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The Antiquarian Reception of Charles Burney's *A General History of Music*

DEVON NELSON

One problem Charles Burney faced in creating the first volume of his *A General History of Music* was discussing musical life in ancient Greece in a way that would satisfy the critical community of British antiquarians interested in music. He wrote to his antiquarian friend Thomas Pennant in 1774, lamenting that there was so much complex information to absorb he was worried about "having either leisure or abilities to accomplish it in the Manner such Readers as yourself may expect" (Ribeiro 1: 158).

Burney's book was a momentous undertaking. It was one of two general histories of music in English published in 1776. Burney, a London composer, music teacher, and music critic, issued his four volumes separately between 1776 and 1789. Sir John Hawkins, a lawyer and magistrate, published all of his five-volume history in 1776. These histories were the first books of their kind to be completed, and diverse readers studied and compared them. Hawkins's initially had a positive reception, but criticism of the work began as more of Burney's history was published, partly provoked by Burney, his friends, and several literary magazines (Scholes 289–304). Hawkins was dismissed for being too antiquarian in his historical concerns, especially in his coverage of speculative music theory (Eggington 126).[1] Burney reinforced this image of Hawkins the antiquarian in his attacks while simultaneously appealing to antiquarian readers in his own history.

Burney was aware of his antiquarian audience and was worried about meeting its expectations (Lonsdale 147). When the first volume was published in 1776, he addressed this problem implicitly in the preface: "I have made the ancients tell their own story as often as was possible" (1: xix). Throughout the history he produces evidence for the reader to interpret alongside his own observations on the material.

In his 1773 plan for the history, Burney had promised that

his musical expertise would help him meet antiquarian standards: "In realizing this part of the work [on ancient Greek music], one can expect little new of note except in the realm of conjecture, where the author believes one who has studied and practiced the musical arts may have the prerogatives of a true antiquarian—at least, would the occasion actually arise, to conjecture, but only that which is practicable or at least possible" (Grant 51). He acknowledges in his history that "the study of ancient music is now become the business of an Antiquary more than of a Musician . . . if I have not been more successful in my enquiries than my predecessors, I have not been less diligent" (*A General History* 1: 3-4). Burney was explicit about his attempts to meet antiquarian expectations.

Burney's approach of presenting evidence as he found it helped him win the approval of many antiquarians. The many aspects of his book appealed to antiquarian tastes, and they used Burney's history to validate their own musical-historical writings, emphasizing his authority as they cited his work. I argue that antiquarians confirmed the musical authority of Burney's history in their writings because of the social connections of the author, the thoroughness and transparency of his research process, and his clear presentation of evidence—traits highly valued in historical writing by intellectuals in late-eighteenth-century Britain.

The Antiquarian Audience

The eighteenth-century antiquarians interested in Burney's work studied a variety of topics in a pre-disciplinary context. Many authors wrote on a wide range of subjects from literature to archaeological artifacts and engaged with work in scientific and travel literature (Sweet XV). Music was among these diverse antiquarian interests. At meetings of groups such as the Society of Antiquaries, music was a topic of discussion alongside many other subjects while several musical antiquarian societies had some members who were not musicians. One specifically musical antiquarian society, the Academy of Ancient Music, was primarily concerned with musical performance, studying pieces of old music and discussing theoretical musical writings of the past. It was with this type of musical

antiquarian audience that Hawkins was more closely aligned. Burney appealed to the interdisciplinary antiquarians; he made fun of the values of purely musical antiquarians and they, in turn, were very critical of his history (Eggington 114–22, 126–30).

Both music-focused and interdisciplinary antiquarians used similar research methods and publication formats for their writings. Antiquarian publications on all topics, including music, focused on detailed source study and sought to cover topics comprehensively using as many materials as possible. The sources for books of old music were notated pieces of music and lyrical texts. These materials were often published in anthologies, which flourished in the late eighteenth century. Anthologies generally contained prefaces discussing music history, lyrics with descriptions of their musical settings, music in eighteenth-century notation, and occasionally facsimiles of works in older forms of notation. Anthologists collected sources and recreated them in print.

Burney was familiar with these antiquarian anthologies, citing several in his history and praising their editors. In fact, he even produced an anthology of Italian church music himself in 1771, which, like others of its type, starts with an essay discussing the history of the composers and musical works included, citing sources, historical writings, and modern histories. Burney and other anthologists publishing before 1776 cited regional histories written in the seventeenth century. After 1776, antiquarians routinely cited the music histories of Burney and Hawkins in their anthology prefaces, turning to Burney's history especially for the history of music and literature in Wales, England, and Scotland.

