THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

THE HARP LUTE IN BRITAIN, 1800-1830

- A STUDY OF THE INVENTOR, EDWARD LIGHT AND HIS INSTRUMENTS -

A thesis submitted

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Hayato Sugimoto

The University of Edinburgh

2015

- Vol. 1 -

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work described within is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise. I further declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Hayato Sugimoto

ABSTRACT

The *harp lute* is a generic term given to certain types of plucked stringed instruments originally invented by an English musician-retailer, Edward Light, in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Combining elements of the highly popular contemporary instruments the harp and the guittar (English guitar), the ideal hybrid instrument, the 'harp lute' was constructed. Although the name 'lute' was given, since the body consisted of three or seven staves and integrated open major tuning with a natural scale for floating strings it is more closely related to the harp and the guittar than the conventional lute. Incessant application of inventors' changes to the instruments generated appearances in a variety of forms, sizes, designations and number of strings. Being moderately priced but excessively decorated and relatively easy to learn, harp lutes, as liberal arts instruments, quickly became fashionable in the London music scene, especially amongst middle class ladies. Despite being highly decorative instruments, harp lutes were normally very economic to make. Their construction was adapted for the growth of mass-produced musical instruments, and was therefore moderately and affordably priced.

Aalthough there is a great number of surviving harp lutes in public museums, academic institutions, private collections, and a large quantity of published music, as well as archival sources related to the instruments kept in public libraries within researchable conditions, there has been hardly any serious academic study of these instruments since a 1908 survey by Robert Bruce Armstrong. Thereafter, problematically, many accounts relating to harp lutes have relied on erroneous aspects of his research (the date of invention 1798, for instance, may be wrong). This lack of substantial information induced further issues so that, due to the complexity of the instrument designs and the existence of the similar kinds, ambiguous designations have been applied to each model of harp lute, bringing with it added confusion in determining terminology. This thesis, therefore, aims to clarify the terminology and to provide a complete account of the harp lutes, particularly those by Edward Light, in the British Isles during the first half of the nineteenth century.

To enable classification of these instruments, it became important to research all

available information on Edward Light as musical instrument retailer, musician and inventor. Thus, all models of the harp lutes will be revealed chronologically, shedding light on their constructional transformation as opposed to musical aspects – if readers need more information on musical aspects, they should refer to Armstrong (1908); the purpose of this thesis is to clarify the evolutionary process of the harp lute with partial reference to the social and cultural changes in Britain. There will less focus on music. The inventor Edward Light's outstanding commercial acumen in musical instrument retailing and inventing will be highlighted, while in order to understand his attempts at harp lute manufacturing (in cooperation with the makers, e.g. Barry), which substantially underpinned Light's significant success, a copy of a harp-lute will be made to shed light on the hidden secrets in harp lute making.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

ABSTRACT ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x

INTRODUCTION: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO HARP LUTES 1

ABOUT THE HARP LUTE AND BREAKDOWN OF CHAPTERS 2

TERMINOLOGY 10

CONVENTIONS 16

ABBREVIATIONS 23

RESEARCH SOURCES 27

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 30

CHAPTER ONE: PREVIOUS RESEARCH 32

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW 33

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 44

CHAPTER TWO: THE PRE-HISTORY OF HARP LUTES 47

2.1 MOTIVATIONS FOR THE INVENTION 48

2.2 PRE-HISTORY OF THE HARP IN BRITAIN FROM 1770-1800 54

2.3 POPULARITY AND MARKET PLACE OF THE HARP FROM 1770-1850 59

2.4 INFLUENCE OF THE HARP ON LIGHT'S INVENTION 64

2.5 THE PRECURSOR: THE GUITTAR 67

2.5.1 THE GUITTAR AS A LADIES INSTRUMENT 68

2.5.2 THE POPULARITY OF THE GUITTAR 71

2.5.3 PRICES FOR THE GUITTAR 73

2.5.4 PORTABILITY OF THE GUITTAR 76

2.5.5 NOVELTY OF THE GUITTAR 77

CHAPTER THREE: EARLY CAREER OF EDWARD LIGHT **80**
3.1 BACKGROUND 82
3.2 MR. LIGHT AS MUSICIAN AND RETAILER 92
3.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF PROMOTIONAL METHODS 97
3.4 IMPLICIT PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST INVENTION 100
CHAPTER FOUR: EARLY INVENTIONS OF LIGHT **103**
4.1 FIRST INVENTION: THE HARP-GUITAR 104
4.1.1 PORTABILITY OF THE HARP-GUITAR 106
4.1.2 PRICE OF THE HARP-GUITAR 107
4.1.3 EASE OF LEARNING OF THE HARP-GUITAR 108
4.1.4 LIGHT'S MULTI-TALENTEDNESS 108
4.1.5 SALES TARGET OF THE HARP-GUITAR 109
4.1.6 EXCLUSIVENESS IN SALES AND INSCRIPTIONS 110
4.1.7 COMPARISON IN CONSTRUCTION 114
4.1.8 CONTEMPORARY INSTRUMENTS 128
4.2 INTRODUCTION OF THE ARCH-LUTE-GUITTAR 129
4.3 EMERGENCE OF COUNTERFEIT INSTRUMENTS 135
4.4 FAILURE OF NEW INVENTION: DIPLO-KITHARA 137
4.5 BIRTH OF THE HARP-LUTE-GUITAR AND THE TERM 'APOLLO LYRE' 138
4.5.1 COMPARISON OF THE HARP-LUTE-GUITARS 142
4.5.2 CUSTOMERS FOR THE HARP-LUTE-GUITAR AND SEASONS 149
4.5.3 NEW INVENTION: LYRE HARP 149
4.5.4 PRE-GOLDEN AGE 150
CHAPTER FIVE: THE HEIGHT OF PROSPERITY **152**
5.1 NEW INVENTION: THE APPOLO LYRE 153
5.1.2 COMPARISON OF THE EXTANT INSTRUMENTS 154
5.1.3 APOLLO LYRES BY BARRY 154
5.1.4 HARLEY'S APPOLO LYRES 162
5.1.5 APPOLO LYRES BY WORNUM 167
5.1.6 APOLLO LYRES BY CLEMENTI & CO. 173
5.1.7 CURIOSITY OF THE APOLLO LYRE 179
5.2 NEW INVENTION: THE HARP-LUTE (1807 – 1814) 182

5.2.1 BEYOND HARP-LUTE SALES 184
5.2.2 PROTOTYPE OF THE HARP-LUTE 185
5.2.3 HARP-LUTES BY WARD, LIVERPOOL 189
5.2.4 HARP-LUTES BY CLEMENTI & CO. 192
5.2.5 DAN WARNER HARLEY 194
5.2.6 HARP-LUTES BY BUCHINGER 196
5.2.7 EARLIER PILLAR, STOPS, STRING ARRANGEMENT 199
5.2.8 THE BASS-LYRE 201
5.2.9 PARTITION OF THE NUT 203
5.2.10 KEY-SHAPED CAPOTASTO AND STRING GUIDE 205
5.2.11 RING STOPS AND SHORTER FINGERBOARD 208
5.2.12 MODIFICATION TO BE A GUITTAR 209
5.2.13 NEW MANNER OF DECORATION AND RAISED PRICE 213
5.2.14 FINAL PHASE OF IMPROVEMENT 218
5.2.15 LIGHT'S SALES SYSTEM 221
5.3 IMPROVED APOLLO LYRE 225
5.4 THE STANDARDISED HARP-LUTE (1814) 227
5.4.1 FIVE-HUNDRED USERS AND SERIAL NUMBER 229
5.4.2 STANDARDISATION 232
5.4.3 NEW PILLAR IN CORINTHIAN ORDER 238
5.4.4 VARIETY OF ORNAMENTATION 241
5.4.5 THE WORK OF PICTURE FRAME MAKERS 242
5.5 BARRY AS A HARP MAKER 244
5.6 NEW INVENTION: HARP-LYRE 248
5.7 GROWTH IN COUNTERFEIT INSTRUMENTS 252
CHAPTER SIX: COMPETITORS, PATENT AND DECLINE 254
6.1 COMPETITION 255
6.1.1 IMPERIAL HARP LUTE BY VENTURA 255
6.1.2 IMPERIAL OCTAVINO BY VENTURA 261
6.1.3 THE HARP LUTES BY LEVIEN 265
6.1.4 J. S. RICHARDSON 275
6.1.5 REGENCY HARP LUTE BY WHEATSTONE 276

6.2 PATENT: BRITISH LUTE HARP 290
6.2.1 GENERAL SALES OF THE BRITISH LUTE HARP 292
6.2.2 EARLIER PRODUCTION AND PRICE 294
6.2.3 CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENTS 299
6.3 NEW INVENTION: DITAL-HARP 310
6.3.1 EARLIER DESIGN OF THE DITAL-HARP 310
6.3.2 DEFINITION OF THE DITAL-HARP 312
6.3.3 HIGHER PRICE OF THE DITAL-HARP 315
6.3.4 DISPOSAL OF OLD STOCK 316
6.3.5 CONSISTENT SALES METHODS 317
6.3.6 CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENTS TO THE DITAL-HARP 320
6.3.7 INSCRIPTION ON 'DITAL-HARP' 327
6.3.8 PRODUCTION OF THREE-HUNDRED INSTRUMENTS 332
6.4 THE BRITISH LUTE 333
6.5 THE BRITISH HARP 338
6.6 FINAL PHASE OF PRODUCTION 342
6.7 *GUITARE HARPE* BY LEVIEN 347
6.8 DECLINE OF LIGHT'S BUSINESS 356
6.9 EPILOGUE TO THE HARP LUTES – THE HARP VENTURA 360

CHAPTER SEVEN: REPRODUCTION OF THE HARP-LUTE 369
7.1 PURPOSES AND RESEARCH QUESTION 370
7.1.1 INCREASING DEMAND FOR ORNAMENTATION 370
7.1.2 CONSTRUCTIONAL SIMPLICITY 375
7.2 DEFINITIONS AND INSTRUMENT SELECTION 379
7.2.1 ASSIGNMENT OF THE REPRODUCTION 380
7.2.2 SELECTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS 380
7.3 TECHNICAL DRAWING AND HYPOTHESIS 388
7.3.1 TECHNICAL DRAWING 388
7.3.2 HYPOTHESIS 407
7.4 SELECTION OF MATERIALS 417
7.5 REPRODUCTION AND OUTCOMES 420
7.5.1 BODY 420

7.5.2 NECKS 436
7.5.3 PILLAR 444
7.5.4 ASSEMBLY 452
7.5.5 OUTCOMES 455

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION 459
8.1 HISTORY OF THE HARP LUTE 460
8.2 EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH 465
8.3 POTENTIAL RESEARCH AREAS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH 465

APPENDICES 467

APPENDIX i: NOMENCLATURE 467
NOMENCLATURE 468
Harp-Guitar 469
Harp-Lute-Guitar 471
Harp-Lute 473
Harp-Lyre 476
British Lute Harp 479
Dital-Harp 482
British Lute 486
British Harp 489
guitare harpe 492
Regency Harp Lute 496
Imperial Harp Lute 500
Harp Ventura 503
Apollo Lyre 510
Bass-Lyre 516
Arch-Lute-Guittar 520
EXEPTIONS 529

APPENDIX ii: LIST OF EXAMINED INSTRUMENTS AND COMPARISON IN MEASUREMENTS **534**
I. GENERAL DIMENSIONS 535
II. STRING LENGTHS 539
III OTHER PARTS WORTHY OF MENTION 546
APPENDIX iii: LIST OF RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS TO THE HARP LUTE **555**
APPENDIX iv: LIST OF MUSICIAN-INVENTORS' ADDRESSES **565**
APPENDIX v: LIST OF PRICES FOR THE HARP LUTES **570**
APPENDIX vi: IMAGES OF REPRODUCTION PROCESS **572**
APPENDIX vii: TECHNICAL DRAWING OF THE HARP-LUTE **613**
BIBLIOGRAPHY **617**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would simply have not been possible without the generous help of a number of people who have supported me in different ways. First, I would like to thank my academic supervisors, Dr. Darryl Martin, Principal Curator, and Prof. Arnold Myers, Curator Emeritus, of the Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh (formerly known as Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments). They have willingly provided me with useful remarks, ideas and knowledge that shaped my research throughout this project, bringing me in contact with various music museum professionals, and musical instrument scholars and researchers. Dr. Martin has helped me out by supervising my research at various stages, particularly in constructing academic arguments, from which a great quantity of valuable observations and ideas emerged. Prof. Myers has kindly given his time to correct my English writing, not only of this thesis but also of various proposals (abstracts) and papers that have been presented in a number of conferences, often offering precise feedback and that no doubt considerably improved my research. To complete this thesis, their support was of great importance; and without which my work would have been much more dull and far less interesting.

Similarly, I am thoroughly grateful to the scholars, Dr. Panagiotis Poulopoulos and Dr. James Westbrook, who recommended harp lutes as a fruitful area for research. They have kindly shared their knowledge and information with me at various occasions, making significantly useful remarks and pertinent suggestions, with which I was able to conduct my research towards an appropriate goal. Having completed their PhDs with a study of British guitars, both have always encouraged me to study hard, guiding me in the right direction and stimulating my interests in the study of musical instruments. Without their advice and inputs, the work would never be completed.

