

Medieval Folk in the Revivals of David Munrow

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Abstract and Keywords

This article explores the close relationship between medievalism, orientalism, and folk music in the work of early music revival pioneer David Munrow, director of the Early Music Consort of London from 1968 to 1976. The focus of this study is his last television work *Ancestral Voices*, a BBC series exploring myths and legends surrounding early instruments and tracing those associations through history. It also examines other popular genres prevalent on British television at the same time and suggests that through a focus on a constellation of myth, medievalism, and foreign ancestry, *Ancestral Voices* demonstrates a significant cultural allegiance to other key 1970s works.

Keywords: David Munrow, Early Music Consort of London, *Ancestral Voices*, BBC, folk music

AT the height of his career, David Munrow (1942–1976) was simultaneously a prominent figure in British broadcasting, a university lecturer, and one of the most widely known performers of medieval music, both as a soloist and in his role as director of the Early Music Consort of London.¹ His regular presence on BBC Radio and television as both interviewer and interviewee offered him ample opportunity to outline to a nonspecialist audience his own approach to, and understanding of, medieval music. In 1976, together with BBC director Paul Kriwaczek, Munrow created the popular television series *Ancestral Voices*. This chapter suggests that Munrow and Kriwaczek's *Ancestral Voices* constructs a cultural allegiance to the popular medievalist genres prevalent in the mid-1970s through both its prominent position as a cultural BBC program and Munrow's high-profile musical personality.² Through Munrow, medieval music and medievalism in the mid-1970s reached a wider cultural sphere than might reasonably have been assumed. Throughout his career, as we will see, Munrow occupied an uneasy liminal space: between academic musicology and popular music, between the hegemonic culture and the countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and between historical determinism and a more fluid—and often anarchic—understanding of the past.

As Annette Kreutziger-Herr notes in her discussion of the revival of medieval music in modern times, “the reconstruction and performance of medieval music is situated be-

tween productive, reproductive, and scientific medievalism.” The fluidity of these forms in practice produces indelible links between medievalism and medieval studies. Whatever the intentions of a performer may be, modern performance of medieval music will always be a form of medievalism.³

The reconstruction of medieval monophonic repertoire in particular was problematic for performers. In an interview, Munrow described the sparse notation of monophonic (p. 225) music suggesting (to the surprise of those steeped in the authenticity movement) that performers adopt a freer approach to the music:

I think the most difficult to come to definite conclusions about performance is the music of the troubadour and trouvère and minnesingers period [...] generally speaking, the less that there is written down then the harder it is until you finally reach medieval dance music where there is hardly anything written down. I mean, there are just a handful of dances and what are we all to do when we have all played all the dances that there are? Well I think then perhaps we ought to start making up some of our own. As far as dance music is concerned I think it is rather absurd to try and treat it reverently as if it was a mass. And so we [the Early Music Consort of London] try to take the spirit rather than the letter.⁴

One way in which the Early Music Consort followed “the spirit” involved looking to folk cultures from around the world, especially those whose instruments exhibited similarities with surviving medieval and Renaissance specimens. Performance traditions of living folk cultures thus became a source of inspiration for the ensemble’s development of new performance practices. Munrow was by no means alone in this reasoning; the idea had a lengthy history. Speaking of the unnotated secular music of the Middle Ages, “the songs that accompanied the life of the people themselves,” Curt Sachs—one of the towering figures of early twentieth-century ethnomusicology and organology—suggested that modern folk instruments and music were useful to historians in many ways:

Unable to reach this music directly, the historian is forced to retro-project late medieval styles upon this vacuum. Even modern folksong can step into the breach; and its study has indeed been helpful.⁵

Neither Munrow nor Sachs—as their explanations demonstrate—attempted to conceal his lack of objective knowledge. What is produced is better described as medievalism and not medieval performance; the latter, indeed, would be chronologically and historically impossible.

Faced with reconstructing medieval music practices from almost nonexistent sources, modern performers also looked beyond Europe to musical practices of non-Western cultures and borrowed their instrumental and, sometimes, vocal techniques. Modern performers of medieval music have turned particularly to Eastern practices not only for ideas about sound production, but also for information about the construction of instruments as well as improvisatory and accompaniment methods. Herein lies a key point: looking to Eastern music, to the so-called Orient, meant a consideration of instruments and prac-

tices that were sometimes also relegated to traditional or folk categories. A certain slip-page thus occurs between the categories of *Eastern* and a geographically wider definition of *folk*. The fact that many of the instruments most important to the Western medieval tradition had their origins in the East, and the many (p. 226) examples of Eastern influence on the medieval West as shown by literary, iconographic, and scientific historical evidence, lend scholarly support to this Eastern connection.

This suggests that at the heart of such explorations, Western art music, and perhaps Western art more generally, has something of an early identity crisis, as literary historian John Ganim has explained:

The idea of the Middle Ages as it developed from its earliest formations in the historical self-consciousness of Western Europe is part of what we used to call an identity crisis, a deeply uncertain sense of what the West is and where it came from.⁶

Such an identity crisis may also take the form of orientalism: Thomas Wharton makes the point in his *History of English Poetry* that the origin of medieval romance lies in the meeting of Saracens and crusaders. This idea resonates with another observation by Ganim concerning the possible blending of different regional traditions. When speaking of medieval literature, he notes the eighteenth-century obsession with its non-Western origins and reflects that “the metaphor of the earliest studies of medieval romance is one of miscegenation.” This mixing of two different races, expressed through notions of “uncertain parentage” and embraced by scholars, has itself a long history; in particular, the continued investigation of Moorish influence on Spain generates an important vein of scholarship running through medieval studies. Such strands often come together to suggest a simple chain of causality: the medieval West accessed ideas and objects from the medieval East, which they developed into familiar forms known or remembered today. Ganim, again, summarizes this eloquently: “The connection between Romanticism, medievalism and orientalism is so much a given that we accept it as a matter of literary or architectural taste.”⁷

In the case of the early music revival, particularly the growing interest during the 1960s and 1970s in the performance of works written before 1600, we see many of these ideas in operation, particularly in the field of organology, where several books by leading musicians discussed the Eastern origins of medieval instruments.⁸ And, like the sister disciplines of literature, archaeology, and anthropology, the early music revival has its own growing body of scholarly literature exploring medievalism and orientalism.

Medievalism and Orientalism in the Early Music Revival

In 1978, David Fallows lamented the demise of “three of the world’s most influential performing groups for medieval music”: the New York Pro Musica, the Early Music Consort

of London, and the Studio der Frühen Musik.⁹ Only Musica Reservata, at his time of writing, remained active. Taking Fallows's lead in grouping these four ensembles together, we observe that a significant volume of scholarly work has been dedicated in (p. 227) recent decades to understanding their work in terms of medievalism and orientalism and the slippery connections folk traditions have to both, as alluded to previously.