Six anthologies reference Burney's history directly (see Table), and several of the authors discuss his history in depth while commenting on his skills. Lawyer and antiquarian Joseph Ritson and professional harpist and bard to the King, Edward Jones, for example, establish Burney's authority and then use it to bolster their own work. Antiquarian writers enforced Burney's authority by referencing passages in his history in which he discusses sources long trusted by British historical writers. Editors note when he uses worthy source material and place him in dialogue with established antiquarian

authors. Both Ritson in *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783) and Jones in *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784) note Burney's use of writings by Giraldus Cambrensis. Antiquarian and historical writers had used work by this twelfth-century historian for centuries as a source for commentary on the life and customs of the Welsh. Ritson, in his essay describing the state of song under each British monarch, cites Burney's discussion of Giraldus to describe musical practice in the reign of Henry II (xlvi).

Edward Jones combines Burney's musical discussion of the Welsh bards with established writers on the bards and on the history of Wales, placing Burney in a lineage of trusted sources. He uses Burney's history to bolster and extend points made in British histories and travel writing to enhance his own study of the laws and education of the bards. Both Burney and Jones examined a seventeenth-century manuscript found in a school in Wales, copied from an older manuscript owned by bard William Penllyn. Jones supplements his discussion with biographical details about Penllyn from Pennant's *Tour in North Wales*, printed in 1778 (12–13), but quotes Burney for his expertise on the music: "This MS, Dr. Burney informs me, contains 'pieces for the harp that are in full harmony or counterpoint: they are written in a peculiar notation, and supposed to be as old as the year 1100 at least, such is the known antiquity of many of the songs mentioned in the collection'" (Jones 12 n. i; *A General History* 2: 110). Through this passage and a typically effusive footnote, Jones uses Burney's musical historical writings to supplement other eighteenth-century antiquarian writings and a medieval historical account in order to give a well-rounded picture of the laws, education, and musical practices of the Welsh bards.

Having established Burney's authority by comparing his work to that of Welsh historians, Jones proposes that Burney's expertise be applied to a new project relating to the bards. Jones laments that he cannot read the musical notation in a certain manuscript, but he thinks Burney might be able to figure it out and extend knowledge of the bards even further (13). He emphasizes Burney's authority by pointing out Burney's use of sources and agreement with trusted antiquarian experts. He then enhances this authority by requesting a

further application of Burney's skills.

Jones, Ritson, and other antiquarians also use Burney's sources and documentary evidence to bolster their otherwise vague claims about the power and origin of music. Ritson opens one essay by stating that music and dance have been natural and essential to human life for all time, citing the first volume of Burney's history, which offers a wealth of evidence about music in ancient times (*A Select Collection* 1). Ritson uses material from Burney's dissertation on ancient Greek music to support his assertion. Before 1776, antiquarians made similar claims about humanity's musical practices but offered little evidence. Burney's volume about music in antiquity gave their broad opening statements more weight. His method of having "made the ancients tell their own story" through documentary evidence filled in the general claims that often open antiquarian essays (*A General History* 1: xix). This added evidence and an explanation of principles that matched the detailed, focused antiquarian approach Ritson employed later in his essay on topics such as old song styles of the British Isles for which he had personally studied all of the sources.

Antiquarian editors also co-opt Burney's comments for their own goals. Jones includes a quotation from Burney about the popularity of the harp amongst eighteenth-century female amateur musicians. Burney comments on how the instrument is natural and most effective for women to play and why it suits them. Jones ends his essay with this quotation as his proof that modern female harpists are powerful female bards.[2] He focused most of his essay on the remarkable skills and reputation of the ancient bards. Using this quotation from Burney, Jones concludes that the power and talent of the ancient bards applies to amateur female harp players in modern Wales, who were said to continue this ancient tradition (29). This puts Burney's writing in a very different context, connecting modern practices to traditions from the distant past.

The most common way antiquarian authors used Burney's authority to help their works was by adopting his examples. Both Ritson and Jones use evidence cited by Burney to fill in when they are not able to consult original sources, often because the works were in continental collections. For English materials, such as the manuscript

for *Sumer is icumen in* (GB-Lbl Harley MS 978), they compare his work with their own study of the source, sometimes coming up with slightly different results but not dismissing his efforts. Anthologists were able to benefit from his examples because of the clarity with which he presented them and his comments on the locations of the sources. Antiquarians trusted Burney's authority, legitimized it in their writings, and benefited from Burney's wide researches to bring their detailed, narrowly-focused writings in line with his broad view of music history and eighteenth-century musical practice.