For examining and photographing surviving instruments, and for excellent treatment during research visits, I am deeply indebted to those who work in the following museums and collections, presented below with their names in brackets: Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, Oxford (Andrew Lamb); Birmingham Conservatoire, Birmingham (Martin Perkins); Danish Music Museum, Copenhagen (Lisbet Torp and

Ture Bergstrøm); Dean Castle, Kilmarnock (Linda Fairlie and Bruce Morgan); Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh, Edinburgh (John Raymond) Fenton House, London (Mimi Waitzman); Hamamatsu Museum of Musical Instruments, Shizuoka, Japan (Kazuhiko Shima and Toru Umeda); Horniman Museum, London (Margaret Birley, Adrian Holloway, Helen Merrett, Mimi Waitzman and Bradley Strauchen); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Jayson Dobney); Musashino Academia Musicae, Museum of Musical Instruments, Tokyo (Noburo Morishige and Makiko Sudo); Musée de la Musique, Paris (Joël Dugot); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Darcy Kuronen and Michael Suing); Museum of the Osaka College of Music, Osaka, Japan (Hiroko Motooka and Yoko Shiotsu); Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin (Heidi von Rüden); Musikmuseet, Stockholm (Dan Johansson and Eva Olandersson); Musikmuseum, Basel (Martin Kirnbauer); Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (Madeleine Ding); Ringve Museum, Trondheim (Mats Krouthén and Daniel Winfree Papuga); Royal College of Music, London (Jenny Nex, Lydia Cracknell and Gabriele Rossi Rognoni); Royal Northern Collage of Music, Manchester (Anna Wright); Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm (Göran Grahn); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Max Donnelly and Kristian Volsing); Yale Collection of Musical Instruments, New Heaven (Nicolas Renouf).

I must also acknowledge the following who kindly allowed me to examine their instruments: Ian Grant, Neil Wayne and Toshihiko Togami (MG Company, Nagoya, Japan), and who have demonstrated the instruments for me allowing me to record the performance: Nancy Hurrell and Rob MacKillop. Additionally I owe my thanks to the following scholars, researchers and dealers for their generosity in exchanging background materials and providing useful resources: Catherine Peck, Gregg Miner, Jonathan Santa Maria Bouquet, Marie Kent, Rosemary Cook and Tony Bingham. For disregarding my academic guise, I would like to thank my friends Makoto Kaneko and Yusuke Kawada for their continuous support and cheering me up every time I have suffered difficult times. Moreover, in writing this thesis, the support of two people was enormous and worthy of mention; I must first give my warmest thanks to Haruka Sugimoto, my sister, who created all illustrations included in this thesis and, though not given in this thesis, the ones in the examination templates for harp lutes, and, I am also grateful to Eriko Nagao, my partner, for her help in compiling the documents I have

collected throughout the research and, above all, for her smile, patience, love and encouragement.

Finally, the road from a boy to PhD was paved with rigours and has never been predictable, but the immense support and understand of my parents have always enabled me to carry it through. In particular, my father, as a professor of sociology, sternly – but with love – has helped me out for constructing academic arguments and taught me to observe things in a broader perspective, while my mother has juggled household expenses to support my study and has been a cheerful helper lighting my path at all times. Every moment I consider them, I am overwhelmed with the deepest and warmest gratitude for their help. Last but also first, I must express my overflowing gratefulness to them for their incalculable financial aids and for all their endurance, stimulation, praising and love.

INTRODUCTION:

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO HARP LUTES

ABOUT THE HARP LUTE AND BREAKDOWN OF CHAPTERS

The *harp lute* is a generic term given to certain types of plucked stringed instruments originally invented by an English musician-retailer, Edward Light, in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Combining elements of the highly popular contemporary instruments the harp and the guittar,[1] the ideal hybrid instrument, the 'harp lute' was constructed. Although the name 'lute' was given, since the body consisted of three or seven staves and integrated open major tuning with a natural scale for floating strings it is more closely related to the harp and the guittar than the conventional lute. Incessant application of inventors' alterations to the instruments generated appearances in a variety of forms, sizes, designations and number of strings. Being moderately priced but excessively decorated and relatively easy to learn, harp lutes, as liberal arts instruments, quickly became fashionable in the London music scene, especially amongst middle class ladies.

Harp lutes can be grouped chiefly into five generations, primarily developed by Edward Light: *harp-guitar*, *harp-lute-guitar*, *harp-lute*, *British Lute Harp*, *and dital-harp*[2]. In addition to these, there were improved models (e.g. *guitare harpe* by Levien, *Imperial Harp Lute*, *Harp Ventura* by Ventura and *Regency Harp Lute* by Wheatstone),[3] differing in number of strings, shape of the instrument, and body width.

In terms of design and construction, harp lutes vary quite significantly depending on the models, thus there was no clear regularisation amongst them. However, as a rule, harp lutes usually have a front body in a trapezium shape with a rounded bottom, and a soundbox (back) similar to that of a harp. When viewed from the side, they are wedged shaped, almost like a right angled triangle, and when sliced progressively in a transverse plane from the widest point of the body to the neck block, the shape would be either half circular with a flattened top (three staves) or a half tetradecagon (seven staves). Most parts are usually made of sycamore, and the soundboard is commonly comprised

[1] The guittar, with double 't' in this thesis, indicates the instrument commonly known as the 'English guittar', which was widely used in the British Isles from the middle of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century.
[2] These terms are given by referring to the originally used designations by the inventor, Edward Light.
[3] These are the terminologies used by the original inventors.

of two pieces of spruce or other coniferous wood. The instruments are entirely covered with paint and often with gilded decorations. A wooden or painted soundhole rosette shows mainly three motifs: a sunburst around a cross, the Prince of Wales's feathers (typically seen on harp-lute-guitars and on some harp lutes), or occasionally an acanthus pattern.

For the tuning devices, the earlier models such as harp-guitars and harp-lute-guitars have wooden pegs, while harp-lutes and other slightly later models have brass-tuning pins, usually similar to that of a harp. Later models, such as the British Lute Harp and the dital-harp, usually have dital mechanisms for changing keys, with all gut strings fastened at either a fixed tie- or pin-bridge placed under the soundhole. The strings were from a harp,[4] recommended by the original inventor Edward Light, but some other harp lutes, such as the inventions by Levien, were more likely made of a gut and metal-overwound combination, commonly seen on Spanish guitars. The stringing arrangement of harp lutes varies considerably across different models, from six to nineteen single strings, as did the scaling due to their differing sizes.

Owing to their distinctiveness in form and appearance, the *Apollo Lyre* and *Arch-lute-guittar*[5] (the ten stringed lute?) are often excluded from the family of harp lutes, or their inclusion has been questioned. These instruments, however, were often manufactured by harp lute makers and introduced in the instruction books or advertisements together with the harp lutes. Therefore, they need to be included in this thesis, as do the *harp-lyre* and the *bass-lyre*.[6]

Despite being highly decorative instruments, harp lutes were normally economic to make. Their construction was adapted for the growth of mass-produced musical instruments, and was therefore moderately and affordably priced. For instance, although they appeared to be made of Brazilian rosewood, this was imitation-rosewood, intricately painted with the use of a graining tool, a technique commonly used in the

[4] Harps had overwound strings for the bass six strings, but it is very unlikely that harp lutes had them.
[5] The terminology *arch-lute-guittar* was created by the present author. More details will be discussed in Appendix i.
[6] The terminologies *bass-lyre*, were introduced by Gregg Minor – see <http://www.harpguitars.net/history/org/org-harp-lutes.htm>, (Accessed, 2012).

harp manufacturing of the day.[7] As with the finishing of the harp, the excessive ornamentation was no doubt emulating the contemporary art movement known as Regency Classicism, slightly different from its precursor 'neo classicism' which occurred during the reign of George III, using motifs and patterns from ancient Rome, Greece, Egypt, Chinoiserie and Naturalism (these were usually drawn in gilt paint on the dark coloured surface of the instrument). Harp lutes generally have no inserted purflings or bindings, with the exception of two models by Levien in the French style and the Regency Harp Lute by Wheatstone, constructed partly in the style of contemporary French-style Spanish guitars.

Harp lutes are basically tuned in open C major, like guittars: c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'', and, if a seventh or eighth string is included, usually the addition of G and F respectively (g-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'' or f-g-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g''). If they included bass floating strings, these would be tuned predominantly in the natural scale, as with the harp, while the remaining top three or four strings would be in open C major: g-c'-d'-e'-f'-g'-a'-b'-c''-e''-g''-c''' (on a typical harp-lute with twelve strings). Due to the longer scale length, they are usually tuned a sixth lower than the pitch of pianoforte or even of harp, and some later instructions suggest to tune the strings a minor seventh lower.[8] In relation to the Spanish guitar, that of the D corresponds with C on the harp lute (a tone higher than the Spanish guitar).[9] However, the later models being a form of portable harp, in particular the productions after the invention of the British Lute Harp including the dital-harp, do not need any transposing, meaning they are tuned at the same pitch as the piano and the harp.[10] Yet, it should be noted that the tuning methods

[7] Baldwin, (2013: 155).

[8] Edward Light (the inventor) mentioned, for instance, 'As the Harp-Lute, are tuned a sixth lower than the Piano, or Harp; when play'd together, the music must be transposed accordingly', Edward Light, *New and Compleat Instructions For playing on the HARP-LUTE, By Edwd Light, Lyrist, To Her Royal Highness, THE PRINCESS OF WALES*, (London: printed for the author, 1807-23), p.38, MS., BLL [e.312.b. (1)]. Or, 'Tune your fourth (a red string) [C] to the pitch of D [a minor seventh lower]', Edward Light, *INTRODUCTION to the Art of Playing On the HARP-LUTE & APOLLO-LYRE with suitable Lessons &c Composed & adapted BY Edwd Light, (Inventor), Lyrist To HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, The Princess of Wales*, (London: published by the author, c.1823), p.4, MS., BLL [e.138.uu. (1)].

[9] See A. B. Ventura, DUETTO CON VARIAZIONI The harp Lute & Spanish Guitar. Dedirato con permissione alla gentile e nobile Damigella, LADY ELIZABETH GRET. By ANGELO VENTURA. (London: Published by the author, c.1814), MS., BLL [b.60. (8)].

[10] Light claimed that 'the improved British Lute-Harp […] is now capable of performing Music generally, in the ORIGINAL KEYS as set either for the Harp, or Piano-Forte; consequently obviating all the inconvenience of transposition', Edward Light, *A New and Complete DIRECTORY to the Art of Playing*

of harp lutes are not that simple, as their systems and scaling were constantly being reformed. For example, Light's later models such as the British Lute Harp and dital-harp, being entirely portable, are tuned entirely in the natural (diatonic) scale. A significant amount of music for harp lutes has been published, consisting of popular airs, lessons, accompaniments for voice and pianoforte. The majority of surviving works are not compositions by renowned composers but by the inventor-musicians, Light, Levien and Ventura, or guitar tutors like Felice Chabran and Thomas Bolton.

Although there is a great number of surviving harp lutes in public museums, academic institutions, private collections and a large quantity of published music, as well as archival sources related to the instruments kept in public libraries, there has been hardly any serious academic study of these instruments since a 1908 survey by Robert Bruce Armstrong.[11] Thereafter, problematically, many accounts relating to harp lutes have relied on erroneous aspects of his research (the date of invention as 1798,[12] for instance, may be wrong). This lack of substantial information induced further issues that, due to the complexity of the instrument designs and the existence of the similar kinds, ambiguous designations have been applied to each model of harp lute, bringing with it added confusion in determining terminology. This thesis, therefore, aims to clarify the terminology as well as provide a complete account of the harp lutes, particularly those by Edward Light, in the British Isles during the first half of the nineteenth century.

To enable classification of these instruments, it became important to research all available information on Edward Light as musical instrument retailer, musician and inventor. Thus, all models of the harp lutes will be revealed chronologically, shedding light on their constructional transformation as opposed to musical aspects – if readers need more information on musical aspects, they should refer to Armstrong (1908); the purpose of this thesis is to clarify the evolutionary process of the harp lute with partial reference to the social and cultural changes in Britain. Therefore, there will less focus

---

on the Patent BRITISH LUTE-HARP, with suitable lessons, &c Composed, Arranged and Fingered by EDW^{D}. LIGHT. (Professor of Music.) Inventor and Patentee of the Above Instrument, (London: printed for the author, 1817), p.3, MS., BLL [h.998].

[11] Armstrong, (1908).

[12] The archive Armstrong referred to was identified in the process of this research; it was found that the reference was not sufficiently and evidently supported, thus the year is likely wrong – this will be explained later in detail.

on music. The inventor Edward Light's outstanding commercial acumen in musical instrument retailing and inventing will be highlighted, while in order to observe his attempts at harp lute manufacturing (in cooperation with the makers, e.g. Barry), which substantially underpinned Light's significant success – a copy of a harp-lute will be reproduced to shed light on the hidden secrets in harp lute making.

To begin with, in **Chapter 1**, past research is revised by presenting a critical review of the relevant literature. This review, by providing new evidence, will revise, refine and confirm previous research related to harp lutes. In addition to this revision, this chapter launches into a more in-depth analysis so as to make clear where information is lacking and where it is available, after which potential research questions and available sources will be presented.

The invention of the harp lute was a phenomenon that had not suddenly emerged from nowhere. As in the preliminary account, it was created to substitute for the harp and the guitar – a hybrid type of plucked stringed instrument. It is important to give a brief description of the circumstances in the British Isles, particularly in London, from the period of pre-invention leading up to the first model, 'harp-guitar', **Chapter 2** therefore intends to provide general information on the two instruments (harp and guittar) in relation to their popularity, position in the market place, customers and price. In describing the emergence of the harp and decline of the guittar in Britain around 1800, this chapter also attempts to highlight the public appetite for new sound and new, extravagant fashions, all of which gave rise to the invention of the harp lute.

