful name of the Dublin professor, and said:

"What a pity he is not better known in England!" Sir Robert seldom came to England. If he had been here working and teaching at one of the great schools in the midst of our active musical life, I venture to think he would have held a much higher rank in our music hierarchy than in the case at present. The first time I was at Dublin I went to his chambers in Trinity College and had an interview with Stewart. He enquired whether I was not a member of the Musical Association. I replied that I was. He then proceeded to take exception to a lecture we had had on Irish music, and pointing to the well recognised volumes of Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," asked if I knew them. I modestly confessed that I was one of the contributors to the work. He rapidly turned to the article on Irish music, and I had to acknowledge that I had not read this. He afterwards took down a volume of our Proceedings, and on looking at it he rather altered his tone, saying, "I see you did make some remarks." It appears I had questioned some of the statements of the lecturer, particularly the assertion that the early Irish harps were first strung with wire; Sir Robert was pleased with this. The lecturer has spoken of his wonderful extempore playing; it was indeed extraordinary—wonderful in the proper word—and I have heard some great extempore players in my time. One afternoon I went to St. Patrick's Cathedral, and he requested me to give him a theme to extempore upon. I took out a piece of paper and pencil and jotted down a subject. When he came to the Authors he put the scrap of paper on the desk and it was really wonderful to note what he did. I never heard such singularly rich and varied treatment. He had an extraordinary grasp of the organ. His had large hands and powerful voice, and the way in which he ran up the instrument in chords was truly astonishing. Then as to his influence in the granting of University Degrees in Music. This is an important point, and it so happens I am qualified to speak on that, as in my capacity of Hon. Sec. of the Union of Graduates in Music, I received a great deal of assistance from Stewart, who was to have been our President the year he died; indeed, he had promised to attend the annual dinner, and I have his last letter in which he says, "D.V., I shall be with you"; however, he was taken from us. I think the academic world little knows how very much we owe to Sir Robert Stewart. Before his time it was not at all a difficult thing to get a degree; a man had simply to write an "Exercise" in a certain form, and if it was good enough when the fee was paid the degree was given. He said if musicians were to take proper rank then they must be equal to other degree holders in all things as well as in the more serious of their professions, and he insisted on a literary test.

The Trinity College authorities did not, at first, quite accept this theory; but Stewart struggled and struggled, and at last got his way, and an arts test was introduced. Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley told me it became necessary to do the same at Oxford as at Dublin, and this was followed by Cambridge, and, last, at the University of London, where Dr. Paley went still further on this path. Thus the standard has constantly been going up, and those musical gentlemen who have taken degrees in music in later years have found the task to be much more difficult than before; this is all due to Stewart. His influence has been very great, and we owe a debt of gratitude to him for what he has done in this respect. I will only trouble you with one further remark. I was anxious to hear the Irish bagpipes when I went to Ireland. Their absence in the Irish regiments constituted quite an Irish grievance; the Scotch have them, which possess merely a character and drone; on the Irish (which are much softer in tone) chords can be played. With some difficulty Stewart found for me a bagpipe player, and after a great deal of clearing up I heard the instrument played; I will hazard the opinion that it is to be regretted that instrument is fast disappearing.

Rev. Dr. TANNER.—Like my friend, Sir Robert Stewart, I had the misfortune to be born in Ireland; but for the last half-a-century I have lived in a much better place on the other side of the world. I have listened with great pleasure to the paper, and hope soon to have the book the lecturer informed us was coming out shortly. He has told us many anecdotes about Stewart, but he did not tell you that on many occasions I have had my ears boxed by him when I was a chorister. I have a distinct recollection of the boxing, but he did it very kindly. The influence Stewart has exerted on the musical profession is great indeed; he grasped the principle that a man must not be a mere musician, but something more. His idea was that, as for degrees in other arts at the University certain examinations had to be passed, musicians should do the same and so should be able to show they had education also. With respect to Mendelssohn's *Soratas* and how he practised them continuously, I distinctly remember that we were allowed to go into the Cathedral and play marbles and spin our tops while Stewart was locked in the organ loft day after day. From then continuously hearing them they sank deep into my mind.

Mr. VERNON.—I am glad I did not make the paper too long, as we have thus had an opportunity of listening to the excellent remarks of the various speakers. I am sure it was much more pleasant for me to be too short than too long.

A vote of thanks was then unanimously accorded to the Chairman.

CLIFFORD B. EDGAR, Esq., B.Sc., M.A.B.,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE EVOLUTION OF FUGUE.

By J. S. SEEDACK, B.A.

God bless! may have been the exclamation of some on reading the title of this paper. We already know, they might say, from Spitta, that Bach was considerably indebted to his predecessors; we are content to leave the study of their works to evolutionists and examiners. To any such I would make answer thus: In order fully to appreciate the works of a great composer you must know at least something of what those who preceded him accomplished, and the greater these predecessors, the greater one's admiration for the man who not only assimilated what was best in them, but who rose to higher eminence. Surely acquaintance with the best symphonic work of Haydn and Mozart intensifies one's appreciation of Beethoven's symphonies. To such argument it may, however, be opposed that Haydn and Mozart were geniuses; that though Beethoven surpassed them he did not cast them into oblivion, whereas Bach practically put an effigies on his predecessors. But for a long time Bach himself, just as much as his predecessors, was neglected, ignored by the majority of musicians. He was resurrected in the nineteenth century by Nitzsch, Winkley, Mendelssohn, and others, and various publications or reprints of early publications of the works of his predecessors (Seussback, Schenck, Frenscholdt, Bartschke) appear from time to time in Germany. The predecessors of Bach are as important in the history of the development of fugue, as Haydn and Mozart in that of the symphony.

"Fugues," says Praetorius, in his "Syntagma Musicum," published in the early part of the seventeenth century, "are

nothing more than frequent re-encodings of the same theme at certain points, with intervening passages", and he adds, "in Italy they are called *Suonieri*." No comment on my part is needed to show that this meagre definition will not apply to the fugues of Bach with their well-ordered expostitions, various workings of the theme, and wonderful episodes. In the early days of instrumental music composers wrote *Minuets* and *Courages franceses*. These were the true ancestors of modern fugue. Fugue was originally the term used for a canon. Then there were the *Fugatas*, in which what now-a-days would be called fugue writing abounded. Praetorius speaks of them as pieces in which composers worked out, at their own goodwill and pleasure, a fugue, passing on, just as the fancy took them, to another fugue. Thus the term fugue was used for a whole composition (a canon), or for part of one.

In the *Ricercare* composers treated one subject after another, pretty much as in the *Pastorale*, according to their goodwill and pleasure. The result was a lack of unity, for the opening theme, once treated, vanished, like the dove at the last from Noah's ark, never to return. This was the general practice. Remarkable exceptions may be found even in the "*Tabulaturbuch*" of Arnold Schlick and in the *Ricercari* of Busno— the first two names on your card.

You have before you, in fact, a table giving important names and works—landmarks to guide you and me in our short journey along a somewhat out-of-the-way path of the history of music. Jacob Busno and Adrian Willaert were both born in the Netherlands; both natives, it is supposed, of Bruges. Willaert became Maestro of St. Mark's in 1527, and Busno second organist of that church in 1547; in 1551, however, the latter went to Vienna, where, for a space of eleven years, he was court organist. The table shows the date at which each published *Ricercari*. Next come the names of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, both born at Venice, the one in 1510, the other in 1557. "*Intonamenti e Ricercati per Organo*," published 1593-5, contains pieces by Andrea and also the nephew, Giovanni. In the evolution of instrumental music, and, therefore, of fugue, these names are of great importance; but on this early stage I cannot now dwell. The next name is that of Jan Peter Sweelinck, who is believed to have studied at Venice, under Zarline, from 1578 to 1580; after that he returned to his native city, the Venice of the North, where, up to his death, he was organist of the Oude Kerk. Among his pupils were Samuel Scheidt and Heinrich Scheelermann, organists and composers, two important links between Sweelinck and Bach; yet I must be content with the mention of these names.

Now in story appeared the "Tabulaturbuch" of Bernard Schmid, the younger. The father was organist of Strasburg Cathedral from 1584 to 1592, when he was succeeded by his son. The "Tabulaturbuch" contains preludes, toccatas, and other pieces by various composers, and also fugues. Schmid tells us that the Italians give the name *Canzona alla francese* to fugues. I now play one from Schmid's book, by G. Brugnoli, born about 1550. This fugue by Brugnoli is divided into three sections. The first resembles the exposition and counter exposition of a fugue; the order of entry of the voices (a) is regular: dominant, tonic, dominant, tonic. There is a regular counter subject, and at the last entry in the counter exposition it is inverted in double counterpoint at the twelfth. The answer to the theme is real, not tonal. In the middle and repeated section, not, as usual in *Ricercari* and *Canzoni*, in different manners, two themes distantly related to the principal theme are treated fugally. The third section is a repetition of the first. The tonality may be monotonous, but the fugue is short. I think you will admire the clear, bold—I might perhaps venture to say *Handelian*—style of the music:—



Next on my list you will find the name of Johann Wolke and of the *Tabulatura* book which he published only ten years later than that of Schmid. Wolke was organist at Heilbrunn. Here, already, we find an advance in form. I am going to play you a fugue by Simon Lebet, organist at Stuttgart about 1600. It is not, like the one you have just heard, in sections, after the style of *Ricercari* and *Canzoni*, but all of one piece, and occupied with the working of one theme, and of a theme, moreover, with which you are familiar: it is the ecclesiastical one which Bach took for his Fugue in E (No. 9), in the second part of his *Wohltemperiertes Clavier*. The Lebet fugue is in four parts. After a regular entry of the voices there is a stretto. Later on the theme is heard in diminution against itself in the bass. Soon after there is a cadence in the key of G, then two strettos between the extreme parts. The fugue ends with a broad plagal cadence with the theme

is the upper voice. The music has, so it seems to me, both breadth and dignity :—



Then there is a *Fuga* ascribed by Carl Luythen, organist and composer to the Emperor Rudolph II. of Prague. His parents are said to have been English. Praetorius tells of having seen at Luythen's house a Clavichord with a compass of four octaves and seventy-seven keys. (Mr. Hipsley, by the way, in the article "Harpichord," in Sir G. Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," tells of a harpichord entitled "*Aushewsbalds*," mentioned in "*L'Amoreux Monsieur* *redonne alla moderna pratica*," which had four octaves, with no less than thirty-one keys within each octave.) Praetorius speaks of Luythen's harpichord as an *Instrumentum perfectum* or *perfectissimum*. Up to Luythen's time representations of them were, almost without exception, on the same diagram as the opening track. Now the *Fuga* ascribed opens in the Mixolydian mode, but later on we hear the keys of F, C, G, D, and A major. The fugue is long, so I shall only play the opening portion, in which you will hear these modulations.

In the year 1686 the great Frobenbald published his "*Fantasia a quattro*," in 1695 his "*Bicorne*" and "*Canzoni francesi*," followed by other works. His grand style, powerful harmonies, and contrapuntal skill mark him out as the greatest of Bach's early predecessors. His influence over Bach was strong: it was the influence of one genius over another. Like his great successor, he summed up the past and pointed to the future. This is not the moment for a panegyric on Frobenbald; he is to be noticed here only in so far as he helped to develop the art of fugue. And even in this matter I shall be very like the man who showed a brick as a specimen of the house he was going to build. The one Frobenbald brick,

however, which I intend to offer is a great, a magnificent one; that is my opinion, and one which I hope you will all share. But first, a word or two about Frescobaldi's music. Like his predecessors, he wrote *Ricercari* and *Canons*. There are three features in these works which, I believe, specially attracted the notice of Bach. The one was the use of chromaticism, the outcome of the Renaissance; the second, epichorial workings; and the third, continuity. I must be content with naming the first and third. On the second, which plays so important a part in Bach's fugues, I would like to dwell for a moment. In the *Ricercari* and *Canons* before Frescobaldi, all these features, in a more or less embryonic stage, are to be found; in him the intention is more definite, the aim after unity clearer, and the workmanship of a far higher order. With Frescobaldi, as with Bach, his intellectual powers ministered to his genius.

In the *Canon* *quarta* in the "*Pieri version*," a work the whole of which Bach copied (his manuscript is carefully preserved in the Library of the Royal Institute of Sacred Music at Berlin), there are two fine examples of episodes. Here is the principal theme with the answer and counter-subject:—

FRESCOBALDI CANON.

Ex. 3.

The first episode, formed from the counter-subject, runs thus:—

Ex. 4.

The second, from a portion of the subject, thus:—

Ex. 2.



In the fugue which I shall play in a moment there are also interesting illustrations. As an example of continuity each of its sections, to say nothing of the unity of the whole, is remarkable. Before playing the fugue, one word as to its form. Canons were, as a rule, divided into three sections: the first and third in common, the middle in triple measure. I shall mention presently how, and by what means, Beethoven was influenced by this form. The fugue in question, a kind of double fugue, has four sections. In the first, after an exposition in the manner of a regular fugue, there are further entries of the theme, and although, with an exceptional change of the first note, on the same degrees as at first, there is modulation, and there are thematic episodes, it begins in E minor and ends on the major chord. In the second and short section a new theme is announced. The structure is similar to the first; it also begins in E minor, but ends on the chord of C major. In the third the original theme is metamorphosed, while the theme of the second section is combined with it; the episodes are important. This section opens in E minor and closes on the chord of A major. The fourth section presents the principal theme in new shape, and its treatment is rich and varied. Some of the episodic passages might be signed Bach. It begins in E minor, but ends on a chord of A major. In spite of the D sharp in the theme, which gives it quite the effect of E minor, Fetscherfeld

probably looked upon the fugue as written in the Hypo-Bolus mode—



Freburger was a distinguished pupil of Frescobaldi's, but I must first speak of Johann Krieger, who, in 1691, published, at Dresden, thirty-six fugues in two, three, and four parts. Krieger, born about the year 1593, was a distinguished organist. He lived for many years at Augsburg, and studied there, first under Christian Erbach and afterwards under the renowned Heinrich Schütz. He died about 1660. Erbach already wrote fugues in one piece after the manner of Krieger and the German organists of South and middle Germany who came after him. Such fugues were possibly the outcome of the short organ interludes played during Roman Catholic service. The special point to notice in the fugues of Krieger is the form—I might almost say formality. There is a German solidity about them, a staidness, and healthy life and vigour, which render them landmarks of interest and importance. I will briefly, very briefly, describe one and

then play it. It is in the *Hypo-Mixolydian* mode. Here is the bold theme and the well contrasted counter-subject, afterwards inserted in double counterpoint at the tenth:—

Ex. 2.

Known Fugue.



Both theme and counterpoint may, I think, claim to be ancestors of certain passages in "Sing ye to the Lord" in Handel's "Israel."

The theme always keeps to the subject or answer form—i.e., it begins either on *d* or on *g*, but the occasional introduction of *f* sharp or *b* flat suggests the key of *G* or of *F*. I call your attention to an interesting stretto, a most interesting episode evolved from the counter-subject, and a broad Coda evolved from the same source. I now play the fugue, No. 32 of the set of thirty-six.

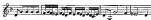
Fuxberger is specially known for his solos, but he also wrote fugues. I have still to speak of three more composers still nearer to Bach, and must, therefore, be content to mention an interesting fugue of his which has for its subject the ecclesiastical theme referred to in connection with Lohel. It is worthy of notice that in all three fugues (i.e., in those of Lohel, Fuxberger, and Bach) the theme appears in *dislocation*. I now turn to Johann Pachelbel, who was born at Nuremberg in 1633, and died in that city in 1706. This immediate predecessor of Bach is of special interest, inasmuch as he was the teacher of Johann Christian, the brother of Johann Sebastian, with whom the latter lived after their father's death in 1693. Further, some pieces by Pachelbel were in the manuscript book which young Sebastian copied while in his brother's house. I have selected three from a fairly large collection of Pachelbel fugues; they are all very short, and will give you a better

idea of this composer's music than the longest description. These three fugues are so simple in structure that no analysis is required. I would only call your attention to the characteristic themes—the first with the hall of the distinguished seventh recalls, of course, a well-known theme used by Bach, Handel, and Mozart; to the figuration and progressions which, though somewhat formal, are interesting, for in them we see the germs of the richer figuration and bolder progressions of the later master; also to the earnestness of the first fugue, and the lightness and humour of the other two. As preparatory studies to Bach, Pachelbel's fugues seem to me most appropriate. As none of these fugues—so far as I am aware—are published, they are, I presume, little known:—



I now pass on to the name of a composer whose fugues—had Bach not existed—would, I think, be regarded as the highest expression of that form of musical art—I refer to Dietrich Buxtehude, who was organist at Lubeck for over thirty years. Although he died only one year later than Pachelbel—*i.e.*, in 1707—he was his senior by fifteen years. Here again was a man who exercised a strong, if not the strongest influence over Bach. His music is marked by wonderful dignity and, at times, solemnity. He was a master of his art, but, as with Bach, there was no show of

learning for mere learning's sake. The scheme of his principal fugues is different from those of Bach. Buxtehude wrote fugues in sections, and in each the subject was metamorphosed. The Frescobaldi fugue which I played was of this kind, and it is worth noting that Tunder, who was one of the greatest organ players of his day, and who is said to have studied under Frescobaldi, was Buxtehude's predecessor at the Marienkirche, Lübeck. You will perhaps remember that Handel and Matheson went to Lübeck in 1703, the post of organist being vacant owing to the retirement of Buxtehude. But the candidate elected was expected to marry the daughter of the retiring organist, a condition acceptable to neither; and so they returned to Hamburg apparently without competing. They heard Buxtehude play, possibly his great Fugue in G minor (No. 18, Spitta edition), for the subject, consciously or unconsciously, was afterwards conveyed almost note for note by Handel into his "Messiah." Buxtehude's theme runs thus:—



Handel, in "He shall purify," wrote:—



Buxtehude, I may mention, did marry the daughter of Tunder, when he became organist, and no doubt came into the possession of the manuscripts of his wife's father. Tunder's compositions are said to be highly interesting and to overshadow Buxtehude, as the latter overshadowed Bach. In the history of the evolution of fugue Tunder is thus of great importance. I could spend most of time for not entering into further detail, but I will say quickly that I have not had an opportunity of seeing any of his manuscript music, much of which has been preserved.

I am going to play to you one of Buxtehude's finest fugues. It was written for organ, but Mr. E. F. Jacques has kindly consented to play the pedal notes. I shall also give the prelude, which is only twenty bars in length. The fugue has three sections. After the prelude comes this noble theme

(see below). The first section, consists of an exposition and counter-exposition; it closes with an imperfect cadence. The second section is a brief *Allegro*; the running quaver passage shows in its opening notes those of the latter portion of the theme (see below). The third section, *Large*, presents the original theme thus (see below). It is possible that some of you may not know this fugue; those who do well, I think, excuse me for refreshing their memories.—



I selected this one, but only after much hesitation, for all are in one or another way attractive. This fugue shows great restrained power; the writing is slower and yet wonderfully simple, while the spirit which informs the music, especially in the last section, is uncommonly stately and solemn. "Who can do anything after Beethoven?" said Schubert; and Bach in his young days, when he listened spell-bound to the veteran organist of the Marienkirche, must have asked himself, "Who can do anything after Bachbade?"

I wish in closing to say one word about August Gottlieb Muffat. Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* bears the date 1722, and Muffat's "*Composimenti variati*" were published four

years later. He can therefore only be treated as a contemporary of Bach's, but he shows what was written in the fugue line, most probably apart from the influence of Bach, about, and possibly even before, the date of the Well-tempered Clavier.

I am perfectly conscious of the shortcomings of this brief paper; my title was too large for the time at my disposal, and for that I am entirely to blame. But I wished to open up, not a new, but an old path in which is to be found much of value and of something more than antiquarian interest. To the importance of the age of whom I have been speaking, and of others, especially Sweelinck and his pupil Schickel, also Karl and Kuhnau, the immediate predecessors of Bach at St. Thomas's, Leipzig, the following passage from Dr. Parry's "*Art of Music*" bears strong testimony:—

"It ought not to be overlooked, moreover, that his (i.e., Bach's) predecessors in the line of organ music were an exceptionally high-spirited group of composers. It is difficult to find a finer or more true-hearted set of men in the whole range of the art than such as Frescobaldi, Froberger, Sweelinck, Karl, Kuhnau, Bachschade, Pachelbel, Kuhnau, John Michael Bach, and many others of the same calling and similar musical powers."

And again:

"For though their work never reaches the pitch of equal mastery which satisfies the fastidious judgment of those who have enjoyed tasteful things, it was only through their devoted pioneering that the musical revolution of the personality of Bach in instrumental music became possible."

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am sure we are all very much obliged to Mr. Shedlock for his excellent paper, and this is no empty compliment. It is a very creditable paper, and must have involved a great deal of research. I myself have given considerable attention to antiquarian music, but several of the composers mentioned by the lecturer were quite unknown to me, and were others were merely names. We are also much indebted to Mr. Shedlock for giving us the opportunity of hearing his selections of music, many of which are very difficult of access. Several of them are well worthy of publication or re-publication as the case may be, for if it be type of literature, and politics, and history, that we can only intelligently understand the present through an adequate knowledge of the

part, it is entirely true of music, and Mr. Sheddock has shown us to-night how much of real merit in fugue there was antecedent to Bach. Some of it struck me as surprisingly modern in quality. In fugue, which is not intended for the orchestra or for voices, but for a single instrument, especially if that instrument be not the organ, it is important to mark and preserve the individuality of the parts, as by differences of rhythm, figure, and so on, and some of the earlier composers have hardly paid sufficient attention to the point; but this cannot be alleged against Frescobaldi, whose entrances and progressions are most carefully marked, and remind one frequently of Handel. I think if our students would pay more attention than they do to fugue writing generally they would find it of the greatest possible value. If one might venture upon a criticism of so great a writer as Beethoven, I would say that he was at a disadvantage throughout his career from the lack of early familiarity with and mastery of this noble style. I emphatically dissent from the view put forward by some superficial writers now-a-day that students should learn how to write fugues and then—avoid writing any.

Dr. MACLEAN.—As to the evolution of fugue having ended with Bach, doubtless that is true in some sense intended by the lecturer, but I beg to say that there is a real evolution of fugue going on down to our own day, each great master having made out of it a new product through the force of his own individuality. I do not see how these differences are less evolutionary than the gradual changes prior to Bach through which the lecturer has led us. Review the present century. There are no fugues in Beethoven's published works before his third period, but is that there are at any rate the three fugue movements of the Piano-forte Sonata, Op. 101, 106, and 109, and the two string-quartet fugues of Op. 59, No. 3, and Op. 133. Can anything be more truly Beethovenian than those? The Op. 133 fugue for one has not the smallest resemblance to anything in the Bach period. And, I would add, are they not also truly magnificent and inspiring? They seem to me as much to soar higher above the ground than almost anything in Beethoven. Next is Späth; his organo fugues are not very much perhaps as fugues, but they retain the character of his style and so suggestive interesting to them could mistake them for any one else's. Then Mendelssohn. His organo fugues are perhaps not much in the Leipzig or Bachian style to be very individual; but the same cannot be said of his Piano-forte Fugues, Op. 35, and still less of his organ fugues and the fugue movements in his organ sonatas, all of which are replete with original genius. What organist does not know the true romantic quality, quite Schumannian, of Schumann's Op. 60 and Op. 74 fugues, especially the former?

An oratorio was performed by our Philharmonic Society many years ago, the "Paradise Lost" of Reubenstein, which, I am surprised, has never been heard again in England, being a sterling and original work; it abounds in fugues, for the most part strange to say given to the Devil, while the Angels sing homophonic music! These fugues show Reubenstein's individual style as much as any of his compositions which can be named. Then last Saturday we heard at the Bach Choir Beethoven's noble "Deutsches Requiem"; this has three fugues of colossal calibre, combining fugue writing with the newest products of modern genius. What is all this but evolution? As to the art involved it partly lies in the invention of subjects, but still more in the manipulation of harmony and tonal sequence. To go back to Beethoven, I am afraid I cannot subscribe to the Chairman's remarks about him; he wrote but few fugues, but in those he showed the grasp of a giant.