Although antiquarian writers relied on Burney's authority, they did not see him as infallible. Ritson complains of Burney's inclusion of a later musical setting of an old text, stating that "this is evidently a modern performance, and contains a great deal too much pleasantry for the age it would be referred to" (*A Select Collection* xvii). Immediately before, Ritson acknowledges Burney's careful use of textual sources of the work, which probably moderated his criticism, and it is significant that Burney does not claim the music he provides is original to the text. Elsewhere, Ritson attacks writers for trying to pass off forgeries as genuine and new works as old. Here, Ritson seems to recognize that the scope of Burney's work is different from his own in crucial ways. Remarks on contemporary music are a big part of Burney's history, and his use of old texts in new settings is outside Ritson's antiquarian interests.

Jones critiques Burney's interpretation of a writing by Giraldus, but he begins by complimenting Burney: "I cannot, without feeling a repugnance, contradict the opinion of so diligent an historian, and so ingenious a critic as Dr. Burney" (18). Jones then objects to Burney's reading of Giraldus's text while praising the strength of Burney's evidence. He comes to a different conclusion than Burney after extensive reading about the laws of the bards. He does not attack Burney because there is no expectation that examining all bardic sources should be a part of a general history.

Because Burney had established his authority by antiquarian standards, anthology editors regarded Burney's errors as a result of differences in scope and focus instead of a lack of intelligence or skill. Incorporating Burney's history into their work then meant invoking

a musical authority who could improve antiquarian work, allowing a broader spectrum of music to join antiquarian discussions of art, literature, and antiquities. Burney's history was often up to rigorous antiquarian standards.

Burney's Antiquarian Appeal

Burney's work appealed to antiquarian readers because of the way he had established his authority before and during his process of creating the history. His writing and research stood up to rigorous antiquarian standards because of his professional social connections, his exhaustive research methods, and the presentation of his research. All of these elements led to clearly-presented evidence that readers could interpret for themselves and use in their own work.

Antiquarian Connections

Burney's position as an authority in antiquarian eyes and the greater musical and intellectual environment of London had been established early in his career before the publication of the history, when he worked as a teacher, composer, and writer about music. Burney built relationships with notable figures in London society and met many people through his participation in intellectual societies. His membership in several royal societies and informal groups gave him opportunities to discuss wide-ranging topics and to prove his musical, literary, and intellectual skills. Friendships with antiquarians, literary figures, and other intellectuals in Britain and on the continent gave him access to an array of literary, artistic, and antiquarian groups, many of which discussed music.

Burney had diverse antiquarian contacts with interests in music and other topics including literature; poetry; art; native British languages; the history of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and Arctic exploration. Their musical interests encompassed ballads, bardic music, British instruments, historical instrumental traditions, and some eighteenth-century music. This group of antiquarians shared a concern for the national musical styles of Wales, England, and sometimes Ireland and Scotland. These antiquarians held favorable opinions of Burney and helped him in various stages of his

work on his history.

Daines Barrington, Burney's closest antiquarian connection, was known for his work on a wide range of topics, including the music and poetry of the Welsh bards. Both were members of the Royal Society and wrote about performances by musical prodigies (Mozart and Crotch) for the society. Barrington supported Burney in several intellectual endeavors, proposing Burney for membership to the Royal Society, helping support Burney's plan for a music school, and trying to recruit others to support the school. Their collegial relationship led to a series of letters, some referencing how Burney wished he could spend more time socializing with Barrington if only his history would stop getting in the way.

Burney's correspondence with Barrington demonstrates how this friendship helped the history. He benefited from Barrington's possession and knowledge of musical antiquities. In 1773, he borrowed a manuscript on "The Antiquity of the Violin" from Barrington, which introduced Burney to two Welsh instruments, the Crwth and Pib-corn (Ribeiro 1: 156–57). He had presented these instruments at a Society of Antiquaries meeting on 10 May 1770 and in 1775 published an article on the topic in the third issue of *Archeologia*. Burney's private access to Barrington's work connected the historian to a wider antiquarian discussion of Welsh antiquities.