Regarding the inventors, the lack of research – almost two hundred years of ignorance – has meant that although the three main inventor-musicians of harp lutes, Light, Levien and Ventura, regularly appear in many dictionaries, museum catalogues, instrument descriptions and musical instrument literature, little is known of their inventions. What little information exists has come from a very narrow range of sources – the limited quantity of directories, inscriptions on the instruments themselves, and an imperfect list of inventors' past addresses – leaving us with an unsatisfactory classification of the instruments. The history of the harp lute cannot be described without referring to these

musician-inventors,[13] entrepreneurs who were equally important for creating a new marketing scheme in musical instrument retailing as equally for encouraging a separation between invention and making, leading to the distinct differentiation of maker and inventor in Regency Britain. Nevertheless, this aspect of the harp lute has scarcely been discussed in any literature or previous research.

Chapter 3, therefore, attempts to present a more complete account of their role using the case study of the most important musician-inventor, originator, and founder of the harp lute, Edward Light, investigating and discussing his work as a dealer in musical instruments, music teacher, proprietor of music academies, inventor, and developer. Working in these multiple trades was established early on in his career, and this early success in instrument retailing and management of his music academies before 1800 will be presented, with an introduction explaining how he began in these professions. In addition, the survey will provide an in-depth exploration into how the prototype 'harp-guitar' came into existence by examining Light's businesses in teaching and retailing.

Light's first commercially successful harp lute was introduced to the public in 1800, and his unique marketing scheme, which remained consistent until the last model, will be presented in **Chapter 4**, where the superior marketing of the newly invented instruments will be discussed. This chapter also attempts to highlight characteristics of the earlier harp lutes, including construction, design and prices, with a comparison amongst the surviving instruments using visual images and measurements. While each model will be introduced in chronological order, using contemporary documents – mainly newspaper advertisements publicised by Light – ambiguous designations are also classified so that they correspond to those appearing in such archives. The models shown in this chapter were manufactured in the pre-golden age – before the introduction of the most successful and representative invention of Light: 'harp-lute'.

[13] The compound name of 'musician-inventor' was created by the author because musicians like Edward Light, Mordaunt Levien, and Angelo Benedetto Ventura, despite none of them being makers, invented their own instruments and were even granted patents. They should therefore be discussed as a new generation or a new group of people who adapted effectively to the transitional market of musical instruments during the period of industrial revolution.

Following the invention of the harp lute around 1807, along with his change of address to '8 Foley Place', Light's successful career as musician-inventor seems to have reached its height of prosperity – the golden age of the harp lute. Competitors gradually emerged during this time, manufacturing copies of Light's instruments without the inventor's permission. In response, Light continuously applied minor changes to the harp lute, eventually introducing a standard model with the introduction of serial numbers to distinguish his instrument from the others. Accordingly, **Chapter 5** attempts to illustrate his series of minor changes with in-depth accounts of each of Light's changes. As with the previous chapter, his other contemporaneous inventions will be presented in chronological order, providing their characteristics.

Around 1814, Light's competitors, such as Ventura and Levien, being musician-inventor themselves, began to enter the harp lute market. This seems to have been a turning point for Light, whose business suffered from the need to protect his instruments in a competitive market, eventually leading him to apply successfully for a patent for his new invention, the 'British Lute Harp', in 1816. This competition is worthy of discussion in a separate chapter, and is therefore examined in **Chapter 6,** which looks at the inventions of Light's rivals. Together with the presentation of Light's successive inventions in chronological order, the discrimination between the British Lute Harp and the dital-harp – for a long time a source of controversy amongst modern researchers and museum curators – will be clarified by providing new evidence and displaying the process of transformation from precursor to last model. Additionally, this chapter will look at the decline of Light's business, which coincided with the decline of harp lutes, with in-depth explanations combining written evidence and extant instruments. As an epilogue to the harp lute history, Ventura's invention in 1828, the Harp Ventura, will be briefly introduced since that was the last model of harp lute to appear in the British Isles.

As this is a PhD in Creative Music Practice, the making of an instrument has been an essential part of the process, and has influenced all arguments and the central thesis within this PhD. **Chapter 7**, therefore, intends to examine the hidden secrets of economical harp lute making, something which substantially underpinned Light's significant success in marketing and enabled his consecutive application of minor

changes and numerous transformations of designs and forms over a certain period. When analysing the series of harp lutes invented by Light, it was found that they all have something in common - their price. Despite the excessive ornamentation, the price of each instrument appears to have been rather cheap, particularly compared with harps themselves. The instruments were made from domestic materials – chiefly sycamore – and their manufacture eliminated those parts that would require highly skilled craftsmanship in woodworking (e.g. bindings and inlays on the edges of the body). As a method, and for the sake of argument, a copy of a harp-lute – a standardised model with a serial number – has been made and documented, exploring the economical construction of harp lutes through the process of making a technical drawing (hypothesis) and reproduction process (outcomes). Through that, this chapter reveals how there was less need of craftsmanship in the making of harp lutes, and how it was possible for a significant number to be machine-manufactured in the early years of industrial Britain.

Finally, **Chapter 8**, as conclusion, briefly reviews the significance of the harp lute in Regency Britain in connection to the research questions and suggests appropriate reasons for and opinions on the emergence of the harp lute in relation to the harp and the guittar, as well as contemporary trends in fashionable society and marketing within the industrial era. This chapter also suggests potential areas for future research, while evaluating this project. Additional supportive materials which could not be incorporated into the main text due to their size are listed in the Appendices, while references are alphabetically listed in the Bibliography.

TERMINOLOGY

To make the complexity and vagueness of the terminology employed in harp lutes clear and consistent in this thesis, a standard technical terminology is applied. Moreover, as harp lutes are hybrid instruments combining elements of harp and guittar and appearing in a variety of forms, their terminology has varied in the relevant literature and catalogue descriptions. It is, therefore, necessary to propose reliable standard terms to eliminate any inconsistency. In this section, with short discussions if necessary, the proposed terminology is presented, chiefly referring to long established terms used in harp and guittar (tt) or the guitar (t) literature. Therefore, these adopted terms are applied to the appropriate parts of the harp lute. Additionally in this section, in-depth discussion of the terminologies for each model of harp lute is avoided so as not to repeat the same arguments in the thesis.

First of all, the terms applied to the harp-lute are found below.

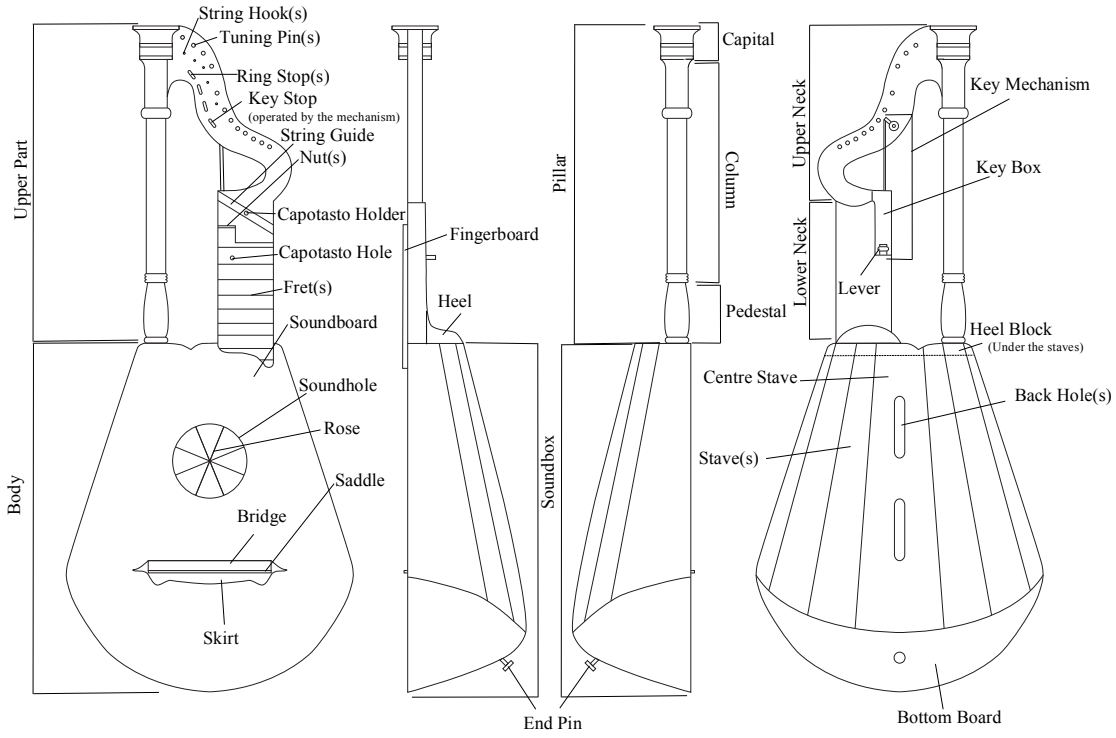


Fig. 1: Terminology of the harp-lute.[14]

The harp-lute was a neutral form of the instrument with a balance in adaptation from the harp and the guittar. It comprises all of the substantial parts of the other instruments, and its description is therefore a useful guide to the other models. The terms are illustrated in the figure above (Fig. 1).

[14] Illustration by Haruka Sugimoto.

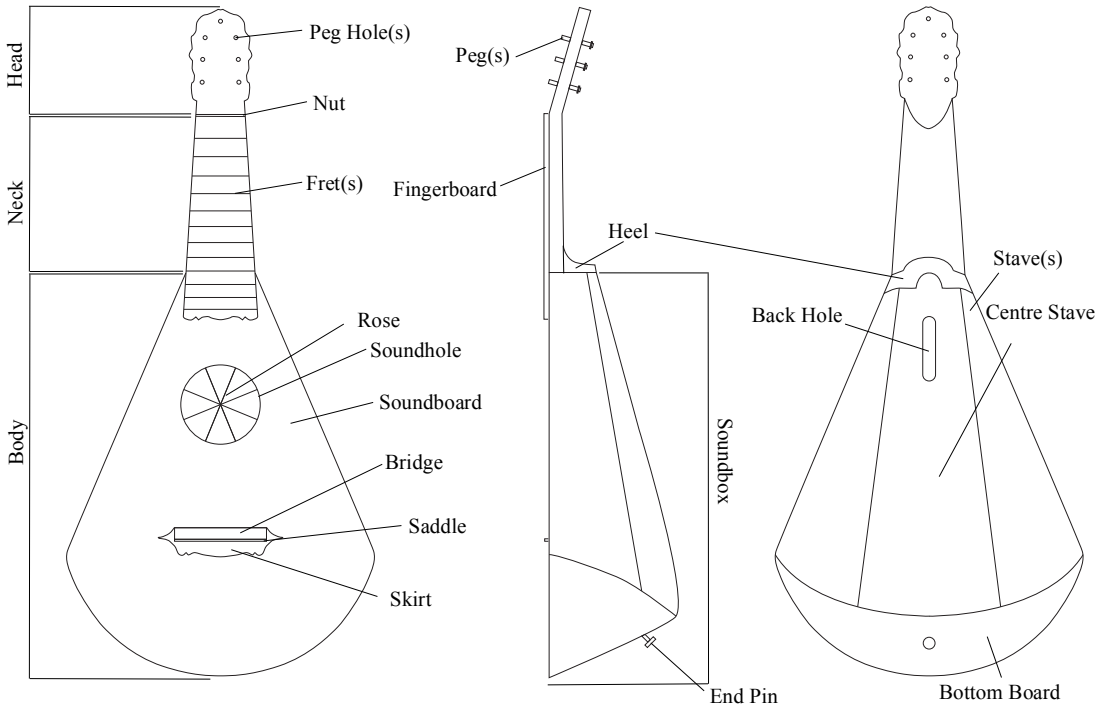


Fig. 2: Terminology for the harp-guitar.[15]

Secondly, the terms applied to the harp-guitar, an instrument which consisted mainly of guitar elements, are presented above, and refer to general descriptions of guitar types (Fig. 2).[16]

[15] Illustration by Haruka Sugimoto.

[16] Because Levien's guitare harpe closely resembled the Light's harp-guitar in form, this has quite often caused confusions between them. However, as Levien's is slightly superior to Light's in parts such as the additional usage of mechanical devices, and because its terms also cover those that of Light's, the description describes only Levien's instrument but can be applied to both types.

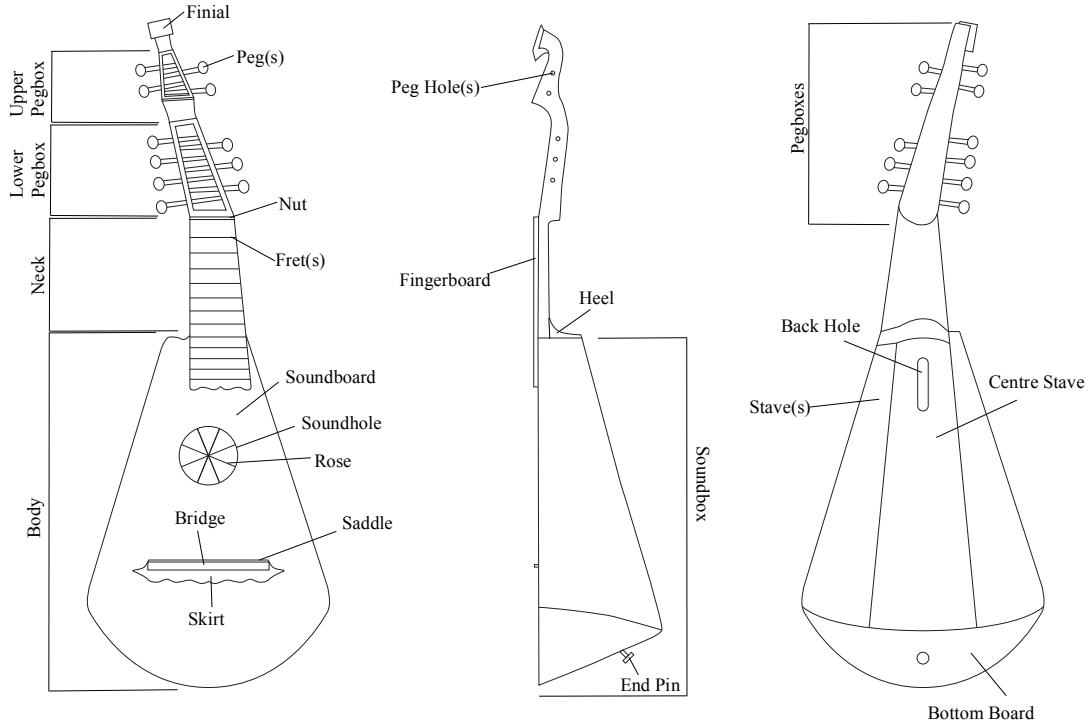


Fig. 3: Terminology for the harp-lute-guitar[17]

The harp-lute-guitar worthy of mention as it has a distinctive theorbo style neck. The terms used to describe the parts of this model are presented above (Fig. 3). Additionally, these terms also refer to the arch-lute-guittar to a certain extent since these two instruments have similar constructions other than the body, where the former has a vaulted back while the latter's is flattened.[18]

[17] Illustration by Haruka Sugimoto.