In her work on the New York Pro Musica, Kirsten Yri has demonstrated how performances of liturgical drama in the late 1950s “necessarily implicate the creators and musicians in decision-making processes that shed light on the complex relationships among music making, ideology, and the cultural values that produce them.”¹⁰ Inspired by Safford Cape's Pro Musica Antiqua, director Noah Greenberg collapsed the performance practices from folk music onto medieval songs, performed with an array of unusual instruments from psaltery, rebec, and recorders to Arabian nakers, Turkish cymbals, Near Eastern finger cymbals, and Scottish bagpipes. This easy elision between folk and the Orient was not limited to Greenberg, but found in him an expression that produced a musical result that was popular and attractive to many audiences. The terms folk and Orient connoted an Otherness, or an alternative, to what Greenberg frequently called the “tyranny of the standard repertoire,” and their deliberate use as inspiration for medieval performance practice stretches back at least as far as the 1920s.¹¹ As John Haines notes, the oriental percussion instruments and colorful costumes of the New York Pro Musica's *The Play of Daniel* ushered in a new approach to early music performance that found justification in the scholarship of H. G. Farmer and inspired Thomas Binkley's exploration of Indian, Turkish, and North African music in his 1964 album *Carmina Burana*. As Haines demonstrates, the classical Moroccan Andalusian suite—the *nûba*—led Binkley to develop the *Arabic style* of accompaniment for monophonic medieval music.¹² Contextualizing Binkley's orientalism within earlier Eastern explorations by Arnold Dolmetsch and Greenberg, Haines summarizes thus:

Just as 19th-century Europe had gone to the Islamic Orient for its own roots, so did the European American studio turn to Arabic music after World War II for the renewal of early music performance practice.¹³

Examining Binkley's use of Arab-Andalusian instruments and traditions in medieval music by the Studio der Frühen Musik, Yri argues that orientalism is not necessarily a fruitful lens through which to examine the Arabic style. Although the studio's performances appear to reinscribe the discourse of orientalism defined by Edward Said as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,” Said's model of orientalism is unable to fully acknowledge Binkley's intentions within a 1960s cultural context and has been rejected by Arabic and Hispanic scholars arguing for a greater acknowledgment of the Arabic influence on medieval Spanish culture.¹⁴ For Yri, the main issue arising with the application of orientalism to Binkley's performances is that it divides the world into Occident and Orient and erects a “myth of Westernness.” It is this myth that Binkley's work challenged by “remaking European medieval music to include Arabic influence.”¹⁵ For this reason, as Yri suggests, “the Studio's performances are better viewed as anti-Eurocentric undertakings that complicate the West-versus-East

paradigm.”¹⁶ This point is particularly pertinent to the present (p. 228) study as I explore Munrow’s performance decisions in the context of the division between West and Other.

It would be wrong to suggest that mid-century early music ensembles were only looking to the East for inspiration. As we have already noted, Greenberg and others also used European folk music models (albeit from the remoter areas) in medieval music performance practice. It was the perceived Otherness of this folk music that was construed as historical by the musicologist Thurston Dart in 1953:

Evidence may be found in the remoter regions of Europe and the Near East. The music and musical instruments heard in the mountains of Sardinia and Sicily, and the bands still used for Catalan dance music are medieval in flavour. The Arabian lute, rebec and shawm are still much the same as they were when they were introduced into Europe by the Moors. The singing of Spanish *canto jondo* and *flamenco* singers will give us some idea of how the long vocal roulades found in so much medieval music were probably sung originally; the traditional harp accompaniments to Irish songs noted down by zealous eighteenth-century antiquaries record for us the style of accompaniment favoured, perhaps, at the ducal courts of the fifteenth century.¹⁷

Dart’s hypothesis clearly suggests that European folk music contains ossified remains of a medieval performance practice. His observation that various Arabic instruments are “still much the same” as their Moorish ancestors neatly segues into observations about European folk music. Taken together, the two observations suggest something of a fluid barrier between Dart’s own separation of Eastern and folk. Dart was writing as a musicologist at Cambridge University and the authority that his research and opinion carried at this time should not be underestimated. These arguments are likely to have originated from his postwar studies with Charles van den Borren, who was musical advisor to *L’Anthologie sonore* recordings by Safford Cape and Pro Musica Antiqua de Bruxelles.¹⁸ Dart’s book, which was written within a year of the founding of Noah Greenberg’s New York Pro Musica, was a catalyst for the collapsing of folk and oriental styles that continued to spread through the medium of recorded sound.

Dart’s observations are also linked with the work of Michael Morrow and his ensemble, Musica Reservata. In particular, it should be noted that Morrow also studied “records of folk-singers on the borders of Europe.”¹⁹ Morrow’s use of these field recordings to inform his performance practice, particularly their influence on the singing of mezzo-soprano Jantina Noorman with Musica Reservata, is a particularly interesting example of medievalism since Morrow hoped that the hard-edged alterity he heard in Balkan folk music might actually be the ossified remains of a medieval performance practice.²⁰

Morrow’s approach to Balkan folk music was perhaps an inspiration for the Early Music Consort, as Munrow combined aspects of Morrow’s approach to Balkan folk music with Binkley’s Arab-Andalusian models.²¹ In particular, Munrow’s use of folk instruments from South America, supported by his own multi-instrumental abilities, (p. 229) led to a more connected view of East and West reminiscent of Ganim’s comments about uncertain

parentage. Perhaps more important for our current discussion, Munrow's inclusion of South American folk instruments appears to echo Binkley's complication of the basic West-versus-East paradigm and the suggestion that Westernness was a myth. Munrow, like so many of his peers, was strongly influenced by personal experience of non-Western music. Jasper Parrott (Munrow's university friend and agent) has suggested that Munrow's Peruvian gap year convinced him that music from all over the world was related. Even before his scholarly experience of early Western instruments at Cambridge University, traveling through South America in the early 1960s may have helped the Otherness of non-Western music seem less remote to the young Munrow. This sudden broadening of Munrow's horizons beyond the public school system in which he grew up led to him experiencing, firsthand, the footnotes he would have read in the book he won for his school music prize: Anthony Baines's *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*.²² As Parrott remembers, the trip gave Munrow a sense that "music was all joined up" and that "it didn't matter where it comes from":

I remember he told me a wonderful story about travelling from São Paulo to Bolivia on the slow train—which unfortunately has been now withdrawn—but you could get on and off at any time you liked and any sort of person jumped on and jumped off and that was one of the highlights of his arrival in Bolivia and then in Peru.²³

This anecdote indicates an experience of South America not merely confined to Peru. Like the slow train, Munrow collected influences from across the continent and, in doing so, realized that music too could absorb influences from different places. Parrott may also suggest that through this formative experience of travel, Munrow further realized that once a musical trait gets "into" the music, its origin is no longer relevant. Munrow may also have considered the Other a myth (in much the same way the West could be viewed as a myth). Through this South American journey Munrow seems to have realized that all music is hybrid, and this led him to reject the rigid East/West binary.

Munrow's Cultural Context: Understanding Popular Culture

What distinguished Munrow from the other directors mentioned previously was his level of popularity and commercial success as a performer on the recorder, bassoon, and a plethora of other early wind instruments. Not only was he director of the Early Music Consort, but also he was a regular broadcaster on British radio and television channels and created a strong public profile within the traditional classical music industry, foremost in Britain, but also overseas. Munrow was often viewed as a popularizer of early music, medieval music in particular, and the title of his radio program, *Pied Piper*, was (p. 230) sometimes conflated with the persona of the presenter himself lending a medieval sheen to his on-air persona. Like the legendary figure named in the program's title,

Munrow could also lure people with his musical pipe, although without the suggestion of kidnapping that the medieval tale recounts!