Burney had additional connections who studied Welsh antiquities. He was, for instance, friends with Thomas Pennant, an antiquarian and naturalist, who, like Burney, published books about his travels. Burney and Pennant corresponded about the Welsh musical instruments to be included in Burney's history. In a letter from December 1773, Pennant offered to bring "almost obsolete" Welsh instruments to Burney, if he desired. In his response on 4 January 1774, Burney enthusiastically accepted the offer, feeling overwhelmed by the amount of work the history entailed and doubting his ability to match antiquarian standards. Burney was happy to have Pennant's assistance with the history telling him "Your truely [sic] Philosophical Spirit of Enquiry, & the perspicacious Manner in which you have been long accustomed to regard objects of art & nature make me very ambitious of your Counsel &

Communications in Many parts of the work I have undertaken" (Ribeiro 1: 157). Pennant's keen observational skills and antiquarian knowledge helped Burney meet antiquarian expectations in his history.

His friendship with Pennant put him in a wider circle of intellectuals interested in Welsh musical antiquities. Burney was able to see an old Welsh music manuscript because of his connection, through Pennant, to Paul Panton, a Welsh barrister and antiquary. This circle included Welsh historians and the founder of the Cymmrodorion Society, Richard Morris. This group of intellectuals interested in the Welsh past, all of whom collected and studied various antiquities, gave Burney greater resources for his history than he could have accessed on his own.

While Burney's connections to Welsh antiquarians are particularly well documented, he corresponded with a variety of others interested in literature, poetry, and archaeological antiquities including Thomas Percy, editor of the anthology *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, and Thomas Warton, author of the influential *A History of English Poetry*. He also exchanged letters with antiquarians Joseph Cooper Walker, James Gray, and a Mr. Morrison, whom he met in Rome. His 1787 nomination for a Society of Antiquaries fellowship, which he declined, demonstrates how much the London antiquarian community approved of him (Lonsdale 334).[3]

His acceptance amongst antiquarians parallels his reputation in many of London's most prestigious intellectual circles. Burney won favor in literary circles, particularly after his travel writings were published in preparation for his history (Lonsdale 134). Based on the strength of his reputation, he came to be hired as a keyboard instructor for the Thrale family. Valerie Rumbold illuminates his strategies for making himself and his art acceptable to a literary circle led by Hester Thrale by improving his literary knowledge, praising important literary figures such as Samuel Johnson, and creating engaging travel writings. This led to his acceptance in the Thrale circle right before the publication of the first volume of the *General History of Music* (Rumbold 29–30). Having connections to the Thrales and Johnson and their Streatham circle held authority

for many British intellectuals, including antiquarians. Joining these literary figures elevated Burney's knowledge of literary manners and further added to his social-intellectual standing.

Burney could not only make connections but could also usually keep them—a trait essential for inclusion and ongoing participation in such formal societies and informal circles. Letters sent from his friends in many different circles, including Johnson, comment on his gentility, gift for conversation, and learned nature (Lonsdale 136, 235–36). Burney cultivated his reputation as an authority by knowing the right intellectual figures in London, especially those known for their interest in the past. These connections were essential in his research and writing of *A General History of Music*.

He further expanded his professional circles as he corresponded with and eventually travelled to meet important intellectuals on the continent. These figures included other music collectors and historians such as Padre Martini in Bologna and major Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau (Agnew 170; Green, 158). These varied connections contributed to his upward trajectory as a man of letters. All of these circles—musical, antiquarian, literary, and intellectual—impacted his knowledge, writing, and research for his history and added to his international reputation as an authority and to the positive reception of his writings.

John Hawkins had different antiquarian connections than Burney. His membership in the Academy of Ancient Music put him in circles interested primarily in old music with fewer members who studied a wide range of topics. The academy's discussions, unlike those in groups like the Society of Antiquaries, focused on ancient Greek theory and later works of speculative music theory (Eggington, 114–22). This narrowly-focused approach to musical antiquarianism in the academy did not appeal to many of the antiquarians with varied interests who wrote music anthologies and contributed to the harsher critiques of his history.

Burney's and Hawkins's contrasting antiquarian connections led to differences in the receptions of their histories. These relationships shaped the intellectual perspective of each author's

work. Their antiquarian friendships informed the making of their histories in ways later antiquarian anthologists recognized.

Research Process

In their writings, antiquarian authors emphasized that their research was based on meticulous source knowledge in a specific area, that they had consulted as many libraries as possible, and that they had included a canon of sources discussed by other authors. In his anthology *Ancient Songs*, Ritson prides himself that "with respect to the collection now produced, there is scarce a public library which has not been explored, in order to furnish materials for it. Its contents, indeed, are far from numerous; a defect, if it be one, which neither zeal nor industry has been able to remedy" (lxxvi). Similar statements abound in antiquarian publications.