[18] The terms for the body of arch-lute-guittar are practically the same as those of the ordinary guitar or guittar. For instance, it usually consists of ribs, back and soundboard, and the parts attached on the soundboard are all found on the soundboard of a harp-lute-guitar. For these reasons, specific reference to terminology for the arch-lute-guitar is avoided, and any specific terms for the instrument will be explained as and when necessary.

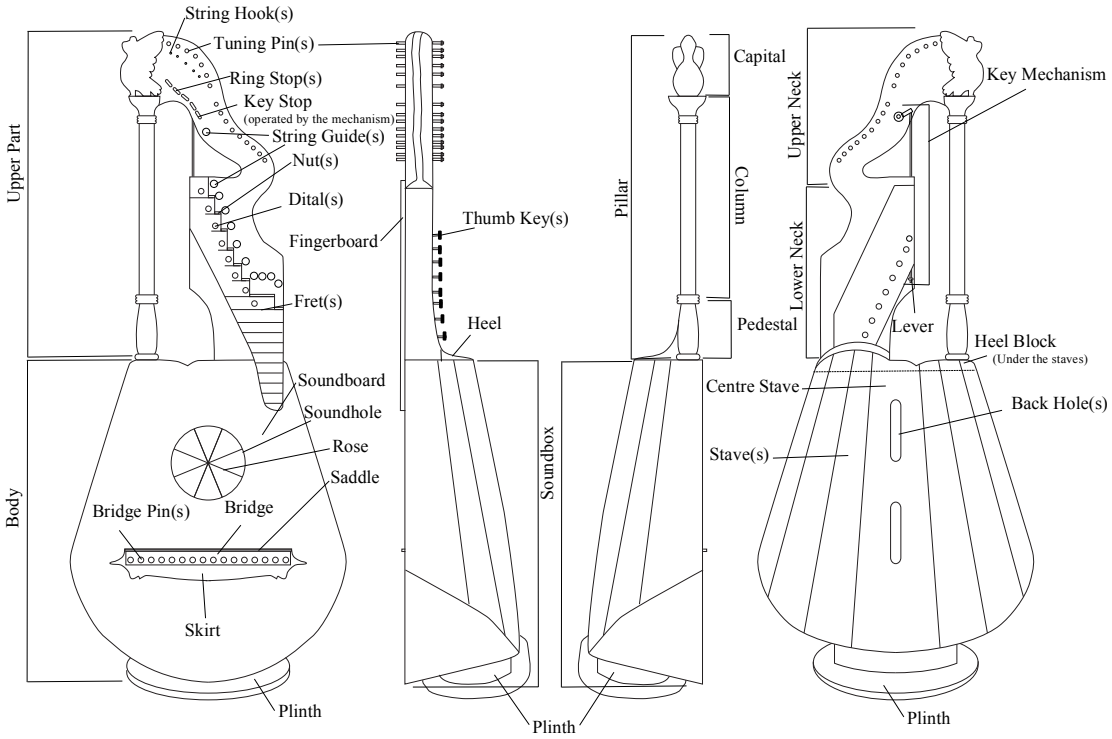


Fig. 4: Terminology for the British-Lute-Harp[19]

Finally, the patented harp lute known as British-Lute-Harp is slightly complicated in its construction from what we know of the last model of harp lutes, the dital-harp. In general, however, the terminology used for the British-Lute-Harp sufficiently covers that of the dital-harp. These two instruments have often been confused for each other due to their similarity in form. Therefore, it is sufficient to describe only the terminology of the British-Lute-Harp (Fig. 4).

[19] Illustration by Haruka Sugimoto.

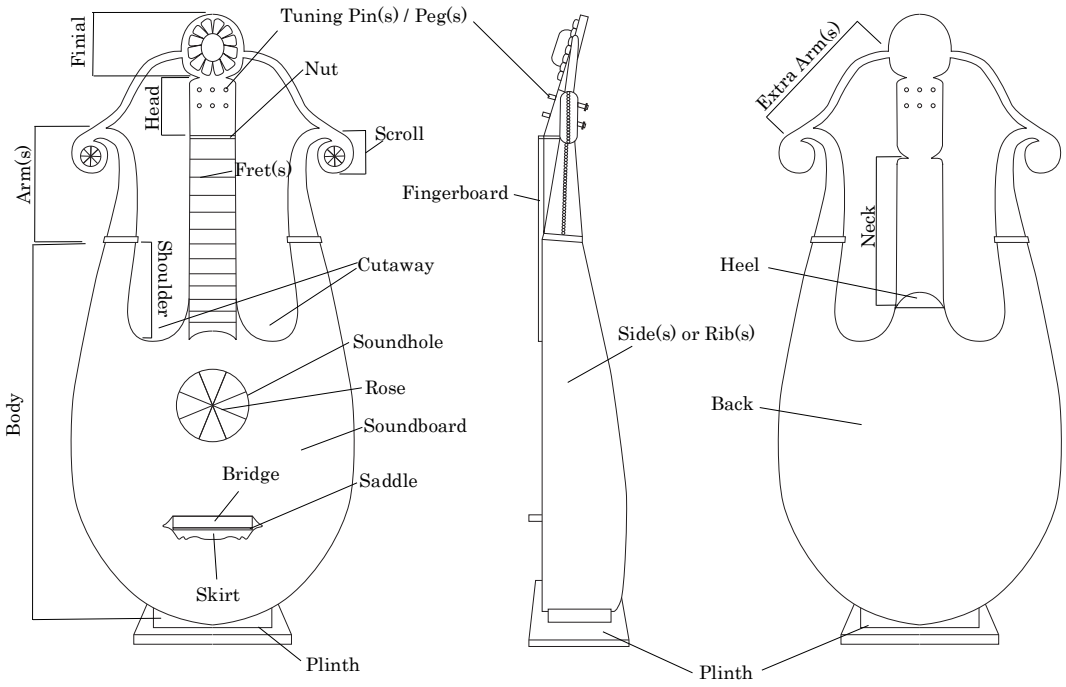


Fig. 5:Terminology for the Apollo Lyre[20]

Additionally, the unclearly classified instrument, known as the Apollo Lyre, is worthy of mention as its terms will be used for describing other instruments throughout this thesis. The noteworthy feature that differentiates these instruments from the other harp lutes is that, atypically, it has a flat back like the guitar, while other harp lutes predominantly have a vaulted soundbox. Nevertheless, whether or not it can be included in the family of harp lutes, since it is discussed in this thesis, a description of the terms for this instrument are provided (Fig. 5).

Of course, although more models exist than the ones shown above, in this section the presentation of general terminology on harp lutes is left as it is, and further explanations are presented in footnotes, the text, or illustrations on such occasions when a new term may be required.[21]

[20] Illustration by Haruka Sugimoto.

[21] If the terminology of every model were explained in this section, and even if particular parts were omitted, vast amount of pages would be used, and it would certainly be irrelevant to the theme of this section. Therefore, only the above general terms are used, as they are useful for achieving consistency in a discussion on harp lutes.

CONVENTIONS

The conventions applied throughout this thesis are provided below, based on those developed by Poulopoulos (2011: 22-26)[22] from which new conventions are developed.

Names: For people and places, the spellings found on the contemporary documents and inscriptions on the extant instruments are applied but, as a rule, the names on the extant instruments are preferred if there are more than two different spellings of the same person or place. In many cases, due to limited space, the inscriptions of names on the instruments were abbreviated.

In general, the inventor's name is directly applied to the instrument (i.e. Light's instrument). This does not mean the instrument was made by the inventor, while the actual maker, if confidently identified, is described together with a sentence specifying that he/she is the maker (i.e. 'made by', 'manufactured by' etc.). In other cases, the following conventions are used:

'By': in addition to the makers, this is also used for the inventors, entrepreneurs, and music shops, but in this case, as a rule, there will either be an indication or specification of their work (i.e. 'invented by', 'improved by', 'developed by', 'sold by' etc.) or the possessive pronoun will be used (i.e. Wheatstone's harp lutes, Ventura's instruments etc.). In addition, if the instrument itself has a specific name given by the inventors, the term is used without specifying the inventors' names (e.g. 'Regency harp lute' by Wheatstone, 'Imperial harp lute' by Ventura, '*guitare harpe*' by Levien etc.).

'Ascribed to': a conventional ascription with which the author does not necessarily agree or did not find any convincing evidence to support.

'Attributed to': the instrument is believed to be the work of the named person, manufacturer, or entrepreneur by the author(s) or the authority(ies), and in most cases,

[22] As this uses similar methodological research, corresponding to his study, and only differs in the subject of the instrument and the period, the conventions for this study is akin to the rules compiled by Poulopoulos; therefore, the author decided to use this list in conventions.

the reasons and process for the attribution are presented or discussed in the text or the footnotes, in which the references are mentioned.

‘School of /…school’: the instrument is made in the style of the indicated area, or is of a follower’s work in a specific style presented by an indicated precursor.

‘Workshop of’: in the author’s perspective, judged by the basics and compared to the extant instruments, the instrument was possibly the work of the indicated maker or made under his direct supervision.

‘Labelled’, ‘stamped’, ‘inscribed’, etc.: if unidentifiable inscriptions, labels or iron marks are found on the instrument, these terms are applied to describe the instrument with suggestions as to the ascribed maker. In some cases, atypical from the other instruments, such identifications on harp lutes are not only by the makers but also by such persons as the inventors and music sellers. Therefore, these terms are presented as evidence if the origin is confidently identified.

‘Inventor’: person or association (e.g. Wheatstone) chiefly responsible for the invention of new instruments.

‘Musician-inventor’: one whose main employment was teaching music and, along with that, invented his own instruments and sometimes engaged with the sales of the instruments mainly from his properties or academies.

‘Maker’: a person who actually built and constructed the instruments and often supplied them to the inventors or the entrepreneurs, whose identification does not appear on the instrument.

‘Manufacturer’: similar to ‘maker’, but broader in application, any party that evidently (or on the balance of evidence) manufactured the instruments on their own premises (e.g. Robert Wornum), and sold them under their own brand.

‘Entrepreneur’: a musical instrument company or dealer (e.g. Clementi & Co.), who is more engaged in the distribution of the instruments than the manufacture of the items discussed in the text. Also used in the case of a person or party found on the inscription on the instruments, where they are widely known as a music seller, even if they may have manufactured instruments on their property (e.g. G. Packer, in Bath).

Dates: if the exact dates for extant instruments and contemporary sources are clear, they will be provided. However, in cases of uncertainty in the dates, an approximate estimation with a margin of ±5 years is applied, and sometimes described with an abbreviation mark (c. = circa). In addition, the estimated date range may be indicated in brackets, e.g. ‘(1800-1808)’, if it is known for certain or can be deduced. In other cases, the terms ‘early-nineteenth century’ (1800-1820), ‘mid-nineteenth century’ (1820-1860), ‘beginning of the nineteenth century’ (1800-1810), ‘first quarter of the nineteenth century’ (1800-1825), and ‘second quarter of the nineteenth century’ (1825-1850), are given.

Organological nomenclature: the terminology of ‘*harp lutes*’, used as a generic term in which many models with different designations are involved, is too complicated to discuss in this part; more in-depth discussions are therefore provided in Appendix i. Nevertheless, there is a general rule which applies to the aforementioned terminology for consistency and clarity. Being hybrid instruments, combining at least two different instruments, in historical usage and even in contemporary sources they appeared with many different names and were typically described using compound nouns such as ‘harp guitar’. In this thesis, in order to avoid confusion between similar designations such as ‘harp lutes’ (a generic term) and ‘the harp lute’ (a specific model), such compound names describing a certain instrument are hyphenated (e.g. ‘harp-lute’), even though they were described in contemporary sources without hyphens. However, names which are proper nouns given by the inventors, such as the ‘British Lute Harp’, the ‘*guitare harpe*’ and the ‘Imperial Harp Lute’, are used as they are favoured over the compound nouns with hyphens.

Instrument shorthand designation: when an instrument is first presented in this thesis, the reference details, to the fullest extent possible, are provided, including the inventor’s,

maker's and manufacture's name(s), the place and presumed dates of manufacture, along with current ownership, location and the inventory number. In order to simplify and abridge the text and footnotes in the thesis, a shortened designation scheme has been applied to the references of the instruments once mentioned, particularly for instruments in public museums. For the application of this scheme, a list of nominal abbreviation in capitalised initials,[23] indicating the current owner and location of the instrument, is provided and details of each instrument are mentioned corresponding to the list, followed by the inventory number in a square bracket (e.g. MIMEd [854] – a harp-lute by Edward Light in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, Edinburgh).