Mr. SOUTHWICK.—Our lecturer has given us a very interesting and excellent paper, to which I am sure we have all listened with profit. I agree with Dr. Madson to a great extent. I thought he was going to mention one fugue that has two main subjects, and, indeed, something more. I allude to that splendid composition, Mendelssohn's *Prelude and Fugue in E minor*, with its pathetic and beautiful opening subject. The emotional and musical way in which the fugue is treated, and the fire and dramatic development as it proceeds, culminating in that noble chorale at the end, must compel the admiration of all musicians. I do not think it is saying anything disrespectful to the great Bach to maintain that this surpasses everything Bach has written. In the earlier examples played by Mr. Shadlock, how interesting it was to trace the gradual getting away from the style of the old madrigals of the period, which were of the imitation if not strictly fugue form, written "For Voice and Violin." One of the earlier examples he played was quite new to me.

Mr. SOUTHWICK.—I expect it is the "Brigade" you refer to.

Mr. SOUTHWICK.—Yes; there the vocal type seems to be cast away, and we get the instrumental form instead. With regard to the organist of Lübeck, it was interesting to learn that he not only had to take care of the organ, but also to take to himself the late organist's daughter to wife. How interesting it would have been if Mr. Shadlock could have given us an example from his fugues composed before the gentleman married the lady and then one after.

The CHAIRMAN.—I now put the resolution to the meeting. "That the best thanks of the meeting be accorded to Mr. Shadlock for his excellent paper, and the examples he has given." (Carried unanimously.) In speaking of Beethoven's fugue writing I rather meant he showed traces of not having

attended to this still late in life. As to what Dr. Maclean said about the distribution of parts in Rubinstein's "Paradise Lost," possibly it is because of the subtlety of which fugue is capable that the composer has uniformly assigned his fugues to the demands.

Mr. Seamonso.—I feel I must consider that the evolution of fugue came to an end with Bach; it, however, raises a subject impossible to deal with now. Dr. Maclean disagrees with me about that; only in a certain sense are we at one. I quite agree with Mr. Southgate's remarks about the interest of the Mendelssohn Fugue in E minor, but whether it is an advance on Bach or not is another question altogether.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

MAY 20, 1898.

CHARLES MACLEAN, BSc., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon.,
VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC.

By C. F. ARTHUR WILLIAMS, M.A., Mus. Bacc., Cantab. et Oxon.

I have often been asked the question, "How can we know anything about ancient Greek music?" or "How can any fragments of it that may be discovered be translated into modern notation?" The answer is simple enough. Of actual specimens of ancient Greek music, the existing examples may be counted on the fingers of the two hands, but a fairly considerable amount of its theory has come down to us in the works of Aristoxenus of Tarrentum (who wrote treatises on harmonics and rhythm), Cleonides, Euclid, Nicomachus, Alypius (who has given us the complete notation), Gaudenton, Boethius, senior, Aristides, Quintilianus (the anonymous writer), and finally Claudius Ptolemy and Ptolemy.¹ These authors flourished at various times, from about 300 B.C. to 300 A.D., the most ancient and the most important being Aristoxenus.

In addition to the works which are specially concerned with musical theory, we find scattered notions, of considerable

¹ The principal editions of these authors are: Matheson, "Antique Music: Ancient Systems," 1839. Containing the text, with a Latin translation of Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Alypius, Gaudenton, Euclides, senior, Aristides, Quintilianus. There are two books attributed to Euclid, the last of which has, however, been of late years ascribed to Cleonides. J. Maitre, "Claude Ptolemaeus Harmonotechnia Libri tres," 1872. Greek text with Latin translation. In this book are explained the transpositions of the modes and keys: Westphal, "Ptolemaeus, Liber de Musica," 1865. Greek text with German translation and notes. H. Reifferscheid, "Anonymi Scriptoris de Musica," and "Euclidis harmonia introductio," Berlin: 1841. Greek text with Latin notes: Westphal, "Aristoxenus, Methodi et Harmoniké," Leipzig: 1875. Greek text with German translation and notes. Most of the above works have been translated into French and German, and are easily accessible in this form, though the original editions are out of print and scarce.

values, in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and others, which, taken in conjunction with the treatises, enable us to reconstruct to some extent the theory of ancient music, though naturally not to reproduce it. Of actual examples, we have three hymns—to the Muse, to Nemesis, and to Hellen—of the second century A.D.; a short hymn by one Senalios, found cut on a pillar at Tralles, supposed to be of about 200 A.D.; a portion of the name to Pindar's first Pythian Ode, of doubtful authenticity; large portions of a hymn to Apollo, discovered engraved on stone at Delphi in 1803; considerable portions of a second hymn discovered later at the same place; and some vocal and rhythmical associations, given as examples in the anonymous treatise.* If the Pindar music is genuine it dates from 500 years before Christ. It was discovered about 250 years ago, and is now found to be composed in accordance with certain rules of construction which it was impossible that the discoverer could have known, so that it can scarcely be a forgery.

In speaking of Greek music it is usual to begin by a discussion of scales. We modern musicians make use of four forms of scale divided into two modes—namely, the major scale or mode, and the minor mode in its three forms of ascending, melodic scale, descending melodic scale, and harmonic scale.

The major scale or mode consists of two similar tetrachords ascending by tone, tone, semitone, and separated by a tone. The ascending minor scale cannot be divided into tetrachords. The descending minor consists of two tetrachords, proceeding downwards by tone, tone, semitone. These tetrachords are joined together—that is, the lowest note of one forms the highest note of the next; these are what the Greeks would call conjunct tetrachords. The scale is completed by the addition of a note an octave below the top note. The descending melodic scale is of great importance to the subject of this paper, for if we play two octaves of it we get exactly the ancient Greek greater perfect system, or complete scale, which could be transposed to any pitch, and out of which the modes were formed. The note added below the lowest tetrachord was called *prolambanomenos*; and those who carried our scale across A B C D E F G, took the *prolambanomenos*, the lowest sound of the Greek system, as their starting point, and called it by the first letter of the alphabet.

The chief peculiarity of the modern harmonic minor scale is the augmented second; and this interval is also the chief peculiarity of the ancient and the modern Greek chromatic

*The whole of the Greek music at present known to us will be found in the original and its modern notation in Gressens's "*Le Musique de l'Antiquité*," Vol. I. Ghent 1863, and "*Le Mélange antique*," Ghent 1863.

scale. Greek theory has had more influence on European music than most musicians are aware of. To mention only a few out of hundreds of evidences of this, we find in Ptolemy that some of the early mediæval organs had as their lowest note B natural, not A, as we might expect; and the reason given by him is that B natural was originally the lowest note of the Greek system, the A being added afterwards.* Going back still farther we find musicians of the ninth and tenth century of our era singing in consecutive fourths, fifths, and octaves, and these intervals are described by Greek theorists as "symphonias," or notes that could be sounded together, other intervals being "disymphonias" or discords. Is it not possible that musicians were led to these early experiments in combining sounds by their study of Greek music?† We go farther back and come to Boethius, who quotes some of the Greek notation, but uses Latin letters for his own purposes, though he does not use them in the same way as his successors. It is in his work that we first find the Gregorian modes arranged in their well-known order; but it is unfortunate that he got confused in his description, and misnamed them all. In any reference therefore to the names of these scales or modes I must ask you to bear in mind that I refer to the Greek use of the terms, not the Gregorian.

Perhaps it will be as well to mention some of these; but to name the whole would be only confusing.

The Greek modes thus were called Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian; but they went in exactly the reverse order to the Gregorian, as described by Boethius‡.

The Greek Dorian octave or mode commenced on E, the Phrygian on D, the Lydian on C (our C major scale), the Mixolydian on B, the Hypo-Dorian on A, the Hypo-Phrygian on G the Hypo-Lydian on F; all these modes being, in their diatonic form, represented by the white keys of the piano. These were the seven oldest modes, and I need not trouble you with other names. Aristoxenus, however, who lived at a time when music must have arrived at a considerable

* Ptolemy, "Symponia," first Vol II., p. 173. "Altera sunt stiba symphonie, de quibus sic ut duo organa antequam esset inter illa stiba illi clavis, Antiquum de Apollonio de duobus modis symphonie, quatuor habent, de 1. Tritonidem system, von E quadrato bis in E. . . . 2. Tritonidem more cum E cum A. 3. Tritonidem disymphoniam von E mit A."

♭ C D E F G A B ♯ C ♯

† Thus, for example, Gaudenzio, p. 18, explains "harmonia" means in proper, consonance, and symphonie. Unisona are when two sounds which do this differ in pitch are struck simultaneously. Consonantia are perfect fourths perfect fifths, and octaves. Symphonie are intervals between symphonie and disymphonias, as augmented fourths, major thirds.

‡ See "Disquisition of Greek and Roman Antiquities," third edition Art. "Musica." On any recent work on ancient music, by, e.g., Chappell, Wright, Grove, &c.

stage of development,* instituted thirteen keys, and for this purpose divided the octave into twelve equal semitones, and each note of the octave thus divided formed the *prolambanomenos*, or starting point of a key. I must point out that "mode" means the division of a single octave into tones and semitones; "key" means the particular pitch of the two octaves forming the greater perfect system. Aristoxenus got as much abused for his innovation by the Pythagoreans as the advocates of equal temperament have been abused by the scientists of our own times. Later on the thirteen keys were increased to fifteen, but this does not concern us.

The single modes were therefore not confined to a particular pitch, as in the Gregorian system. On the contrary, just as with us the major and minor modes may start from any white or black note, so in classical Greece the Dorian, or Phrygian, or Lydian, or any other mode could occur on any of the twelve sounds of the octave. Differences of pitch were unfortunately called† by the same names as differences of mode, and considerable misconception has therefore arisen, some scholars even contending that differences of mode were merely differences of pitch for the greater perfect system. This, of course, cannot be the case, for mode gave character with the Greeks as with us, and we know that to change a piece in the minor mode from the key of C to that of D or E does not change its character, whereas to change a piece from minor to major does change its character, whether we change its pitch or not, and so it was with the Greeks. Hence a Greek composition could be in the Dorian mode and the Lydian key, or vice versa, or there could be any other combination of key and mode.‡ As an example, the Delphic hymn to Apollo is in the Dorian mode and the Phrygian key, the latter being shown by its notation.

I will take this opportunity of saying a few words about the Greek notation. Without going into details, I may say that it was alphabetical and had two forms, one being used for voices, the other for instruments. In the treatises, where notation is used, both forms are generally given together, but in the existing fragments of composition only one form is used at a time, and apparently the two forms were interchangeable, or were used indifferently for voices or instruments in actual practice. Alypius gives complete tables of the notation of the two octaves forming the greater perfect system in all the fifteen keys. That is to say, each *prolambanomenos* is a semitone higher than its predecessor

* Aristotle Quintilianus, p. 20, 26. The twelve equal semitones of Aristoxenus are discussed by Wessphal in various places.

† See *Classical Philology*, Book III, Chapters 2 and 3.

‡ See *Gesamte La. Musiquen-Sammlung*, Vol. I, Book 5, Chapter 3.

(Fig. 3), and the three keys are merely a transposition of the same two octaves. But as there are three forms of scale—viz., diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic—there are forty-five tables of notation. He calls the complete scale in each key a "trope," the "mode" being only a portion of the trope.

In translating a piece of Greek music it is first necessary to make a table of all the signs used in the piece, and then see to which trope, as given by Alypius and the other theorists, they belong. I show you a plan of portions of the complete notation (Fig. 2). A scheme such as this was called *cataptychos*, and formed an important branch of musical teaching in ancient days, though Aristoxenus condemns a reliance on the *cataptychos* as misleading.⁶ In each tetrachord the highest and lowest sounds were "fixed" and the two middle sounds were "movable"—that is, they were differently tuned according to the different genera,⁷ the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. For the ordinary chromatic tuning the third note from the bottom was lowered by a semitone, thus producing, for example, a f g^b a. While for the enharmonic, the third note was lowered by a tone and the second by a quarter-tone, producing two quarter-tones and a major third. There were also other refinements of tuning which would take too long to explain here.

The so-called instrumental notation is shown by Westphal to consist of the letters of an early Greek alphabet, showing traces of Phoenician origin (Fig. 1). The scale, however, is not arranged in alphabetical order, but, starting from the top A with Alpha (the first letter of the alphabet), the succeeding letters produce a curious succession of colors, which can only be accounted for by some order of tuning the instruments unknown to us. The three lowest notes of each chromatic and enharmonic tetrachord are represented by a sign in its ordinary position, then on its back, then reversed; but where it is impossible to reverse a sign, such as the letter H, its form is changed (Fig. 4, a, b). For notes beyond the compass of the first alphabet the letters are omitted. The vocal notation (Figs. 2 and 3) consists of the capital letters of the Attic alphabet, which, taken in their proper order, give a complete octave in the enharmonic genus. For notes above this octave the letters have a special mark on their right-hand top corner, while for those below they are inverted. The signs in both notations are the same for chromatic and enharmonic genera, and one note only in each tetrachord has a different sign for the diatonic genus (Fig. 4). I have explained this in more detail in No. 2 of the *New Quarterly Musical Review* for May, 1895.

⁶ *Aristoxenus* (*Metaph.*), pp. 58 and 59.

⁷ *Aristoxenus* (*Metaph.*), p. 57.

The Greeks did not develop music to the pitch at which it has arrived in modern times, but they certainly laid the foundation of our modern art. They knew nothing of combining melodies simultaneously; but it is only natural that their keen perceptions should lead them to a high cultivation of music in some direction or other. We have seen that they used a great variety of modes and genera and tuning, all of which would affect the melodic side of music; but, they said, melody is only one part, and music cannot be complete without rhythm. Melody and rhythm combined produced music.

About 300 years ago there was invented at Florence a new kind of music for dramatic purposes called recitative. It was without rhythm, and its inventors supposed that it was a reproduction of ancient Greek music. But the discovery, in 1792, of a lost treatise on rhythm by Aristoxenus goes to show that all Greek vocal music was sung in regular rhythm and there was no such thing as recitative. The rhythm appears to have been more complex in some ways than ours, and there were refinements, of which we take no notice, though our great composers and our best performers, without theorising, seem instinctively to feel them. Thus the Greeks were very fond of 3-time rhythm, a thing so rare in our music that it is passed over in the instruction books as non-existent; yet we know from Tchaikowsky's "Pathetic" Symphony that it is quite practicable and very effective. They also seem to have made use of a variety of phrase practically unknown to us, who have all our compositions on phrases of four bars, or multiples of four, and but rarely make use of three, five, and seven-bar phrases. Then again they observed the accentuation of phrases as well as of bars: a phrase, they said, beginning with a weak accent and leading to a stronger one was more vigorous than a phrase beginning with a strong accent, for in the first case there was, as it were, an increase of energy, and in the second a decrease. The difference is often perceptible in modern music, though of course the element of harmony (which was unknown to the Greeks) considerably modifies the purely rhythmical effects. There are passages in Beethoven's works in which the composer has taken it for granted that the performer will instinctively use the right accentuation, though his notation gives no clue to it. Thus, in the second movement of the Sonata, Op. 27, No. 2, the application of the Greek rule about rhythmical accents in the phrase will show that Beethoven seems to have thought of the movement as 3-4 time, beginning with a half-bar, though he writes it in 3-4. I will play it with a somewhat exaggerated accent to make my meaning clear.*

* See Fauré's "Musical Form," p. 15 for other examples.

Then there was the phrase that was preceded by a single bar or portion of a bar, a redundant bar; there was the *anational bar*—that is, a bar which had no proportion to the other bars; this is indicated by our passage; and there were other features too complicated to mention in the limits of a short paper. There was also synopoeia or displacement of the accent, all of which things are described in Westphal's and Grevett's books.

With regard to the laws of composition, so far as we know them from theory, and from the existing fragments, the chief note of a scale was *Mese*, the middle note of the ancient heptachord, which in the complete system of sounds corresponded with the *A* to which we tune our violoncello. The actual pitch is, however, supposed to have been about a minor third lower than ours. Aristotle gives us to understand that *Mese* is the note which in all properly composed songs occurred most often; and that composers always quickly returned to it if they left it.* It also seems to have been the note from which the strings of lyres and kitharæ were tuned, and from Aristoxenus we gather that they were tuned by fourths and fifths as a modern lute would be.† The note called *Hypate* was a perfect fourth below *Mese*—and from a passage in Aristotle's *problemata* Eulimboldt and others have concluded that melodies ended on this note, and their conjecture has been as good as confirmed by recent discovery. It has been the custom to speak of *Mese* as a *hypate* and *Hypate* as a *dominant*, and to say that Greek melodies ended on the dominant. I very much prefer however to consider *Mese* in the light of a Gregorian dominant, a note round which the melody revolved, and to which it constantly returned, and the *Hypate* as a Gregorian final. I have stated my reasons for this view in a recent number of the *Classical Review*, and will, therefore, not enter into it here.]

Another rule has been observed by Mr. Meave and Professor Cretina, though it is not referred to in any of the ancient treatises. The rise and fall of the melody was dictated by the grammatical accents of the words—that is to say, a syllable bearing an acute accent is sung to a higher note than the succeeding syllable, and a syllable bearing a circumflex accent is frequently sung to two notes, the second note being lower than the first (Fig. 3). The intervals affected by the grammatical accents may be of any compass, from a second to a sixth or octave, so that the composer had a certain amount of freedom of choice. I have not found a seventh. The

* Aristotle. *Problem* xiii., and elsewhere.

† *Aristoxenus*, p. 50.

‡ The *Diapla* and *Tetrachord* show evidence of this construction. See *Classical Review*, March, 1891.

evidence of the rule is apparent from a passage in Aristoxenus, in which he compares the rise and fall of pitch in the speaking or declaiming voice with the same rise and fall when regulated by musical intervals.* The latter, he says, is musical melody. Students of Gregorian sacramental notation will see a close connection here between the Greek grammatical accents and the simplest form of notation, as explained by Don Patheir.† A short syllable is (in the existing fragments) invariably sung as a single note, while a long syllable has one, two, or even, though rarely, three notes of melody. The rhythm of the music is dominated by the metre of the poetry, and if we translate the note over a short syllable by a quaver, we must translate that over a long syllable as a crotchet. A melody composed for Greek words, therefore, differed from one composed for modern words in this important point; in the Greek melody short syllables must have short notes, long syllables long notes; with us the length of note is a matter of indifference as long as accented syllables coincide with accented notes, and unaccented syllables with unaccented notes. In the anonymous writer we find signs given for notes of the value of one, two, three, four, and five choros or time values, the single choros being usually translated by a quaver. "Anonymus" also gives signs for what he calls "choroi khoroi"—that is, "empty times," or, as we should say, rests, of values from one to five.

Dithyram, stasimon, and others speak of change of "Mese." This would amount to change of mode or change of key, or, as we should say, modulation. There were also frequent changes of rhythm.

The vocal melody was always sung in unison or octaves, but there was usually an instrumental accompaniment; Plato, in his laws, wishes boys to be taught to play the instrument in unison with the voice, and not to play a different melody, as was done by professional musicians.

"Anonymus" speaks of *Cresmata*, or instrumental introductions to songs, and of *Cith*, or short instrumental passages interspersed between vocal portions—these would, of course, correspond exactly with the "symphonies" of a modern song or chorus. Aristotle and Plutarch make reference to some of the intervals used in the accompaniment, such as the second, fourth, fifth, major sixth, and they distinctly tell us that the accompaniment was always above the melody. Gaudetius also mentions the major third and augmented fourth as intervals used by the instrument in accompanying.‡ It is evident, then, that though the Greeks sang in unison,

* *Aristoxenus* p. 4.

† In "Les Melodes grecs," *et. c.* Tenney, III.

‡ *Anonymus* p. 28. *Gaudetius* p. 23. *Aristotle*, *Problems* viii., 20.

§ *Plutarch* Chapter 17. *Aristotle*, *Problems* viii., 18, 22. *Gaudetius*, p. 18.

they made use of some kind of very elementary harmonic accompaniment. Aristotle calls this "mixis," our word *mixing* or *mingling*, but he says that the *mixis* did not affect the character of the *opsis*, for character was produced by the melody alone.* With us, of course, the *mixis* or harmony has a very strong effect on the character of the composition.

Various passages in the earliest treatises refer to the "systems."† I have already mentioned the greater perfect system of two octaves. There was also the lesser perfect system of an octave and a fourth, from A to D, in which the B was replaced by B flat, in order to preserve the sequence of tetrachords. (This system, of course, suggested to the early Georgians their B flat, which was the first black note introduced on the organ, the second being E flat.)‡ But apparently almost any combination of a few notes could form a system;§ and the systems seem to have taken something like the same place in melodic design as the ragas of South India—namely, a sort of pattern on which the melody was composed. Systems were either regular or irregular. If regular, they consisted of an ordinary succession of a few notes of the scale; if irregular, one or perhaps more notes were omitted. I quote two systems from the "Hymn to Apollo," one pentachordal (A $\sharp$, C, D, E $\sharp$), the other tetrachordal (E $\sharp$, G, A $\sharp$), and both are irregular, for a scale note is omitted in both (Fig. 5, 4). The Pongponian flute, which we imitated for the Bradford Greek Theatre, when discovered, was arranged to play two irregular systems, one pentachordal (B, C $\sharp$, D $\sharp$, F $\sharp$), the other tetrachordal (F $\sharp$, A $\sharp$, B), and, in addition to these, there were C, C $\sharp$, D, above the upper B (Fig. 5, 8). The other holes of the instrument were closed, leaving only these systems to be played with the fingers. The modes also were called octave-systems.

The form of a Greek chorus was important and well defined. It consisted of strophæ, containing a number of lines of irregular length, technically called *verses*. The verses and their divisions formed the musical phrases, just as do the single lines of a modern hymn-tune; though the Greeks knew of no such cut and dried regularity of form as this. To the strophæ succeeded the antistrophæ, which, in rhythm, metre, and every particular was an exact imitation of the strophæ, and even the grammatical accents correspond in the two portions so nearly as to make the same melody possible for both. To the antistrophæ succeeded the epode, a shorter piece in a different rhythm, usually anapestic—that

* See Gilbert, "La Musique de l'Antiquité," Vol. I, p. 126.

† Protreus' *Epigrams*, p. 101.

‡ Aristoxenus, p. 16. Gieseler, p. 4. Bachan, p. 1. Arnobius, p. 15. *Annæ*, p. 20.

is to say, in common time, beginning with the half-bar, as in a gigue. This construction was repeated if the chorus was of any considerable length. A passage in Aristotle's *analeptich* problem leads us to the inference that the strophic and antistrophic construction was used for the chorus on account of its being easy to learn; for the two principal portions had the same rhythm, were in the same mode, and apparently had the same melody. You will see then that the element of design was not at all absent from Greek composition.

The Greeks knew of a considerable variety of instruments, many of which, however, they looked upon as barbarous, or only fit for accompanying festivity. Of stringed instruments there was the monochord or *cithara*, used only for acoustical experiments; the trichord or *pandoura*, a kind of lute with a neck, on which the fingers could stop the strings, like the *nakar* of the Egyptians; the *trigon*, probably a harp, with a large number of strings, and what was called a *parharmonic scale*, or a scale capable of playing all the harmonies (I must explain that the word *harmony* in Greek meant mode); the *psithra*, an instrument of high pitch, used only by women; the *magadis*, in which the strings were divided by a bridge in such a way as to produce a note and its octave. Anacreon accompanied his songs on a *magadis* of twenty strings. The Phrygian lyre and *ambaxia* were of the same nature as the *magadis* (Gessert, Vol. II., p. 243), and there were several other varieties of which only the names have reached us. The chief stringed instrument, and the only one used in the theatre so far as we know, was the *lythara*, an improved form of lyre, whose tone was like that of a very small harp. It took many shapes and names, but the principle was the same in all—namely, a sound-box on each side of which were arms supporting a cross piece or yoke, to which the strings were attached; the strings passed from the bottom of the sound-box over a bridge to pegs in the yoke, by which they were tuned. Our Bradford reproduction of this instrument prove that the tone was more penetrating in the open air than one would expect.