Munrow was also active in other popular genres where medievalism and myth abound. In particular, he worked with elements of popular culture, supplying medieval music for film and radio. One particularly famous example is a 1969 BBC Radio adaptation of J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit*. The soundtrack was one of Munrow's first major recording projects and he appears playing crumhorn and Chinese shawm in tracks that were electronically altered by the BBC Radiophonic workshop.²⁴ The BBC adaptation of *The Hobbit* was a popular program that reached a wide audience and the music was featured on a special LP release. It had brought Munrow into contact with both the BBC Radiophonic workshop and the composer David Cain, with whom he was to later also record music for other radio dramas, including *The Jew of Malta*.²⁵ We should note that David Cain was particularly associated with quasi-historic projects and his music was once described in a liner note as having a special ability to "suggest other times and other places."²⁶ Indeed, one reviewer invoked links to the past as he described Cain's music as having "originated in the same real, believable mythology as the text."²⁷ Another reviewer focused on exoticism and the perceived strangeness of Munrow's instruments:

David Cain's music was exotically atmospheric: extraordinary strains from strange mediaeval instruments which carried the listener into an imaginary world of sharp colours and misty contours.²⁸

Film soundtracks also helped launch Munrow's career. In 1971, Munrow performed music on another popular quasi-medievalist project: Ken Russell's *The Devils* (score by Peter Maxwell Davies), a film heavily censored for its nudity, sexual content, and blasphemous language, a famously vibrant historical representation of religious orders in seventeenth-century France. The film opens with Munrow's Early Music Consort of London playing dances from Michael Praetorius's *Terpsichore* in a ballet sequence danced by Louis XIII of France (Graham Armitage) while audience members exchange slanderous gossip. The contrast of the bright, upbeat music and the dark tone of the dialogue is striking. In 1974, Munrow also worked with director John Boorman on *Zardoz*, a film that Boorman was inspired to write while preparing to adapt Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* for film. Unlike *The Devils*, the soundscape for *Zardoz* contains no straightforward renditions of preexisting historical works, although it is peppered with recognizable quotations. Rather, it blends historical works with folk traditions and newly composed passages to make the familiar sound unfamiliar. For example, the credits for *Zardoz* list Beethoven's seventh symphony performed by the Concertgebouw Orchestra Amsterdam, conducted by Eugen Jochum, but as these credits roll, we only hear the theme from the second movement. This theme, however, is not a straightforward rendition: Jochum's recording has been overlaid with the countertenor voice of James Bowman—soloist for Munrow's Early Music Consort of London—multitracked in two parts. His vocals double (p. 231) Beethoven's upper string parts on an open vowel sound and are further supported by low chords played on a church organ. Beethoven's familiar work is thus rendered unfamiliar, and the overall effect is slightly menacing. This feeling of impending danger comes from the visual footage

of a slow camera zoom toward a large, flying stone head that hovers over a green landscape like a hot air balloon, but it is also largely a result of the horror-film associations of the church organ and the disembodied sound of a countertenor voice performing a vocalise. Together, these references simultaneously evoke several historical time periods, with the resulting multitemporality conjuring up unease. That same year, Munrow also created the soundtrack for Joel Santoni's documentary *La course en tête*, documenting the life of cyclist Eddie Merckx. Here, Munrow's striking use of medieval dances, each played incredibly quickly and on either a sopranino recorder or the shawm, add a vibrant medievalist quality. The frenetic nature of the loud and fast dances, especially played by the shawm with the throb of low drone instruments, invites us to equate the visual effort of Merckx's cycling triumphs to the striking aural effort of Munrow's impressive shawm technique. This effect is further enhanced as the medieval dances end on a sustained high note (and percussion flourish) that is synchronized with Merckx crossing the finish line with his arms high in the air.²⁹ Munrow's involvement in popular culture—especially in genres involving medievalism—suggests that he would have been keenly aware of the role of classical music in popular culture and especially the role of early and folk musics in setting historical scenes and signaling distance in time. Medieval music, in particular, provides historic distance, but there is also the important aspect of defamiliarization provoked by both the unusual rendering of familiar works and the use of lesser-known instruments: the countertenor voice and the shawm. Taken like this, Munrow would have likely followed the trajectory of the folk and medievalism in many types of films throughout the 1970s.

The power of medieval music when used this way is related to its own countercultural status within the established classical music scene of the 1960s and 1970s.³⁰ If the "tyranny of the standard repertoire" was not significantly threatened by Noah Greenberg and Thomas Binkley, the scale of Munrow's commercial success could hardly be ignored.³¹ Medieval music's contemporary allegiance to the countercultural forms of folk and progressive rock increased its airtime and promoted early music to new, younger audiences. Munrow performed on historic instruments with established folk artists: He recorded with Shirley Collins, the Young Tradition, and the Roundtable.³² He also collaborated with Pentangle for their single, "Wondrous Love." This strophic song sets alternate verses to Pentangle and the Early Music Consort and contrasts the soft, light voice of Jacqueline McShee accompanied with gentle guitars to the more strident tone of James Bowman with crumhorns.³³ Munrow's collaborative projects enable us to situate some of his work within a late 1960s, early 1970s countercultural context that includes hippies, the revival of folk music, and the birth of progressive rock.³⁴ Munrow also shares with such countercultural movements a revival of the *primitive*, which has been mapped onto folk in ways that appear to reject the norms of modern, bourgeois society. This rejection is manifest in a focus on primitive ritual, magic, and mythical themes, which offer a threatening counterpoint to the structures of modern society. (p. 232) Munrow's Early Music Consort of London was founded the same year as the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper* album, an album that celebrated "the fusion of rock, classical, jazz, folk, and Indian styles."³⁵

During the 1970s, Munrow began a sequence of organology projects. Despite his specialization in wind instruments, Munrow was interested in the history of all types of instruments and he quickly became a public voice in the field of organology through speaking engagements for music clubs throughout Britain and frequent broadcasts on BBC Radio. In 1973, he began a joint project with Oxford University Press and EMI Records to produce a book and recordings to guide listeners through the world of old instruments.³⁶ Munrow's text amalgamated existing scholarship with his own knowledge of folk instruments and experience as a performer. What is interesting to modern-day readers is the introduction, in which he acknowledged the main sources for his research. He divided this introduction into eight sections. Under "Original Instruments," he drew particular attention to Frederick Crane's survey *Extant Medieval Instruments* and Anthony Baines's *European and American Musical Instruments*.³⁷ Yet in the introductory paragraph to "Folk Instruments," no references were listed, suggesting that much of this knowledge came from the author's own collection (as evidenced by the photograph captions throughout the book). From this book project grew two television series that survey long trajectories of music history across several cultures and, in doing so, perhaps best illustrate how Munrow considered music "all joined up."