Searching in public collections, as mentioned by Ritson, was not enough for many antiquarians, however. Research was still primarily based on personal connections in the mid-eighteenth century since many materials were still in private collections. Antiquarian authors corresponded with private collectors about their holdings and sometimes visited materials in their collections. In the preface to his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Percy thanks the community of antiquarians and other intellectuals who assisted his work:

> It will be proper here to give a short account of the other collections that were consulted, and to make my acknowledgements to those gentlemen, who were so kind as to impart extracts from them: for while this selection was making, a great number of ingenious friends took a share in the work, and explored many large repositories in its favour. (1: xi)

Researching with proper antiquarian rigor usually involved an extended network of social relationships with collectors and those with access to restricted collections. Burney's wider network and strong social standing gave him an advantage over Hawkins in researching his history.

Burney's colleagues in England and those he met in his travels

provided him with access to an extensive network of important music collectors and intellectuals who helped shape his history. In Bologna, Burney met Padre Giovanni Battista Martini, an Italian priest and music historian, after being introduced through letters from composers André Grétry and Giovanni Zanotti, both former students of Martini (Brofsky 315). Burney thought Martini could be very helpful in his endeavors, and, indeed, Martini wrote him letters of introduction to important people in other cities, who allowed him to see manuscripts inaccessible to most people (Brofsky 321).

Burney researched his history in ways consistent with earlier eighteenth-century antiquarian publications. He mentions elements of his research process in two publications leading up to the history: *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (1773), each subtitled *The Journal of a Tour through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music*. Throughout these travel writings describing contemporary musical practices, he regularly comments on the collectors he visits and the sources he consults in the service of his history. Readers of these volumes and of his later history learned of Burney's exhaustive measures to find source materials. Burney documented his work in ways that gave the impression of authority by antiquarian standards—by discussing how he came upon sources and describing their condition. This left him less susceptible to the serious errors for which antiquarians regularly attacked each other: forgery, fraud, and false claims.

He also sidestepped these attacks by citing books that, in turn, cited important sources. In addition to getting letters of support from Martini, Burney gathered information from the first volumes of Martini's unfinished history, *Storia della Musica* (1757), and from corresponding with the author (Brofsky 315, 324). Burney was very positive about Martini's work in public, but in private he was more critical, finding it too dry and too full of references to authorities (Brofsky 315). Nonetheless, though he complains about Martini's citations, Burney's own history is itself full of references to authorities, which bolsters his validity as a historian and adds to his

work's antiquarian appeal.

Antiquarian anthology editors commented on Burney's research process. In his *Ancient Songs*, Ritson writes: "Dr. Burney confesses that he had not been so fortunate as to meet with a single tune to an English song or dance, in all Libraries and MSS. he had consulted, so ancient as the fourteenth century" (xxxv). Burney's results did not add examples to Ritson's research, but he still trusted instead of deriding the historian's research. Because of his role as a musical authority and public knowledge of his research process, antiquarians like Ritson trusted Burney's statements on the existence of sources. Burney's social standing as a cultural authority gave him access to a wealth of research materials in private collections. This status and his earlier travel writings were signs of his research process at work, which increased his antiquarian authority.

Along with research assistance from his social connections, Burney had help in condensing information from books on specific topics and drafting sections of his history. His daughters Frances and Susanna helped compile summaries of texts, which he then read and incorporated (Lonsdale 144). While he was ill in 1774, they each acted as his amanuensis at times, transcribing his thoughts for the history (Lonsdale 157–58). Using materials from the collections of his colleagues and enlisting his family members' help with research and writing allowed Burney to be more comprehensive and detailed in his approach in writing *A General History of Music*.

This reliance on a large group of collaborators, travel to find rare materials, and publication of discoveries has parallels to another form of knowledge collection in the eighteenth century: travel expeditions to far-away regions. Travel was a way to gather new information on things distant culturally, geographically, and historically (Agnew 6, 14; Dolan 41).[4] Burney gained authority by using research methods attractive to antiquarians and by publicizing the process of his research in publications leading up to the history. These practices conformed to Enlightenment methods of collecting information through collaboration and travel while using first-hand experience to build authority.

Display of Evidence

In addition to his research methods, the layout of Burney's history would have been recognizable to both antiquarians and to a larger intellectual audience. His focus on clear visual presentation of evidence for the reader to interpret and his attempts to systematically classify information have precedents in earlier eighteenth-century antiquarian publications. These elements also connect to publication trends and a larger interest in the organization of information in the eighteenth century.