Of wind instruments there was also a considerable variety. We frequently see representations of double flutes. These seem to have been chiefly used in sacrificial ceremonies, for with the Romans, and probably with the Greeks, no sacrifice could take place without the music of flutes. Varro tells us that the right flute was differently constructed from the left, but in such a manner as to join with it, for the first played the principal melody, the second the accompaniment.* I must mention, however, that the word *aulos*, usually translated flute, in reality referred to wind instruments of various kinds. I believe it is doubtful whether the principle of the flute

* Gessert Vol. I., p. 36, Nov. Vol. II., p. 291.

traverse or fife was known. There is certainly a statue in the Vatican of a boy playing a fife, but M. Victor Mahillon told me that he considered it a restoration. The *syria*, or *paupepe*, and the *bagpipe* appear to have been used chiefly by shepherds. The wind instrument used in the theatre and in musical contests was the single *aulos*, and this was able, by means of plugs, or wax, or other contrivances to produce, like the *trigon*, the panharmonic scale.* It is condemned on this account by Plato, who would restrict the number of modes used in order not to encourage luxury or effeminacy in music. But, he said, music ought to be severe and simple in order to produce strength of character. The grammarian Didymus, quoting from a lost treatise of Aristoxenus, describes five classes of *aules*—namely, *aulei partheniakai*, *aulei paidikoi*, *aulei lithanotriakai*. These three classes were called *leontine*, and from their names would appear to have been used by women and children. The *aulei telioi*, or perfect, and the *aulei hypertelioi*, or more than perfect, appear to have had a compass corresponding to our tenor and bass voices. They were called *masculine*. Herodotus makes the following allusion to *aulei*: "Alcibiades, King of Lydia, made war against the Mithridates. He led his army into their territory to the sound of the *syria*, the *pestei*, the feminine *aulei*, and the masculine *aulei*."

Of military instruments we have mention of the *salpinx*, a straight trumpet; the *byron*, a sacerdotal trumpet, curved at the end something like the latter *J*—a fairly well preserved specimen of the latter is in the Vatican museum; the *cornu*, or horn, which was curved in such a manner as to go under the performer's left arm, while the bell was over his head. Some of these instruments were found at Pompeii, and are preserved in the Naples Museum.†

In conclusion, I will say a few words about the music at the Bradford Greek Theatre.

It is the aim of the Warden, Dr. Greg, as far as possible to reproduce in all essentials the theatrical performances of the time of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The theatre is a copy of an ancient one, the ground plan being taken from the Theatre of Epidaurea, the best preserved specimen. The only features that are omitted are the masks and building, which are not required in so small a space.

It is evident that a modern orchestra with all its richness of effect would be out of place, for not only would there be no space available, but it would be entirely out of keeping with Greek ideas to make the music the most prominent part of the performance, as in the modern opera or music-drama.

* For further information on the ancient lyres and flutes see Gerbert, "La Musique de l'antiquité," Vol. II., Book III., Chapter 7.

† See "Glossary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," vol. xvi., "Figs."

When Dr. Gray approached me on the subject, I thought that something ought to be done to make the music as much in keeping with the surroundings as possible. Not a note of the ancient classical music exists, except a very mutilated fragment of *Orestes*; but we have all the words of the dramas, we know which portions were sung by the chorus, we know the form of the instruments, and we have, as I have shown you, a considerable portion of their theory. I persuaded Mr. Blakley to make me four tubes, taking as his model the specimens found at Pompeii, one of which has been reproduced by H. Mahillon. The original is *panharmonic*, with a compass of B to D, the holes being closed and opened by metal cylinders which fit closely round the instrument; but these would be too difficult for schoolboys to use, so they were omitted. I then, with the help of Messrs. Hill and Son, the violin makers, transformed five Spanish lute guitars into real *kitharæ*, and tuned them to the *Dorian octave*. Properly speaking, the lowest string ought to be farthest from the player—in ancient times the lower strings played the melody, the higher the accompaniment; but as this arrangement would necessitate the playing of the treble with the left hand and the bass with the right, I have reversed the order of the strings to bring the instrument more under the control of modern players.

With the exception of myself, all the nine instruments forming the band of the Greek Theatre are played by schoolboys, the *kitharæ* being allotted to violins.

In composing the choruses I have adhered as far as possible to the Greek methods in following the grammatical accents, in the use of *mesæ* and *hypæ*, in the systems, in the introduction of *cremæ*, and in the *strophæ* and *anti-strophæ* construction, which is, I believe, peculiar to Greek poetry. I have strictly followed the metrical construction worked out by Schmidt and Paderewski, and have endeavored to use the modes in both the *diatonic* and *chromatic* genera. Of course, modern harmony is impossible with instruments of only nine strings, but I have tried to make the accompaniment as full as possible on Greek methods. I have freely introduced the Greek *chromatic* scale with its augmented seconds and fourths, and find the boys have very little difficulty in singing these intervals, probably because there is an entire similarity of modern locality, and therefore no feeling after modern harmony. I have, in fact, done all I can to produce local colour by simplicity, severity, and an application of what is known of Greek theory. Those who are disposed to undertake the journey to Bradford next June will, I know, be sure of a welcome from Dr. Gray, and I can promise them that whether the music meets with their approval or not, they will, at any rate, see an excellent performance and a very beautiful sight.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—In introducing Mr. Abdy Williams I should have mentioned his connection with Bradford College, but the lecture itself brings out that point. The study of Greek music is something more than an antiquarianism, for Greek music represents the first scientific and intellectual stage in the great chain of our musical history. It is true that there is Hindoo music, remaining to our day, which is older than Greek music; but we are dealing here with the European question. The classical period of Greece has been called the adolescence of intellectual and modern man, and a very beautiful adolescence it was. Unfortunately it has departed. As Goethe says, "the May of life blooms but once." Now the mental attitude of this adolescent, this Greek of classic times, was very little subjective, and a great deal objective. He concerned himself that is to say very little with his own sensations, in the way that we do, and much more with outside nature and its laws and conditions. I strongly doubt whether there was much or any human emotion in Greek music, but imagine that it contained rather a great deal of observance of method and rule, carried out in a refined way. If this is so, the study of Greek music, while forming a necessary step in our consideration of general musical history, has been a subject peculiarly fitting for a scholastic institution like Bradford. There were one or two technical points on which I should have liked to hear the lecturer say more; as for instance on the descending nature of the Greek scales, and on the formation of the "complex system" by a conjunct tetrachord added top and bottom to the two disjoint tetrachords, with a substitute tetrachord patched on as it were in the middle to make modulation in the subdominant; and so on. But without embarking farther on these technical matters I will here move a vote of thanks to Mr. Abdy Williams for his interesting lecture.

This was carried unanimously.

REV. O. J. VINCIGUAS.—This subject seems to me to be one of great complexity and obscurity, and I should like to know what is the common-sense view of the development of the modern diatonic scale, which, in my opinion, has been worked out by various improvements from the early Church mode. I cannot help thinking (I have only read a little about it) that it is a very difficult subject, and I may say in passing that to produce an exposition of the historical as well as the theoretical part of this question would be a very great gain; and I, for one, should like to be helped over many dark and complex details, especially the correspondences between the

notation we have as compared with that clumsy system which preceded it. I cannot help thinking that both in harmony and melody the ancient method must have had very rough and informal intervals, judging by the examples we have of Eastern music, which are almost unintelligible to us.

Mr. Sourisarn.—Perhaps I may be permitted to answer Mr. Vignoles. I can assure him that we are not treading on uncertain ground, we now know a good deal about Greek music and the materials on which it was built. And we can go back a long time anterior to the period about which Mr. Abdy Williams has been dealing. Two thousand years before then we have ample evidence of the flourishing condition of music in ancient Egypt. Indeed, I am inclined to think that far too much credit has been given to the Greeks for their music and invention in that art. As a matter of fact, the Greeks derived their music and instruments from the land of the Pharaohs. Pythagoras went there to study, and he brought back with him to Greece much of the knowledge current in Egypt. He found there both the diatonic and chromatic scales as we now know these ladders of sound. I have catalogued some twenty of the instruments in common use; we can see all these pictured on the walls of the tombs. I say without hesitation that these instruments exceeded in number, in compass, and in variety the instruments which Greece possessed in her most politer days. And, moreover, in various European museums we have several fragments of the instruments taken from the tombs. Perhaps I may remind our members that when I had the privilege of reading here a paper on Egyptian music, Mr. J. Finn played on a pair of double flutes taken by Dr. Flinders Petrie from the tomb of Lady Nebet, in the Fayoum (1800 B.C.). It was then perceived that our scale of to-day and that of the ancient Egyptians were practically identical. From the instruments it is not difficult to deduce the mode. I suspect that the popular music and the trade cries of those we have to-day who sell onions, water, &c., in Upper Egypt differ little, if at all, from what was current in Egypt 4,000 years ago. In common with many others I thought this ancient people possessed quite a different scale of sounds; but the evidence of these Lady Nebet flutes, and of a still more extraordinary example of the clarinet type taken from the pyramid of Akhnaton, and now in the possession of M. Maspero, of Paris, on which the complete chromatic series of notes, together with an enharmonic seventh, can be obtained, is indisputable evidence of the possibilities of music long, long before the Greek period. Moreover, the wall frescoes show us many examples of the orchestral combination of their instruments. In the well-known flute concert from Gizeh there are eight players, using, by the way, flutes of the *ney* pattern, all

differing in length. I need scarcely point out to readers the significance of this as bearing on the question of ancient harmony. And this is not the only example of bands. In one instance, in a funeral ceremony (from a tomb in Thebes), there are six players, each performing on a different instrument. I know of no such Greek record, pictorial or literary, showing such an advanced condition of music as all this represents, and I have mentioned it in order that Mr. Vignoles may see that long before the time Mr. Abdy Williams has been speaking about, a much more complete and complex form of music existed, and, in sense, must have been known to the cultured Greeks. I am unable to agree with the theory that the double flutes, the *auloi* of the Greeks, were principally used in connection with sacrificial purposes. You can see and will note to the contrary plenty of examples in gems, coins, vases, and sculptures. In the British Museum there is a bas-relief from Minerva's representing large bands of harpists, players on the dulcimer and double pipes, with singers and time-beaters, taking part in a triumphal march, and in the same Museum is also a good exemplification of the use of the double flutes. On the right-hand side of the long Egyptian Gallery (ground floor) is an aerial fresco cut from a chamber in one of the pyramids and attached to the wall. Here you will find a girl playing these double pipes; she is gorgeously dressed as the chief musician in a little band, playing for the debauchation of some guests at an evening party. The ladies are sitting at small tables, with fruit and flowers before them, listening to the music. There are many similar representations of the playing of these pipes—always, by the way, played by a woman, rarely, so far as my recollection goes, used at sacrificial ceremonies—and you will remember that, according to the statements of some of the Greek writers, instruments of this type were used at the performances in their theatres.

MR. BLANCKE.—Mr. Southgate has spoken with great certainty about the notes produced on ancient flutes and, to a certain extent, I agree with him; but it appears to my mind to be inconsistent with the playing of all common instruments with side holes, that the pitch of a note coming from any open hole depends upon how many holes are covered below it. In the trials referred to we raised the fingers from each hole consecutively and noted with accuracy the pitch of each sound, no hole below the speaking hole being covered; but it is quite possible some of these notes were, in the actual use of the instrument, played with one or more covered holes below. One point which struck me very much is that the division of the interval of the fourth seemed rather like our D, E, F, and G, as given by the natural notes of the trumpet, than the division of the perfect fourth with a semitone between

E and F; but suppose the finger closed the hole below the trumpet F, we would get very close to the modern division of the perfect fourth. To my own mind there may be more consonance with the horn or trumpet scale than has been assumed in this ancient music, but I quite agree with Mr. Southgate that you can get the perfect F E you close a hole or holes below the speaking hole. Then, with regard to the possibility of roughness of finish, I do not agree with that idea, but think that, whether Egyptians or Greeks, they knew exactly what they were doing. I judge that from the characteristics of instruments that have been found, both those Mr. Southgate alluded to and those in the British Museum; each one is beautifully finished, the finger-holes especially beautifully cut and finished, and they had evidently been adjusted to give the notes required, not roughly, but with as nice an exact and precise result.

Mr. SOUTHWATE.—It is very true what Mr. Blakley said, you find some of the pipes so, there is one in the Florence Museum beautifully made; but if you look at the modern Egyptian pipes you will see that the holes are very roughly and badly made.

Mr. ASKEW WILLIAMS.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I must first thank you for the kind way in which you have listened to my paper on a somewhat abstruse subject, and for your vote of thanks. With regard to Dr. Mackenzie's question, the history of the growth of the Greater Perfect System would be too long to explain in detail. It consists of the gradual addition of tetrachords above and below the original one, which can be represented by our notes E, F, G, A. First, a conjunct tetrachord was added above A, B, C, D, and this resulted in the heptachord, to which the seven-stringed lyre was tuned, and the middle note of which was *Mese*; then a conjunct tetrachord was added below B, C, D, E, and the Lesser Perfect System was completed by the addition of the bottom A. Then a disjunct tetrachord, B, C, D, E, was added above *Mese*, and another conjunct, E, F, G, A, above the last, and the result was the Greater Perfect System. Every note of each system had its own special name, and each tetrachord was called by a special name; but with these I need not trouble you. The Greek tendency to begin a scale at the top instead of the bottom has often been noticed. Aristotle perhaps refers to it, when he says that it is easier to sing from a high to a lower note than from a low to a higher one; and another sign of this tendency is in the fact that the melody usually ended on *Hypate*, a fourth below the principal note *Mese*. You will observe that the principal mode, the *Dorian*, proceeds downwards by precisely the same order of intervals as our major scale proceeds upwards—viz., by tone, tone, semitone. I imagine that the introduction of modern

harmony had something to do with this somewhat remarkable coincidence. In reply to Mr. Vignoles' question: The intervals are most carefully explained in their mathematical proportions by Euclid, Nicomachus, Claudius Ptolemy, and others, while Aristoxenus gives us other explanations which cannot be guessed. Thus he shows that a fifth is to be tuned by ear, a fourth by ear, and a tone is the difference between them. He represents the empirical, artistic side of music, as opposed to the scientific or mathematical side. In dividing his octave by ear into twelve equal semitones, he does exactly what the modern piano tuner does, when he tunes in equal temperament. The scientific system (worked out on the monochord or canon) answered perfectly for a period in which only a few keys are employed, but directly free modulations were required, as was the case at the time in which Aristoxenus lived, an unscientific division of the octave into twelve semitones became just as much a necessity for the Greeks as for us. The Middle Ages did not slowly develop the scale and then read into Greek authors their own views. On the contrary, they derived their theories through Boethius from the Greek theorists. One striking evidence of this is the fact that I have mentioned—viz., that the early organs, as described by Psalterius, had their keys tuned and named from Greek theory; and dozens of equally patent evidences might be adduced. With regard to the translation of the notation. Since we get the exact mathematical proportions of the notes and the name of each note from the writings of the Pythagoreans, and since Alypius gives the musical sign for each note against its name, and not only the sign, but a verbal description of it, there can hardly be a doubt about the translation of Greek notation into its modern equivalents. If Alypius, for example, says that Mese is represented by a certain sign and that Hypate is represented by another sign, and we know from other writers that Hypate and Mese are at the distance of a perfect fourth, it stands to reason that the notes E and A, or their equivalents, will represent Hypate and Mese, and the same reasoning applies to all other intervals. I have mentioned that the actual pitch is not known, but this is immaterial as long as we know the proportions of the intervals. It is convenient to take everything to our scale of A minor, as it involves no sharps or flats; but, as a matter of fact, when the tropeæ have been worked out completely the Dorian trope is found to correspond with our B flat minor scale, and the mode therefore is represented by F to F with five flats, instead of E to E on the white keys. An unknown key of music, however highly developed on its own lines, is naturally unintelligible to us until we have learned it. Music is a

language; and if anyone were to stand here and make a speech in an unknown language, Greek, for instance, it would be unintelligible to the majority of the audience. This would not prove that the language is barbarous or unscientific, but merely that the audience have not learned to understand and appreciate it. I think we are far too apt to consider that modern European music is the only possible form of that art, and to forget that music, like other languages, may take many forms. The music of one period is not the music of another, nor is the music of all parts of the world the same. Dr. Maclean has remarked, for example, that Indian music is undoubtedly a very highly cultivated art. There is no doubt that the Greeks did arrive at a high cultivation and development in musical art, that it was not the childish or barbarous art that some would have us believe; and its study is of importance to us because out of its remains grew, in the course of ages, our musical art. The connection between the two is very intimate, and I think it is not too much to say that if it had not been for Greek musicians we should scarcely have brought our music to its present stage of development. Mr. Southgate questions the use of double flutes as other than religious functions in Egypt. My authority for my statement is M. Gressart, who, by the way, is referring to Greek, not Egyptian usage; but I have not investigated the matter very far. It is, of course, quite possible that the Egyptians made use of combinations of sounds—the quotation from Varro I referred to shows that the Romans, at any rate, used two-part harmony on their double flutes. Mr. Southgate also alluded to the powerful instruments and large bands used by the Egyptians. The Greeks sufficed any very complicated musical effects. The number of singers in the tragic chorus was limited to fifteen, and I only yesterday came across a passage in Aristotle in which he asks, "Why does a *Monody* (song for single voice) give more pleasure when accompanied by a single lyre, or single flute, than when accompanied by a number of lyres or flutes?" The answer is that the melody and words are obscured by a number of instruments, and the composer's intention is not so easily grasped. Professor Campbell asked whether it is certain that the Greeks only sang their choruses in unison or octaves. I think the weight of testimony on this point is overwhelming.

W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq.,
IN THE CHAIR.

LITERATURE RELATING TO THE RECORDER.

By CHRISTOPHER WELCH, M.A., CHAIR.

What was a recorder? How many different answers have been given to this question.

An Englishman in search of a reply would turn, as a matter of course, first of all to Johnson's Dictionary, where he would find that the cautious lexicographer, keeping on safe ground, pronounced a recorder to be "a kind of flute." But if the inquirer, desirous of testing the correctness of the Doctor's statement by the light of a more modern authority, were to consult Webster, he would be told that a recorder was "a kind of flageolet," for which, in a later edition, there is substituted another explanation: "an instrument resembling the flageolet." Should this be deemed unsatisfactory, and recourse be had to the "Century Dictionary" (1889) for the latest declaration on the subject, a description of the instrument would come to light, but a description which adds at least one other to the statement in Webster which will not bear examination. A recorder is said to be "a musical instrument of the flageolet family, having a long tube with seven holes and a mouth-piece. In some cases an eighth, covered with gold beaters' skin, appears near the mouth-piece, apparently to influence the quality of the tone."

The recorder is mentioned in some of the most important works in the English language. Those who have edited such works have naturally been desirous of giving their readers an idea of the instrument. What confusion and uncertainty we find in their accounts of its peculiarities! For instance, on the 6th of April, 1666, Mr. Samuel Pepys paid a visit to his flute-maker, Drumbleby, "and did talk," he says, "a great deal about pipes; and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being, of all sounds in the world, most pleasing to me." Now in Bright's "Pepys" (1873) we are informed that "a recorder was a large flute-blown

through a mouth-piece, like a clarinet in the present day"; but in the still more elaborate edition of the Diary which has lately been brought out by Mr. Wheatley, a recorder is stated to be "a good instrument, but in the side near the mouth-piece there was a hole covered with a piece of bladder, which modified the quality of the sound."

Again, when Queen Elizabeth visited Hardworth, in 1575, there awaited her a magnificent reception. Even gods and goddesses vied with each other in halting her with tokens of joy. A chronicler, who goes into minute details of the preparations which were made for the occasion, states that there were stationed at the sides of the road by which she would pass, as she approached the castle, seven pairs of posts. On the first pair were "two curlew squaws wyre cages" containing birds, as gifts to her Majesty from *Sylvanus* the god of "Fowl"; on the second, "two great sylver'd bowls" filled with fruit, as gifts from *Pomona*, the goddess of "Fruit"; on the third pair, two similar bowls in which was corn as the gift of *Ceres*. On the fourth, fifth, and sixth pairs were displayed grapes and wine, fish, and arms and armour, as offerings from *Jaculus*, *Neptune*, and *Mars* respectively. "On the seventh posts, the last and next to the Castle," the chronicler states, "were there eight [i.e. placed] two near Bay branches of a four foot by, adorned on all sides with lutes, viols, shalloes, cornets, flutes, recorders, and harpes, as presents of *Phobus*, the god of Music for enjoying the sound, and of plunk for health to the body."

I ought not to omit to add that musical instruments were not merely displayed as dumb show; there was in store for the royal guest a "delicate harmony" of a kind of which I shall have more to say—a concert of flutes. "At the end of the Bridge," continues the chronicler, "and across of the gate, was her Highness received with a fresh delicate array of flutes in performance of *Phobus* presents." She had previously been greeted with "a delectable harmony of hautboys, shalloes, cornets and such other loud music" after having been saluted by trumpeters with "a tone of welcome" which, beside the noble voice, was so much the more pleasant too behold, because these trumpeters, being six in number, wear every one an eight foot byc, in due proportion of person beynde, all in long garments of sylk scabell, each with his silvery trumpet of a five foot long, formed taper wyse, and straight from the upper part unto the weather end, where the diameter was a six inches over, and yet so tempered by art, that being very easy too the blast, they cast forth a greater voyt, and a more excellent sound for time and tone, than any oother common trumpet, bee it never so artificially formed."

The note which Mr. Nichols, in his "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,"¹ appends to this passage, gives a good idea of the straits to which commentators were reduced in their efforts to explain the nature of the recorder. He has recourse to his imagination, and proceeds to construct a recorder out of the allusions made to the instrument by Lord Bacon. He does not even know what the fipple was. Nor is this to be wondered at; for, even at the present day, there is no dictionary or encyclopædia with which I am acquainted in which an adequate explanation of the fipple of a flute is offered.² He states that Bacon used the word to denote the mouth-piece of the instrument; but when I quote Bacon's words, as I shall have occasion to do, it will be seen that this was only a bad guess. For enlightenment he has gone, as might be expected, to Johnson's Dictionary, where he has been informed that a fipple is "a stopper," and that the word is derived from the Latin *fipula*. Although *fipula* signifies a clamp, not a stopper, so great is the weight of Johnson's name that this derivation still passes from dictionary to dictionary.³ Mr. Nichols, then, informs his readers that recorders "were wind instruments somewhat resembling flutes, or rather clarionets, for by the description which is

¹ Vol. i., p. 439.

² Since this paper was written, the letter F has been reached in Dr. Murray's Dictionary, now in course of publication. Here an advance has been made a fipple being stated to be "the plug at the mouth of a wind instrument by which the volume was contracted." Fipple had previously been connected with wind instruments both in the Imperial and in the Century Dictionary, but only as the following vague and unsatisfactory explanation: "a stopper, as at the mouth of a musical wind instrument."

³ No other derivation of fipple than that from *fipula* has, as far as I am aware, hitherto been proposed.

In Scotch the word fipple signifies "the under lip in man or animal" (Johnson's Dict., s.v. "Fipple"). It is possible that a resemblance may be traced between the action of the fipple, as it appears at the back of a flute, and an underlip; but I will suggest for the consideration of some one else that the word may, perhaps, be traced to "pope" in the following way. In Sanscrit there is a boy playing a clarinet, and pinching the shaft so as to form a reed, proceeds to shrill forth a sound-like sound, he turns the instrument thus constructed a *ph*—but is clearly, *ph*, *ph*, or *ph* (*ph* or "piano," s.v. *ph*, vol. vi.). When he makes for did notes, for the act is becoming extinct the spirally wound willow bark trumpet known in Urduistan as a *What* here for a paper on "A Primitive Musical Instrument," by H. Mallory, in "The Dictionary and Illustrated Archaeologist," October, 1894, but which he calls a *Wap* here, he opens the reed by which it is sounded, whether it be made of dadilium or willow bark, the *ph*. Again, if he takes a reed of willow, such as it is, as to form the finger holes and the mouth of a fipple thus, what is distinct at once and for the back then, after detaching the bark, which becomes a tube, constructs a fipple out of the piece of wood above the mouth by removing a slice in form the *ph*, he designates the fipple, which, like the reed of the *Wap* here, makes the *ph* yield sound, the *ph* of the instrument. Thus we have *fipple*, *ph*, *ph*, *ph*.

given of one by Lord Bacon, in the second century of his "*Sylva Sylvarum*," at the 155th and 156th experiments, it may be ascertained that the instrument was blown at one end. It appears from the same authority that it consisted of a tube with stops or wind holes, and a pipple, or mouth-piece; the lower end open, like flageolets of the present time. The word 'pipple,' used by Bacon for mouth-piece, signifies literally a stopper, from the Latin *plumbi*,¹ whence it may be argued that the upper end of the recorder terminated in a cap, from whence issued the pipe that conveyed the breath throughout the whole instrument."