Ancestral Voices

The first television series that involved Munrow—for Granada Television in 1976, called *Early Musical Instruments*—comprised six episodes exploring medieval and Renaissance instruments divided as follows: "Reed Instruments," "Flutes & Whistles," "Plucked Instruments," "Bowed Instruments," "Keyboard & Percussion," and "Brass Instruments." The first series was written and introduced by David Munrow and produced by Peter Potter. The second, also in 1976—the series for BBC Television entitled *Ancestral Voices*—included five episodes and was described in the *Radio Times* as a "recreat[ion of] the music and myth of early instruments before an invited audience."³⁸ Here, the five episodes were divided into "Origins & Flutes," "Horns & Trumpets," "Reeds," "Strings," and "Zithers & Keyboards." It was presented by David Munrow, produced by Victor Poole, and directed by Paul Kriwaczek. Whereas in the first series Munrow had led viewers from medieval instruments toward families of Renaissance instruments, in *Ancestral Voices* he took a much longer-range trajectory attempting to connect the earliest known instrument types to those used in the twentieth-century Western symphony orchestra. Since little documentary evidence survives, Munrow's initial vision for this program is unclear. The title seems not to have been intended to invoke literal voices—singing is almost entirely absent from the series—but rather to suggest a handing down of knowledge across generations and continents. The sense here is that echoes of the past (p. 233) can still be detected in modern musical practice. Indeed, the fascination with the past is particularly strong in Munrow's work, where it is often linked to a sense of discontent with the present. As he had explained in his earlier radio program, *Instrumental Music from Scotland and Ireland*,

For me, and I suspect many other people, the lure of the past is stronger than that of the future. Collecting antique furniture, historical novels and films, the revival of interest in early music, these are symptomatic of a growing antiquarian interest on many levels. Unlike previous ages, we just do not seem to be content with what is contemporary: in many cases we reject the latest developments in art, music or literature, preferring the solid worth and proven attractions of the past.³⁹

A transcription of the first episode of *Ancestral Voices* reveals that it is almost completely drawn from one source: a short span from the opening chapter of Curt Sachs's *The History of Musical Instruments*.⁴⁰ In itself, it is not surprising to find a major textbook by Sachs used for a television script. Curt Sachs was a towering figure in early twentieth-century musicology. He studied with Hugo Wolf in his home city of Berlin before completing a doctorate in art history. In 1914, he coauthored "Systematik der Musikinstrumente" (1914), proposing a classification system for both Western and non-Western instruments that was translated into English in the *Galpin Society Journal* in 1961.⁴¹ By 1920 he was appointed director of the Staatliche Instrumentensammlung, where he oversaw the reorganization and restoration of one of Europe's most important instrument collections. Such was his standing that Sachs was even approached by the Egyptian government to act in an advisory capacity on oriental music.⁴² Being a Jewish academic, he was forced to leave Germany in 1933, working first in Paris and then settling in America, where he became a consultant to the New York Public Library and an adjunct professor at Columbia University. He was president of the American Musicological Society from 1950 to 1952.

The extent to which Sachs's iconic musicological work was mined to create this script is particularly evident in the introduction. Like Sachs's monumental history, which investigates the development of instruments in primitive and ancient cultures, particularly their function in spiritual and fertility rituals, Munrow notes that he will focus on two themes in the evolution of instruments, the religious and erotic:

The story of musical instruments is almost as old as that of mankind. Their beginnings lie shrouded in prehistory and the process of their evolution has been a gradual one amazingly slow in the early stages. Just as homo sapiens has retained some of the basic animal instincts of his forebears, so have musical instruments retained many of their primitive functions and associations. Two themes occur throughout their history: one religious, the other erotic.⁴³

At times this takes on an orientalist hue, but Munrow finds notions of the folk and primitive in many Western sources as well as Eastern. If we pursue this primitivist line of argument for a moment, immediately apparent are two striking allegiances with (p. 234) *Ancestral Voices*: besides highlighting religious and erotic themes, Munrow's *Radio Times* program indicates he heralded spiritual and ancient themes for this first episode:

The flute has age-old magical associations. Aztec slaves played it before being sacrificed: in Africa it brought rain and was a giver of life. David Munrow recreates the music and myth of early instruments before an invited audience.⁴⁴

Munrow's emphasis on the magical associations of the Western symphony orchestra's ancestors could display a deliberate resonance to the cluster of 1970s television/film works discussed previously. At the same time, the extent to which themes of spirituality, primitivism, and ritual were informed by Sachs can also be seen in the first sequence of *Ancestral Voices*, which considers the human body an instrument:

What were the first musical instruments? Well I think the audience here can answer that question if you just stamp your feet and clap your hands a moment. Well that's the answer! The first musical instrument was the human body itself. From the earliest music, a simple rhythmic accompaniment like that which accompanied dancing. And that takes us back to pre-history, to the earliest days of mankind when clapping and stamping developed naturally as a part of the unique instinct for rhythm that separates man from the primates.⁴⁵

This appears to come from the following passage by Sachs:

Actually he [early man] was quite unaware, as he stamped the ground or slapped his body, that in his actions were the seeds of the earliest instruments. [...] But man alone, apparently, is [...] gifted with conscious rhythm.⁴⁶

Other sequences from *Ancestral Voices* show clear allegiances and overlap with Sachs's content, maintaining the drama of mysticism and primitivism. A reading (voiced by Alan Lumsden) concerning the ritual of the Maidu Indians in Southern California is used to suggest development of rattling instruments to evoke a rattlesnake in an eerie ritual, directly quoting an anthropologist himself quoted by Sachs.⁴⁷ Similarly drawn from Sachs is the series' link of unexpected sounds such as a gourd rattle to introduce the bull-roarer and its use by Malayan boys to frighten the elephants away.⁴⁸ A further example concerns drums, which—as Munrow explains—occupy “a special place of honour in primitive societies.” Here, too, the material, addressing the practicality of drum ceremonies for maintaining good condition of drum skins before taking up the phallic significance of drum sticks, is taken from an anthropologist's visit to the Banyankole, first published in 1923, and quoted in Sachs.⁴⁹ On the one hand, concordances may be specific, as in the shared use of a passage from Ernest Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms*, which, in the context of courtship, forbade the use of flute for serenading.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the script exhibits general beliefs of the time, found in Sachs, assumptions that place the modern, urban instruments of the orchestra and the timeless instruments of folk culture from the countryside on a continuum. It is the peasant nature of these folk instruments that indicates why we can still find them and use them as exemplars of olden times.

(p. 235) If the debt this first *Ancestral Voices* script pays to Sachs is clear, it is also understandable that the work of a distinguished academic should be used to script a factual television series. Yet, despite Sachs's formidable academic standing in the field of organology, we do not find Munrow relying on his book for repeated quotations elsewhere. In fact, *The History of Musical Instruments* appears just twenty times in the 813 footnotes to Munrow's own book, and it is therefore a surprise to see it used so heavily here. This may suggest that it was Kriwaczek who quoted so liberally from Sachs. This

does not negate the possibility that Munrow suggested the entire project and, indeed, the use of Sachs as a foundation. Put simply, the evidence does not suggest that either writer significantly disagreed with the other's ideas.