Descriptions and measurements: all the descriptions of the instruments provided in this thesis are positioned vertically, as per the long-established conventional style. The terms 'treble' and 'bass' are sometimes used to describe a specific side of the instrument. Measurements in this thesis are all in millimetres, unless otherwise indicated, and usually provided to one decimal point if possible or occasionally to two decimal points if necessary. Any additional parts, namely endpins, are included in 'overall length'; 'body length' is measured from the bottom of the instrument to the point where the heel meets the body but only to the measurement taken on the soundboard; 'body depth' usually has two dimensions: the deepest point[24] and the shallowest point[25] of the instrument. The 'scaling' in this thesis corresponds to the distance from the nut to the top corner or the saddle of the fixed bridge,[26] and if the instrument has a movable bridge, as with a guitar, then the term 'scaling' refers to the distance from the nut to the twelfth fret, multiplied by two.[27]

Materials: Unless otherwise stated, identification of the materials shown in this thesis is based on the author's opinion, made only through visual examination, without the use

[23] Presented in the next section in a table of abbreviations for collections of musical instruments in 'ABBREVIATIONS'.
[24] For harp lutes, this is usually one third of the sound box from the bottom, and for other flat-back instruments it is more likely to be at the bottom.
[25] Both harp lutes and other flat-back instruments come to a point where the heel meets the body.
[26] If the instrument has a fixed bridge with a functional saddle, then the distance is measured from the saddle, or otherwise the top corner of the bridge.
[27] This system was proposed and used in Poulopoulos' thesis (2011) and as most of the flat-back instruments mentioned in this thesis are closely related to the guittar, Poulopoulos' system was employed.

of technological devices or methods such as using a microscope or dendrochronology. The wood species in this thesis, therefore, are confined in their identification to only the common names, or broader typifications (e.g. coniferous wood), rather than their scientific names. As the instruments subject to this thesis are almost entirely covered with paintings and decorations, with the main wood in most cases invisible, examination had to be quite often done by examining the small areas where decorations have peeled off or the inside of the body. In the worst cases, the body itself is of painted imitation rosewood, and some identification may therefore be less reliable. Other visible materials, such as ivory, bone, metal and pigment, are in many cases too worn to identify or need special equipment to classify them. In these cases, where classification is uncertain, and where it has only been possible for the author to make a suggestion as to their identity, they are followed by a question mark (?).

Quotations: All quotations are provided as they appear in the original text, without applying any attempt to modify spelling, syntax or even note errors if found, except for anomalous cases, which are stated. For longer passages, a discrete quotation is presented between the main texts in a smaller font size with more spaces at both sides. In some cases, where quotations are from historic sources, the solidus (/) is used if necessary as an indication of a new line or sentence in the original text. Editorial comments and additions to the original text are indicated in square brackets ([]). For reduced texts, applied if they involve irrelevant sentences, three full stops ([…]) are used.

Pitch and note designation: the Helmholtz system C (c' = middle C, with hyphens between the notes) is employed throughout this thesis: C''-C'-C-c-c'-c''-c'''.

Currency: all prices in the thesis refer to the contemporary scheme, namely the nineteenth-century British currency system (£.s.d.): (d) = pence, (s) = shillings, (£) = pound, and guineas. Regarding the nineteenth-century British currency, the pre-decimal calculation system has been applied to the prices: 1s = 12d, £1 = 20s, and 1 guinea = 21s.[28]

[28] In the Great Recoinage of 1816, the guinea was officially replaced by the pound, but even after the coin ceased, the term 'guinea' was used to indicate 12 shillings. See Flood (1983: 6, 13).

Bibliographic references: all bibliographic references are written in a combination of 'author-date' or Harvard reference system,[29] unless otherwise stated the full reference. In this system, when a reference is needed to be presented in the text, the author's name is first mentioned and, in a bracket, followed by the year of publication and, if needed, page numbers after a colon.

Foreign terms, quotations or text: Foreign language texts are translated, with the original text usually mentioned in the footnote. However, if the author has judged that it is better to include the original text as part of the main text, it is presented in the foreign language.

Font and size: 'Times New Roman' and '12-point' are the font and size used in this thesis. For the footnotes, the same font is used but in 10-point. For the sake of clarity, the font has sometimes been altered, for instance in tables.

Bold font: bold font is used when the author thinks of specific parts or phrases in the text, on which important to be emphasised.

Italics: foreign words or any specific words or phrases that need to be emphasised are written in italics, as are titles of books.

Illustrations: sources of illustrations in this thesis, including photographs, drawings, and graphs are provided. If none were available, the author has sometimes produced one himself, and this will be indicated. Some images are taken from publications such as books, journals, archives and websites, and such sources are all included either in footnotes or the bibliography. It must be noted that, being a PhD thesis and not intended to be published for profit or sales, the author has not been given official permission for all the images, especially those from major museums and Internet sources.

Captions: usually details of the illustration, together with a brief comment, are presented with each image. As mentioned above, in an illustration's first appearance the

[29] For 'author-date' system see New Oxford Style Manual (2012: 322-327).

caption gives full details, and for any further appearances the captions have been simplified using the shorthand designation system.

ABBREVIATIONS

To avoid repetitive captions and to simplify the text, abbreviations are applied throughout this thesis when referring to the collections of musical instruments. The alphabetical list[30] below (Table. 1) shows the abbreviated designations using the rule whereby each name is abbreviated to three capital letters, the first two of which refer to the name of the collection and the last to the location. Exceptionally, in cases where the abbreviations are more widely known and conventionally used in literature, such abbreviations would be the priority, (e.g. 'V&A' stands for the Victorian & Albert museum in London, 'RCM' stands for the Royal College of Music in London). In some cases the abbreviation is occasionally more than three letters long (i.e. MIMEd stands for Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh). Additionally, the names from a given collection are written in their original languages if possible and, if necessary, alphabetic names are presented prior to the original designations, which are in brackets.

Table. 1: Abbreviations for musical instrument collections.

ABBREVIATION FOR INSTITUTIONS		
Abbreviation	**The abbreviations standing for**	**Location**
ACM	Ann Arbor Collection, University of Michigan	Michigan
BCO	Bate Collection of Musical Instruments	Oxford
BCB	Birmingham Conservatoire	Birmingham
BLL	British Library	London
BML	British Museum	London
BSH	Boston Symphony Hall	Boston
DCK	Dean Castle	Kilmarnock
DMC	Danish Music Museum	Copenhagen
MIMEd*	Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh	Edinburgh
FHL	Fenton House	London
GNN	Germanisches Nationalmuseum	Nürnberg
HMS	Hamamatsu Museum of Musical Instruments (浜松市楽器博物館)	Shizuoka

[30] As with the conventions previously presented, the list and the rule provided in this section are based on the one by Poulopoulos (2011: 27-28).

HML	Horniman Museum	London
INPI*	Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle	Paris
KSK	Kölnischen Stadtmuseums	Köln
LMA*	London Metropolitan Archives	London
LML	Liverpool Museum	Liverpool
MBR	Musée des Beaux-Arts	Rennes
MMA*	Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York
MMB	Musikinstrumenten-Museum	Berlin
MAT	Musashino Academia Musicae, Museum of Musical Instruments (武蔵野音楽大学、楽器博物館)	Tokyo
MBR	Musée des Instruments de Musique	Brussels
MMP	Musée de la Musique	Paris
MFA*	Museum of Fine Arts	Boston
MML	Museu da Música	Lisbon
MMS	Musikmuseet	Stockholm
NAL	The National Archives	London
NMM*	National Music Museum, The University of South Dakota	Vermillion
NMS*	National Museums Scotland	Edinburgh
MOO	Museum of the Osaka College of Music (大阪音楽大学音楽博物館)	Osaka
PRO	Pitt Rivers Museum	Oxford
RAM*	Royal Academy of Music	London
RCM*	Royal College of Music	London
RMT	Ringve Museum	Trondheim
RNCM*	Royal Northern Collage of Music	Manchester
SMF*	Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande (The Nydahl Collection)	Stockholm
V&A*	Victoria and Albert Museum	London
YCN	Yale Collection of Musical Instruments	New Heaven

* applying the exceptional rule of common abbreviations.

Additionally, abbreviations for specific terms, words and symbols are shown in the alphabetical list[31] below (Table. 2).

Table. 2: Abbreviations for specific terms, words and symbols.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SPECIFIC TERMS, WORDS AND SYMBOLS	
Abbreviations	**The abbreviations standing for**
a	*ante*: prior to
act.	Active
AMIS	American Musical Instrument Society
Anon	Anonymous
Att.	Attribute to
b.	Born
c.	Circa: around
cf.	Confer
d.	Died
ed.	Editor (in Bibliography)
edn.	Edition (in Bibliography)
e.g.	*exampli gratia*: for example
et al.	*et alii* : and others
etc. / &c.	*et cetera* : and so on
ex.	Formerly in the collection of
ff.	*folios*: (and the) following pages
Fig.	Figure
fl.	*floruit*: flourished, was active.
GSJ	Galpin Society Journal
Hz	Hertz
Ibid.	*Ibidem*: in the same place
i.e.	*id est*: that is, as in the case of
Illus	Illustration
in	inches

[31] As with the abbreviations for musical instrument collections, this list is also based on Poulopoulos (2011: 29-30).

kg.	kilogram(s)
LSJ	Lute Society Journal
mm	millimetres
MS.	Manuscript
No. / no.	Number /number
N.B.	*Nota bene*: something to be noted
n.d.	no date
p. / pp.	page / pages
R/	Reprint
rev.	Revised
[sic]	The preceding segment of the quote was faithfully copied, complete with any erroneous spelling.
viz.	*videlicet*: that is to say, namely
Vol.	Volume
’’	Inch(es)
%	Percent
@	At
+	Plus
-	Minus
±	Plus or Minus
=	Equals
&	And

RESEARCH SOURCES

As the instrument subject to this research has been long ignored, there has been a scarcity of information in modern literature. This necessitated researching from a variety of sources to rediscover the actual condition of harp lutes and other relevant instruments. Presented below are the sources that were used for this research.

1. PRIMARY SOURCES: relevant contemporary sources such as documents and archives quite clearly reveal the situations of inventors, makers, manufacturers, and entrepreneurs' businesses. In more detail, such primary sources as censuses, directories, inventories, wills, certificates (birth, marriage, and death), insurance records, and contracts were also used. These documents, however, did not usually survive consistently, meaning there are blanks or absences of the individual in certain periods. To compensate for this, contemporary newspapers were consulted,[32] enabling us to follow the history of a certain person or company consistently. Furthermore, in order to confirm the reliability of the primary sources mentioned in the literature, the author, as far as possible, did try to access these original documents, which are otherwise mentioned in this thesis as untouched archival documents of which the author is not one hundred percent sure regarding their evidence.

   In addition to these archives, patents records and technical drawings are noteworthy since they are significantly important in interpreting the inventors' intentions. The interpretations of the harp lutes presented in this thesis have not referred only to public documents but also to the large amount of published music for the instruments, in which there are clear descriptions of the practical use of the instrument, often with extra accounts portraying the attractiveness of the instrument.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES: Various modern publications are included in the secondary sources to understand harp lutes within a broader field of topics. To

[32] Nowadays, thanks to the significant development in modern technology, especially with electric databases, we can quite easily find a certain person's or companies' information using keyword searches from a distance (i.e. outside the country).

comprehend the context under which harp lutes were developed, the publications, especially those on the socio-cultural study of the nineteenth-century in Britain, were used as a reference. In a slightly narrower field, organological publications, not just those concentrating on the plucked instruments but those focused on the circumstances of other instruments concurrently manufactured with harp lutes, were important since lateral communication occurred between them, in particular, among harp makers, and sometimes makers of keyboards, woodwinds, and concertinas, those who usually related to harp lute manufacturing as entrepreneurs. More importantly, these entrepreneurs were also music publishers, involved in the publication of harp lute music, instruction and tutor books.

In addition to this literature, some academic journals concerned with organology were also used as references since these contain up-to-date research, though there was a scarcity of articles on harp lutes. Also papers from organological conferences were another useful secondary source for gaining the latest pre-published information, while PhD dissertation theses were of practical help in adapting to an appropriate writing style and ordering for the chapters. As well as the above-mentioned topics, literature concerning musical instrument manufacture, especially that of harp, guitar and violin, was essential in deciding how the reproduction of instruments would proceed.

Additionally, dictionaries of music, organology and musical instrument makers were crucial not only to obtaining particular information on people, terminology and definitions, but also to understanding previous research; equally important were more general dictionaries, such as English or other language dictionaries, in choosing an appropriate word or grammatical term in the thesis. Lastly, catalogues of museums, collections, auctions and exhibitions proved vital, as these sources commonly comprise more practical information such as technical descriptions, measurements, references, and sometimes photographs.

3. ICONOGRAPHY: along with the historical research, images relating to harp lutes was collected as much as possible within the period of the PhD course. This

included paintings, lithographs, illustrations, photographs etc. These images depict social and cultural use of the instruments, and involve gender issues and locations (domestic or outside). They illustrate a suggested playing style, allocation of the instruments in a house and so on.

4. MULTIMEDIA SOURCES: these included video and sound recordings thanks to modern technology; as harp lutes have been a long ignored instrument, there were no recordings of the instruments until recently; however, with their revival and attraction to collectors and musicians, recordings have recently become available on the internet video posting sites such as 'YouTube', and some museums' websites (e.g. MFA) provide samples of harp lutes.

5. ONLINE SOURCES: despite the significant scarcity of publications on harp lutes, more written references can be found on web pages by scholars, enthusiasts, archivists, and curators; these include various descriptions of the surviving instruments, terminology provided when differing from the writer's main subject, and presentation of contemporary advertisements found in newspaper research. However, despite their significant contributions as well as convenient access free of charge, these online sources are occasionally unreliable and spurious. The author therefore did not directly quote these accounts without verifying them throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, for the survey of harp lutes, these sources were significantly valuable, especially considering how few publications on the instrument were available.