It is not, however, until we look into Shakespeare that we realize the density of the clouds which envelope the recorder and become fully alive to the need there is of dispelling the darkness in which the instrument is enshrouded. On none of the plays of the great dramatist has so much been written as on "*Hamlet*"; of all the scenes in that much-debated tragedy few have attracted more attention or given commentators more trouble than the recorder scene. In the collection of the plays published by Shakespeare's friends, John Heminge and Henry Condell, so well known as the folio of 1616, the passage "govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb," appears as "govern these ventages with your finger and thumb." Which is right—fingers and thumb, or finger and thumb? Were there several holes for the fingers on the recorder, as on the flute, or was the instrument constructed with two holes only, a hole for a finger and a hole for a thumb, having thus one hole less than the pipe played with the tabour, which has three holes—two for the fingers and one for the thumb? So vague was the information at the command of commentators that they have never settled the matter, there being modern editions of Shakespeare, including that of Mr. Dyce, who has taken great pains with the text, in which we still read "finger and thumb."

But a more happy question asked the commentators, "*Hamlet*" was first published separate from the other plays; it appeared in a series of editions of a quarto size. The first quarto, which came out in 1609, is a bastard version of the tragedy; it is generally regarded as a surreptitious issue, based either on recollection or else on notes taken during the representation; some, however, are of opinion that it is an early sketch by Shakespeare himself, and that it thus represents his first conception of the work. It was followed in the next year, 1610, by a second quarto "according to the true and perfect coppos" of the play. In the spurious edition, the quarto of 1609, there is no mention of the fingers and thumb, the passage reading "Tis but stopping of these holes"; but in the quarto of 1610, the first

¹ Obviously a mistake of *plumbi*.

edition of the true copy, we read govern these ventages, not with your fingers and thumb, but with your fingers and "the umber." There was, then, no hole on the recorder for the thumb, the ventages being closed by the fingers with the assistance of the umber. What was the umber? Here was a problem! In the absence of fact to fall back upon, fancy was ready with an answer; the umber, she whispered, was a key, whereupon the commentators proceeded to exercise their acumen and to display their learning as follows:—

"The umber," says Mr. Stevens, "may probably be the ancient name for that piece of movable brass at the end of a flute which is either raised or depressed with the finger. The word *umber* is used by Stowe, the chronicler, who, describing a single combat between two knights, says: 'He brast up his umber three times.' Here the umber means the vice of the helmet. So, in Spenser's '*Fairy Queen*,' book III., c. i., st. 48:—

'But the brave maid would not disarmed be,
But only vnted up her umber,
And so did let her goodly visage to appere.'

Again, book IV., c. iv. :—

'And therewith smote him on his umber.'

Again, in the second book of *Lilgate on the Trojan War*, 1513:—

'Through the umber into Troilus' face.'"

Toller, another well-known commentator, writes thus:—"If a recorder had a brass key like the German *flute*, we are to follow the reading of the quarto; for then the thumb is not concerned in the government of the ventages or stops. If a recorder was like a felloe's pipe, which has no brass key, but has a stop for the thumb, we are to read, 'Govern these ventages with your finger and thumb.' In *Coigrave's Dictionary*, *umber*, *oumbre*, *oumbra*, and *oumbelle* are all from the Latin *umbra* and signify a shadow, an umbra, anything that shades or hides the face of the sun; and hence they have been applied to anything that hides or covers another: as, for example, they may have been applied to the brass key that covers the hole in the German flute."

I feel tempted to give other instances; but, not to be wearisome, I will stop here, only adding that, of all the accounts I have read, there is one only the writer of which

* "The umber" is beyond all doubt, nothing but a misprint of "thumb," as "u" having been transcribed after the "th" and "m" added at the end of the word. In the quarto of *King Lear* the umber is corrected into "the thumb." In the first, second, and third folios we find "and thumb."

had a clear and correct idea of what a recorder was, that being in a note by Mr. Way in his commentary on the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, in the edition of that work published by the Camden Society. In complying with the request, with which I have been honoured, to read a paper before the Musical Association, it is my purpose to show how pardonable are these weaknesses, inasmuch as the chief authorities on musical matters, to whom laymen would naturally turn for guidance, have themselves gone hopelessly astray. After classifying flutes in a manner suitable for my purpose, I shall quote passages from old writers in which the recorder is mentioned, then give a brief historical sketch of the instrument, and afterwards proceed to point out, and trace to their source, the errors into which the historians of music, Sir John Hawkins, Dr. Burney, and Mr. William Chappell, have fallen.

"Flute" was formerly, like the Greek *αῖολή* and the English "pipe," a generic term. It was applicable to most, if not to all of the members of the wood-wind, including those blown with a reed; a sense in which we still use it when we speak of the May flute, the Straw flute, the Rush flute, or the flutes of the savants. In the present day, however, the word is mostly restricted to instruments the sound of which is produced by the impact of a jet of air on a cutting edge.

I shall divide flutes, thus defined, into three classes, basing my classification on the way in which the flue, throat, or fissure, from which the jet issues, is formed.

In the first, it is formed by the action of the performer, in the second, by the muscular action of the lips, in the third, by inserting into the instrument itself a plug, or plate, which partially blocks, and so narrows, the tube.

I shall call members of the first class *nostril flutes*, of the second, *lip flutes*, of the third, *apple flutes*, apple being the technical name of the plug by which the tube is reduced in size.

The nostril or nose flute does not come within the scope of our inquiry. It is in use chiefly, but not exclusively, in the islands of the Pacific Ocean; in Europe it is only to be found in museums and in the cabinets of collectors.*

With the lip or mouth flute we are all familiar, for a member of the family, the transverse or German flute, with

* The nose flute is described in Ellis's "*Polynesian Researches*," ch. viii., in "*Hawkeeworth's Voyages*," Vol. II., p. 104. It is a paper entitled "*Notes on the Native Relations of Polynesian Culture*," published in the journal of the Anthropological Institute, May, 1881, and in "*Revue Muséologique*," *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Musique de Bruxelles*," second edition, pp. 176, 408. A general account of the instrument is given in the writer's "*History of the British Flute*," third edition pp. 101 to 103.

its derivatives the pincle and the flie, is in daily use amongst us. To this class belongs the Pan flute, as well as the Egyptian *nas*.

The Apple flute, with which this paper will chiefly deal, is now well nigh extinct; not that the construction of sound producers on its principle has ceased; far from it, they are made in thousands, from the Lilliputian whistle an inch long up to its Babel-towering descendant, the organ-pipe, thirty-two feet high. But, if we except the so-called finger-flute which decorates our shop windows, as a finger-holed instrument in actual use, the Apple flute only survives in the little six-holed pipe so often heard in the streets of London, which, though known in this country by the contemptuous appellation of the penny whistle, still bears in France the name which our Gaelic neighbours formerly assigned to its once popular predecessor, "The English Flute."

Having now explained the meaning I attach to the expressions *lip flute* and *apple flute*, terms which I shall often use in this paper, I will proceed to cite passages from old writers in which mention is made of the recorder.

I have already given a quotation, it will be remembered, in which the recorder and the flute are named together; the presents offered by Phœbus to Queen Elizabeth as she approached Northwold, in 1575, comprised both recorders and flutes.¹ Coming half-a-century or so nearer to our time, we find the recorder associated, not only with the flute, but with the flû; in Dryden's "Polytechnon" (1673-22), amongst the instruments played by the English in their musical contest with the Welsh are recorders, flutes, and flûs; whilst the tobacco-pipe, an instrument of the apple flute family, is also included:—

So were there some, again, in this their learned strife,
Lead instruments that lead, the cornet and the flû,
The Hoboy, sugar deep, recorder and the flûte;
Even from the shrillest shawm unto the cornamuse.
Some blow the bagpipe up, that plays the country round,
The Taber and the Pipe come twice delight to sound.

Running back rather more than a century, we come to Howell's "Pantheura of Pleasure," a "baker" made in the twenty-first year of the reign of Henry VII. (1504).² In this

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

² Stephen Howell studied at Oxford, then travelled on the Continent, and afterwards became priest of the chantry of Henry VII. On the Queen's death, in 1502, he received four pounds of black cloth for mourning; but he does not appear to have received any cloth when the King died, in 1509, from which it is inferred that he no longer held the appointment. "The Pantheura of Pleasure" has been reprinted by the Percy Society (Vol. XVIII). The passages quoted above occur in the seventh chapter of the poem.

poem we find an allusion to the characteristic for which the recorder was so celebrated, its sweetness.

There sat dame Maryke with all her maystracy;
As tabours, trumpettes, with pipes melodious,
Sabbettes, organs, and the recorder rarrefy;
Harpos, lutes, and crouddes vyght dalycoons;
Cymbellans, downstreters, wyth clarkembales glarous,
Rebeckes, charycordes, echis in theyr degre,
Did sytte about theyr lodes magnific.

Possibly of about the same period as "The Pastime of Pleasure" is a passage with which, as it has been so often repeated, most of those present are doubtless familiar. I allude to the lines on the recorder from the "Proverbia in the gart at the New lodge in the parkes of Innesghilde," quoted by Mr. William Chappell in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time." These so-called proverbs are said to have been written on the walls of an upper room in the Manor House of Lullingfield (a Yorkshire residence which belonged to the Percy family) in the reign of Henry VII. And here I must commence my ungracious task of pointing out mistakes. It will be recollected that the second line of the proverb devoted to the recorder is stated to run thus: "Manfeld flugring and strops bringeth high notes from its cleir tones." Mr. Chappell placed the word "notes" in a parenthesis,¹ it having been interpolated to make sense, "bringeth high from its tones" being unintelligible. The line so printed has passed into other books, until, as in Grose's Dictionary, the parenthesis has been dropped, so that the reader is not aware that the word "notes" did not originally form part of the text. Now, on looking into the manuscript² from which the proverbs are taken, we find neither "high," "notes," nor "tones," the line having been misinterpreted in the following way:—

The word "high" was formerly often spelt "hy." It is so spelt in a proverb preceding that which we are considering:—

A Shawme makithe a sweete sounde for he touchte Base,
It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and space.³

But, on looking at the "hy" in the proverb relating to the recorder, we see a line drawn horizontally over the "y,"

¹ See *op. cit.*, p. 285.

² Royal MS. no. D. II., British Museum.

³ The two preceding lines of this proverb are of interest, inasmuch as they seem to contain an allusion to the tendency of the shawm to fly over the mouth above the note fingered, a propensity of which Dittus avoided himself in the construction of the clarinet:—

"Yet yf it be blowen with a too vehement wynde,
It makithe it to misgoverne out his lynde."

This is an indication that the letter "m" is omitted, "hy" as written being an abbreviation, a common one, of the word "him," which was once spelt "hym"; the whole proverb meaning that:—

"The recorder of his hynde the mouse dothe deprent,
Manyfolde fyrgetyng and stoppes bryngche hy from"
[from him—i.e., from him] "his tyme cleue.
Who so [yet to hand] an instrument so good
Must as in his many fygeryng y^e he kepe tyne, stop and
moude."

We will now pass to an earlier enumeration of musical instruments, that found in the "*Square of Lowe Degre*."¹ The date of this romance, like that of the proverb at Lockington, is conjectural; but 1475, ten years before the accession of Henry VII., has been named as probable:—

There was myrth and melody
With harp, gutron and mentry,
With rote, rishle and clarkle,
With poppe, organ and bombard,
With other instrumentes them amonge,
With nytolphe and with mentry scope,
With lydie, rauende, and downement,
With trespette and with cheryon clene,
With dylout poppe of many cordes.

I must not omit to notice that "recorder" occurs in a work where its presence is an indication that the word was not confined to England in the fifteenth century, but was known also in Scotland; in the "*Booke of the Howlate*, sung be Holland," not only is "recorder" to be found, but, possibly, though this is very doubtful, "lik." Mention is also made of a wind instrument very nearly named, the lik-pipe. Good reasons have been adduced for the belief that "*The Howlate*" was written not far from 1450, so that it is about a quarter of a century earlier than "*The Square of Lowe Degre*."²

¹ *Edmon & 'Medieval Romances.'*

² "*The Howlate*" (London, the Owl) was first printed in Paterson's *Scottish Poems* (Vol. III., p. 199), afterwards by Lang, and again by the *Harvard Club*. In 1859 an edition of the text ("*Holland's Booke of the Howlate*" by Arthur Ditcher) was published at Leipzig, in which over 2000, are written in the early part of the sixteenth century by John Adson, the other in 1616 by George Ransmayne, were carefully collated. Certain differences noted by Ditcher are given below.

All these our ladye they loke, with liking and list.¹⁴
 Meenechauls and meenechauls me than I more¹⁵ may,
 The psalterie, the cythara,¹⁶ the soft cytharion,¹⁷
 The croode, and the monycorde, the cytharion¹⁸ gay,
 The rote, and the vielle-drewe, the offstep,¹⁹ the dist,²⁰
 The trump, and the tabour,²¹ the cyngour but tray;
 The lute fyre and the lute, the cythar²² in fast,
 The dulaw,²³ and the dulocordin, the schaler²⁴ of mery;
 The anyple organes that fall aft,
 Claryons²⁵ loud kerdin,
 Portefrais²⁶ and bellin,
 Cymbacharis²⁷ in the celis
 That sounde so soft.²⁸

We are now drawing near to Chaucer's time, but in Chaucer we look in vain for the recorder; there are, however, many allusions to the flute. For instance, a prominent figure amongst the pilgrims to Canterbury is the flute-playing squire, a fresh, curly-haired young gentleman of about twenty years of age, dressed in the height of

¹⁴ Puckerton, "MS."

¹⁵ "More" = *et*, "meeting."

¹⁶ Manuscript MS., "cythara" = Aldous MS., "cythara."

¹⁷ Manuscript MS., "cytharion" = Aldous MS., "cytharion"; Puckerton, "cytharion."

¹⁸ Aldous MS., "cytharion."

¹⁹ Puckerton, "offstep". Lang., "obscure."

²⁰ Puckerton, "dist."

²¹ Aldous MS., "the trumpet and the tabour."

²² Aldous MS., "lytharion" = reading undoubtedly preferable to "cytharion" (that of the Manuscript MS.), the "cytharion" having been already mentioned in the third line. It can certainly be said of the flute that it is played in the fast, or almost fast. Puckerton, however, prints, instead of "in fast," "and soft" = so that if he is correct the flute is here named.

²³ Aldous MS., "dulaw."

²⁴ Puckerton, "schalerion."

²⁵ Aldous MS., "claryons"; Puckerton, "claryons."

²⁶ Puckerton, "portefrais"; Aldous MS., "portefrais"; as printed for the Harmonicon Club, "portefrais."

²⁷ Puckerton, "cymbacharis"; Aldous MS., "cymbacharis", like Manuscript MS., apparently altered into "cymbacharis". Two kinds of musical cymbals—are the ringing of plates of metal, the other of small bells fastened together—are described and figured by Stiefel's "Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum," p. 101, and "Handbook of Musical Instruments," p. 106. The instrument here mentioned, however, was, I take it, neither of these, but the cymbals of a monastery. This was a bell, or perhaps instrument of some sort, suspended in the choir and struck with a hammer or plectrum to signify the monks to meals in the refectory. The table or tablecloth of a religious house was the table—not the wine-table only, it included the *passagium*—i.e., a cupboard for food in general—that the word *table* was also used to denote the monastery itself, and, more particularly, the open space, under arches, or quasi-arcades, round which the cloisters were placed. See the Canon, *ubi*, "Cells."

²⁸ Manuscript MS., "so soft". Puckerton, "so soft". Aldous MS., "so soft."

lution, bedecked with flowers white and red, and so well educated that he could write, draw, and dance, the first named being an attainment by no means common in those days outside the Church. His chief occupation was singing and playing the flute, to which he devoted the greater part of the day. But these pastimes were not a mere excuse for idleness; he had acquired a knowledge of music of which few amateur flute players in the present day can boast; "he could songmake and well indite," we are told, a statement implying that he could compose and reduce to notation, if not harmonise, melodies. Nor did his accomplishments involve the slightest taint of effeminacy. He is described as a man of middle height, of great strength and wonderful activity, a good and graceful rider, as well as a jester¹⁰—that is, a man skilled in the mock combats with lance and pike so common in the Middle Ages; moreover, notwithstanding his youth, he had taken part in a military raid on horseback in France, and had borne himself well on the occasion.

"Singsong he was a daylong all the day;
He was as fresh as in the month of May.
Short was his gown with sleeves long and wide,
Wel coude he sit on hors, and foyel ryde.
He coude songes make, and wel endite,
Jests and oke dances, and well portreys and write."

In "The Remount of the Rose," which is a translation from the French, we read of "foyers" and "foursours"; but it is to "The House of Fame" that we naturally turn in the expectation of finding the recorder mentioned, for there Chaucer saw so prodigious an assembly of musicians that they seem to have been as countless as the sands of the sea. Those of them who are classified were divided into three bands, separated from each other by a wide interval—harpers, wood-wind players, or flute players, as I shall call them, using the word in its wider acceptance, and trumpeters. It can occasion no surprise that the flute players formed a vast multitude many times twelve thousand in number. Three of them are mentioned by name, but, with one exception, owing to the metamorphoses they have undergone at the hands of transcribers, it is not possible to identify these celebrities with certainty. The first, Antares, Atyseryn, or Cytheris, may be, and probably is, the great pastoral flute player, Tityrus, with the once common prefix "A" added to the word.¹¹ The second, Panaris, Procrus, or Pansarius, seems to be hepbolus. Mr. Skeat records the guess that

¹⁰ A *foi* was a hit in between two combats only: a *fourbaie*, between several at the same time.

¹¹ Mr. Skeat proposes Tityrus.

Thersites may be meant, but, as Thersites was a dramatist rather than a flute player, I will borrow the conjecture, in the absence of a better suggestion, that Thersites¹⁰ may be intended, although Procrustes would more nearly resemble Procrustes or Procrustes. In the third, Marcia, we cannot fail to recognise our unfortunate brother flute player Marryas. It is true that Chaucer assigns to him the feminine gender, but, notwithstanding the change of sex, there can be no doubt of his identity, for there is an unmistakable allusion to the shameful treatment he received at the hands of Apollo, who, in a trial as to which could produce the better effect on their respective instruments, the lute and the flute, finding the opinion of the judges going against him, proceeded to use his voice in addition to his lyre, an artifice unworthy of an honest man much less a god, and having thus got a decision in his favour, tied poor Marryas to the nearest tree and deprived him of his skin without farther ceremony.

"Therough I than Athalia,
And of Athenes dan Pocrulle,
And Marcia that lost her skin,
Rathe is dace, body, and skin,
For that she wolde cryjen,"¹¹ lo!
To pyppen bet than Apollo.¹²"

It is disappointing to find that Chaucer says so little about the instruments used. Exclusive of the three groups already mentioned—the harpers, the flute players, and the trumpeters—those who played on "sundry gleits" were "as that sterbis born in hevene," yet not one of their "gleits" is described, or even named, the poet declining to go into particulars in order to save his readers trouble ("for tag of yow"), as well as to prevent loss of time, and sagely adding:—

"For tyme y-lost, this knowen ye,
By no way may recovered be."

¹⁰ Thersites was not an Athenian by birth, but he left his home in Boeotia when he became so celebrated as a flute player.

¹¹ Everyman. To succeed. Among the many. A word now shortened into "sic."—Sawyer. See also Richardson's *Die*, p. 10. "Vag."

¹² And among other worth Mr. Ashworth ever wote, such endeavouring to set his own wife out to the best advantage, for having as they said an extraordinary handsome wife.—*Parker's Dialect*, May 1876, 1886.

¹³ I ought not to omit to add that Chaucer makes mention of performers on wind instruments of Dutch—that is, German—nationality:—

"Therough I heven, old and yonge,
Pyppen of the Dutch scope,
To levee lowe-dancers sprynges,
Boys and these strange chylde."

Boys are round dancers—i.e., dances in a ring.—*Sawyer*.

The flute players, although not so numerous as the unclassified musicians, still numbered tens of thousands; but of all the instruments played in their meander wood-wind bands, the ranges of only five are given, the cornetage, the shawm, the flute, the *lit* pipe, or fitting-horn as it is here termed, and the straw flute.—

"The wagh I standen here behende,²²
Afar hee been, al by themselves,
Many thousand tynets revies,
That mader loudt manerloyes
In cornet mase and shalwyte,
And many other meaur pipe
That craftly beguene to pipe,
Both in dowest and in rede,²³
That ben at hande with the bande²⁴
And many floure and fitting-horne,²⁵
And pyppis made of ground corne,
As have thise flit herdogreines
That lopen hande in the browne."

²² Here behende—Behind them—that is, behind the harp players.

²³ Both in dowest and in rede—It has been suggested that dowest may be the name of a musical instrument—the descant? In "The Huntsman," as we have just seen, there is named an instrument termed the descant, or dachet. Another explanation has been offered by Wilson, that both dowest and rede are used adjectively—then, "in dowest" would have reference to dulcet or sweet instruments, such as the various members of the flute family, "in rede," to instruments whose sound is produced by means of a reed. See the note on the passage in Scott's "*Chaucer*."

²⁴ Bande—Knap band—Band.

²⁵ The word "*lit*" usually signifies a bright, cheerful tone, especially one first sweet, high and sharp.—To *lit* is to excite such a tone: it may be used of human singing, of the warbling of birds, or of the sound of a musical instrument, &c.—

—What shepherd's whistle wakes his the spring?—*Roscoe*.

It is possible that the word *lit* the technical name of the hole in the bagpipe (the double hole at the back of the chanter) with which the highest note of the instrument is produced is connected with "*lit*."

He had the flout floyer that the back lit between Barwick and Carlisle.—*Wilber's note in Scott's "Red Crossiter."*

To what instrument the designation *lit*-pipe, or fitting-horn, was given is uncertain. The shepherd's pipe has been proposed (see Green's *Sh.*, 12)—"*Lit*" and the bagpipe has been named (Jardine's *Scottish Dec.*). As the *lit* pipe is here mentioned by Chaucer in connection with the flute, the first suggestion itself that the three-holed pipe played with the reed may be intended. In favour of this view it may be urged that the tobacco's pipe is called in French the *gobinet*, a name it owes to its merry, sportive sound the word being derived, according to Cheapest (*Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the Museum of the Conservatoire at Paris*) from the provincial *gail*, gayre, jorum, and *valer* for *valer*, a diminutive of *valide*, healthy. The name *knabing* (that hole) is particularly appropriate to this hole than it being an orator above the pipe, and thus the highest of all wind instruments.

But could the tobacco's pipe be termed with propriety a horn? It could only claim to be entitled to this appellation on account of its bell or

Although the word recorder is not to be found in Chaucer, I shall be able to adduce evidence, only presumptive, it is true, but still more or less satisfactory, that it was in use in his time. The *Promptuarium*, or *Promptuarium Parvulum* is the earliest English Latin dictionary extant. Its compiler, a Dominican friar, of Lynn in Norfolk, unfortunately knew little of, and possibly cared nothing for, musical instruments. He was an ascetic or recluse: and, as such, had been assigned with the consent of his superior, sealed with all the solemnity of a religious service, to a self-imposed imprison-

ment-shaped monk. The application by Chaucer of the word horn to the kirgape seems to point to another lively, inspiring instrument, the phourd (i.e. pipe-horn), or kirgape, whose name still survives in the flute called after it. The instrument is usually believed to be named under its usual title in the "*Romance of the Rose*":—"With kirgapes of Corneweyle"; but as some maintain that Chaucer wrote not "*hous*" but "*rom*," upon the word in the original French being *phour*, or *phour* flout (*see* *Scott's note* on the passages), it cannot be said with certainty that "*pyppis made of greyn romes*" may not be *romes*. Like the *hirgape*, known to "*The House of Fame*," as "*Romance of the Rose*," the *hous* or *corngape* is associated with the flute, the line in which it is mentioned being followed by "*is floute made be disconfort*."

The *kirgape* is named in the *Promptuarium Parvulum*, where it is rendered into Latin by *Polyphus* on the authority of Johannes Kytharus. The word *Polyphus* I cannot discover elsewhere, possibly *longyrt*. *Sophus* may be intended although *Sophus* is usually used to signify a trumpeter rather than a trump.

In Scotland the phourd was known under the name of the *Shed* and *Shaw*, the shaw being the high part of a shag or a piece of shag or *Shaw-lane*. The following quotation from *Barbour's* "*Canche Shephard*" shows that the shaw horn was a shepherd's instrument, that a performance on it could be called *whistling*, and, by inference, that it might be the "*shepherd's whistle*" of the passage quoted above:—

"When I begin to trow my shaw and horn,
 Wi' a' her lane she chace a cowardly deer
 Hae nae, I play d—ye never heard us speak
 O'er shaw was this spring and her daye —
 Yet tawntingly she at her coopty spey'd,
 "Gif ye could, tell what name I play'd" and wae'd
 Phour wander where ye late, I shaw nae,
 Wi' hant my reed and never wharls man."