Fig. 1: Engravings of Ancient Greek Instruments in *A General History of Music* (1: pl. VI).
Courtesy, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

At the end of volume one, Burney included several engravings of ancient instruments (see Figure 1). Zdravko Blažeković has demonstrated that Burney's connections to artists and relationships with specific engravers allowed him to carefully control the appearance of the plates, making them precisely match the antiquities he had seen on his travels (5–54). Burney's tours in

Rome and Naples influenced his conceptions of the engravings. He discussed local antiquities with artists and antiquarians in those cities and commissioned artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi to draw Roman historical sites and antiquities from Herculaneum and Pompeii. Burney wrote in his travel diaries of 1770:

> Piranesi while I was at Naples had sent his draughtsman all over Rome in search of ancient instruments—and he made drawings from several of the most antique and curious. However as I came here to see with my own eyes I determined to examine the originals and compare the copies myself—for which purpose I set off this morning as soon as it was light in company with Piranesi's young man—and walked about till I was ready to lye [sic] down in the street. However, I was glad I took this method of having the drawings correct, for several things had been mistaken and omitted, and others were very obscure till I had seen the whole figure who held or played the instrument, and sometimes even seeing the whole group in a basso rilievo was necessary to forming any conjecture about the occasion and manner of playing it. (*Music, Men, and Manners* 204)

Burney mentioned the engravings in his 1773 proposal for the history ("Proposals" 4). He saw them as essential to the content of the history and as a way to attract readers who wanted to judge evidence for themselves.

Several aspects of the engravings' creation would have appealed to a British antiquarian audience. One appeal was the origin of his sources: antiquities from Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. Italian publications of these antiquities, such as the series *Le antichità di Ercolano* (1755–92), travelled across Europe in the decades following early excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Publishers in England and many other countries produced translations of the Italian books and new writings on these exciting finds, including engravings of the objects almost identical to those in the Italian publications (see Figure 2). Discussions of these publications and personal accounts of visits to the sites filled the meetings of the

Society of Antiquaries in London.

The engraved representations of antiquities were also reminiscent of many British antiquarian publications. British antiquarians had long discussed Roman antiquities but usually focused on objects found in Britain. Regional histories, often entitled

THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
HERCULANEUM;
Translated from the ITALIAN,
By THOMAS MARTYN
AND
JOHN LETTICE,
Bachelors of Divinity, and Fellows of Sidney College, Cambridge.
VOL. I. PART I.
Containing the PICTURES.
LONDON,
Printed by W. Bowyer and J. Nichols,
For the TRANSLATORS:
And sold by Mess. Beecroft, White, Elmsley, Cadell, L. Davis, Dodsley, and J. Taylor, in London; Mess. Woodyer and Merrill in Cambridge; and Mess. Fletcher and Prince in Oxford.
M DCC LXXIII.

Fig. 2: An engraving from the English translation of Le Antichità di Ercolano, 1773 (Martyn & Lettice 1: n.p., pl. IX). Courtesy, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

N.B. This image is nearly identical to the engraving in Le Antichità di Ercolano (Accademia ercolanese 1: 47).

History and Antiquities, were filled with examples of old artifacts and monuments in various areas of Britain. Each book offered a history of a specific county or town and ended with reproductions of historical texts or engravings of antiquities such as coins, pottery, and jewelry (see Figure 3) to create a history of those objects, documents, or locations.

Authors frequently stated that the purpose of the antiquities section was to allow the readers, often other antiquarians, to examine evidence for themselves and to see whether they drew the

same conclusions. In *The History and Antiquities of the Most Ancient Town and Borough of Colchester* (1748), Philip Morant states that he includes historical documents and reproductions of artifacts for his readers "to make proper reflections upon" them and evaluate the importance of the evidence themselves (1: 55). Such claims from Morant and other antiquarian writers echo Burney's purpose for his travels to Rome and Naples stated in his 1770 journal entry and his process of creating the engravings of ancient instruments. He went to see the artworks with his own eyes so that he could compare the originals to his artists' copies himself to achieve greater accuracy.