6. SURVIVING INSTRUMENTS: the extant instruments were the main source that provided us with the raw data to interpret the practical side of harp lutes, including construction, design and ornamentation. The data given from the instruments, consequently, was collated with the primary sources, namely contemporary documents, to better understand the instruments socially and culturally. In the same way, inscriptions found on the instruments were compared in an attempt to bring clarity to the diverse use of inscriptions which have caused confusion amongst scholars, and also to enable the year of manufacture to be determined with much greater accuracy.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The survey for the harp lutes proceeded in five main phases. As with conventional theses, firstly the literature review was provided in order to illuminate potential areas of research that would be worthy of being carried out as a PhD project, and which also provided the research question, aims, and possible contributions to any fields of studies.

After the review, secondly the data collection from the documentation and examination of the surviving instruments was conducted by visiting museums and collections not only within Britain but also in such countries as Japan, the United States, France and Sweden. For reasons of consistency and clarity, templates for each model were established,[33] and as the research developed, these templates were simplified in order to reduce the examination time[34] due to the limited time spent in a certain place. Compared to the guittar, the Spanish guitar, or even the harp in terms of numbers of surviving instruments, harp lutes were far less likely to have extant examples. Therefore, the author did not establish a quantitative restriction to the examination of surviving instruments, and investigations were held in as many places accessible to the author as possible during the research, while trying to cover as many models as possible. Exceptionally, the quantity of Levien's '*guitare harpe*', atypically standardised in its construction and design, needed to be limited in the examinations so as to spare more time for other extant harp lutes.

Thirdly, to obtain more information on possible extant harp lutes which do not belong to any public museums or collections (even their current locations are uncertain), various auction catalogues concerning musical instruments from the 1970s to the present were investigated. These catalogues were extremely useful as they contained descriptions that quite often involved the inscriptions appearing on the instruments or the labels; these were sometimes presented together with photo images that showed us a much clearer appearance of the instruments. The specimens found throughout this investigation were compiled in a database and classified by model type, and the

[33] These templates were made in cooperation with Haruka Sugimoto, who designed all the illustrations.
[34] The prototype took three hours per instrument but the version needed only one hour, or even less for simpler models such as the harp-guitar.

photographs were listed in conjunction with other images discovered in diverse sources so they could be visually compared.

In the fourth stage, concurrent with but separate from the above practical investigations, literal sources, namely the archives concerning harp lutes and related people, were researched for the purpose of placing surviving instruments in appropriate historical contexts. Furthermore, these archives offer many hints for understanding the actual situation of contemporary people, manufacturers and music shops connected to the production and expansion of harp lutes.

Finally, along with these archives that provided a historical background to the instruments, the extant instruments were presented. In order to provide a history of harp lutes illustrating their economic and socio-cultural aspects, a subsequent in-depth analysis of the data and documents was carried out on each period by firmly adhering to practical (instruments) and literal (archives) sources. With these outcomes in mind, eventually, using a technical drawing created by the author, a selected model of harp lute was reproduced as a case study to interpret the instruments more deeply by revealing hidden constructions that might discover new things that could not be found without making the instruments.

CHAPTER ONE:

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned in the previous chapter, very few accounts regarding harp lutes and their relatives can be seen in modern literature, which includes music dictionaries, museum catalogues and a few other books related to music and science. However, many of these seem to comprise quotations from a book written by Robert Armstrong (1908), *English Musical Instruments, Part II: English and Irish Instruments*, which contains an independently assigned section for harp lutes explaining each model in detail. Another noteworthy survey concerning harp lutes is by Stephen Bonner (1971), *Angelo Benedetto Ventura teacher, inventor, & composer: a study in English Regency music*. This focuses on the musician-inventor, Angelo Benedetto Ventura, who was a successor to the originator of harp lutes, Edward Light. Although these two books are rare (limited to a small number of publications), most of the accounts in literature mentioning harp lutes, when we tracked their references to the original sources, were secondary or tertiary accounts of these works; some referential literature had already quoted from Armstrong's accounts (1908). Moreover, although the Bonner study (1971) has been kept in national libraries, such as the British Library and the National Library of Scotland, it seems to have been rarely browsed, almost abandoned, and thus seldom appears in any literature as a reference. This has led to significant debate amongst researchers and scholars over the origin, terminology and identity of harp lutes. Accordingly, the primary duty of this research is to revise and correct the information presented in this original literature.[1] In addition, current articles published during this project will be given a critical review.

Armstrong (1908) introduced the family of harp lutes in chronological order, from the prototype 'harp-guitar' to the latest model, the 'dital-harp', in separate sections for each model. At the very beginning he mentions the following (1908: 25):

> 'THIS instrument [harp-guitar] was, according to Dr. Thomas Busby, invented by Edward Light about 1798. Light has already been referred to as the author of an

[1] Some literature referred to Armstrong (1908) involves slightly different accounts, and therefore quite often caused more confusion, as the quoted references were uncertain or even not mentioned. Therefore, in this thesis, for reasons of simplicity and clarity, if the author deems some of these references irrelevant to the subject in the literature review, such secondary or tertiary use of literature is not reviewed.

> Instruction Book for the English Guitar and an arranger of music for that instrument. Whether his capabilities as a musician were or were not of a higher order, Edward Light deserved to be remembered as the inventor of four or five instruments, which although imperfect, are most artistic in form and generally charmingly decorated. The specimen illustrated, one of the earliest, has "Barry Maker" painted upon it, "Barry" undoubtedly being placed over some earlier name, which name is certainly not Light.'

This is a condensed, representative account to which past researchers and scholars seem to have commonly referred in discussion of harp lutes. Therefore, for this project, this description is a useful point of departure. To begin with, strangely, none of the previous researchers has questioned the year '1798', as the approximate year in which Edward Light invented his first harp lute; this was probably based on Armstrong's account (1908). Another reason why no one ever doubted '1798' is probably because Armstrong did not clearly mention the source in his footnote,[2] which led to difficulties in accessing the original reference which, even when discovered, was found to have been published in 1825,[3] when Light was still active, thus leaving little room for doubt. Armstrong's suggested year was later unquestioningly used by various writers. For instance, an entry for the 'harp lute (ii)' by Bonner (1980) in *The New Grove Dictionary of the Music and Musicians* (online)[4] states: 'A generic term for certain types of guitar that developed in England between 1798 and 1828 […]'. Here, 1798 is clearly mentioned and, even worse, asserted without such qualifying words as 'around or circa' in front of the year. In addition, the year 1828 is very much in question since it seems to be indicated as the year Edward Light retired from his business in instrument retailing and music teaching. In fact, he continued to run his business until at least 1829.[5] Furthermore, Ventura exhibited his invented instruments in the 1851 Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in London, in which the succeeding members of the harp lute family were presented.[6] Moreover, although another literary source partially mentions the Apollo Lyre – Bonner

---

[2] The footnote refers to 'Concert Room Anecdotes, vol ii p.275', and although it appears to be quite a clear reference, there is no indication of the year of publication, the publisher, or the abbreviated title. Such omissions made it difficult to find the primary source to which Armstrong had referred. Fortunately, after various attempts from the author, the original book was finally discovered to have been written by Thomas Busby in 1825.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Armstrong (1908) was mentioned in the bibliography.

[5] According to newspaper research; this will be explained later in more detail.

[6] See Mactaggart (1986: 78-79).

(1972), *The Classic Image: European history and manufacture of the lyre guitar, 850-1840*[7] – it was extremely unreliable. Other than that, scant information was available.

Secondly, although Armstrong (1908) referred to the name 'Barry', a harp maker who constructed and supplied instruments for Light, his account provides no in-depth detail on areas such as Barry's occupation, other instruments, or biography. Neither does he provide any such information on Light himself. Armstrong's summaries and information on use of instruments throughout his book, including stringing, tuning and playing technique, a brief presentation in dimensions of the instruments, and examples of the music for each model, seem rather simplistic or inaccurate.[8] It is, however, undeniably one of the most significant studies on harp lutes from past research. That it is such an ambiguous study is presumably due to the limited availability of primary sources at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially the printed newspaper advertisements, which would have shed more light on the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the instruments. Armstrong's accounts were therefore limited to referencing the small number of archival documentations, some of which were in the possession of friends, and published music. After Armstrong (1908), no serious study of harp lutes was undertaken, meaning little new information appears in music dictionaries, books of organology or museum catalogues.

Another difficulty with these publications is that the terminology, namely the designations for each model, was for a long time not defined in any literature. This not only led to ignorance of the instruments, but even to indistinct and varying designations, which had already been given to the instruments in their original states. Such issues induced further confusion over the definition, description, and illustration of surviving harp lutes. Consequently, this prompted a series of false classifications and erroneous attributions, in which several designations were applied to the same model in different literature. For instance, a representative museum catalogue edited by Myers (1997:

[7] A copy of this, now in the author's hands, involves a section on harp lutes. However, as there are few accounts mentioning harp lutes or the Apollo Lyre, this thesis omits a critical review of this work for the sake of simplicity and clarity.

[8] Poulopoulos (2011), in his research on the English guitar, also mentions having the same impression of over-simplicity and inaccuracy from Armstrong's research (40).

Vol.2, i) involves the following errors in designations: the inventory number 1107 currently described as 'Harp Lute' (26), should be labelled as 'Regency Harp Lute' with an attribution to Wheatstone; the number 1108 (28) and 854 (27) designated as a 'Dital Harp' is undoubtedly a 'harp-lute' (Fig 1.1)



Fig 1.1: From left to right inventory numbers 1107, 1108 and 854.

For another example, Baines (2002: part II)[9] provided a brief overview referring to the harp lutes in a group of 'Lyre-guitars, Harp-lutes, etc.' (63-64) in which he provided a fairly accurate history of the development of harp lutes, including the Ventura. One instrument, however, was erroneously designated as the 'British harp-lute', appearing first on page 64,[10] when it was actually one of Light's invention, patented by him in 1816 under the name 'British Lute Harp'[11] (in Light's contemporary newspaper advertisements it was also listed as a 'British Lute Harp'). This inaccuracy may also have arisen due to undefined terminology - a lack of archival sources as well as scarcity of academic research. In contrast, Armstrong (1908) gave this instrument its proper designation as had appeared in the patent document.

[9] This is a reissued catalogue combining two catalogues; Howard Schott, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments, Vol. I, Keyboard Instruments*, and Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments, Vol. II, Non-Keyboard Instruments*, first editions both published in 1968, second editions in 1985 and 1878 respectively by HMSO, and the combined edition in 1998 published by V&A Publications in London.

[10] This name was later applied to the indicated instrument [w.33-1952] shown on page 64 and in figure 94.

[11] Patent number 4041.

In addition, although Baines and Armstrong seem not to have been in communication with each other,[12] both of their references were written mainly by using the collection of surviving instruments as specimens, particularly those preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum,[13] though there were other museums that kept harp lutes in the world.[14] Consequently, despite their reliable references and consistent explanations of harp lute history, the small quantity of information and specimens made them biased and subjective, and led them to specialize in specific areas. There is a lack of information on general issues that had also prompted the development of harp lutes, such as gender and contemporary sexuality, marketing of harp lutes, or even on relationships between relevant people and institutions.

For any discussion on harp lutes, the three musician-inventors, Edward Light, Mordaunt Levien and Angelo Benedetto Ventura, must be researched, as the enthusiasm for harp lutes would never have begun without them. The majority of past research, though scarce, consisted more of the practical elements, the surviving instruments, than the people. Nevertheless, there is some literature included the brief two-paragraph biography of Light in the *The New Grove Dictionary of the Music and Musicians* (online), again by Bonner, which contains the following quotation:

> '[…]The title-page of his [Edward Light's] undated *Collection of Psalms &c*. indicates that he was organist of Trinity Chapel, St George's, Hanover Square, and 'Lyrist to H.R.H. The Princess (Charlotte) of Wales […]'

This account has often been copied by writers describing Edward Light, who therefore is widely known as having been organist of Trinity Chapel, and lyrist of H.R.H The Princess Charlotte. However, similar to the issues described above, this description also

[12] In the Baines' bibliography (2002: 222-224), Armstrong's book (1908) was not mentioned, but it has to be noted that there are some general references on musical instruments, in which the work may be found. Biographical notes: Anthony Baines (1912-97), 'Early Music' (online), <http://em.oxfordjournals.org/content/XXV/2/345>, (Accessed Nov., 2014) and Robert Bruce Armstrong (1838-1913), 'Wire Strung harp', <http://www.wirestrungharp.com/library/rba_harps.html>, (Accessed Nov., 2014): from biographical point of view it is hard to believe that they knew or met each other.

[13] Armstrong included some more specimens from the Edinburgh University collections and his own private one.

[14] There may have been fewer museums which kept harp lutes in their collection during those days when Armstrong conducted his research (1908). Baines (2002) probably carried out his research after 1985 when the second edition of the original catalogue was published.

came about due to a lack of primary sources; Light might once have been an organist but in reality he was more engaged with teaching music in his own music academies and in musical instrument retailing of all kinds. A similar account appears in Kassler (1979: 686):

> '[…] While domiciled at that address [8 Foley Place], he was organist of Portland Chapel, lyricist to the Princess of Wales, and proprietor of a ' Musical Cabinet and Academy' for instruction on the harp-lute, pianoforte, '&c. […]'.

As we can see in this quotation, Light's professions as a music dealer and teacher in music academies were alluded to, but not in great detail, while the fact that he was an organist and lyricist to the Princess Charlotte seems to be presented as Light's main professions. Other than this account, an entry for Edward Light in a collection of anecdotes written by Thomas Busby in 1825 involves a summary description of his addresses throughout his life and his inventions. This book is in fact a very important piece of literature for understanding the sources used by modern literature on harp lutes. It was Armstrong's primary source for quoting the year 1798, while most of the information on Light's instruments in any written sources seems to have referred to the entries in volume II, pages 275 to 277.