It is believed by Engel that, under the name of the "*corns pipe*," the shaw-horn is mentioned, along with the recorder, in an enumeration of instruments played by the following extraordinary comic party composed of Scotch shepherds, described in the "*Complaynt of Scotland*" (1541).—"The first had one *corns bagpipe*, the first had one *pipe* made of one bladder and of one reed, the third played on one trumpet the fourth on one *corns pipe*, the fifth played on one *pipe* made of one gut horse, the next played on one recorder, the sixth played on one *shillid*, and the last played on one *ghyngal*." An interesting and very complete account of the instrument is given in a paper by Henry Malloy, Esq., on "*The Old Scotch Phourd or Kirgape and its allies*," in the journal of the Archaeological Institute, Vol. XX., p. 121. See also *Barrow and Burslem's* "*Dictionary of Musical Terms*," s.v. "*Kirgape*," and Engel's "*Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*," pp. 121 and 123, where the flutes from Hanau are quoted.

ment. Imprisoned in a cell,¹⁰ or "studyng howse" (as he would have us understand the word cell to signify), which he could not quit, except in case of necessity, without the permission of the Bishop, he seems to have regarded fasting and fiddling as but varieties of this wicked world. The date of the *Proseptuarium* is known with tolerable certainty to be 1440, just ten years after Chaucer's death.

Both "recorder" and "flute" are found in the lexicon. Recorder, which is distinguished as "hyrd pypp," is translated by *cranto*, a word used by Papeus when referring to the instrument on which the church-flute player (*phaneslar*, or *chorista*) used to play.¹¹ But, for the purposes of our inquiry, the importance of the entry in the *Proseptuarium* lies in the circumstance that an earlier work, the *Campey Flores*, is cited as the authority for the rendering. Much uncertainty prevails respecting the *Campey Flores*, but Leland conjectures that Thomas Gualtherus, or Walliers, to whom it has been attributed, flourished about the time of Edward II., whilst two writers give 1399 as its probable date,¹² so that, assuming, as I presume we have a right to do, that its author mentioned the recorder by name,¹³ we can here trace back the word to the middle of the fourteenth century.

On turning in the *Proseptuarium* to "flute," we should naturally expect to see *flute*, *flutele*, or the Low Latin word *flaute*, as its equivalent; but, strange to say, neither of these is given, *flute* being reserved for "trump" and *flutele* for "pypp," whilst *flaute* is not named; but in two manuscripts *flautorum*, a word I have not seen elsewhere, is added. The Latin synonyms for "flute" are three in number. The first, *Canbace*, is given on the authority of Robertus Kyburcht. As Robertus Kyburcht was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1193, a Cardinal in 1198, and died soon afterwards, we have now got as far back as the thirteenth

¹⁰ The opinion has been expressed that the compiler of the *Proseptuarium* was "starved to death between four walls," but Mr. Way gives no credence to the story. It is a false inference, he thinks, from the statement that he was "longer quater pariter pro Claretia inchoque." It seems that the door of an anchorite's study could not be opened without breaking a seal which was affixed to it, food being handed in at the window.

¹¹ *Cranto*, *herald*, *calice*, *clero*. *Instrumentum canonicum*. Papeus in M. S. B. R. C. *Chorocho*, *Proseptuarium*, vol. 10. *Cranto*, *id est flauti*, *cranto*, *Chorocho*, *id est pro Cranto*, *id est pro Cranto*. De Claret. The Papeus here named, who was an Italian grammarian of the sixteenth century, wrote for the instruction of his children a Latin lexicon. According to Way, this lexicon supplied the ground-work of the Dictionary or *Proseptuarium* of Vener. Bishop of Tortosa, who flourished in the next century. It is conceivable that the author of the *Campey Flores* might have derived the word *cranto* from any of these works.

¹² Appendix to the *Proseptuarium*, edited by Way, p. 1620.

¹³ Many names in the *Proseptuarium* added grounds for believing that English words were used in the *Campey Flores*. See Way's Preface to the *Proseptuarium*, p. xvi., note b, where some of them are named.

century. The word *Cambuca* does not occur, as far as I am aware, except in this passage; but *Cambuca* is found, not, however, as the name of a musical instrument, but of the crozier, or bishop's pastoral staff. Possibly *Cambuca* may be a scribe's error for *Sambuca*, this being the name of the elder tree, whose branches, when the pith was removed, furnished (and still furnish for boys) a ready-honed tube for the construction of flutes. *Sambuca*, which was also used to denote the elder,¹⁶ is given in the *Promptuarium* as the Latin equivalent of another wind instrument, the "*schalmeuse*," or shawm,¹⁷ although the name *Sambuca* was more commonly applied, both in classical times and in the Middle Ages, to a stringed instrument of the lute kind.

The second of the three synonyms for the flute is *ylenda*. This word appears elsewhere in the *Promptuarium* as the Latin for "*organ pipe*," so that we here have a confirmation of correctness of the opinion which has been expressed that "*flue pipe*" was, at first, "*flais pipe*." The authority given for this use of the word *ylenda* is that of William Brito, who died in 1398. Thus it would seem that in the fourteenth century organ pipes were called flutes.

Colomasta, the third synonym, is also written in medieval Latin *Colomasta*, *Colometha*, and *Colomela*. It is the word which gave its name to the chabreux, or shawm (old French, *chalamelle*). And here there peeps out a vestige of the almost incredible prejudice with which the early Christians regarded the flute. It is true that we no longer meet with the fierce invective of Saint Epiphanius, who declares that the hated instrument was modelled in imitation of the serpent through which the Evil One spoke and beguiled our Mother Eve, and that he who plays it is no other than Beelzebub himself, as his movements stamp him, for he wrays his body and bows his head, thus being the postures of which the Prince of Darkness makes use to show his blasphemy against that which is in Heaven, and to overwhelm in utter destruction the things of the Earth, and them that dwell therein; nor the coarse rebuke, too gross for modern ears, of Saint Clement of Alexandria, by whom the flute is pronounced to be fit rather for beasts, or the more brutish of human beings, than for men; nor the refined reproach of the gentle Saint Cyprian, that to strive to talk with the fingers, as he undertakes to show the flute player does, is an act of ingratitude

¹⁶ "*Sambuca* is a species of symphonium. Et est cum quatuor ligulis fragilis unde et thus componitur." Isidorus, quoted by De Camp.

¹⁷ *Sambuca* is the willow tree bough and the hollow distal box, hollow, and veyle and member; and of those same boughs lute pipes made, quilibet etiam faciat symphoniam, ut *Yviller* sapit.¹⁸ Theophile translated of Bartholomew. (See *Hieronymus*, chap. 15, also supra p. 158, note.)

¹⁸ *Genese*, in a work written in Spanish, and published at Naples in 1589, includes the *Sambuca* in a list of wind instruments. (*Hieronymus*, ch. 15, note.)

to the Artificer who endowed man with the gift of a tongue. A thousand years had softened the asperity of fanaticism into the mild indifference that the flute was a gagaw. Under cover of an illustration of the use of the word *calamendi*, the only "analysis" introduces a wordish "Puzzle. Poster ask could how rental was calamendi," which he translates thus: "The shepherd says he little sympathy well with his gagawes he pype." On turning to the vocabulary to "gagaw" in order to ascertain what meaning Brother Giffordus attached to the word, the reader is informed that gagaw is the same as flute, and, it is added, fiddle! (gys)! It is only fair, however, to Prior Godfrey, to whose meanness and modesty his book testifies, to say that he assigns the responsibility of stigmatising the flute and the gys as gagaw to the "popular sophists," as Bishop Bale calls him, Robertus Kylwyrt.

"Flute," we may reasonably suppose, came over with William the Conqueror, but "recorder" appears to be a word of English growth. Although it crossed the Channel, for we meet with it in *Frutories*, it never took root in foreign soil. How, when, or where it originated it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to say; but I have just traced it, without going beyond well known channels, to the fifteenth, and, by inference, to the fourteenth century. Possibly, a special search would show that it was in use at a still earlier period. On the other hand, as we look in vain for it in an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, we may assume that it did not come into existence until after the Norman Conquest.

The instrument to which the name recorder was applied belonged to the Apple flute family. It was distinguished from other members of that family by the number of its holes. At the commencement of the sixteenth century there were, we are told by Viridung, Apple flutes with three, four, five, six,

* "Gagaw, idem quod Flauta, pype, cygne in F. of page. KY. 11." On this entry in the *Proemphoriae* Mr. Way remarks as follows: "Various etymologies have been proposed of the word 'gagaw' in its original sense. 'Cygnus,' some of gawwens for children, as rattle, cloggen the. . . 'Jules,' by Hupps. 'Fiddle,' a fiddle, when-some, gagaw, as used by for a child to play withall. —Certe. Some suggest Anglo-Saxon *gyrd* 'sage' or 'harper,' another, or the French *recorder*, but *gaw* or *gawle* seems more nearly to resemble it, and signifies, according to Rogethert, 'toyishly pleasant.' *Gagawes* 'toyings' he. It would seem, however, that the word is here given as synonymous with flute, and the inquiry remains still whether it had originally denoted some musical instrument, and thence been used as a more general designation. According to Rogethert, there was a wind instrument called *gys*, and this instrument corresponds with the observation of Parrot, that *gys*, 'flute,' may be derived from *gysen*, 'what of flow.' It is singular that, according to Brechtel and Janssen, a Jew's harp is called in North German a *gagaw*, but in that instance, as likewise in the *Proemphoriae*, it seems probable that the word is used merely in reference to that with which the report may be taken, like Luther's *clackboard*."

seven, eight, and sometimes, but rarely, even more than eight holes. Only such of them as were pierced with not less than eight holes—seven for the fingers and one at the back for the thumb—could with propriety be termed recorders.

Notwithstanding that the holes in use on the recorder did not exceed eight in number (except in the rare case of certain contrabass recorders), in France the recorder was styled the nine-holed flute (*la flûte à neuf trous*). The name arose from the following circumstance. The lowest hole of the recorder was closed with the little finger. To bring it within reach of that short digit, this hole was placed at the side of the instrument, out of line with the other holes. But there were left-handed recorder players—that is, persons who placed the left below the right hand. A left-handed player would, of course, require the hole for the little finger to be on the left side of the recorder. As in the sixteenth and in the early part of the seventeenth century the recorder was in one piece only, it was not possible for a left-handed player to meet the difficulty by turning the foot, or lowest joint, of his instrument to his little finger, as did the left-handed player on the employed flute. The recorder manufacturer therefore used to make special provision for a left-handed player. This was done by boring a duplicate hole on the left side of the instrument for the little finger, then closing it with wax, a material which could easily be removed and used to fill the corresponding hole on the other side. Thus, although eight only were required by the player, the recorder was pierced with nine holes.

Nearly four hundred years ago these particulars were not only described in words, but were represented in pictures. In Sebastian Virdung's *Musica geteuschet*, printed at Basle in 1511, is an engraving (Fig. 1), portraying in a diagrammatic form a recorder with its eight holes; the duplicate perforation for the little finger being reckoned as one, whilst the



FIG. 1.—Diagram of Recorder, recorder, from VIRDUNG.

hole for the thumb (Fig. 1, 8) is brought by the draughtsman from the back to the side of the instrument in order to render it visible. Another drawing (Fig. 2) explains the use of the duplicate hole. In the lower of the two illustrations the instrument is in the hands of a right, in the upper, of a left-handed player.

In the days of the recorder, it must be remembered, the different families of instruments were kept apart, each family constituting a separate band; moreover, just as there was a chest for the viols made to be played together, so was a



FIG. 2.—SHORT TWO FINGERED WAY OF PLAYING THE RECORDER, FROM VIOLINO.

set of recorders kept in a case of its own. Here, again, we get information from *Violaag*. "Generally," he tells us, "one makes four flutes in one case, or six; this is called a set—two distant, two tenor, and two bass." Further, he

gives a drawing of the four instruments required to form the recorder quartet (Fig. 1).

On account of the large size of the bass flute, it was not possible for the little finger to reach its hole on that instrument. To meet this difficulty recourse was had to an open-standing key, provision being made for both right and left handed players by fastening the touch of the key with two cusps. In the drawing of the bass flute from Viridang (Fig. 2), the cusps only are visible, the other parts of the key being concealed from view by a perforated box, or *botanella*, with which it is covered. The box was necessary as a protection for the mechanism, which, without it, would have been extremely liable to injury, not only on account of its delicate construction, but more especially because the spring, which kept the key open, was particularly exposed, as it was not placed under the lever, pressing it upwards, as in the case of the C and C sharp keys in the foot of our eight-keyed flute, but passed over the lever and pressed it downwards.



FIG. 3.—RECORDER FOR A QUARTET. REMOVED FROM VIRIDANG.

It is of importance for the explanation of a key which I shall presently describe that this construction should be understood. I have, therefore, with the kind assistance of Mr. Leblond, had a drawing prepared showing the mechanism of such a key as it appears in a flute in the French Kensington Museum. A glance at it will show that on pressing the little finger on either of the cusps (A B), the first lever would turn on its axle (C), raise the spring (D), and lift the second lever, which, turning on its axle (E), would close the valve (F).

Turning to England in 1591, the year in which Viridang's work was printed, we find the recorder at the very zenith of its popularity. The throne was filled by a flute player, Henry VIII. was in the twenty-first year of his age and the third of his reign. Richly endowed with mental gifts, the handsomest prince of the time, bluff but affable, gay and jovial, prodigal of his father's treasures, devoted, like

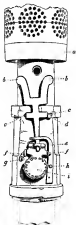


FIG. 2.—MECHANISM OF OVERHAULING KEY.

a, the metal springs to show the mechanism. *A.A.*, ends of key; *b*, axle on which the key lever works; *c*, pin to lower the lever in the spring; *d*, spring to keep the lever up; *e*, roller on which the spring lever works; *f*, roller to keep the spring in the lever; *g*, pin to lower the lever in the spring; *h*, roller to keep the spring in the lever; *i*, pin to lower the lever in the spring; *j*, roller to keep the spring in the lever.

Chaucer's flute playing Squire, to putting, a martial exercise in which his herculean strength enabled him to prove almost invariably the victor, he was his people's idol. His proficiency in music is usually ascribed to the circumstance that he was trained as an ecclesiastic, it having been only through the premature death of his brother, Arthur, that he came to the throne. It should, perhaps, rather be attributed to the motive which we may imagine to have influenced the Squire in Chaucer—the love of the art. Had he not been designated for the see of Canterbury he would, doubtless, still have been a musician.

It is not for me to estimate the Musical Association of Henry the Eighth's skill on the virginals, the lute, and the clavichord; of his sight singing; of his setting of songs and making of ballads; of his "two full masses, each of them five parts, which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diverse other places." When musicians have him reviled and loaded with invective, while the benefits we owe to his ability, to his courage, and to his resolution are steadily and ostentatiously denied him, they should call to mind that he gave offence to two classes which those who desire to stand well with posterity, if wise, would propitiate—churchmen, and members of the sober sex; nor should they overlook the significant circumstance that he retained his popularity to the day of his death. More especially am I, as a flute player, bound to repeat the solemn admonition, let him that is without sin cast the first stone at him. Not only was practice on the recorders and flute his daily avocation,¹⁰ but he was the possessor of a collection of instruments of the flute family the like of which the world has never seen. They were a hundred and fifty-four in number, seventy-six of them being recorders. No less than twenty-seven were of ivory, with tips of silver gilt or of gold itself. They were provided with cases lined with purple, green, black, and crimson velvet. The woods mentioned as employed in their construction are box, walnut, oak, and ebony; two were made of glass, and one of wood "painted like glass." Van Wilder, the latest, had them in his custody, as is shown in the Harleian MS., from which the following list, made after the accession of Edward VI., is taken:—

¹⁰ "From thence" (that is, from Greenwich, in 1540, the second year of his reign) "the whole court removed to Windsor, thence beginning his privy and evening household dance in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, making of the lute, playing on the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads: he did set two full masses, each of them five parts, which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diverse other places."—*ibid.*, "Chronicles," Vol. III., p. 159.

Harl. MS.

INVENTORY OF HENRY THE
EIGHTH'S WARDROBE.

1479. 2.

folio 100.

INSTRUMENTS AT WESTMINSTER IN THE
CHAMBER OF PHILIPP VAN WILDER.

Item 1000th Item v Cases w^t flutes and in evens of say of the
wilde Cases say flutes and in the with three
flutes¹

Item one Case furnished w^t xv flutes in it²

Item one Case w^t tenn flutes in it the same are
enailed pilgrim staves and the same Case fur-
nished comeneth butt vj hole pipes³

Item one Case w^t vj flutes in hit⁴

Item v flutes of linnen tipped w^t golde enamelled
black w^t a Case of purple velvet garnished w^t
both thendes w^t silver and grille the same
Case furnished comeneth butt say hole
pipes⁵

Item some flutes of linnen tipped w^t golde in a Case
covered w^t grass velvet⁶

¹ We are left in doubt as to whether the instruments here named were lip flutes, or apple flutes with a smaller number of holes than accordant.

² Mr. William Chappell considers that these "Pilgrim staves" were probably not too long. I am not aware that this idea runs on any other foundation than the circumstance that the staff which forms one of the badges of a pilgrim is usually represented as being of great length. To me, I confess, it would not seem unlikely that the flutes "enailed pilgrim staves" corresponded more nearly in size to the instruments which we term walking-stick flutes, and the French name flûtes à baguette—that is, flutes constructed in the form of walking-sticks, so that if the owner, when taking a walk (flûtes usually carried only, should feel disposed for a little music, he had only to have recourse to his stick. But the question arises—were the so-called pilgrim staves lip or apple flutes? To this question it is difficult to give a satisfactory answer. There were both lip and apple flutes with six holes. It is true that the walking-stick flutes with which we are familiar say, for the most part, lip flutes, but the rule is not without exceptions. When I was taking notes for the proposed, but never published, descriptive Catalogue of the Lewis Collection of Instruments shown in the Albert Hall in connection with the International Exhibition of 1883, three passed through my hands of walking-stick apple flutes. I was of German make and bore the maker's name, G. Wenzel-Hardt, St. Petersburg. There were seven holes in total and a separate thumb hole in the back. The owner, Miss E. A. Wilmore, was informed by the Persian dealer of whom it was purchased that it had been in his shop for fifty years. The Museum of the Conservatoire of Paris acquires a "Casse-Pipe à bec," as well as a "Casse-Pipe à doigt." Henry VIII. possessed staves "enailed pilgrim staves."

³ See *op. cit.* p. 171, note 31.

- L. 202.² Item one Case wth vj recorders of Bone in it
 Item vij Recorders great and small in a Case
 covered wth blacke Leather and lined wth cloth
- L. 203. Item two bone Recorders of wainscote one of
 them tipped wth Silver the same are both made
 of wood
 Item four Recorders made of skin bones
 Item vj Recorders of Ivorie in a case of blacke vellat
 Item one great bone Recorder of wood in a case of
 wood
 Item four Recorders of wainscote in a Case
 covered wth blacke vellat
 Item ix Recorders of wood in a Case of wood
- L. 205 Item a Case covered wth crimson vellat havinge looks
 and all other garnishments to the same of
 Silver gilt wth vij recorders of Ivorie in the
 same Case the two bones garnished wth Silver
 and gilt
 Item one case of blacke leather wth vij recorders of
 bone
 Item a case of white wood wth ix recorders of bone
 in the same
 Item a case covered wth blacke leather wth vj recorders
 of wood in it
 Item A litle case covered wth blacke leather wth iij
 recorders of Ivorie in it
 Item one flute and vi pīphes of blacke Bone
 tipped with Silver thone of the pīphes look-
 inge a lippinge at one ende in a bagge of redde
 leather²⁰
 Item xj flutes of glasse and one of wood painted
 like glasse in a Case of blacke leather
 Item ij flutes of wood in a case of blacke Leather
 Item iij flutes in a redde leather bagge

²⁰ Probably refers to flutes of the flute in the red leather bag, as well as the other remaining flutes in the inventory, being by flutes

What induced Henry VIII. to take up the recorder does not appear; but his father, Henry VII., seems to have shown a partiality to the instrument. Henry VII. is often charged with avarice, but it is only just to mention that no trace of this vice can be found in his treatment of those connected with music; it is admitted, however, that he was the first English king after the accession of Henry III., whose expenditure was not in excess of his income; whereas, the blind, unthinking multitude, with whom thrift is a virtue, expect princes to squander, whether they be poor or rich, regarding not him who gathers, but him who scatters, as their benefactor. We are assured by a distinguished historian* that Henry VII. often rewarded with generosity, that on occasions of ceremony he displayed the magnificence of a great monarch, that his charities were many and profuse, and are recorded that his chapel at Westminster still remains, a monument of his greatness and taste.

The record of his privy purse expenses starts with instances of his generosity to musicians. Not only were the makers of songs and ballads, the Queen's "fideler," and the "Princesse saying mynstrels" rewarded, but no matter whether he went, the local band was seldom forgotten. The shrotons (shrotons) of Maidstone (Maidstone), the waits of Canterbury, of Dover, of Coventry, and of Northampton were amongst the recipients of his bounty. Nor were the humblest passed over; two shillings were given "to a woman that singeth with a fidell." A recorder player is recognized by name: "To Arnold player at recorders, no shillings." Considering that "Arnold Jellry, organ player," received only ten shillings "for a quarter's wages," the gift was bestowed with no slight hand.

Under date of February 14, 1494, Henry being then at the Tower, there is a still more remarkable entry: "To the child that playeth on the records, no shillings." We here catch a sight of a youthful genius whose talent met with a truly royal recognition. Two months later, on April 26, by which time the court had removed to Richmond, there occurs the following: "To Gwilles for lutes with a case, ye shillings." For what purpose could these instruments have been intended? They were not for the use of the future Henry VIII., for he was only ten months old. Is it possible that the Solomon of England aspired to govern the wealds? The lutes were not a common set, if we may judge from a comparison of the price paid for them (2/3 10s.) with that given for a pair of clavichords (20s.), or that at which these lutes were bought (13s. 4d. each), one of them, purchased in 1494, being for my Lady Margaret, another, in 1495, for my Lady Mary, Henry's two daughters.

*Lapsdell.

To return to Virdung. In addition to the four recorders, Virdung gives a representation of the three-holed flute, better known in England as the labourer's pipe, which he terms the *Schweigel* (Fig. 5), and of two other small instruments which



FIG. 5.—*Schweigel*, from Virdung.

we can identify as belonging to the apple flute family, the mouth being in each case distinctly indicated. They are both furnished with four holes and are named respectively the *Raspflöte*, or Black pipe (Fig. 6), and the *Garden horn*, or *Chanson horn* (Fig. 7). The latter seems, like the scurra, to have no opening at its lower end.



FIG. 6.—*Raspflöte*, from Virdung.



FIG. 7.—*Garden Horn*, from Virdung.



FIG. 8.—*Raspflöte*, from Agricola.

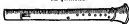


FIG. 9.—*Garden Horn*, from Agricola.

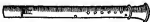
After an interval of seventeen or eighteen years, Virdung's work was followed by the *Musica Instrumentalis* of Martin Agricola. In the first edition of this book (1528), the instruments for the recorder quartet, the discant, the

also, the tenor, and the bass flute, as well as the Raspielfand the German horn, are shown in engravings, differing but little from those of Virchow (Pages 8, 9, and 10), but from a later edition, bearing the date of 1845, the Raspielf

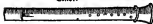
**Der Flöten.
Distantus.**



Alto



Tenor.



Bass.

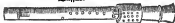


FIG. 10.—RECORDERS FOR A QUARTET, FROM *ANATOMIA*.

and the German horns have disappeared, their place being taken by another four-bored flute more highly finished, the Klein Flölein, or (if I may be permitted to coin a word), Little Flautlet (Fig. 11.)¹⁰

Klein Flölein mit vier Löchern.



FIG. 11.—THE LITTLE FLAUTLET.