If Munrow was not the only writer of *Ancestral Voices*, neither can his responsibility for specific passages be conclusively established. Indeed, the problematic authorship of *Ancestral Voices* is one of the keys to understanding the series. The scripts would have been commissioned and overseen by the BBC producer Paul Kriwaczek, who would have also been responsible for the final editing of the broadcast version of the program. Kriwaczek also had notable musical interests and a particular expertise in Asian current affairs, possibly as a result of his stint practicing as a doctor in central Asia, Southern Africa, and Afghanistan before joining the BBC in 1970 and working for Further Education Television and the Asian Service. He was a multilinguist and enthusiastic musician, at one point filing a patent for a "string organ" he had invented.⁵¹ Later in life he wrote books on early civilizations and Jewish and Islamic history. His son, Rohan Kriwaczek, remembered his father's musical involvement in *Ancestral Voices* as being practical and hands-on:

My father [...] was making a TV series on ancient music, with David Munrow, and for two weeks the front room of our Golders Green house was filled with copies of ancient instruments, working props for the show. ... At weekends, when he was home, he would take me in there and demonstrate the instruments. ... I particularly remember the ancient Egyptian harp, modelled on pictures found in tombs. [...] my obsession with ethnic instruments I am sure started there, together with the set of bagpipes my father made from an old car inner tube and some drilled metal piping.⁵²

Kriwaczek is here remembered as not only able to demonstrate the instruments himself but also to have made his own set of bagpipes from modern materials, pointing toward a particular personal interest and involvement beyond commissioning David Munrow to write a script. In an email exchange with a prospective Munrow biographer in 2005, Kriwaczek recalled the difficult circumstances surrounding the script preparation and how that impacted on his own role as BBC producer:

I wrote the draft scripts, which he [Munrow] was supposed to turn into his own words. We began in the studio at 10:00 each morning. Munrow insisted on delivering the finalised scripts at midnight the evening before, so that I had to work all night to prepare the camera script—and was myself not in the best shape to do the difficult job of directing the large assembly of craftspeople involved in any television production.⁵³

(p. 236) This email suggests that it was Kriwaczek who designed the outline of the scripts and therefore he who quoted liberally from Sachs. Yet it does not negate the possibility that Munrow suggested the entire project or the use of Sachs as a foundation for the material. Put simply, the evidence does not suggest that either writer significantly disagreed with the other's ideas.

Furthermore, the *Radio Times* listing—despite only crediting Munrow as the writer—states, “series devised and directed by Paul Kriwaczek.”⁵⁴ Evidence for Munrow personalizing the narrative rather than writing it completely can also be found in the scripts for Program 2 (brass instruments) and Program 4 (strings) preserved in the archives of the Royal Academy of Music, which both show annotations in Munrow’s hand. However, there are important differences between these scripts: They are typed on different machines with different styles of layout and the strings script exhibits a higher volume of annotation, whereas the brass script is more colloquial in style, with many of Munrow’s asides written out in full. Notably, this brass script contains demonstration sequences such as the following:

A bewildering variety of subtle rhythms are used in the droning which accompanies aboriginal ceremonies, and dijerdoo [sic] players display a virtuoso technique. There are the “spat” notes jumping from one octave to another:

Demonstrates

And players speak into the instruments whilst playing:

Demonstrates

And sing as well, usually in a high falsetto:

Demonstrates⁵⁵

This suggests a script already adjusted by Munrow, since detailed demonstrations would likely have been plotted by the performer himself. Furthermore, the document itself shows signs of use in the television studio since it contains stage directions such as “get to drums” or “seated, on high stool,” which could only have been worked out after the camera script was planned. Several of Munrow’s stock phrases identifiable from other scripts also occur. One example may be found from the discussion of brass instruments in North Africa. “In Morocco and many other places in the near and far east,” the script reads, “the trumpeter is still very much a one note man.”⁵⁶ This is a phrase we also find in Munrow’s book: “The Moroccan trumpeter is very much a one-note man, quite content with a supporting role in the ensemble.”⁵⁷ We can, in fact, trace even further back to Anthony Baines’s *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, where he writes that “in the East a trumpeter is a one-note man, and bass at that.”⁵⁸ This incorporation of a Munrow stock phrase furthers the suggestion that this particular script has already been altered by Munrow.

The other script, “Strings,” is typed in the more usual BBC format with underlined title sequences and indented body text. The fact that the typed text contains no detailed demonstration sequences, only general indications for musical examples (e.g., “James plays (p. 237) Arab lute piece”); that it has fewer colloquialisms; and that it instructs the performers to “end with suitable piece” suggests the typed script is Kriwaczek’s.⁵⁹ Also

on the script are many informal annotations in Munrow's hand. Consider this annotation from the bottom of page 4a:

It's difficult to know quite how such a limited instrument could have such a devastating effect. The Greeks, after all, used the lyre mainly to accompany poetic recitation and singing. In the music contests—like those at Delphi—was a lyre section involving skilful Kithera accompaniment.⁶⁰

These annotations are consistently informal in tone, making them identifiable as Munrow's style and enabling us in turn to look at the other script and detect passages potentially inserted by Munrow. If Kriwaczek's recollection that Munrow delivered finalized scripts at midnight is accurate, then there may not have been time to turn Munrow's annotations into typescript.

Another distinguishing feature of Munrow's annotations is his reference to Eastern music and instruments and the notable slippage between them and folk instruments. This is a point that resurfaces several times. Take, for instance, this likely example of Munrow's informal tone in the brass program that concerns Moroccan trumpets:

It was eastern trumpets like that which first came to Europe in the time of the Crusades, and immediately became the prerogative of the aristocracy and nobility, as well as the herald of war, just as they had been for centuries in the East. Assyrian soldiers played them and in ancient Egypt two trumpets were buried with King Tutankamun [sic]; one of silver, one of copper both chased with intricate decoration. The story of what happened in 1939 when the BBC wanted to have one of them played in a live broadcast from the museum in Cairo is an object lesson in how not to treat very old and fragile instruments. The silver trumpet was to be played by a military bandsman from one of the units stationed in Egypt and he evidently had a bit of difficulty producing what he thought[t] was a good sound on the instrument. At a rehearsal one day he decided to try using his own mouthpiece. At this moment the director of the Cairo Museum and King Farouk came in, only to see the poor bandsman giving the mouthpiece a firm tap with his hands, as brass players do to get them properly seated, whereupon the priceless silver trumpet of King Tutankamun fell to pieces at King Farouk's feet. It took some hours of explanation and quite a lot of glue, before the instrument finally and rather querulously [sic] went on the air.

Gramophone: Tutenkamun's trumpets 0'30"

No wonder Plutarch described the Egyptian trumpet as sounding like an asses bray [sic]. I wonder what he would have said about the buccina played by Roman foot soldiers.⁶¹

This lost passage is typical of Munrow's style in that it addresses an Eastern lineage for many instruments. Two other features suggest this passage was penned by Munrow: first, the informal anecdotal nature of the passage and its use of a gramophone recording, con-

sistent with Munrow's style for his radio program *Pied Piper*. Second, the abstruse (p. 238) word *querulous* is used by Munrow in his Granada television series to describe the sound from a 1684 regal made by Haase.⁶² This anecdote was removed from the final edit, the broadcast linking directly from the Egyptian trumpets to Plutarch:

Assyrian soldiers played them in ancient Egypt: two trumpets were buried with King Tutankhamen. We're not quite sure what sort of music they may have played but Plutarch described the Egyptian trumpet as sounding like an ass's bray.⁶³

To continue this point we may consider the program on reed instruments where Munrow discusses the Crusades in the context of a regular anecdote about the history of the shawm:

Well, the shawm according to tradition was a Mohammeden invention developed at the court of Harun Al Rashid in the 8th century in Baghdad. And judging from folk music survivals all over the world today it must have been a devastating success in terms of decibels if nothing else. This shawm [holding] comes from China and here are some others from India, where it is called the shanai, from Egypt, from Turkey, from Morocco and nearer at home from Spain and Brittany. And in all of these places it comes as no surprise to discover that the shawm is played out of doors.⁶⁴

This particular story is told elsewhere by Munrow with an emphasis on crusaders capturing a shawm player and bringing him back to the West. For *Ancestral Voices*, this shawm segment has been shorn of Munrow's remarks found previously in concert notes about crusaders having their "ears assaulted" and "senses terrified" by the sound of shawms or by having "captured" and "tamed" by Eastern shawm players.⁶⁵ Again, the uncertain authorship of the script and, indeed, the editing process may have contributed to this change in the story of the shawm's history, but the point about its non-European parentage has been retained.