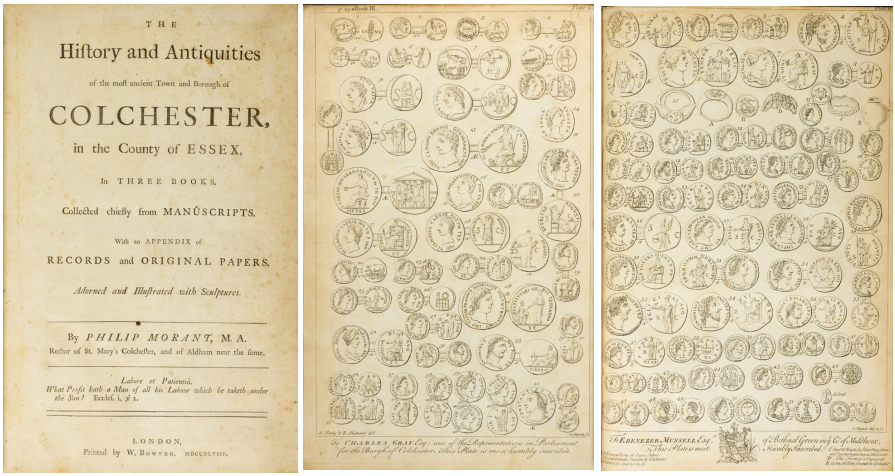
THE
History and Antiquities
of the most ancient Town and Borough of
COLCHESTER,
in the County of ESSEX,
In THREE BOOKS,
Collected chiefly from MANUSCRIPTS.
With an APPENDIX of
RECORDS and ORIGINAL PAPERS,
Adorned and Illustrated with Sculptures.
By *PHILIP MORANT*, M. A.
Rector of St. Mary's Colchester, and of Aldham near the same.
Labore et Patientiâ.
What Profit hath a Man of all his Labour which he taketh under the Sun? Eccles. i. 3.
LONDON,
Printed by W. BOWYER, MDCCXLVIII.

Fig. 3: A History and Antiquities Publication with Engravings (Morant 3: n.p., pl. I-II). Courtesy, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

In the 1773 plan for his history, Burney was explicit about his goal to showcase antiquities:

> The [author] determined to allay his thirst for the science of music at the true source by undertaking a voyage to Italy … in order to hear with his own ears, and to see with his own eyes; and, if possible, to hear and see nothing but music, unless drawn by a desire to profit from the council of men of learning and to converse with men of taste, hoping to have the honor of the former as well as of the

> latter. Indeed, he might have amused himself agreeable enough in examining pictures, statues, and buildings, copy inscriptions, etc. But as he could not afford time for all this, without neglecting the chief business of his journey, he determined not to allow himself to be distracted from his established intention of other curiosities or research. (Grant 51–52)

Even though he claims that he will not be able to take the time to see extra antiquities in this plan, he did examine objects and monuments in Naples and Rome and hired artists to recreate them, which resulted in the plates of Greek musical instruments. At some point in his research process, he realized this detailed study was important. Burney's care in studying antiquities and reproducing them in his history helped him win antiquarian audiences because it connected his work to publications they already knew.

Burney was aware of British antiquarian publications that provided illustrations of artifacts, relying on various *History and Antiquities* books in his history (2: 367). His use of engravings at the end of the first volume of *A General History of Music* follows European publishing practices in the sources for his engravings and, specifically, British antiquarian publishing practices in the purpose and placement of the engravings that would have appealed to antiquarian readers. Anthologists' own publications were formatted essentially as musical *History and Antiquities* volumes with musical scores in place of the artifacts depicted in engravings in books on other topics. Burney's use of elements of antiquarian *History and Antiquities* publications and citation of them in his history gave anthology editors more reason to regard the author as a musical and historical authority.

While both Burney and Hawkins used elements of visual display, Burney's direct statements about his reasons for reproducing evidence may have helped make him more authoritative than Hawkins. Some examples displayed by Hawkins are similar to those in Burney—engravings with multiple instruments, works in eighteenth-century notation, and theoretical diagrams—but most of Hawkins's visual evidence consists of portraits of musicians

and of music in old notation. The extent to which each author reproduced evidence for the reader to evaluate may have affected the antiquarian appeal of their works. Both Burney and Hawkins express this idea at some level of their work and reproduce several types of visual evidence in their histories. Burney's emphasis on this visual antiquarian perspective in almost every stage of the creation of his history made his work more appealing to antiquarian readers.

Burney's focus on visual proof follows a broader Enlightenment trust in sight as a form of evidence. He had not only the engravings based on archaeological discoveries but also other drawings of instruments, which as Emily Dolan points out, act as "objects of knowledge" in the parts of the history where there was no music (41). But the pieces of music Burney includes in his history also act as artifacts, especially to antiquarian anthologists who regularly treated musical works in notation as objects of antiquity.