The Germans, it seems, had no special appellation to distinguish the recorder from other Apple Flutes; but in France the instrument was called, as I have already said,

¹⁰ The two flutes of ivory tipped with gold, in Henry the Eighth's collection may have been Little Flautlets.

the nine-hole flute. The name had been given to it before 1530, for we find it in Palgrave's *Lendowment de la langue Française*, which bears that date. In the English-French vocabulary contained in the work is the following entry: "Recorder a pipe floute a re nefle treue." We can place reliance on Palgrave. He was not, like the compiler of the *Prosephrasæ*, a recluse, bred in the country, and only able to express himself in the vernacular he had learnt in his childhood, but a highly educated man, born in London, who had seen much of the world. He was a B.A. of Cambridge and an M.A. of Paris, having studied at both Universities; in addition, he had become incorporated at Oxford, where he took the degree of B.D. Not only did he hold several benefices, including that of St. Dunstan's in the East, to which he was collated by Cromer, but he was chaplain to Henry VIII. Moreover, he had been appointed instructor in French, or "accolumator," to the Lady Mary, Henry's younger sister (whom I have just mentioned, incidentally, in connection with a lute), previously to her marriage with Louis XII., and he accompanied her to France on the occasion in 1514. As he was thus about both the English and French Courts, he had exceptional opportunities of making himself acquainted with the recorder and its representative in Paris, in *flûte à neuf trous*.

The last work mentioned in which the recorder was figured was the 1545 edition of Agricola's *Musica Instrumentalis*. If we pass over a period of seventy-five years we come to the *Theatrum Instrumentorum* or *Scitaphonia* of Michael Praetorius (Wolfenbütel, 1600). In plate IX. of this invaluable record of the musical instruments in use early in the seventeenth century, Praetorius gives a representation, drawn to scale, of the instruments required for a lute, their head of complete compass (Fig. 12, 1), from the little flautolet to the contrabass or great bass recorder. One member of the lute family—a comparatively recent invention of French origin, the baguette—we miss; but the tobacco-pipe, here called the Stummen Pfeiff, which Praetorius connects with England, re-appears. Even this little instrument had a concert of its own, the family being three in number—the descant, the treble, and the bass. Two of them, the descant and the bass, as well as the tobacco and its stick, with which the performer accompanied himself, are shown in the engraving (Fig. 12, 3, 5).

A detailed account of these instruments does not come within either the limits or the scope of this paper, but they have been described by M. Victor Haldéne, who, in his "*Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Musique de Bruxelles*" (second edition, p. 256), gives the

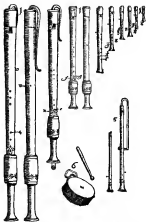


FIG. 10.—FRENCH FLUTES, COMPLETE COURSE, & C. FIRST AND
TAMBOUR. FROM PLATE 133 OF PARTITION.

key, compass, and length of each. Protorius enumerates them as follows:—

"1. The Little Flautolet, a Quinta-decima," that is, two octaves higher than the Cornet.

"2. The Distant Flute, a fourth lower.

"3. The Distant Flute, a fifth lower than the first kind.

"4. The Alto Flute, an octave lower than the first kind.

"5. The Tenor Flute, a fifth lower than the fourth kind.

"6. The Bass Flute, a fifth lower still.

"7. The Bass Flute, a fifth lower than the sixth kind.

"8. The Great Bass Flute, an octave lower than the sixth kind."

It will be observed that although only eight flutes are mentioned, eleven figures appear in the plate. In two cases, those of the Basset and the Contrabass Flute, it is obvious that two representations of each instrument are given—one of the front, the other of the back. Two peculiarities of construction, not hitherto depicted, will be noticed—the tube with which the bass and the contrabass are furnished to take the breath from the performer's mouth up to the fipple (shown in use in Fig. 24, p. 184), and the foot, which projects from the lower end of the tube, for resting the instrument on the ground.

Protorius states that a set of fipple flutes, complete in compass, could be purchased at Venice (in the seventeenth century the Italians were the most celebrated makers of wood-wind instruments) for about eighty thalers, and infers as that a full flute band would consist of twenty-one instruments, as follows: two of Nos. 1, 2, and 3; four of Nos. 4, 5, and 6; two of No. 7; and one of No. 8.¹² To those who share the opinion of Cherubini, that nothing but two could be worse than one flute, the idea of one-and-twenty flute players all in a row would be indeed appalling, however. I have met with evidence of the existence of a still larger fipple flute band, a band numbering thirty or forty performers. It is to be found in one of the two works published by Burney, giving a description of the tours he made on the Continent in order to collect materials for his "*History of Music*."¹³ It is true that Burney had no knowledge of the instruments he was describing, but his account of them is so precise as to leave no doubt but that they were intended to be played

¹² In the orchestra of Monteverdi's "*Orfeo*" there was an instrument designated "*Un Flauto alla vigesima seconda*." (See Hawkins, *Book I*, chap. viii.)

¹³ *Essays*, Tom. II, p. 25, 26.

¹⁴ "*The Distant Flute of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*," 1772, Vol. I., p. 41. The instruments are also alluded to by Burney's "*History of Music*," Vol. V., p. 176. One of them is preserved in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels (No. 184).

together; indeed, notwithstanding their great number, size, and weight, there was a case designed to take the whole of them, a proof that they formed but one set. Referring to his visit to Antwerp, Burney writes:

"After this I went to a very large building on a quay, at the side branch of the Scheldt, which is called the *Oosters Huis*, or *Oosterling's House*; it was formerly used as a warehouse by the merchants trading to Lübeck, Hamburg, and the Hanseatic towns; it is a very handsome structure, and has served, in time of war, as a barrack for two thousand men. I should not have mentioned my visiting this building, if I had not found in it a large quantity of musical instruments of a peculiar construction. There are between thirty and forty of the common flute kind, but differing in some particulars; having, as they increase in length, keys and crooks. The hautboys and bassoons;²⁶ they were made at Hamburg, and they are all of one sort of wood, and by one maker. *Gaetano Ravizza Scartavacca* was engraved on a brass ring or plate, which encircled most of these instruments; the large ones have brass plates placed, and some with human figures well engraved on them. These last are larger than a bassoon would be, if unfolded."²⁷ The inhabitants say that it is more than a hundred years since these instruments were used, and that there is no musician at present in the town who knows how to play on any one of them, as they are quite different from those now in common use. In towns where commerce flourished in this city, these instruments used to be played on every day by a band of musicians, who attended the merchants trading to the Hanse towns, in procession to the Exchange. They now hang on pegs in a closet, or rather press, with folding doors, made on purpose for their reception; though in the great hall there still lies on the floor by them a large single case, made of a heavy and solid dark kind of wood, so contrived, as to be capable of receiving them all, but which, when filled with these instruments, requires eight men to lift it from the ground. It was of so uncommon a shape that I was unable to divine its use, 'till I was told it."

Let us turn from Germany to France. Marmont's great work, the *Marmonts Universelle*, is dated 1765, sixteen years after the *Theatrum Instrumentorum* of Pretorius;

²⁶ The keys like those of hautboys were the keys of the bass recorders already described (p. 269). They resembled the keys of hautboys in their position, function, and in having rings for right or left-handed players (see the drawing of a hautboy on the 184-page of "The Complete Flute-Master" (1765) p. 104). The notes which resembled Burney of the crooks of bassoons were the pegs for the convenience of the wind from the performer's mouth to the top of the flute. Burney's manufacture evidently does the bass flutes (but) was an instrument unknown to him.

²⁷ These were Contrabassos, or Great Bass Flutes.



FIG. 13.—CONTRABASS FLUTE WITH FINGER, REMOVED IN VIEW.
FROM MICHIGAN

1. Tube to carry up the wind. 2. Key to open flaps.
The circle opposite 2 represents the flaps to be at the tube.

but the manuscript is believed to have been finished at least seven years before the work was printed. From Merenne we learn that in his time the recorder was known in France by three appellations—the flute of England (*la flute d'Angleterre*), the nine-holed flute (*la flute à neuf trous*), a name which was in use, as we have seen, a century earlier, and the reeset flute (*la flute reeset*), the last being the designation most frequently used by that author.

Recorders are divided by Merenne into two sets—a great and a little set, but as the great begins where the little set leaves off, the complete compass still comprises eight instruments. Here I will again refer you to M. Victor Mahillon, who, in the work just cited, enters into the particulars of the two sets, confining myself to one recorder only, respecting which, as it is of exceptional interest, I will ask you to allow me to trespass on your time by saying a few words.

The instrument in question (Fig. 13) was the contrabass of a great set which Merenne informs his readers was sent from England to one of the kings of France. Merenne gives no further information on this point, but conjecture would, of course, point to Henry VIII. as the sender, and Louis XII., who married that monarch's sister, the Princess Mary, as the recipient. It was pierced with eleven instead of eight holes, so that three notes could be produced below what would otherwise be its downward limit. One of the three extra holes was closed by adding a second to the ordinary key of the bass flute, already described,* the two others by the strange expedient of pedals or levers acted on by the feet. As the performer sat behind the flute (see Fig. 12, p. 186), the pedals were probably either at the sides or at the back of the instrument, not, as represented in the drawing, in front. The size or shape of the holes they closed seems to have excited the astonishment of Merenne. They were, he declares, like windows.

Merenne gives a special drawing of the mechanism of the keys of this flute, his object being, he tells us, to enable his countrymen "to make others like them." His representation of the mechanism of the two keys closed with the little finger is usually looked upon as a great puzzle, so much so that it is sometimes thought that they were in an injured state when the drawing was made. The difficulty in understanding their action arises partly from the circumstance that Merenne has made a slip in his description, representing them as kept closed by their springs, whereas they were undoubtedly kept open, partly because an acquaintance with the mechanism of ancient openstanding keys is necessary to render their

* *Ibid.*, p. 184.

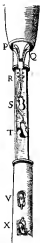


FIG. 14.—MECHANISM OF KANSAS OF COMPRESSION FLUID, FROM MONTANA.

P, Box attached upwards to the mechanism; Q, range of heat played within the
 Note (Fig. 14) side of cylinder; R, T, nature of layer; V, X, gas/liquid

construction intelligible. On comparing these with the drawing of the key of the flute in the South Kensington Museum (Fig. 4, p. 156) it will be seen that they are constructed on the same principle, the two curved, wire-like pieces (H.) crossing the levers at right angles, their ends suggestive of the idea that they are broken fragments, being the springs by which the keys are kept open.

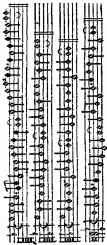
A chapter is devoted by Merenne to the Tabourer's pipe. He calls it the three-holed flute (*la flute à trois trous*), the term galelot, by which it is now usually designated in France, seemingly not being in use in his time. He discusses the surprising extent of its compass, mentions the extremely high notes he had heard choked from it by an Englishman, John Price by name, and suggests that three-holed flutes should be constructed in sets, unaware, apparently, that the idea had been carried out in Germany.

In connection with Merenne's account of the recorder, I have omitted to mention a circumstance of interest to musicians. There is given in the *Musique d'ensemble* a composition written for four recorders; it forms one of three examples of concerted flute music to be found in that work, the two others being for German flutes* and flageolots respectively. These examples seem to have been specially composed for Merenne's book, as illustrations of the method of writing for the several combinations named. Merenne assures his readers that the composer, le Sieur Henry le Jeune, was well acquainted with the staff (poêle), and the compass of each instrument, but as he adds that those who may desire other examples should consult the "Masters of the Art," we may conjecture that Mr. Henry, the younger, was not a professional flute player. I reproduce in *facsimile* the recorder quartet, as a short but curious specimen of early seventeenth century instrumental music; I give it in modern dress also, Dr. Turpin having been so good as to put it into our score. Dr. Turpin calls attention to a point in the harmony, consecutive fifths between parts 1 and 3 in bars 6 and 7.

Whilst the fipple flute was thus quietly developing on the Continent, in England the storm which wrought such havoc with art when Christianity first began to feel her power was preparing again to burst. The clouds gathered in the reign of Henry VIII.; they did not disperse until Charles II. ascended the throne. Had the Puritans succeeded in retaining the upper hand, the flute would have been involved in the fate to which their "speaking abomination" the organ had already succumbed. On this point the exponent

* The composition for four German flutes, an "Air de Cour," is reproduced in the same "History of the Dutch Flute," 2nd edition, p. 168, that for recorders a "prelude," omitted (Fig. 45).

Gauche pour les Flûtes d'acier.



Gebete für die Flieder-Blau.

IM MICHEN STIMME.



miracles could be wrought without playing of daunces, dumps, jakes, galiards, measures, lances, or new stepes?" He is indignant at the complexity of the music and musical instruments of his time. "The Argives appointed by their laws great punishments for such as placed above 7 strings upon any instrument. Pythagoras commanded that no musician should go beyond his diapason. Were the Argives and Pythagoras now alive, and saw how many frets, how many strings, how many steps, how many keys, how many chilles, how many modes, how many flats, how many sharps, how many rules, how many species, how many scales, how many notes, how many quarks, how many compass, what chopping, what changing, what turning, what wrestling and wringing is among our musicians, I believe verily they would cry out with the country man, '*Reu, good tan, godes mair art with daunce is done.*'"

Before the Puritan tempest which raged in England had died down, instrumental music was beginning to enter on a new phase. Monks were becoming alive to the importance of the effects which could be obtained by blending instruments of different families. Broken music, as the result of such experimenting was called, was coming more and more into vogue. The bands of hautboys, cornets, and flutes were breaking up and disappearing, only such members of each family surviving as were best adapted for the new combination. The dawn of this musical era may be discerned in the following remarkable passage in Bacon's "*Sylva Sylvarum*," a work published in 1607, the year after the author's death:—

"All concords and discords of music are, no doubt, sympathies and antipathies of sounds. And so, likewise, in that music which we call broken music, or consort music, some consorts of instruments are sweeter than others, a thing not sufficiently yet observed: as the Irish harp and base viad agree well: the recorder and stringed music agree well: organs and the voice agree well, etc. But the virginals and the lute; or the Welsh harp and the Irish harp; or the voice and pipes alone agree not so well, but for the rectification of music, there is yet much left, in that point of exquisite consorts, to try and inquire."¹ "The rectification of music" resulting from the experimental inquiry in the "point of exquisite consorts," to which Bacon here directs attention, led to the development of the modern orchestra.

The change was soon reflected in books of instruction. In 1683, rather more than half-a-century after the "*Sylva Sylvarum*" had issued from the press, Salzer's often quoted "*General Compendium, or Exact Directions for the Recorder*," made its appearance. Here we find no mention of the

¹ Bacon's "*Natural History*," Century II. 478



FIG. 16.—Illustration of "The General Complaint" from the copy in the Library of the British Museum.

THE
Genteel Companion;
Being exact Directions for the
RECORDER:
With a Collection of the Best and Newest Games and Gamesly Entertain.

Carefully Composed and Gathered by Humphrey Salter.

L O N D O N, Printed for Richard Alsop and Humphrey Salter, at the Lane
in St. Pauls Church-Yard. 1684.

For 17.—TUNNERS or "THE GENTLEMAN, COMPOSER."

Discant, the Alto, the Tenor, or the Bass recorder, the family is reduced to a single member. On examining the survivor, as portrayed in the frontispiece of the copy of the work in the Library of the British Museum (Fig. 16), we observe that the duplicate hole for the little finger is no longer needed, the tube being constructed in three separate pieces, so that the position of the hole can be changed at will, to suit the requirements of a right or a left-handed player, by turning the foot, or lowest joint, in which it is pierced.

The recorder is in the hands of a gentleman dressed with the flowing perwig, the many-buttoned coat, the lace cravat, the rufflet, the breeches, the stockings, and the shoes of the period. He is seated on a Cromwell chair, with his legs negligently crossed, in an attitude indicating that he believes himself to be a perfect master of the instrument on which he is playing.

The gentleman is not alone. On the opposite side of a table at which he is sitting is a lady, presumably his wife, to whom he appears to be giving instruction. She, also, is elegantly attired. Her gown is low, with hanging sleeves, the under-sleeves, which are full, puffed, and frilled, being, seemingly, of another, or a similar fabric, whilst a jacket attached to the bodice, after drooping in graceful folds at the side, is caught up at the back, the end falling almost as low as the hem of the petticoat. Her hair, turned back at the sides, is dressed in a projection behind; curls, natural or artificial, over-hanging her forehead. Over her head is a mantilla; earrings adorn her ears; a necklace of pearls, such as the brush of Lely so often depicted, surrounds her neck, and gloves, or cuffs, seem to envelop both hands and arms. She has laid down her fan, and is leaning her head on her right arm, the elbow resting on the table. Her eyes are fixed on a music book which lies open before her, whilst her left hand is raised with a gesture of rapt attention as she listens to the notes which we may imagine to be issuing from the gentleman's recorder, as if endeavoring to profit to the utmost by the lesson she appears to be taking.

In connection with this frontispiece, I will ask your permission to be allowed to mention a circumstance, in my own experience, which seems to have a bearing on the question we are considering—the superseding of the concert of recorders. In the Library of the British Museum is a work entitled "*Thesaurus Musicus*." The title-page (Fig. 17) is ornamented with an engraving, labelled "*Lesson for the Recorder*." It represents four half-fledged angels, assembled at a table for a recorder quartet. One of the most important lessons for the recorder was how to transport and arrange



FIG. 15.—TITLE-PAGE OF HUMBERT'S "THESAURUS MUSICUS," REPRODUCED

music for the instrument. In the engraving, two of the angels appear to be playing over some manuscript parts on their respective flutes, whilst a third has played his recorder on the table and is reading a music book which he holds in his hand, as if comparing its contents with what is being played. A pen and ink seem to suggest, either that the parts have only just been written, or else that provision had been made for corrections or alterations, in case any should be required.

When I first became acquainted with this engraving, now a long time ago, recognising its importance in solving the enigma of the recorder, I obtained permission to have a copy of it taken (Fig. 19). I did not, of course, fail to perceive that the engraving could not have been designed for the place it occupied; it was unsited to the work, as well as too broad for the page. It was obviously intended, as the label showed, for a frontispiece to a book of instructions for the recorder; the engine for inserting it in Hodgebat's "Thesaurus" being, seemingly, that the book contained some duets for two flutes.* A note I made at the time shows that I had observed that it was dated 1804, the year before Baker's "Gentle Companion" was published, and had remarked that, as it was exactly adapted in point of shape and size for the frontispiece of that work, it was allowable to suppose that it might have been designed and engraved for the purpose, but that, as recorder concerts had become things of the past, it was afterwards rejected to make way for a design more in accordance with the altered state of flute playing, the discarded plate being utilised by Hodgebat for the ornamentation of his title-page. Some years afterwards (it was in June, 1891) I happened to be at Oxford, when, on Mr. Tophouse showing me a copy he possessed of "The Gentle Companion," what should I see but this very engraving forming its frontispiece! At least one copy, then, of "The Gentle Companion" had been issued containing the engraving of the recorder quartet party. But here a question arises. May not the engraving have been cut from the title-page of Hodgebat's "Thesaurus" and introduced into Mr. Tophouse's "Gentle Companion" to make up an imperfect copy? This is a matter on which it is not for me to express an opinion; it is a point for experts to discuss. I may say, however, that a comparison I have recently made of the two copies of "The Gentle Companion," that belonging to Mr. Tophouse and that in the British Museum, shows that they differ in other particulars besides the frontispiece, and that Mr. Tophouse's copy

*The duets are by Mr. Purcell, Mr. Robert King, Mr. Goldsmith, Mr. John Bampton, and Mr. Kean.



FIG. 19.—Illustration Quoted from the *Illustration of Hungary's "Tutorship."*

belongs, beyond all doubt, to an earlier issue of the work. I have in hand, Mr. Tapscott having been so good as to entrust me with it, and I shall have great pleasure in showing it to any of you whose it may interest.

The change to which I am referring was not the only change which the recorder was destined to undergo. The change of which I have now to speak is a change to which musical instruments are especially liable—a change which renders a satisfactory investigation of their history greatly difficult and sometimes impossible—a change of nomenclature: the recorder was about to drop its name and revert to its old appellation of flute. At first, when the change commenced, the instrument was styled indifferently the recorder or the flute. Here, again, information comes to us from books of instruction. A work in the Library of the British Museum bears the following title: “The Delightful Companion: or, Choice new lessons for the Recorder or Flute.” Again, an instruction book belonging to Mr. Tapscott (Fig. 28) is entitled “The Complete Flute-Master,” but relates to the art of playing “the recorder.” Soon “recorder” entirely disappears. “The Music-Master,” which came out in 1750, is a collection of codes of instruction for different instruments—the lute, the German flute, the violin, and others. Neither in the title-page (Fig. 29) of the instructions for the flute, nor in the instructions themselves, does the word recorder occur, whilst the frontispiece (Fig. 31) shows that the instrument is, in its essentials, no other than that represented in Salzer’s “General Companion.” We have a somewhat later example in Tytler’s “Complete Flute Master” (Figs. 23 and 26). So rapid and so complete had been the metamorphosis that neither Hawkins nor Burney, the former born in 1709, the latter in 1748, seems to have entertained the faintest suspicion that “the flute,” with which they were so familiar, had once been known as the recorder.²²

It was not only in England that the recorder had changed its name; in France also a new appellation had been assigned to it. It is true that it was still termed *la flûte douce*, but *la flûte d’Angleterre* and *la flûte à main basse* had been abandoned to make way for *la flûte à bec*,²³ or the beaked flute. By 1755 this expression had found its way into England, or at least

²² Some instruments shown as recorders would be more correctly named if they were termed flutes, as they are not old enough to have been called recorders, either by those who made or those who played them.

²³ According to Littré (*Dict.*, iv., “Flûte”), the term *flûte à bec* is applicable to all instruments the end of which is placed in the mouth. “Flûte à bec, nom les instruments comme la clarinète, le hautbois et surtout le basset, où il y a une entaille qui se met dans la bouche.”



THE

COMPLETE

Flute-Master

OR

The whole Art of playing on the Recorder, laid open in such easy & plain instructions, that by doing a modest capacity may arrive to a perfection on that Instrument, with a Collection of the newest & best Tunes composed by the most able Masters to which is added an admirable Solo fairly engraven on Copper Plates.

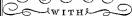
Edited & Printed by Wm. Arnold, Successor to the late J. Johnson, Printer, 25, Strand, London. Also at the Stationers' Hall, in the Strand, and at the several Booksellers in the Kingdom.

Printed by T. B. Harrison, at the Press of the London and Westminster Press, 1, Pall Mall.



FIG. 21.—PAMUNCEE.

Directions
for Playing on the



A Scale for Transposing any
Piece of MUSICK to $\frac{f}{\sharp}$ proper-
est Keys for that Instrument.

To which is Added,
A Fine Collection of
Minuets, Rigadoons, Marches
and Opera Airs
By Judicious Masters.

Reprinted, Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in
St. Pauls Church-Yard LONDON: Where Books of Instru-
ments for every single Instrument may be had. Price 6 s.

*FIG. 13.—FURNITURE.*

T H E
Complete Flute Master
 Containing
The Best & Easiest Rules to Learn
That Favorite Instrument
 with Variety of
Grand Airs, Opera Tunes, Minuets, Marches &c
of the most Eminent Authors
 Price Eighteen Pence.
Printed and Sold by
John Tyther
At the Union German Flute and Harp Shop,
Facing New Broadstreet, Moorfields
 L O N D O N.

There may be had Choice of new Music for all Instruments.
Literary Books of Instructions for any single Instrument.
 Price 6d.

Price 1s.—TWO SHILLINGS



Fig. 2.—Frontier of the West.

COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS,

as for the

Common Slate.

Containing the Elements and most modern Methods for
Learning to play, carefully corrected by numerous Masters.

To WHICH IS ADDED —

A favourite collection of Musical Exercises, along with some
Properly disposed for that instrument — P. 48

By JOHN JOHNSON.

Printed and sold by Longman and Bristow, at No. 25, Abchurch Lane,
where may be had a new Edition of Instructions for all Instruments.

into Scotland.²⁶ It does not, however, seem to have come into general use in this country in the eighteenth century, notwithstanding that Hawtun pronounced it to be "the most proper and discriminating appellation" for the instrument; but in the present day it is often employed.

Another change—the last, alas!—extinction, was awaiting the recorder. Just as the harpsichord was giving way to the pianoforte, so the recorder, yielding to the insupportable law of the survival of the fittest, was succumbing to its rival the German flute. The surpassing beauty of its tone failed to ward off its impending fate, the greater command over sustained notes and power of infusing intonation possessed by the lip flute proving too strong to be resisted. An indication that its career was drawing to a close is to be found in another change of name; the German flute had usurped the title of "the flute," the old favourite having descended to the appellation of "the Common flute." For proof of this we can again appeal to a book of instructions—one published by Longman and Broderip in the reign of George III., on the title-page of which (Fig. 56) it is so styled. Its kind was now about to sound; with the harpsichord it scarcely survived the eighteenth century.