The above examples show us how passages in informal style, likely penned by Munrow, frequently refer to the Orient, folk, and/or the primitive. Certainly these alleged Munrow insertions negate cultural histories, and although they are evolutionist, they do not always hierarchize and dominate the way Said describes. For this reason some, but not all, may be considered orientalist.⁶⁶ With such insertions, Munrow appears to be offering a similar narrative to that which we observed from Thomas Binkley, a narrative that proposes Western medieval music is not purely Western at all. For instance, at another point in *Ancestral Voices*, we see Munrow introduce an anecdote that requires the use of one of his own folk instruments collected during his gap year in Peru. It concerns a South American recorder carved from an organ pipe:

I suppose the most common type—and I must admit, the easiest to play—is the recorder prototype with its built-in whistle mouthpiece [demo]... Actually, does this instrument remind you of another one that you might see in church for instance? [audience: "organ"] An organ pipe! Well that's just what it is! In fact when

the Spaniards conquered South America and set the Indians busy building their big (p. 239) cathedral churches they set them to build the organs inside them too. And at some stage, one day, an Indian must have pinched an organ pipe, taken it home, bored holes down the front turned it into a recorder. And as a result in Peru today a renaissance organ has turned into a folk instrument.⁶⁷

Drawing on Munrow's own experience, this anecdote suggests a West-East counterflow while still reporting Spanish domination. The fact that the program then goes on to recount the creation myth of the Navajo Indians of America strongly suggests that among the many theories regarding the origins of the Native American flute, Munrow was keen that viewers should be aware of some that privileged Native American agency. This suggests he did not want to privilege the "passive" view of the colonial enterprise and was keen to show that influence is not always in one direction only. Munrow therefore complicates the general narrative of the series, which otherwise tends to stress how Eastern instruments are developed by the West.

However, Munrow also suggested that in some parts of the world instruments were being made the same way for centuries. As Munrow put it for an interview on *Woman's Hour*, when he related his youthful traveling experiences,

I made a marvellous journey down the Andes from Peru going down almost to the Tierra del Fuego in Chile and back again all by land and I came across instruments like the flute and the recorder and the harp, which had been brought over by the conquistadores and adopted by the Indians and they'd kept them, you know, in exactly the same way. You know they'd gone on making them in the same way that flutes and recorders and harps were made in the renaissance and that was really when I started collecting instruments.⁶⁸

One can read here a tacit assumption that the society in question has remained unchanged while the West is viewed as a center of development. Munrow observed folk instruments in South America as a young man and from these observations he extrapolated a folk tradition that valued continuity. This idea of folk as a key to older musical traditions returns throughout Munrow's work and demonstrates how both folk and oriental influences can be used to offer a sort of living history, as well as an alternative to Western norms. These observations from his experience in South America also suggest that Munrow's folk instrument knowledge privileges personal experience over scholarly literature. He frequently chooses his own folk instrument collection over visual iconography to demonstrate earlier instrumental forms.

With its emphasis on the origins of familiar instruments through myth, magic, religion, and the exotic, *Ancestral Voices*, following the dictates of "drama" in television, tends to privilege the arcane and emphasize the "eerie." The series illustrates that such arcana can still be detected in the ancestry of our modern instruments and, in many cases, still exerts a significant influence.

Having explored the notion of slippage between Eastern and folk categories in these television scripts, we should note that there are also instances of Eastern references that are readily identifiable as orientalism in *Ancestral Voices*. Arguably the most obvious (p. 240) and consistent instance of orientalism is the performance of music from other cultures by Western musicians from staff-notation transcriptions, thus inserting the material into a Western European framework. Munrow's papers for *Ancestral Voices* include a Bhatiali transcribed for flute in common time, D major labeled "up 4th."⁶⁹ The fact that in this program Western musicians appear to "represent" Bengali music is itself a form orientalism. Viewers trust the song is performed with appropriate cultural understanding but are left unaware that it is an oral tradition, which is performed here from Western notation. In this respect, *Ancestral Voices* articulates a clear Western viewpoint on music, a viewpoint that Munrow unexpectedly admits in the last episode.

Munrow's Caveat

I have argued so far that Munrow softens the standard textbook musicology in Kriwaczek's scripts toward his own anecdote-based narrative focused on instrumental demonstration and performance. In doing so, he reveals a viewpoint of other musical cultures that could be understood as reinscribing orientalism. In fact, throughout the first four episodes Munrow portrays a confident Western viewpoint; wearing bright shirts with bold patterns and fashionably wide collars and cuffs, he is joined by other British musicians to play vibrant renditions of folk and early music from modern notation on a wide array of instruments: ethnic, antique, reconstructed, or modern, they play them all themselves. He also frequently invests the instruments with an "eeriness" and distance—which reflects back on the *Ancestral Voices* title—through sequences that involve colored lighting and performers in silhouette. The visual power of Munrow and his colleagues for dominating a variety of categories of Other, the folk and the primitive, is as inescapable as it is unquestioned. It comes as a surprise, therefore, to find a subtle caveat at the beginning of the last episode just after the opening musical sequence where Rudrani Balakrishnan (the only person of color to participate) plays the veena:

With our story about the evolution of musical instruments we could be accused of a certain amount of bias. In the first four programmes in this series the story has been: primitive man invented it, and we developed it retaining some of the old myth and magic. And behind it all has been the underlying assumption that the western symphony orchestra represents the ultimate stage in the process of evolution: each instrument a testament to man's musical and scientific ingenuity. Yet, we have no instrument as exotic as the Indian *veena* you have just heard. We've got nothing as sensual as the Japanese *shakuhachi*, no violin as soft as the Chinese *huqin*, no instrument specifically designed to be played on horse-back like the Chinese *pipa*, nor one employed principally for seduction like the *shamisen* played by the Japanese Geisha girls. So, one way and another, we've missed out on quite a lot! What's more the civilizations outside Europe got going long before we did.⁷⁰

(p. 241) The passage—with its unexpected candor—appears to be written by Munrow himself since the language closely follows his informal style.⁷¹ Munrow's caveat suggests his unease with the evolutionary language of Curt Sachs and appears to question the very idea that "evolution" is always positive. Indeed, Munrow suggests that instruments have not always been improved as they have developed.