Simultaneous to the survey provided by this PhD project, and thanks to the enormous contribution by Jürgen Kloss 'The "Guitar" In Britain' (2012), the most significant work on Edward Light has recently been published as a web-based article. This deserves to be a highly regarded reference as anyone can access and read the internet wherever they are. Entitled 'The "Guitar" In Britain', its main contents concern the guittar, namely the English guitar. However, the third part of chapter 2, entitled 'Edward Light – Music Teacher And Inventor' (39-49), involves a discussion on Edward Light. What makes this article significant is its contemporary newspaper based research, which has meant a significant amount of chronologically consistent information. Interestingly, the article places emphasis on Light's social activities, the promotion of his music academies, and his invented instruments, along with an efficient presentation of Light's advertisements in chronological order from pre-invention of the harp-guitar between 1774 and 1800 up to his retirement in 1829. The quantity of

information on Light was far larger than any previously published literature; this was down to the significant development in modern technology of the internet-based search engine in the British Library's electronic-database system. Nowadays, therefore, anyone, including the present author, can find the advertisements easily by typing several keywords in the box provided.[15]

Compared to Armstrong (1908), this article is considerably advanced research. However, a key fault is its lack of information on surviving instruments. There is too much focus on the archival sources, with no presented examples of extant harp lutes, despite the inclusion of many designations for the instruments. The writer also appears not to have gained access to some original archives. For instance, in the account of Edward Light's son, Thomas Light, the writer mentions that 'In 1814 he even published *A Selection of Favorite Airs with Varns Rondos, Waltzes, Marches &c. Composed & adapted for the Harp-Lute, to which is added a Divertimento, as a Duetto, for Two Harp-Lutes*'.[16] In reality there was no indication of the year in the original manuscript, a copy of which is now in the present author's hands.[17] This might simply be an error, but it highlights the urgent need for a properly defined terminology. Just as Baines (2012) did, the writer mentions 'the "British Harp-Lute"' (47), despite the fact that it appears in the original advert to which Kloss refers as 'The new PATENT BRITISH LUTE HARP'.[18] In these ways, the article is sometimes inaccurate and requires further investigations or revisions if his accounts can be quoted. Nevertheless, the article is extremely well researched and, as with the Armstrong (1908), undeniably deserves to be regarded as one of the most significant studies on harp lutes.

---

[15] For this reason, and the fact that this article was not included in previous research as it was coincidentally published at the same time as the author's research, the author has not quoted any of the quoted advertisements in Kloss (2012). Instead, it has been used as a guideline for finding more information. Therefore, every advertisements presented in this thesis has been confirmed or discovered by the author through contemporary newspaper research.

[16] See Kloss (2012 :47)

[17] The title appearing on the front page of the original manuscript is '*A Selection of Favorite Airs with Var.ns, Rondos, Waltez, Marches &c. Composed & adapted for the Harp-Lute, To which is added a Divertimento, As a Duetto, for Two Harp-Lutes by THO.s LIGHT of Bath*'. According to the footnote in Kloss' article, he seems to have directly copied the title as it appeared on Copac (copac.ac.uk), a web-based search engine for literature in various libraries. Consequently, it is slightly different from the original manuscript.

[18] *The Morning Chronicle* 17th February 1817.

There is a scarcity of information on Mordaunt Levien, who should be considered one of the most important musician-inventors in the development of harp lutes. A great number of his instruments, particularly his patented '*guitare harpe*', have survived in museums, private collections and are even quite actively traded in antique markets. As he was granted a patent for his improved harp-guitar in Paris rather than Britain, there is some doubt as to his place of residence. For instance, Armstrong (1908: 26, 29) stated:

> '[…] On October 6, 1825, […] Mordaunt Levien of London, a professor of Music, took out in France a patent for the importation and improvement of this instrument, […]' (26)

> ' […]The eight string [the Light's harp-guitar], which was afterward abandoned, was certainly in use about 1818 as we know that on or before that year Mr. Levien of Pentonville, probably the person already referred to, produced an improved Harp-Guitar. […]' (29)

As we can see from this statement, Armstrong was not sure whether both Leviens who appeared in different documents[19] were the same person. They were, and the address at Pentonville mentioned here can be seen on Levien's rare extant instruments in the English style, which bear that inscription. This can be seen in the one stored in MMS [M2061] (Fig 1.2). The address at Pentonville is now confirmed as his address circa 1814,[20] and after residing at various addresses, he seems to have moved to Paris until his return to England, probably around the 1840s.[21]

[19] For the patent, Armstrong referred to Chouquet's Catalogue of the Paris Collection by Professor Niecks, and for the eight stringed instrument by Levien, he studied several documents in *Encyclopedia Londinensis*, *History of the Rise and Progress of Music* by G. Jones, and some given figures from Mr. H. Journet, 43 Tottenham Court Road, London. The latter appeared in a document that appeared when Levien was given an award from the Society of Arts and Science.

[20] See more details in Chapter 6.

[21] See more details in Chapter 6.



Fig 1.2: Levien's Improved Harp Guitar with an inscription of the address, 'Pentonville'.

In the author's research, other than in Armstrong's account (1908), Levien's name and his brief overview were in many cases described together with his representative '*guitare harpe*' in museum and auction catalogues, often with an emphasis on the fact that he patented the instrument in 1825, in Paris. However, despite his enormous contributions to the development of harp lutes, and a large number of his instruments surviving, no other information on Levien seems to have been presented in any of the past research. Strangely, there is sometimes no entry on him in major dictionaries of music and musicians.

The last musician-inventor of the harp lutes was probably Angelo Benedetto Ventura, who was not only involved with harp lutes but also Spanish guitars, which gradually overtook the popularity of harp lutes after the 1820s. As this thesis finishes at his instruments exhibited in the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, it is important to understand his various attempts in spreading his inventions during the transitional period from Regency to Victorian Britain, which involved influences from precursors such as Edward Light and the emergence of new designs adapted to later styles. In the literature review, as mentioned in preliminary accounts, Stephen Bonner's book (1971), which was all about Ventura, is the only piece of literature worthy of mention in this section. Despite some errors and a lack of sources, his work was fundamentally significant in terms of its well-balanced combination of two elements: practical (instruments) and literal (archives). These are the basic methods for the study of organology, and Bonner provides as many examples as possible of instruments invented

by Ventura, along with illustrations. Ventura's places of residence were quantitatively indicated, something none of the other literature provides.[22] Bonner's (1971) is probably the only piece of serious study on Ventura and his research seems not to have been quoted by any of the successive studies. Despite effectively producing a series of inventions, Ventura has not been properly examined since this research. Additionally, though rather simplistically and briefly, Bonner listed a series of inventions in chronological order with a short overview for each model preceding Ventura's, combining with other inventor's models: ones by Light and Wheatstone's Regency Harp Lute.

However, probably because of their resemblance in form to the Apollo Lyre, some inappropriate instruments were included by Bonner in his list, e.g. '*Lyre guitar* (c.1790) = Probably Marechal (**Paris**) – Guitar with Lyre-shaped 'Yokes'. – normally 6 strings tuned as guitar' (35), and '*Harp Lyre* = C. Scalfi – Gorgeous **Italian** harp Lyre and stand illustrated and described in Winterniz 1966 pp. 234-5[23] – 2 strings (5 open bass, thumb)' (38). These may have influenced the development of the Apollo Lyre, but only to a small extent, since the similarity between them presumably lies only in their form.[24] In the author's view, the main reason for such close resemblance in their appearance was probably the admiration for ancient Rome, Greece and Egypt amongst Britons and Europeans of the day, giving rise to an immense art movement from the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century that took its inspiration from these ancient cultures. In contrast to Bonner (1971), although the European instruments are not completely irrelevant, this thesis will not include instruments made outside Britain for the reason that it is attempting to provide suggested definitions and terminology for a family of the harp lutes.

For harp lute makers, a further scarcity of literature has so far been identified. Even when found by chance, it has normally been used as adjunctive material for describing

[22] But not all the addresses of Ventura are provided.
[23] Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical instruments of the Western World*, (London: 1966).
[24] In the author's opinion, even their form looks quite different, though both are undeniably adapted from the ancient Greek 'Lyre'. The lyre-guitar (French) was developed from the ordinary five-course or six string guitar. In turn, the Apollo Lyre (English) was developed from the guittar (English guitar) with an open C tuning system, and had more of the gilded work typically seen on harp lutes manufactured in Britain.

the surrounding elements of the main instrument or subject discussed in the article. The two noteworthy makers mentioned are Alexander Meek Barry and Dan Warner Harley, who were substantially responsible for "constructing" the instruments, and possibly supplied them to the inventors such as Edward Light, who did not necessarily build their instruments.[25] Barry, son-in-law of Joseph Buchinger[26] (a musical instrument maker and seller as well as publisher), is mentioned once by Holman (2010: 5-9) in his article entitled '*Dorothy Jordan, Joseph Buckinger, 'The Blue Bells of Scotland' and the 'Lute*'' in *Lute News, No.96*, which gives a brief overview of their relationship and biographies, and also includes a portrait of Mrs Jordan holding an arch-lute-guittar most likely manufactured by Barry and Buchinger.[27] However, despite a great number of surviving instruments bearing the inscription 'Barry', serious research on him has never been conducted in the past, and in recent research, for instance in studies of the harp, more information on Barry has been unexpectedly discovered, for example, as a person who compiled the inventories of the harp maker 'Erat'. Therefore, it has become urgent to combine these materials in order to interpret Barry in more detail, especially in relation to Edward Light, since Barry's name is often inscribed with Light's on the extant instruments. On the other hand, apart from descriptions concerning surviving instruments, no reports on Harley have been hitherto identified, even in dictionaries, articles or organological books, although a considerable number of his instruments have been discovered throughout the survey. Interestingly, by following the extant instruments in chronological order, soon after a certain model of the harp lutes was introduced by Light, his name suddenly disappeared from the instrument. Furthermore, in contrast to Barry, Harley never seems to have cooperated with someone on manufacturing harp lutes. Nevertheless, it is undeniable these two makers provided a significant practical contribution to the development of harp lutes through a series of harp lutes, and they should therefore be discussed in academic research on harp lutes so as to present a more complete picture.

[25] In this context, there emerged a separation between inventor and maker of harp lutes, since this was an era when industrialisation, or mass production schemes, was effectively employed in manufacturing products. This was particularly prominent in the British Isles after 1800, and will be explained later.
[26] He described his name either Buchinger (with h) or Buckinger (with k) in original documents. The reason is uncertain, but for consistency and clarity, in this thesis the former is used in preference to the latter.
[27] They are stored in the MIMEd, inventory number [306] by Barry, [307] by Buchinger.

To sum up, in general terms, books, articles, catalogues, theses and entries in dictionaries concerning harp lutes have been published in the past, but all this literature only partially described the instruments together with the other instruments. No technical publication had harp lutes as its main theme. More and more research materials have become available and easily accessible, especially through modern technology such as digitised databases that enable researchers to seek a particular item through an internet connection. Accordingly, with these new resources, this project will potentially fill the gaps created in previous research by combining evidence already presented in the past that has been qualitatively revised by the author. It will certainly enable further presentation of new materials for understanding of the history of harp lutes within a broader perspective, comprising contemporary trends and gender issues affecting the tastes for musical instruments, in which context the culture of the harp lutes began in the British Isles.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

According to previous research, as in the organological studies, almost all surveys on harp lutes seem to have primarily sprung from the existence of the extant instruments or appeared as a by-product of archival research on other instruments. However, these articles have usually been specialised parts of a larger study that has provided an exhibition of collected materials, rather than the academic level of survey that commonly discusses at least one aspect of broader fields such as socio-cultural study, economics, ethnology, typology or physics. Besides, the key fault that made such studies unscholarly was presumably their lack of research questions, with and from which a project usually starts. In this context, the arrival at a question that would provide consistent arguments throughout the project is, therefore, extremely important. Presenting aims and suggested outcomes of this research should be described in order for the reader to understand why the author has attempted to reach them.

On a basic level, if someone visited a museum or private collection involving musical instruments and first looked at any of the models of surviving harp lutes, he/she might ask:

'*Why did such strange-shaped instruments exist?*'

That is the main question of this project. Although this may seem too simple and general, surprisingly none of the previous research on harp lutes attempted to address such a basic question. This offers many possibilities for discussion in a broader field. Additionally, the question can be tackled by examining various aspects, meaning the project can be deliberated using quantitative research. However, the potential risk is that areas of research would be endlessly extended despite limited time, budget, knowledge and word-count, and too much information may lead to a loss of qualitative manner. To avoid such pitfalls, a boundary line is provided where the project is concerned with British history and is confined to organology and socio-cultural study.

The aim of this research is chiefly to reveal the history of harp lutes, while the socio-cultural aspects that encouraged the birth, development and decline of the instruments are discussed. Furthermore, to deliver a complete account of harp lutes in the British Isles during the first half of the nineteenth century, a suggested organological classification and nomenclature, where there are currently no rules, is presented. To comprehend more practical elements from the inventor and the maker that might be hidden in the construction, a copy is duplicated as a case study. This also adds more qualitative and quantitative intensity to the thesis.