In dealing with Sir John Hawkins, it is necessary to promise that he was under the influence of a dislike to the flute so violent that it fell little short of a monomania. The very name of a flute, or a flute player, was to him a red rag. Even the ancient Roman Temple flute players, whose duties in the ritual of their religion were far more important than are those of Cathedral organists in the services of our Church, the importance of their duties being equalled by the honour in which they were held, are pronounced to be remarkable for their

²⁶ Flute &c. is found in the following elegant definition of "Airs for the Flute, with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord," of that date:—

To the right Honourable rd Lady Garden

Madam,

The following Airs having been composed by a Gentleman for your Ladyship's Use when you began to practice the *Violon & Basset*. I thought I could not choose a better Subject for my First Essay, as an *Exerciser of Memory*, than these *Airs*: as well because they were made for *Beginners* on the Flute & Harpsichord, as that they were composed by a Gentleman who has put a *Pencil* in my Hand and then an *Eraser*, that chiefly because they were originally made for your Ladyship's Use which gives me so fair a Chance to send them into the World under the Protection of your Ladyship's Name.

I am with the greatest Respect

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient

and most humble Servant

ALEX. SMITH.

Edinburgh

December 1733.

insolence and their intemperance." But when Flavius, or de Flaccibus, as he called himself, assuming his name, a distinguished physician and philosopher of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, compares the universe to a pipe into which God breathes life and motion, so exaggerated becomes Sir John at the instrument he holds in such contempt being used for this noble figure, that he declares it to be impossible to convey in words an idea of the author's folly and absurdity.²⁰

²⁰ In Hooker's "History of Manners" Preliminary Discourse.

Sir John has taken seriously one of the most absurd ideas that ever found its way to the pages of history. Could any man man be induced to believe that the people of a town, or nation, or nation, come from London, having invited the College of Physicians collectively to a banquet, or individually to their own houses, could so ply them with wine that they could be thrown into weapons like so many sacks of steel, and turned to liquid without their knowledge and against their will?

The high houses in which, as Ovid in his account of the earlier banquets, the Roman State players were held, at the time their degraded condition in retiring to Tibur Island of breeding in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or equivalently retiring their scenes at a bacchanal, the consideration with which they were treated by the Tiburtines, the anxiety of the Roman Senate to bring about their return, the harvest entertainment given to them at Tibur, the courtesans provided to take them back to Rome at its conclusion, the joy with which they were welcomed by the populace, the recognition of their prototype, and the institution of an annual public company to commemorate their success in restoring the straggled entertainment on their night, tell a very different tale from that to which Sir John Hooker has given credence.

Livy, it should be remembered, had no personal knowledge of the festival he related. It took place in the year 509 B.C., three centuries before his time. The chief source from which Roman historians derive their information on the past was the *Annales*, or official records of public events. The *Annales* were compiled and kept by the Priests of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, this being the very Temple in which the State players taking the sacerdotal services were deprived of the distinction conferred on them by Numa, Pomponius in recognition of the influence of their functions as religious in the Etruscan. Attempts, such as are being made at the present time in our Cathedral to lower the status of the episcopate, the modern representations of the Temple State players are not of recent origin. Although Augustus Christian was the indelible agent in the high-handed proceeding it was the Priests of the Temple of Jupiter who would have been aggrieved, had the attack on the College of Five players proved successful. What, then, is more natural than that, silent and unnoticed they should in revenge have so disguised the bare set in systems to potentate the materials for the house of ridicule and unpareille nonsense imposed, such with his own variations and embellishments by Livy, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Ovid, and Sir John Hooker?

That State players were kind of wine in Livy's time is likely enough, for the primitive simplicity of the Roman life had passed away, luxury and dissipation having crept into every class of society. A fallen Livy of the twentieth-century century, desirous of fostering a change of impression on the highest nobles of our time might assert with perfect truth that "as drunk as a fiddler" was among us common use enough so, but, if he were not devoid of a sense of justice, he would be compelled to add that the worship of Bacchus was not confined to those who played the waltz, there having been another stage equally well known, "as drunk as a fiddler."

²¹ "History of Music" Book XIV. chap. xxv.

Sir John's antipathy to the flute would have mattered little had its only effect been to betray him into the use of intemperate language; unfortunately, however, it gave rise to a mental aberration which led him to manifest a want of accuracy at almost every step.

The chief crime laid to the charge of the ineffective object of Sir John's aversion is that it was "taken to by the fine gentlemen of the time."¹ From Chaucer's Square downwards the flute seems to have been associated with rick and position. In the frontispieces of the books of instruction I have had occasion to bring forward the flute players represented are evidently men of fashion; but we are not bound to suppose that because they are attired *à la mode*, they are necessarily fools. It is true that one of them is depicted in the act of practising before a mirror,² but this is not an indication of vanity; many modern masters, Holman amongst them, have recommended their pupils to practise in this way, and it is to be regretted, as the portraits of some of our leading flute players too plainly show, that the advice is not more generally followed. Moreover, it should be remembered that when Sir John Hawkins wrote, the harpsichord and the plectralists (the latter just coming into use) were looked upon as effeminate; he who took up the violin had to run the risk of being stigmatised as a fiddler, not to mention the circumstance that the instrument, even in its elementary stages, was difficult to master; neither the cornet & piston, the concertina nor the bango had been invented; while the hautboy and the bassoon were more suitable to the orchestra than the drawing-room. Amateurs, then, who wished to take part in music as a recreation, but had no intention of making the art a serious study, or, to use Sir John Hawkins's words, who "were content to amuse only on those instruments on which a moderate degree of proficiency might be attained with little labour and application," had no alternative but to fall back on the flute.

So strong is Sir John's aversion against flute players that one cannot help suspecting that he was under the influence of some unknown provocation, that, possibly, he might have been brought into contact from time to time during his literary labours with an effeminate flute playing coquettish, and then, like Hytzerar on the battle field, being galled

"To be so pester'd with a poplajay,"

the grave and reserved historian of music so he forget his dignity as to quote with approval, in connection with flute

¹ "History of Music," Book XVI, chap. ciii.

² See Fig. 13, p. 134.

players, the following: "The brass" of former days "were of quite a different cast from the modern stamp, and had more of the stolidities of the peasant in their view, than which now seems to be their highest ambition, the port air of the lapwing."¹⁰ "We dally brass," exclaims the interested Knight, "of a fine embouchure and a brilliant finger, turns equally nonsensical when applied, as they say, to the German flute"; but in his eagerness to find his simile "nonsensical" at the port lapwing, he overlooks the circumstance that the flute, having, except in the hands of an exceptionally gifted player, comparatively little power of giving accent and modifying sustained notes, relies for its effect on its exceptional flexibility and the unvaried charm of its tone, so that there is no instrument to which a taped finger and a good embouchure are of such importance.

After committing himself to the assertion that those who played the flute were less sensible of the charms of melody and harmony than those who made the lute or the *viol da gamba* the instrument of their choice, and stating that, coming nearer to his own time, the flute was the pocket companion of many who wished to be thought fine gentlemen, and that the use of it was to entertain ladies, and such as had a liking for no better music than a song tune, Sir John informs his readers that from the time when Hotteterre le Romain published his instructions for the German flute, instructions which, he adds, were afterwards improved by Monsieur Corrette in his *Method* for that instrument, the practice of the flute has descended to young apprentices of tradesmen. Sir John states that Hotteterre's work was published about 1710, a date which has been given as that of Corrette's *Method*,¹¹ it being said that Hotteterre's *Principes de la Flûte traversière*, as the book was entitled, came out as early as, if not earlier than 1699, Flûte asserting that its title

¹⁰ The passage is taken from Colley Cibber's *Apology for his Life*, p. 294 of the 1801 edition. The specimen of the stately peacock-brass was a gentleman of letters who had been educated at Oxford, and was occupying chambers in the Temple. He made his way to the Green room of the theatre where Cibber acted to inquire of him the price of "a fine tall-bellomet Peewee" which he was wearing on the stage. "This singular beginning of our conversation," writes Cibber, "ended in an agreement to drink our flagons over a bottle. . . . That single bottle was the sin of many a jolly doer." The incident here related took place in 1691. The stately peacock would seem to have given way to the port lapwing before 1715, this being the year in which Cibber's "Apology" was published.

¹¹ By M^r Hotteterre le R^{oi} "Deceased on the 11th Jan." on the authority of M^r de la Motte and M^r de la Harpe. Flûte gives 1708, which is obviously incorrect, for Hotteterre's "History" in which the work is mentioned, was published in 1707. On the other hand, 1700 seems to be too early, for Flûte states that in 1710 Corrette sold the title of organist to the Duke of Anjouville so that if we assume that he was only twenty when his *Method* was brought out, by 1710 he would have been twenty years of age.

appears in a catalogue of musical works appended to a publication issued in that year.¹⁰

But, be this as it may, although it is true that in the early part of the eighteenth century the German, or *lip* flute, was supplanting the Common or *fipple* flute, yet we should certainly be in error were we to believe, drawing an inference from Sir John's words, that by 1750 the change had gone so far that the use of the *fipple* flute was confined to the appointment of tradesmen, as the following will show:—

In 1772 Goussu, a professional flautist, who wrote an instruction book for the German flute, was playing solos on the German and the Common flute the same evening.¹¹ Of the same date we have the following advertisement: "Richmond Wells will continue open every Day during the Summer Season, by the Proprietors of the last year. There is an extraordinary set of Music to play Mornings and Evenings; and on Mondays will be a select Band of Music from the Opera, that perform the most celebrated Opera Songs, accompanied with the Harpsichord, French Horns, Flutes, and German Flutes."¹² Burney, in enumerating the favourite musicians of 1751, mentions Jack Forster (Michael Forster's brother) on the German and Baston on the Common flute. In the same year a code of instructions for the instrument appeared in "Piffleur's Music Master" (Pag. 22, p. 193). Indeed, the issue of instruction books did not cease until long afterwards, as can be proved by internal evidence of the books themselves. Thus, Tytler's "Complete Flute Master" (Pag. 24, p. 193) contains a Minuet and Minuet from Howard's "Amorous Goddess," which was not composed until 1744, and the "Complete Instructions for the Common Flute" (Pag. 26, p. 177), King George the Third's Minuet; so that this work must be later than 1760, the year in which George III. ascended the throne. In 1772, as we are informed by Sir John Hawkins himself, Stannish, the flute maker, in conjunction with Lewis Merri, a flute player well known at the time, were endeavouring to introduce a *fipple* flute of a new construction, in the hope of arresting the fall of the old favourite.¹³ When Burney was at Florence, in 1790, he heard a Mr. Hampson, an English gentleman, who, he writes, "plays

¹⁰ H. Ernest Thibaut, in his brochure entitled "Les Flûtistes," mentions that the catalogue to which *Piffo* appears did not originally form part of the work to which it is attached, and that *Les Flûtistes de la Ville de Paris* was not published until 1767. He adds that *Hottimere* in *Romans* (whose christian name, it appears, was not Louis, as it is usually given) but Jacques) says himself, in one of his pieces of 1761, that it was in the preceding year that he published his "*Traité de Flûte*."

¹¹ Burney's "History of Music," Vol. IV., p. 56p.

¹² *Chamberlain's "Historical Richmond,"* Appendix, p. 266.

¹³ "History of Music," chap. cxxvi., note.

the common Flute in a particular manner, improving the tone very much by inserting a piece of sponge into the mouth piece, through which the wind passes. He performed two or three difficult Concertos, by HANDEL, and Nardini, very well."

Nor had the custom of transposing songs for the Flute State ceased. For instance, "*Tamurlane*," which was not produced until 1716, was published with the following title and preface: "*TAMURLANE for the FLUTE: an OPERA composed by Mr. Handel. Engraved, Printed and sold by J. Cress in Bow Churchyard, London.*"

"PREFACE.

"It having been a constant practice for several years past, to transpose for the Common Flute all the Opera's which are perform'd upon our Stage, a great many Persons have Complain'd, and still Complain Daily, of several Faults in the Way hitherto us'd in Transposing; Namely, that the Songs are fitted for the Flute only, and so entirely useless for any other Instrument; that very often the highest Notes of the Flute are made use of, which are difficult and uncertain; that in the middle of the Songs little Pieces of the Symphonies are inserted, which nameth often Repetitions of the same Passages over and over again; all these things are avoided in this Work, for all or most of the Songs may be Play'd not only on the Common Flute, but German Flute or Viola; there is not one Song that goes higher than E above, and all the Symphonies are left out, except those that are absolutely Necessary either to introduce or support the Song, and the Viola Part is preserv'd entire." The work extends to twenty one pages, and contains thirty airs corresponding with the overture, without any figured bass or other accompaniment."

Sir John does not take leave of the flute without firing a parting shot at the poor instrument: "The German or traverse flute," he tells his readers, "still retains some degree of estimation among gentlemen, whose ears are not nice enough to inform them that it is never in tune." Here Sir John again

"Below the "Preface" is the following, which seems to point to the passages, which Dr. Schubler has quoted in Walsh, of Handel's compositions published by Cress:

"ACCOMPLISHMENT.

"This Day is published, *The Pleasant Songs in the Opera of TAMURLANE*, in English and Italian. Engrav'd, press'd and sold by J. Cress in Bow Church Yard. Where may be had the whole Opera of TAMURLANE in Rome, Corrected and Figur'd by Mr. Handel's own Hand; and to render the work more acceptable to Gentlemen and Ladies, every Song is truly translated into English Verse, and the Words engrav'd to the Musick under the Italian, which was never before attempt'd in any Opera.

"¹ See if J. Cress's Name is not on the Title Page of these Works, they are spurious Editions, and not those Corrected and Figur'd by Mr. Handel."

trips. "The imperfection of the Flute," he explains, "consists in the impossibility of attempting its tones, there being no rule or canon by which it can be tuned";²⁸ whereas it depended on the circumstance that the instrument was deficient in the number of holes necessary to make the chromatic octave; it was not, therefore, until it got out of the key for which it was pitched that its intonation became so insalubrious. This could have been no secret when Sir John wrote, for Burney, referring to Proconius, the Greek flute player, who invented a flute on which he could play in three different modes, remarks: "Before his time there was a particular flute for every mode or key, and so out of tune was the majority of modern flutes that it were almost to be wished that the custom had still continued."²⁹ Moreover, before Hawkins's "History" saw the light the reproach had been removed. Although there is some uncertainty as to the precise year in which additional keys were first applied to the one-keyed flute, there can be but little doubt that in 1706 lip flutes with holes for all the semitones, seven each, were being manufactured in England.

But there was a Nemesis awaiting Sir John. The instrument which he professed to regard with such disdain proved to be a stumbling-block over which he was destined to fall, and to fall heavily. The failings to which I have called attention are mere trifles and sink into insignificance if compared with his misapprehensions when he treats of the recorder. It is doubtful if the literature of music affords a parallel to the confusion of ideas and misconceptions to be found in the following, which is his account of that instrument: "The flute appears to be an instrument of great antiquity in this kingdom; it is frequently mentioned by Chaucer; and it seems, by the description of it in Mercurius, that there was a species of it, which by himself and other foreigners was termed the English Flute, *'Fistula dulcis seu Anglica'*. The proper and most characterizing appellation for it is that of the Flute à bec, or beaked flute; nevertheless we meet with ancient books of instructions for the instrument, wherein it is termed, but very improperly, as it is conceived, the Recorder. Milton could never mean that they were one and the same instrument, when in the same line he mentions

'Flutes and soft Recorders.'

"Among bird-brokers the word *peep* is used as a verb to signify the first essays of a bird in singing; and it is well known that Bullfinches and other birds are taught to sing by a *peep*. Lord Bacon in his Natural History, Cent. III. Sect. xxx, speaks of Recorders and Flutes at the same instant,

²⁸ "History of Music," Preliminary Discourse. Note.

²⁹ Burney, "History of Music," Vol. I., chap. 17.

and says that the Recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above and below; and elsewhere, Cant. II. Sect. 287, he speaks of it as having six holes, in which respect it answers to the *Tibia minor* or *Flageol* of Maracrus. From all which particulars it should seem that the Flute and the Recorder were different instruments, and that the latter in propriety of speech was no other than the Flageol.

"Nevertheless the terms are confounded; and in a book of instructions and lessons for the flute, so old that the notation is by dots, the instructions for the instrument are entitled directions for the Recorder."

In examining this extraordinary accumulation of errors, one scarcely knows where to begin. Perhaps, however, that which has been most potent in leading later writers astray is the statement in which Sir John conveys the impression that Bacon described the recorder as a six-holed instrument. True where we will, we find the effect of what Sir John has written. So enduring is the mischief it has wrought, that although nearly a century and a quarter have elapsed since Sir John Hawkins's "*History of Music*" appeared, yet in an otherwise admirable and charming little book, written only a year or two ago by a member of our Association, we are told that Bacon says that the recorder had six holes, and that the six holes may be seen on any penny whistle.

It is, of course, almost needless to say that we look in vain for such an assertion in Bacon. What we do find is a sentence in which Bacon refers to "the first three" and to "the three uppermost" holes of the recorder. It was by adding these two threes together that Sir John arrived at the number six. It seems never to have occurred to him that a recorder might have other holes besides "the first three" and "the three uppermost." Moreover, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining Bacon's meaning, we are unable to identify the holes named; so that, if it should be that "the three uppermost" are included in "the first three," only four holes would be mentioned. Dr. Stone, when writing for Grove's "*Dictionary*," not being able to understand the sentence, ingeniously laid the blame on Lord Bacon, declaring that the "paragraph begins a misapprehension that the learned writer was not practically acquainted with the method of playing this instrument. There is a passage in the "*Sylva Sylvarum*" from which it may be inferred that Dr. Stone's suspicion was not well founded;" but there can be no doubt about the obscurity of Bacon's paragraph, which is as follows:—"There is required some sensible difference in the proportion of creating a note, towards the sound itself, which is the power; and that it be

"... is paper, and the like: the lower the note holes be, and the farther off from the mouth of the pipe, the more hard the sound they yield; and the nearer the mouth, the sweeter the sound."—Cantory II, section 287.

not too near, but at a distance. For, in a recorder, the three uppermost holes yield one tone, which is a note lower than the tone of the first three. And the like, no doubt, is required in the wending or stopping of strings."

Strange as is Sir John's oversight respecting the number of the holes of the recorder, his assumption that Bacon used the word flute to denote the English, Common, or Fipple flute, or, as Sir John wished it to be called, the flute à bec, is scarcely more excusable; for before his eyes is the very work from which he was quoting, the "*Sylva Sylvarum*," or "*Natural History*," there was a passage in which Lord Bacon had indicated in the clearest and plainest language man could use that by the word flute he meant the very same instrument, the German, transverse, or lip flute, to which we now apply the term. "But then you must note," he writes, "that in recorders which go with a gentle breath, the concave of the pipe, were it not for the fipple which straightens the air, much more than the simple concave, would yield no sound. . . . And note again that some kind of wind instruments are blown at a small hole in the side, which straightens the breath at the first entrance, the rather in respect of their transverse and stop above the hole, which perforates the fipple's pipe; as is seen in flutes and lilies which will not give sound by a blast at the end, as recorders, do," &c.

But the most amazing of all Sir John's self-deceptions is his delusion that books of instruction entitled for one instrument were really intended for another. How any man in his sober senses, much less one who aspired to write a History of Music, could entertain such a belief seems, at first sight, to pass all understanding. That Sir John's conviction that books of instruction, stated to be for the recorder, were really intended for the flute, did not open his eyes to the fact that the flute and the recorder were the same instrument is, however, to be ascribed to the almost unconquerable influence of a power against which we can never be too much on our guard: a power which tempts us, as we shall see when we come to Mr. Chappell, to distort passages and to alter expressions in order to make them correspond with our ideas, the power of preconceived opinion. It was not only on Sir John Hawkins and Mr. Chappell that this power made itself felt. No writer on the recorder has brought greater learning or more research to bear on his subject than Mr. Douce. Although Mr. Douce has the sagacity to perceive that Sir John's belief that the books of instruction were not intended for the instrument for

* It has been said that Lord Bacon, although he was the founder of the inductive method, showed himself to be but an indifferent scientist when he attempted to put his system into practice. His astounding power is certainly here at fault. For it is neither the mouth hole nor the "traverse or stop" of the lip flute which performs the fipple's part in straightening the air, but the lips of the performer.

which they were entitled "sorns;" to use his polite phrase, "rather doubtful," yet, so surely are our reasoning powers under the dominion of prejudice, that, having accepted the view that the flute and the recorder were different, he brings forward in support of his opinion arguments which really tell against it. The following is an extract from his remarks on the recorder in his able and interesting work entitled "*Illustrations of Shakespeare*":—

"*Recorders*—i.e., says Mr. Stevens, a kind of large flute. Yet the former note to which he refers, Vol. V., p. 143, describes the instrument as a small flute. Sir J. Hawkins in Vol. IV., p. 479, of his valuable *History of Music* has offered very good proofs that the recorder was a *flageolet*, and he maintains that the flute was improperly termed a recorder, and that the expressions have been confounded; yet his opinion that the books of instructions entitled '*for the recorder*' belong in reality to the flute, seems rather doubtful. . . . In Uddell's *Pleasant for Ladies Spelling* selected out of Torrance, 1552, 1600, the line from Virgil's *Æneid*,

Not in constant ridings irritate labourers,
is rendered, "and thanks it not a gentle thinge to have learned to playe on the *pyper* or the recorder"; and it is not a little curious that in modern cant language the recorders of compositions are termed *flutes*. The following story in *Wits Fitt and Fancies*, 1599, 4to, shows that the pipe and the recorder were different; such is the uncertainty of definition among old writers: A merry recorder of London mistaking the name of one Pepper, call'd him *Piper*: whereunto the party excepting, and saying: Sir, you mistake, my name is Pepper, not Piper; he answered: why, what difference is there (I pray thee) between Piper in Latin and Pepper in English; is it not all one? No, Sir, (reply'd the other) there is even as much difference betweene them, as is between a *pipe* and a *recorder*."

Now, had Mr. Douce not allowed his judgment to be warped, he would have perceived that Pepper's very smart rejoinder, instead of proving that the pipe and the recorder were different, proves, if it proves anything at all (which it does not), that they were one and the same. "It is true," says Pepper, in effect, "that piper in Latin and pepper in English are all one; but it is also true that a pipe and a recorder are all one; nevertheless, you, though a Recorder, are not a pipe, nor am I, though Pepper, piper."

To reply further to Sir John's arguments would be a work of supererogation; I shall content myself with a proof of the identity of Sir John's flute, with his recorder, taken out of Sir John's own book. To show "that the flute was formerly the instrument of a gentleman," after appealing to "that graphical species of representation called wall life," Sir John goes on to say, "but if this particular had to prove that the

flute was the recreation of gentlemen, what shall be said to a portrait of one of our poets, who died above fifty years ago, drawn when he was about twenty, wherein he is represented in a full trimmed blue suit, with scarlet stockings, rolled above his knees, and playing on a flute near half an ell in length; or to this" (Fig. 27), "which is the frontispiece to a book of instructions and lessons for this instrument, published about the year 1700."

Now a comparison of Sir John's figure with the engraving in "*The Gentle Companion*" (Fig. 16, p. 184) shows that in 1683, seventeen years before he appeared in the book of instructions for the flute, Sir John's late gentleman was doing duty as frontispiece to Seller's "*Exact Directions for the*



FIG. 27

Recorder." It is true that by 1700 the lady, whom I have supposed to be his wife, had disappeared, but the late gentleman is still sitting on the same chair, with his legs still crossed, is wearing the same perwig, the same coat, the same breeches, the same stockings, the same shoes, is playing on the same instrument, and even fingering the same note.

A seeker for information on the subject of the recorder, who felt dissatisfied with Haveline's account of the instrument, would naturally bethink him of Burney. Haveline and Burney were rival historians. Sir John was a man of sterling worth, but he was so harsh and bullish that Doctor Johnson, though

he appointed him his executor, declared him to be unshakable; Burney, on the other hand, was the embodiment of urbanity and politeness. Moreover, Sir John was not within the charmed circle of the critical profession, whilst he and Burney wrote at a time when the jealousy with which outsiders were looked upon was far greater than it is at present. The feeling with which Hawkins was regarded by the partisans of Burney is well shown in Calcott's once popular catch, where he is treated contemptuously in the words when taken by themselves, but is more than ridiculed when the catch is sung, the words being so contrived that the singers seem to say to each other:

Sir John Hawkins;
Burn his History;
How do you like him?
Burn his History.