One possible reading for this caveat being placed in the last episode of the series rather than being up front in the first was suggested by Kriwaczek himself: Since Munrow returned personalized scripts the night before each filming date, he may not have formed an overall opinion of the series until production started. Furthermore, if we accept for the moment that the language of this caveat is Munrow's, then one possible reading of its placement late in the series is that Munrow is making a desperate, late attempt to modernize Kriwaczek's script and thus redeem the series from overt Western superiority. This is not to suggest that Kriwaczek was trying to peddle imperialist attitudes; indeed, he once referred to himself as "master of the tertiary source" and readily acknowledged his limitations.⁷² However experienced he was as a researcher and writer, it is entirely possible that Kriwaczek did not follow the latest developments in musicology. This is not to imply that he was unquestioning in his use of material, but rather to suggest that he would likely be unaware of new developments in early music performance and the general tenor of unpublished scholarly debate at that time. Yet this reading is complicated by Munrow's own scripted orientalism, which we have already traced. Since these do not suggest that Munrow was aware of assuming Western superiority, it is more likely that this late inclusion suggests Munrow wanted to make viewers aware he was unfairly stressing the evolutionary nature for dramatic reasons and that he felt that he should safeguard against misunderstanding of that enthusiasm. Certainly, Munrow was painfully aware of critical judgment throughout his career and once remarked in an interview,

Sometimes I just feel the arrows being sharpened by the specialists, so that you get to the stage that you write programme notes almost to pluck out the barbs in advance. I prefer those who come to try and enjoy the *performances*, rather than indulging in one-upmanship.⁷³

With the reference to voices that the title *Ancestral Voices* carries, it is striking that the series almost entirely ignores singing. Munrow's thoughts on singing remained unpublished during his lifetime, despite the fact that two talks, with accompanying recordings, can be found among his papers.⁷⁴ It is also significant that the script of *Ancestral Voices* departs from Sachs's first chapter only when singing is mentioned. And when singing is alluded to during the demonstration of the didgeridoo, Munrow avoids further exploring this path. This further suggests that Munrow's agenda is fixed firmly on the evolution of musical instruments, inviting the question, what was the motivation for *Ancestral Voices*? Remembering Thomas Binkley's use of Arab-Andalusian instruments and Yri's suggestion that "the Studio's performances are better viewed as anti-Eurocentric undertakings (p. 242) that complicate the West-versus-East paradigm," we could view Munrow's tendency to look East for origins as part of the same 1960s iconoclastic concept that Yri points out.⁷⁵ It appears that Munrow shifts emphasis away from a purely Western lineage for

Western music history and casts the net wider to include influences across cultural and geographic boundaries, potentially as a result of his engagement with popular culture.

Conclusions

The BBC television series *Ancestral Voices* presented the evolution of musical instruments with an emphasis on myth, magic, religious, and exotic associations. The series was presented by David Munrow, a high-profile BBC music presenter who was also one of the most famous performing musicians in early music, particularly notable as a specialist in rare woodwind instruments. Munrow was given scripts for *Ancestral Voices* by the producer Paul Kriwaczek that emphasized Curt Sachs's notion of instrumental evolution, which he then personalized to include anecdotes and musical sequences. Munrow's anecdotes laid emphasis on his own area of interest: the musical contact between Saracens and crusaders during the Middle Ages and other instances of contact between Eastern and Western musical cultures. Despite apparent unease with Curt Sachs's positivist narrative device centered on progress—instrumental evolution from primitive to modern Western forms—Munrow continued this theme until the final episode, when he drew attention to qualities not found in Western orchestral instruments and emphasized the early advancement of non-Western cultures. I suggest that this narrative device, with its emphasis on evolution, myth, and legend, was deliberately employed to align *Ancestral Voices* with countercultural music and film genres prevalent on the BBC in the 1960s and 1970s. Munrow's preoccupation with 'folk' as simultaneously an escape from modernity and his cultivation of all things 'eerie' resituates *Ancestral Voices* as an example of medievalism in popular culture.

Notes:

(1.) Initially known as the Early Music Consort.

(2.) For a survey of specific comments from Munrow's peers and reviewers about his popular appeal, see Edward Breen, "The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London: Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2014), 21–65.

(3.) Annette Kreutziger-Herr, "Medievalism," *Oxford Music Online*, accessed June 28, 2015, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/2261008>.

(4.) David Munrow speaking on *Talking about Music 161*, vol. 1, LP0200417, British Library Sound Archive, 1974.

(5.) Curt Sachs, "Primitive and Medieval Music: A Parallel," in "A Musicological Offering to Otto Kinkeldey upon the Occasion of His 80th Anniversary," supplement, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13, no. 1/3 (1960): 43.

- (6.) John Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity*, The New Middle Ages, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 3.
- (7.) Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism*, 6.
- (8.) Two notable examples, both explored later in this essay, are Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York: Norton, 1957); and David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- (9.) David Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music," in *The Future of Early Music in Britain*, ed. J. M. Thomson (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1.
- (10.) Kirsten Yri, "Noah Greenberg and the New York Pro Musica: Medievalism and the Cultural Front," *American Music* 24, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 422.
- (11.) *Ibid.*, 421–422.
- (12.) John Haines, "The Arabic Style of Performing Medieval Music," *Early Music* 29, no. 3 (2001): 369–378.
- (13.) *Ibid.*, 374.
- (14.) Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 1978): 3, as quoted in Yri, "Thomas Binkley and the Studio der Frühen Musik: Challenging 'The Myth of Westernness,'" *Early Music* 38, no. 2 (2010): 274.
- (15.) *Ibid.*, 279.
- (16.) *Ibid.*, 274, 279.
- (17.) Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1954; repr., 1963), 153–154.
- (18.) Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74–75. See also Edward Breen, *Thurston Dart and the New Faculty of Music at King's College, London: A Fiftieth Anniversary Biography*, 2015, accessed September 3, 2017, https://issuu.com/ahk-cl/docs/thurston_dart_and_music_at_kcl/1?ff=true&e=16507444/12965715.
- (19.) Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley," in *Essays in Honor of Laszlo Somfai on His 70th Birthday: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music*, ed. Laszlo Vikarius and Vera Lampert (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 52.
- (20.) Breen, "Travel in Space: Travel in Time; Michael Morrow's Approach to Performing Medieval Music in the 1960s," in *Studies in Medievalism* XXV, ed. Karl Fugelso (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 89–115.