Burney's historical evidence is often visual, combining instrument iconography, drawings, musical facsimiles, and scores. These elements connected with antiquarian audiences and other intellectuals who wanted to judge the evidence for themselves. The scientific experiments Burney would have been familiar with from the Royal Society also relied on this kind of visual proof. The objects of both natural history and other cultures brought back by Captain James Cook and eventually displayed in the British Museum gave a wider audience evidence of things outside their immediate experience.[5] Burney's history brings visual proof of music history into the same authoritative standing as antiquarian writings, scientific proofs, and objects of exploration essential to the collection of knowledge in the eighteenth century.

Another way Burney's presentation of his evidence appealed to antiquarians and reflected broader eighteenth-century intellectual values was his attempt to classify his evidence. Although he was not able to carry out his initial plan because it required too much repetition of material and more comprehensive knowledge than he was able to achieve (Duckles 136), there is a systemization in his ultimate design, and some elements of the plan remain. His third book divides works by country and then into categories of

instrumental music, sacred vocal music, and secular vocal music. This has parallels in antiquarian anthologies, especially Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs*. Ritson's opening essay compares national song styles from the middle ages through the eighteenth century from many European countries, and his English musical selections are further divided into categories based on their subject matter and date. Antiquarian authors like Ritson classified the antiquities in their publications systematically; Burney's organization of musical-historical evidence follows them.

There are also similarities between Burney's classifications and those of eighteenth-century explorers like Captain Cook (Agnew 115–19).[6] Burney has been compared to Joseph Banks, the natural historian who accompanied Cook and did much of the work classifying his findings (Dolan 41). In his classification, Burney treats his evidence like musical objects of knowledge: just as antiquarians classified antiquities, scientists classified the natural world, and explorers classified the objects they collected. This organization made evidence understandable to a variety of audiences and made knowledge more accessible. It also put Burney's work squarely in a respected intellectual tradition.

Burney's history caused a reaction in both the antiquarian community and the London music scene. It was read by a variety of audiences to whom he tried to appeal—nobility, literary figures, musicians, and antiquarians. I have argued that antiquarians confirmed the musical authority of Burney's history in their writings. In doing so, they had a musical authority that could improve antiquarian work, allowing a broad spectrum of music to join antiquarian discussions of literary antiquities. They believed in Burney's authority because of the author's professional connections including prominent musical and non-musical antiquarians, the thoroughness and transparency of his research process widely publicized and supported by travel, and his evidence, which was displayed as visual proof and systematically classified. These elements of the history were traits highly valued by intellectuals in late eighteenth-century Britain in historical writing, travel writing, archaeological discovery, and scientific work. Burney was aware of

this audience, and elements of his history played to their tastes.

Date	Editor	Title	Publication information
1777	Thomas Warren	[A set of proof-sheets for a Collection of motets and madrigals]	London: Mary Welcher
1783	Joseph Ritson	*A Select Collection of English Songs*	London: Joseph Johnson
1784	Edward Jones	*Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*	London: Printed for the Author
1790	Joseph Ritson	*Ancient Songs*	London: Joseph Johnson
1794	Joseph Ritson	*Scotish* [sic] *Song*	London: Johnson and Egerton
1812	John Stafford Smith	*Musica Antiqua*	London: Preston

Table: Antiquarian Music Anthologies Citing Burney's History

NOTES

[1] Scholars note Hawkins's antiquarian associations during his lifetime and continue to give him this label as a point of contrast with Burney, who wrote for many different audiences (Grant 283; Lonsdale 190, 197). Kerry S. Grant has noted that Burney's criticism and historical writing played carefully to his audiences (285). For further analysis of Burney's attempts to appeal to his literary, liberal, royal, and wealthy noble audiences, see Lonsdale 147, 337; Green 158; and Rumbold 29.

[2] Jones includes similar remarks from Stillingfleet's *Principle and Power of Harmony* in the same note.

[3] Lonsdale suggests that Burney turned down many social obligations at this time because of limited time and poor health.

[4] Vanessa Agnew has shown parallels between the voyages of Captain James Cook to Polynesia and Burney's tour, seeing them as signifiers of a larger Enlightenment interest in travel. Emily Dolan connects this kind of travel to the experience of performing research in the eighteenth century.

[5] Burney had additional access to information about Cook's voyages through his oldest son James Burney, who accompanied Cook on several voyages. Burney met Cook and arranged for James to sail with him (*EJL* 1: 172–73). For discussion of Charles Burney's knowledge of Polynesian music through his son and Ra'iatean Islander Mai, see Agnew 113–14.

[6] Agnew shows how both Burney and Cook used classifications in their work to demonstrate progress.

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