The whole of Hawkins's five volumes were published in 1766, but only the first of Burney's four came out in that year, the remaining three were issued at intervals, the third, which contained the notice of the recorder, not appearing until 1789, thirteen years afterwards. The inquirer would therefore naturally argue that, if Hawkins was mistaken, Burney could be relied on to point out the error. But, on turning to Burney, what would he find? Nothing less than a direct and unqualified contradiction of the opinion expressed by Hawkins: "a recorder," he writes, "is a flagolet, or bird pipe."¹⁶

How is this to be accounted for? The answer is, unhappily, only too simple: Burney availed himself of Sir John's labours, but omitted to acknowledge his obligation. I am not the first to make this discovery; Burney was detected long ago by Mr. William Chappell, and detected in precisely the same way, through him having followed Sir John into his mistakes. "He copied," writes Mr. Chappell, "especially from Hawkins, without acknowledgment, and disguised the plagiarism by altering the language. Many of his appropriations are to be traced by errors which it would be impossible that two men reading independently could commit."¹⁷ I may add that I was intimately acquainted with Sir John Hawkins's grandson, Colonel Hawkins, and that I have had more than one conversation with him on the subject of the relations of Dr. Burney with his grandfather, Sir John. I have thus been favoured with a glimpse behind the scenes, but what was then revealed it is neither necessary nor desirable that I should disclose.

For nearly a century after the publication of Sir John Hawkins's "History of Music" no further attempt was made to unravel the mystery of the recorder. About the year 1834,

¹⁶ Burney's "History of Music," Vol. III. p. 176.

¹⁷ Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time." Introduction, p. vi.

however, there appeared a work in which an entirely new view of what constituted a recorder was given to the world. The book to which I refer was Mr. William Chappell's "*Music of the Older Times*."¹⁰ But before discussing Mr. Chappell's ideas, it is desirable that I should say a few words about a so-called device with which, possibly, some present may be but slightly acquainted.

When the vibrations which produce a musical note are allowed to impinge on a thin membrane stretched sufficiently tight to be capable of being thrown into vibration, the membrane proceeds to vibrate and to give out a note of its own. The note, thus generated, is of the same pitch as the first note, but differs from it in timbre. If the new note with its altered timbre mingles with the old note, it seems to the ear that the old note has undergone a change of quality. It was once proposed to take advantage of this circumstance with a view of removing some of the harshness by which, owing to the liberality of Dame Nature in her vocal gifts to mankind, the majority of human voices are marred. Lord Bacon observed that if the voice was projected into the hole of a drum, it seemed to become sweeter, and he suggested that recourse should be had to this expedient in order to make the voices of those engaged in part-singing more agreeable to the ear; but as a number of vocalists, each singing into the hole of a drum, would not be a very dignified spectacle, he made the wise proposal that the singers with their drums should be concealed from the audience. "If you sing into the hole of a drum," he writes, "it maketh the singing more sweet. And so I conceive it would, if it were a song in parts sung into several drums; and for handsomeness and strangeness sake, it would not be amiss to have a curtain between the place where the drums are and the hearers."

The want of "handsomeness," to which Bacon alludes, was obviated by the construction of a special instrument. It consisted of a tube (Fig. 28, a, c), terminating at one end in an open bell mouth (d), but closed at the other by a piece of thin parchment (e), stretched like the head of a drum, and covered, for protection, with a movable cup perforated with holes (a, f). In the side of the tube, not far from the membrane, was a hole (g) into which the performer directed his voice. The instrument was called the Eusach Flute. Whether it was so termed on account of its not being able to generate sound, or because it emulated the voice of the singer by imparting to it, as it did, an egophonic or bleating character, or for some other reason, I am unable to say. Mercurius, who describes and figures it, states that

¹⁰ There is no date on the title-page of this work, but from the stamp impressed on the copy in the Reading Room of the British Museum, it appears that it was received in 1829.



Fig. 28. Lithotomy Point, from Menniger.

music in four or five parts was performed on such instruments; the Euzach Flute having "the advantage over all other flutes that it imitates better the concert of voices, for it lacks only the pronunciation to which a very near approach is made on these flutes." "The little drum," he adds, "imparts a new charm to the voice by its busy vibrations which reflect it." This circumstance Mercurio, ever ready with a practical suggestion, goes on to say, "should be carefully noted by organists and organ builders with a view of inventing new stops which should imitate human voices much better than their flutes, and so beguile the auditors they should believe that they are listening to a better concert than that of voices which lack the softness of the harmony and of the charm of the pipes of vermilion which can be introduced in divers places in organ pipes and flutes."¹⁷

The Euzach flute is not yet extinct: it is still manufactured for the decoration of children, both in England and the United States; but, like the recorder, it has undergone a change of name. I have one here, kindly lent me by the maker, Mr. Barr, of Bow Lane. He calls it the Zuzach, or Voice Flute.¹⁸ It is constructed like that figured by Mercurio, except that three finger-holes have been pierced in the tube. It will, of course, be understood that the finger-holes do not affect the intonation: but it is stated that by stopping two of them, and shading the finger on the third, the effect of a tremolo can be produced. A peculiarity of the Euzach Flute noticed by Mercurio is that it fragments the sound of the voice, the note given out being louder than that by which it is produced, as you will hear if I blow into the instrument.

In India the principle of the Euzach Flute has attained a singular development. There is in use there an instrument called the Nylakavanga. It is formed of a metal tube, in shape somewhat resembling a speaking trumpet. At its upper and

¹⁷ Mercurio, "Harmonia Universalis," Lib. V., Page 17.

When treating of the organ Mercurio returns to the subject: "I pass over other inventions," he writes, "by which organ builders could enrich the stops of the organ. For instance, if little pieces of stopps also, packed up like as that of voices are placed at the end of pipes to stop them, or if many holes are made in the body of the pipe which should be stopped by the downward stop, there will be heard a singular harmony which can be still further varied by the difference in the movements which are given to the wind."

¹⁸ The following letter, addressed to Mr. Barr, will give an idea of the sort of use to which the Euzach Flute is now put:—

"Mrs. Gladstone's Orphanage, Haverham."

"Dear Sir,—I received the goods (Drum and Za Zah Flute) on the 10th inst. The boys had them out the same night and started to play directly. I was quite inspired, indeed, how well they played, it made quite a sensation. On Saturday last the boys had the honour of playing the Za Zah before the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Mrs. Gladstone and family, who pronounced them excellent. They gave the boys ten to buy a coffee dish — ANNE E. WILLIAMS."

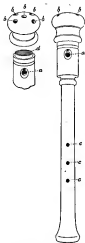


FIG. 15.—Recorder Body and Parts.

a. Head joint which the reed is inserted. b. holes for cap. c. finger holes. d. vibrating reed hole.

is immersed in a shallow cup. A small hole at the bottom of the cup opens into the tube, the hole being covered with visible membrane. The performer applies the cup to the side of his neck, in the region of the larynx. The vibrations of



FIG. 30.—*Nyctanassa nyctanassa*.

the voice, propagated through the cartilages of the larynx, and the other intervening tissues are taken up by the air in the cup, which, in its turn, communicates them to the membrane, and thus the instrument is made to sound.¹⁰ A more common

¹⁰ An account of the *Nyctanassa* is given in M. Victor Malblanc's "*Catalogue Descriptif et Analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*." I am indebted to the kindness of M. Malblanc for the illustration. As the instrument given of the way in which this extraordinary instrument is played is sometimes received with incredulity, I think it right to add that I have heard the *Nyctanassa* sounded; Mr. Henry Salomon, the Director of the Ethnographical Department of the University Museum at Oxford, can make it speak. It imparts to both the singing and the speaking voice the vocal effect of the phonograph.



FIG. 31.—Cross Section, rec'd to the Lake Conservancy of 1875.

a Hole covered with window, or paper



FIG. 32.—Square Box, Back and Front view

a Hole covered with clean paper, b mouth

was, however, to which this principle is put in the East is to cover holes, bored in the tubes of flutes, with a vibrating lamina. Here are drawings of a Chinese lip flute and of a Siamese apple flute, on each of which a hole so covered appears* (Figs. 31 and 32).

Now, Mr. Chappell was of opinion not only that a recorder was provided with a similar hole covered with membrane, but that this hole was termed the *recorder*; and that it was from the hole, thus called, that the instrument itself derived its name. After referring his readers to Salzer's "*General Compendium*," he expresses himself thus:—

"*Recorders and (English) Flutes are so called and appearance the same, although Lord Bacon in his Natural History, cent. iv., sec. xvi., says the Recorder hath a less hole, and a greater above and below. The number of holes for the fingers is the same, and the scale, the compass, and the manner of playing, the same. Salzer describes the recorder from which the instrument derives its name, as situated in the upper part of it, i.e., between the hole below the mouth and the highest hole for the finger. He says, 'Of all the kinds of music, vocal has always had the preference in esteem, and in consequence, the Recorder, an approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice, ought to have the first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed.' The hautboy is considered now to approach next nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen 'old English Flutes' with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the hole being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverb at Lackingtonfield (quoted ante, Note A, p. 35) the Recorder is described as 'drawing' the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops brought high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salzer's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb[†] over the hole at*

* The Siamese flute was made of ivory. They belonged to a flute player in the King of Siam's band, who gave a series of performances in the Albert Hall during the International Exhibition of 1884, who kindly allowed me to have them photographed. It will be observed that the mouth, termed as being in the front of the instrument, is a hole with the upper hole, as in European apple flutes, is placed with the thumb hole at the back.

† The highest hole of the recorder, that closed with the thumb, served a double purpose—to emit a note of its own and to act, when required, as a vent hole or speaker for the production of upper notes. When it was used for the latter purpose it was necessary to seal its side. This was done by pressing up the thumb, as if the player intended to pinch the instrument. From this circumstance the note so produced was termed the "*pinched note*." In flutes which have been much used the thumb hole usually shows traces of an indentation caused by the nail. The following is from Salzer:—

the back and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe."¹⁸

When we reason from notions to facts, instead of from facts to notions, we run the risk, as I have already said, of only seeing in the facts a confirmation of our notions, and expose ourselves to the danger of being led to manipulate the facts in order to bring them into harmony with what we believe to be their true explanation. Passing over, then, two questions, one, whether the harp or the flute more nearly resembles the human voice, the other, if the recorder was or was not used to teach birds to pipe, there are no less than three statements in Mr. Chappell's account of the recorder to which I shall have occasion to take exception.

First, as regards Mr. Chappell's allusion to the Leasingfield proverb relating to the recorder, I have already pointed out¹⁹ that no such passage as "bringsh high (notes) from its clear tones" is to be found in the original.

Secondly, Mr. Chappell would have us believe that Lord Bacon states that the recorder "hath a less bore, and a greater above and below," than the English flute. But in the passage to which Mr. Chappell refers, Bacon is drawing attention to the circumstance that although transverse flutes and recorders resembled each other in being straight, they differed in the shape of the bore. In Bacon's time the bore of the transverse or German flute was cylindrical, that of the recorder being conical, or, to use Bacon's quaint phrase, the recorder had "a less bore and a greater, above and below." His words are, "The figures of recorders, and flutes, and pipes are straight; but the recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above" and below." Mr. Chappell, however, has not only introduced in a parenthesis the word "English" before "flutes,"²⁰ but has changed the punctuation by removing the comma from after the word "greater," where Bacon placed it, and inserting it after the word "bore"; thus giving to the passage a meaning quite different to that intended by Bacon.

Thirdly, Mr. Chappell writes; "Salter describes the recorder from which the instrument derives its name, as situated in the upper part of it, i.e. between the hole below the mouth and the highest hole for the finger." Now a careful perusal of

"Your pinching Bores sound higher than the plain Notes . . . to play these on the Recorder, you must hold your left Thumb and lay it be half over the hole underneath the Pipe . . . and push the Nail of your Thumb in the hole, then blow your Recorder a little stronger than you did when you played the other Notes and you shall find the Recorder sound eight Notes."—L. M.

¹⁸ "Stage of the Olden Time," p. 148, note a.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁰ "Natural History," Century II., section 211.

²¹ That Bacon used the word "flute" to denote the German or transverse flute has been already shown (*supra*, p. 104).

Salter's book fails to reveal the existence of the slightest allusion to such a hole. How, then, could Mr. Chappell have brought himself to this belief? I can only suppose that it might possibly have been through the following misconception.

In referring to the finger-holes of the flute, we often call the hole which comes nearest to the bottom or open end of the instrument the lowest hole, and we speak of the hole next to it as being above that hole, and so on of the other holes as being above one another, until we come to the hole nearest to the mouth, a hole which, being the uppermost, is also denominated the first hole. On the recorder this first, or uppermost hole, being stopped with the thumb, was pierced on the side of the tube opposite to that on which the other finger-holes were placed, so that it was underneath the recorder when the instrument was held up for playing. Now Salter writes: "The first hole is, that underneath which you must stop with your Thumb . . . ; the second hole is next to that above" (i. e., on the upper aspect of) "the Recorder, and you are to stop that with your first finger." I imagine, then, that perhaps Mr. Chappell may have interpreted the expression "above the Recorder" to mean "nearer to the mouth than (something called) the recorder"; an interpretation to which the chance of a comma before "above" (Salter's acquaintance with the art of pointing being of the slightest) would contribute not a little. What could the recorder be? That it was the hole covered with this skin, of which he was in search, was an answer which Mr. Chappell would naturally return to himself. It would follow, as a matter of course, that the hole, thus called, gave its name to the instrument.

We now come to the information given to Mr. Chappell by Mr. Cornelius Ward—viz., that he had seen a hole covered with membrane in old flutes. It is only right to say that I have had occasion to examine Mr. Ward's evidence in another case, and that I there found him to be the reverse of a satisfactory¹⁰ witness; nevertheless, we need not consider ourselves bound to reject his statement as unfounded, although the negative evidence opposed to it seems so overwhelming. Meresme informs us that such holes could be introduced in flutes¹¹; we may, therefore, conclude that the experiment had been tried, and we may suppose that it might have been repeated from time to time; moreover, it is not impossible that Mr. Ward may have seen the instrument I am about to describe.

We are told, then, in Grove's Dictionary (*Art.*, "Recorder") that there was shown in a Loan Collection of Musical Instruments at South Kensington, an English Recorder of the seventeenth century, and further that this recorder was

¹⁰ See the writer's "History of the British Flute," third edition, p. 166, also note 24, p. 476, on the same work.

¹¹ "Harmonicon Universale," *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 112.



Fig. 13.—Flute Flute in the North American Museum.
a. Hole covered with this skin. b. mouth hole.

furnished with a hole covered with thin bladder. That there is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum (the instrument is still there, it having been purchased at Carl Engel's sale) a fipple flute in which a special hole has been bored, and that this hole is covered with membrane, is undeniable; but I shall have no difficulty in showing not only that the hole, thus covered, neither does, nor ever did, affect the quality of its tone, but that the reputed recorder of the seventeenth was really made in the nineteenth century. Carl Engel, to whom the statement can be traced,* having been mistaken.

The instrument is of boxwood, stained of a dark colour. Its total length is 3 ft. 5½ in. It measures 1 ft. 9½ in. from the mouth to the lower end. It is constructed in three separate pieces or joints; the finger-holes (the state of which shows that it has been but little used) are of the usual number, eight, and are arranged in the ordinary manner with the thumb-hole at the back; in short, the instrument presents the characteristics of a Common Flute of the very latest type.

Now for its peculiarities. The observer is at once struck with the circumstance that it has no back, but terminates at its upper end in a movable cap (Fig. 33 B), somewhat resembling a pear in shape, but truncated above. At the apex is the hole into which the player inserts his mouth. The wind, after passing through the hole, enters a circular chamber, an inch in diameter, having a flat roof. Below the chamber of the floor of which it forms the chief part, is the fipple. It is made of cedar, a wood often employed for the purpose in well-ribbed flutes. The floor of the chamber is cut away at the back, so that the chamber is deeper behind than before: its depth being 1½ in. behind, but only ½ in. in front. Through the wall of the chamber, close to the roof, there has been perforated a hole ⅜ in. in diameter (Fig. 33 A), the hole being covered with a film of gold beater's skin or some similar delicate membrane.

As the hole does not open into the tube where the column of air is in vibration, but into the chamber above the fipple, it is obvious that the vibrating column of air is not brought into contact with the membrane. Even if we were to suppose that the vibrations could be conveyed to the membrane by the material of the instrument, they would reach it in a direction parallel, not at right angles, to its surface. It is not possible, therefore, that they could, either directly or indirectly, cause it to vibrate.

For what purpose, then, was the hole designed? In considering how to give an answer to this question, it seemed to me that the only sound which could act on the membrane would be that of the voice of him who played the instrument.

* Engel's "Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum," p. 271.

I was thus led to conjecture that an attempt had here been made to combine a Flageol with a Pipple flute, so that the performer should sing into the instrument, and thus set the membrane vibrating, whilst he played the flute in the usual way with his breath and fingers¹¹. Whether this was, or was not, the intention of the maker, I will not pretend to say; but on the instrument having been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Skinner, I proceeded to sound it, but did not, of course, produce any effect on the membrane. No sooner, however, did I burst loudly into the mouth-hole than the membrane sent forth a note so loud as not only to drown the sound of my voice, but to attract the attention of a member of the staff of the South Kensington Museum, Mr. Mitchell, who was in the room at the time.

Next as to its date. It happens that each of the three joints—the head, the middle, and the foot—bears the maker's name, *Goulding and Co.* On one of them the address also is given; but, owing to the inscription having been partially obliterated, seemingly with a hot-iron, all that can be deciphered is—

GOULDING & CO.,
NEW
LONDON.

It is easy to supply what is missing. It was in New Bond Street that Goulding & Co. carried on business. They moved thither from Pall Mall and St. James Street in 1803 or 1804, and remained there until 1812, when they left for Soho Square. We can therefore say with certainty that the instrument was made between 1800 and 1812, whilst probability points to 1809 or 1810 as its precise date; for it was only during those two years that the firm was styled *George Goulding & Co.* From 1804 to 1805, it was named *Goulding, Phipps and D'Almeida*; in 1806 and 1807, *Goulding, Phipps & Co.*; and in 1811, *Goulding, D'Almeida & Co.*

Having now accomplished my task of showing that neither Sir John Hawkins, Dr. Burney, nor Mr. William Chappell had a correct perception as to the instrument to which the name recorder was applied, I will say no more, pleading in excuse for so abrupt a conclusion the unconscionable length to which this paper has already grown. In my unenviable duty of drawing attention to the shortcomings of distinguished men, I should be vain indeed were I to believe that I have myself escaped the tolls of error. May I be allowed to hope that, before we dispense, statements to which objection can be taken will be pointed out, lest they go forth unchallenged to the world?

¹¹ There is nothing new in the idea of a person breathing notes with his voice whilst playing the flageol flute. Melissinos in his description of the *flute d'avec* says that a performer can sing the bass whilst he plays the air,

¹² so that one man can make a duet."

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen, if you feel as I do, you are extremely grateful to our kind friend, Mr. Welch, for the information on a subject upon which, I believe, very little is known. He seems to have solved the question of the use of the membrane covering the hole of the Recorder, and I am sure his paper when printed will be of very great value. There are one or two points in his paper which suggest a few remarks, first of all about Hawkins' history. If I had dreamt that the matter would have cropped up to day I would have brought with me a manuscript book which states distinctly who wrote Hawkins' history for him. He employed Dr. Benjamin Cooke, Dr. William Boyce-Oversend, of Ilkworth, and John Stafford Smith. I think the musicians prepared the musical pearls and Hawkins strung them together: I mention this, feeling interested in the duel between Hawkins and Barney. I am not prepared to attempt to prove that the voice would be improved by singing into a drum; it might make more noise, but not more music. Regals were little portable harmoniums or organs. The teaching of birds to sing has been referred to. I have here a book undated. It is called "The bird fletcher's delight, or choice observations and directions concerning the teaching of all sorts of singing birds, after the flageolet and flute (when rightly made as to size and tone), with lessons properly composed within the compass and faculty of each bird—canary, lark, bullfinch, woodcock, blackbird, thrush, nightingale, and warbling." On the title-page there are representations of birds and also a Recorder. It prints the notes the birds were supposed to sing. They are extraordinary and quite worth looking at. Then I have another book for the flageolet, with lessons and instructions by Thomas Greering. The preface is amusing: it describes the flageolet as "a pleasant companion having the advantage of being always in tune, and for those whose genius leads them to music no more pleasant instrument." I for one feel deeply indebted to the lecturer who has given us such an admirable lecture, and I am sure it will be valuable for personal and reference, and I therefore propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Welch for preparing the paper. I am sorry to see so few here, but those who are absent know that they can study the paper at their own homes.

The motion was carried unanimously.

MR. SOUTHGATE.—I was in hopes that Mr. Welch would have told us something more about the noise flutes used in Polynesia and some parts of India. I once asked a gentleman

who had some acquaintance with the South Sea Islands if he could tell me anything about the use of these curious instruments, and he said it was considered impure if anything which had touched a person's mouth should also touch another's; but this did not apply to the nose. Consequently, those blown through the nostril and not the lips permitted any person to take up and play them without defilement.³² I believe that an inventory of Henry VIII.'s musical instruments will be found in Rimbault's "*History of the Flauto-bas.*" I recollect that at the grand meeting presided over by the Prince of Wales, on the formation of the Royal College of Music, Lord Rosbery made some remarks on that research playing the harpsichord. He was wrong; the king may have played the virginal and the clavicbord, the harpsichord was not then invented, he certainly played the Recorder and also the Royal. I think in the book of "*Household Expenses of Henry,*" edited by Sir Nicholas Harris, some account will be found of these instruments which contributed to His Majesty's "*Diversions.*" With regard to the membrane mentioned, may I tell you that many of the Chinese flutes of to-day possess these membranes pasted over a hole in the body of the instrument—indeed, when these flutes are sold a supply of this rice paper is given with the instruments. Many of our municipal corporations, and also the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, possessed sets of Recorders, as indeed they did of cornets and viols, as doubt played for the gratification of their members. I believe the Corporation of Chester still retains an ancient set of four Recorders in their chest. I suppose the term the beaked-flute, *flute à bec*, was applied at

³² The attempt to explain the origin of the nose flute in the way alluded to by Mr. Montague is brought forward by Dr. Tyler, the Oxford Professor of Anthropology, in a paper already mentioned (note 2, p. 124), on "*The Asiatic Relations of Polytonal Culture.*" I believe, however, that Dr. Tyler is by no means convinced that the explanation can be relied on as the true solution of this curious problem. "It is hard to imagine," he writes, "that any flute-player should find his nostrils so large and muscular as to give him any musical advantage over his mouth. In India, however, where the nose or jang has long been filled with the nostrils by snuff charms, performers at the Festival of Nalanda, &c., a reason for this practice is currently given, which may be the true explanation of its origin. A high-caste Hindu will not touch with his mouth a pipe or flute which has touched the mouth of a lower caste man who made or may have used it, but it does not decide how to blow it with the nostril. This explanation (see Royal "*Music of Ancient Nations*," p. 22) is stated to me as unquestionable in a letter to an inquiry made of Dr. Leonardo Michel Vigorel, of Calcutta, the best authority on Hindu music. If it be accepted as the real explanation, we may think it probable that the nose flute, first introduced for ceremonial reasons, followed the course of Hindu education and religious, so as to become established for ordinary musical purposes in almost all the Faculties where its ceremonial origin was unknown."

Tyler refers to the subject not only in the work alluded to by Dr. Tyler, but in his "*Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum,*" p. 124. —C. W.

a late date to the Recorder; the whistle end of it so nearly resembles the beak of a duck that the designation comes quite naturally. Among the numerous references to *Recorders* that might be quoted is one in "*Hamlet*," where in the play scene the Prince calls out, "Come, the *Recorders*!" simply a call for some music; one ignorant commentator ventures on the wild statement that this call was intended to direct persons to come in and "record" the evidence of the behaviour of the King and his wife for subsequent legal service!

Dr. MACHES.—What was the lowest note obtainable?

Mr. WALTON.—In later times, when recorders were no longer made in sets, it was usually F on the first space.

Mr. SCOTCHMAN.—That inventory I referred to relates to the Palace at Greenwich, where Henry VIII. lived.

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