- (21.) See Edward Breen, "David Munrow's 'Turkish Nightclub Piece,'" in *Representations of Early Music on Stage and Screen* (London: Routledge, 2018), 124–138; and Breen, "The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London."
- (22.) Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York: Norton, 1957).
- (23.) "Mr Munrow, His Study," presented by Jeremy Summerly, BBC Radio 4, January 7, 2006.
- (24.) J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*, music by David Cain, various artists with the Early Music Consort of London, dir. David Munrow, BBC Records, 1968. ISBN 0-563-38999-0 [CDx5] ZBBC1925.
- (25.) *The Hobbit*, 09/JH/JB Radio 4 (DA355H), BBC Written Archives Caversham, M31/1491, August 15, 1968, misc. MUC-MZ David Munrow.
- (26.) John Powell [liner notes] describing music by David Cain on *Four Radio Plays*, David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London, BBC Records 1971, stereo REC 91S.
- (27.) Paul Ferris, *The Observer*, October 27, 1968, quoted in John Powell [liner notes].
- (28.) Gillian Reynolds, *The Guardian*, September 30, 1968, quoted in John Powell [liner notes].
- (29.) See "Renaissance Suite," music composed and arranged for the soundtrack of the Joel Santoni film *La Course en Tete*, EMI Records HQS 1415, 1974.
- (30.) See Laurence Dreyfus's discussion of resistance against the modern classical canon in "Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (1983): 297–322.
- (31.) Greenberg, as cited in Yri, "The New York Pro Musica," 428.
- (32.) For a discography of Munrow's work, readers are referred to "David Munrow (August 12th, 1942–May 15th, 1976)—A Discography," last updated November 30, 2012, accessed December 12, 2012, <http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/munrow.html>.
- (33.) Pentangle and the David Munrow Ensemble, "Wondrous Love" (London Weekend Television, *Journey into Love*, 1971), available on Pentangle, *The Time Has Come, 1967–1973*. Castle Music CMXBX664, 2007, CD.
- (34.) For further evidence as to his influence on folk rock and progressive rock, see Section 5, "Echoes of the Middle Ages in Folk, Rock, and Metal," this volume, especially, Caitlin Carlos, "'Ramble On': Medievalism as Nostalgic Practice in Led Zeppelin's Use of J. R. R. Tolkien," and Scott Troyer, "Medievalism and Identity Construction in Pagan Folk Music."

(35.) Van der Graaf Generator's David Jackson, as quoted in Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1.

(36.) Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages*.

(37.) Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972); and Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London: Batsford, 1966).

(38.) "Listings," *Radio Times*, May 17, 1976, 29. All listings can be viewed at BBC Genome Project, accessed August 4, 2017, <http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?order=asc&q=ancestral±voices#search>.

(39.) David Munrow, "Instrumental Music from Scotland and Ireland, ca. 1970," DM/7/6, *Papers of David Munrow*, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

(40.) Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (London: Dent, 1942), 26–47.

(41.) Curt Sachs and E. M. von Hornbostel, "Systematik der Musikinstrumente," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* xvi (1914): 553–590, trans. *Galpin Society Journal*, xiv (1961): 3–29.

(42.) Howard Mayer Brown, "Sachs, Curt." *Oxford Music Online*, accessed October 1, 2017, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/24256>.

(43.) David Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," *Ancestral Voices*, prod. Paul Kriwaczek, BBC Television, May 1976.

(44.) BBC Genome Project.

(45.) We must allow for the possibility of Munrow misreading his own script on air, since humans are primates and it is not completely clear that other primates (and, indeed, some other animals) lack the instinct for rhythm. David Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," *Ancestral Voices*, prod. Paul Kriwaczek, BBC Television, May 1976.

(46.) Note how Sachs uses the word *apparently* to signal some inconclusivity over this: Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 25–26.

(47.) The anthropologist quoted is Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1877): 306. Quoted in Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 27, and appearing in Munrow's series entitled "Origins and Flutes."

(48.) Sachs discusses this in *The History of Musical Instruments*, 42; Munrow's sequence follows the rattle sequence in "Origins and Flutes."

(49.) John Roscoe, *The Banyankole* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1923), 44, condensed and quoted in Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 35.

- (50.) Ernest Hemmingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Scribner, 1929): 78, quoted in Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 45; used in Munrow, "Origins and Flutes."
- (51.) Hugh Purcell, "Paul Kriwaczek Obituary," *The Guardian*, March 17, 2011.
- (52.) "A Treasure Cave of Instruments," posted by Pied Piper (Robert Searle), DavidMunrow.org, April 8, 2009, accessed November 8, 2017, <http://www.earlymusic.co/davidmunrow/index.php?topic=101.msg181#msg181>.
- (53.) "Contemporaries of David Munrow Remember," posted by Pied Piper (Robert Searle), DavidMunrow.org, August 21, 2008, accessed November 8, 2017, <http://www.earlymusic.co/davidmunrow/index.php?topic=47.msg103#msg103>.
- (54.) BBC Genome Project, accessed August 11, 2017, <http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?order=asc&q=ancestral+voices&svc=9371535#search>.
- (55.) Munrow, "Origins and Flutes."
- (56.) Munrow, "Horns and trumpets," *Ancestral Voices*; also see "Kriwaczek—Music and Spare Scripts," ca. 1976, DM/6/4, *Papers of David Munrow*, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.
- (57.) Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 19. For the importance of Baines's book on Munrow's early musical development, see Breen, *David Munrow's "Turkish Nightclub Piece."*
- (58.) Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York: Norton, 1957), 231.
- (59.) See "Kriwaczek—Music and Spare Scripts," *Papers of David Munrow*.
- (60.) "Kriwaczek—Music and Spare Scripts," *Papers of David Munrow*.
- (61.) Ibid.
- (62.) Munrow, "Keyboards and Percussion," in *Early Musical Instruments*, dir. Peter Plummer, Granada Television (UK), October 1976; produced for DVD by David Griffith, Viking New Media 2007; accessed May 12, 2009, <http://www.DavidMunrow.org>.
- (63.) Munrow, "Horns and Trumpets," *Ancestral Voices*.
- (64.) Munrow, "Reeds," *Ancestral Voices*.
- (65.) For a detailed study of Munrow's shawm presentation, including these quotes and their relationship to Baines's *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, see Breen, *David Munrow's "Turkish Nightclub Piece."*
- (66.) Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
- (67.) Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," *Ancestral Voices*.
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(68.) Munrow interviewed on *Woman's Hour*, presented by Sue MacGregor, BBC Radio, September 3, 1975.

(69.) The surviving musical scripts in Munrow's hand are all in staff notation, including "Bhatiali" (Bengali Boatman's Song). See "Kriwaczek—Music and Spare Scripts."

(70.) Munrow, "Zithers and Keyboards," *Ancestral Voices*.

(71.) A written copy of this script is not preserved among Munrow's other papers. However, the language has direct parallels in Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 5. It also closely resembles a 1943 essay by a founding member of the Galpin Society who complains of modern instruments that "we are well content to let these sleek and efficient prototypes stand token for the whole of their several ancestries": Eric Halfpenny, "The Influence of Timbre and Technique on Musical Aesthetics," *The Music Review* iv (1943): 250.

(72.) Daniel Snowman, "Obituary for Paul Kriwaczek," *The Independent*, April 11, 2011.

(73.) Alan Blyth, "David Munrow Talks to Alan Blyth," *Gramophone*, May 1974, 2010.

(74.) Munrow, "Vibrato," in *Papers of David Munrow*, DM 9/11, Royal Academy of Music Library, London, ca. 1970; and Munrow, "What Should It All Sound Like?," in *Papers of David Munrow: DM 9/14*, Royal Academy of Music Library, London, ca. 1970. A spool of audio tape (¼ inch) in its original box, which has written on it "title 'What should it all sound like?', duration '7½ mins.'" This spool has been transferred to CD and is available to listeners visiting the RAM archive. Both of these topics are covered in Breen, *The Performance Practice of David Munrow*.

(75.) Yri, "Thomas Binkley and the Studio der Frühen Musik," 274.

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