The forecasted outcomes of this project are firstly that the suggested definitions of the terminology applied to the complex styles of harp lutes can help resolve the problems that currently cause confusion amongst experts such as museum curators, collectors, auctioneers, organological scholars and, of course, researchers engaged in other fields of study. Secondly, a much clearer and specifically dated history of harp lutes will be presented. Thirdly, as this thesis could potentially be a first complete academic reference for harp lutes, a historical gap created between the periods of the guittar[28] and the Spanish guitar[29] in academia would be filled, and to achieve a proper sequence of studies on the guitar history of the British Isles from the middle of the eighteenth

[28] That piece of research at academic level was completed by Poulopoulos (2011) as his PhD project.
[29] A PhD thesis by Westbrook (2013): he wrote about London guitars (Spanish guitars) in the nineteenth century.

century until the end of the nineteenth century, this survey of the harp lutes should be included. To some extent, the project simultaneously provides a partial contribution to the organology by presenting new evidence, composed of harp lute culture, which might be relevant to other kinds of musical instrument research.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE PRE-HISTORY OF HARP LUTES

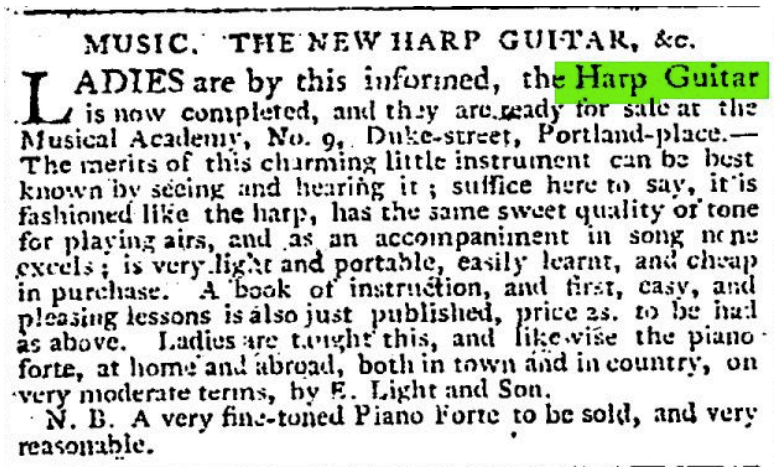
2.1 MOTIVATIONS FOR THE INVENTION

Evidence suggests[1] that harp lutes were first invented by Edward Light and, as mentioned, he was not a maker. Therefore to some extent he needed antecedent elements, such as existing instruments that enabled him to create a new instrument, and required help from someone to turn his idea into a reality. Moreover, when examining his first invention to achieve commercial success, the 'harp-guitar', it is quite obvious that this is a hybrid instrument, initially invented by combining pre-existing instruments. Interestingly, looking at the instrument from another perspective, the changing public taste for musical instruments was one factor that encouraged him to invent a new instrument. Later in this section, the pre-history of the harp-guitar is discussed in order to clarify what elements and aspects motivated Light to create the first successful invention, providing written evidence such as newspaper adverts to favourably interpret the inventor's commercial intentions. A simple statistical comparison of patents[2] is provided to understand the popularity of certain instruments amongst the public. The chief aim is to satisfactorily present the context in which the harp-guitar was born.

To begin with, and to understand the inventor's intention, one of the earliest accounts of the harp-guitar by Edward Light, appearing in a newspaper advertisement in May 1800, is discussed (Fig 2.1).

[1] The evidence will be provided little by little in appropriate parts within the texts, thereby the phrase 'evidence suggests' indicates that pre-existing materials will be provided and used for subjects that will be discussed in the on-going texts.

[2] Some claims that the comparison of patents does not display a complete picture of 'popularity' of a certain instrument. To some extent the present author agrees with this, but it still tells us some degrees of the popularity. This comparison is only to understand competitiveness in the market place, which to some extent shows popularity of the instrument. Further explanation is provided later.



MUSIC. THE NEW HARP GUITAR, &c.

LADIES are by this informed, the Harp Guitar is now completed, and they are ready for sale at the Musical Academy, No. 9, Duke-street, Portland-place.— The merits of this charming little instrument can be best known by seeing and hearing it; suffice here to say, it is fashioned like the harp, has the same sweet quality of tone for playing airs, and as an accompaniment in song none excels; is very light and portable, easily learnt, and cheap in purchase. A book of instruction, and first, easy, and pleasing lessons is also just published, price 2s. to be had as above. Ladies are taught this, and likewise the piano forte, at home and abroad, both in town and in country, on very moderate terms, by E. Light and Son.

N. B. A very fine-toned Piano Forte to be sold, and very reasonable.

Fig 2.1: One of the earliest adverts by Light promoting his harp-guitar (*Morning Post and Gazetteer, 8th May 1800*)

> […] LADIES are by this informed, the Harp Guitar is now completed, and they are ready for sale at the Musical Academy, No. 9, Duke-street, Portland-place, - The merits of this charming little instrument can be best known by seeing and hearing it; suffice here to say, it is fashioned like the harp, has the same sweet quality of tone for playing airs, and as an accompaniment in song none excels […] (extracted from the above advert).

This account clearly mentions pre-existing instruments together with the harp-guitar's promotion, stating that 'it is fashioned like the harp, has the same sweet quality of tone for playing airs, and as an accompaniment in song'. It is interesting to note that, although he uses the term 'guitar' in his designation, Light promoted his newly invented instrument with an explanation more concerned with the 'harp' rather than other stringed instruments such as the lute or the figure-of-eight shaped guitar commonly known as the 'Spanish guitar'.[3]

Light emphasised, not only in this advertisement but in others for his harp-guitar, the resemblance in tone to the harp, as if announcing to the public that this was the most superior aspect of the instrument. For instance:

[3] Unless otherwise stated, and to maintain consistency, if the term 'Spanish guitar' is used in this thesis it refers to the figure-of-eight shaped guitar.

> […] MR. LIGHT begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry his much-admired HARP GUITAR in now entirely completed, and is ready for sale at his Musical Academy, No. 9, Duke-street, Portland-place. This beautiful little Instrument possesses the same sweet quality of tone as the Harp, and is in all other respects by far superior being very portable, of small purchase exceedingly easy to learn, and to keep in tune, and is admirably well calculated to accompany and assist the voice, &c. producing the most pleasing effect […][4]

Even in the first sentence of the above description, Light describes the harp-guitar itself, and clearly states that 'This beautiful little Instrument possesses the same sweet quality of tone as the Harp', and similar descriptions appear in successive adverts from 1800 to 1802:[5]

> […] MR. LIGHT respectfully informs lovers of MUSIC, that his new-invented much admired HAPR-GUITARS of different sizes, […] possess the sweet sound of real Harp […][6]

> […] MR. LIGHT, Music Professor, and Inventor of the fashionable much admired HARP GUITARS, which sound like the real Harp […][7]

> […] THE HARP GUITAR, an elegant little Instrument, which possesses the sweet sound of the real Harp, and in all other respects far superior to the Harp itself, […][8]

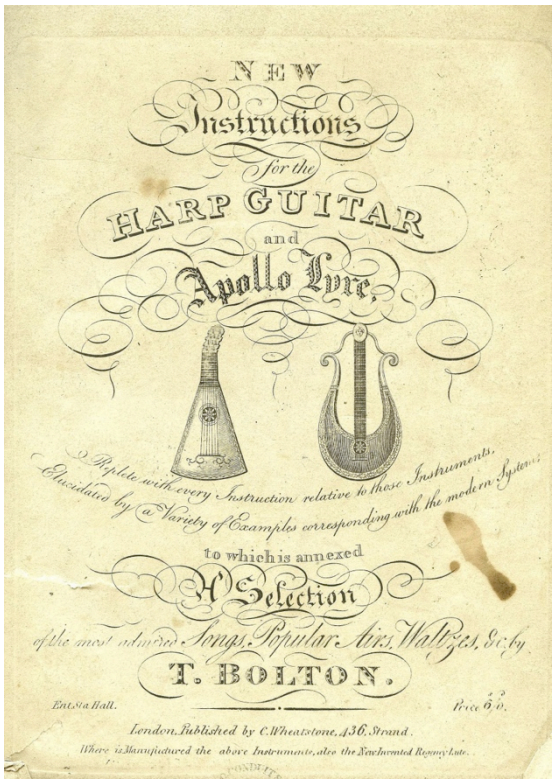
The descriptions of the harp-guitar's resemblance in tone to the harp not only appeared in newspaper advertisements, but also in other materials. For instance, as well as the newspaper advertisements, an instruction by T. Bolton to the harp-guitar and the Apollo Lyre describes the essence of the harp sound, and he claims the brilliance of the

---

[4] *Morning Chronicle* 31th May 1800.
[5] From around 1802, the harp-guitar was advertised together with Light's other inventions. The advertisements solely for harp-guitar only occurred from 1800 to 1802. The combined adverts are irrelevant to the discussion, and therefore the period 1800 to 1802 is referred to, though more adverts for the harp-guitar involving descriptions indicating the instrument's resemblance to the harp continued to appear in successive series of newspaper advertisements.
[6] *Morning Post and Gazettee*r 14th February 1801.
[7] *Morning Chronicle* 22nd January 1802.
[8] *Morning Chronicle* 7th June 1802.

harp-guitar lies in the fact that it possesses the same characteristic, namely the resemblance in tone to the harp:

> The Celebrity of these Instruments is become universal which is to be attributed principally to its resemblance in point of tone to the real Harp […] It affords an elegant accompaniment to the voice and you may perform the most popular airs &c: with all the chords as on the real Harp.[9] (Fig 2.2)



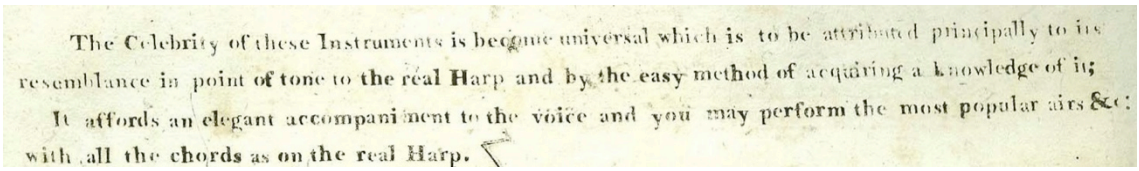

The Celebrity of these Instruments is become universal which is to be attributed principally to its resemblance in point of tone to the real Harp and by the easy method of acquiring a knowledge of it; It affords an elegant accompaniment to the voice and you may perform the most popular airs &c: with all the chords as on the real Harp.

Fig 2.2: Front page and partly extracted from the first page.

Besides, the appreciation of harp tone involved in the harp-guitar is seen on an

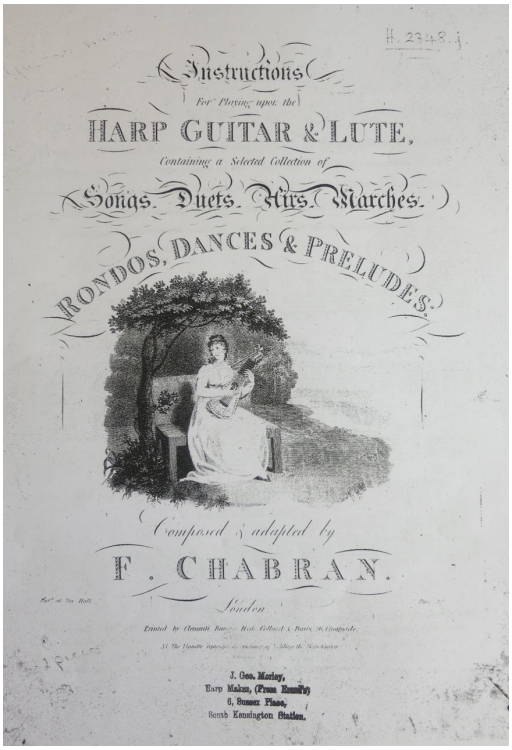
[9] T. Bolton, *New Instructions for the HARP GUITAR and Apollo Lyre, Replete with every Instruction relative to those Instruments Elucidated by a Variety of Examples corresponding with the modern Systems to which annexed A Selection Of the most admired Songs, Popular Airs, Waltzes* (London. Published by C. Wheatstone: 436. Strand), p.1.

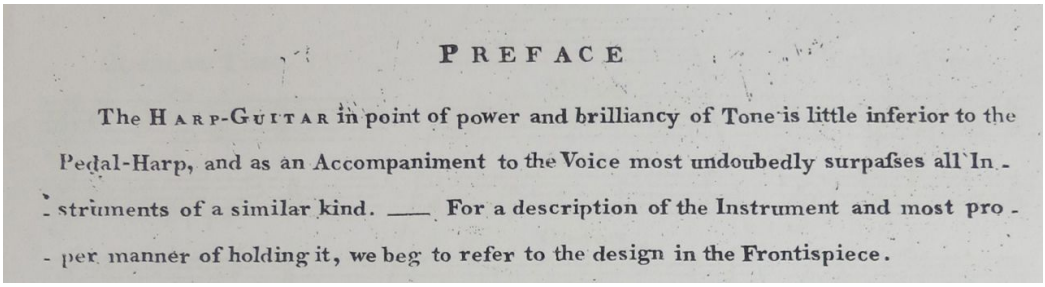
instruction book for harp-guitar and [harp] lute by F. Chabran, though differing from the other two (Bolton and Light) he pointed out the inferiority of the instrument from the real harp with pedals, in the preface of which he described that:

> The Harp-Guitar in point of power and brilliancy of Tone is little inferior to the Pedal-Harp, and as an Accompaniment to the Voice most undoubtedly surpasses all Instruments of a similar kind […][10] (Fig 2.3).

Nevertheless, in this account the author clearly describes the advantage of the instrument's harp tone, especially when accompanying the voice.

[10] F. Chabran, *Instructions For Playing upon the HARP GUITAR & LUTE, Containing a selected collection of Songs, Duets, Airs, Marches, RONDOS, DANCES & PRELUDES: Composed & adapted by F. CHABRAN*, (printed by Clementi Bates Hyde Collard & Davis 26 Cheapside, London), MS., BLL [H. 2348.j].





PREFACE

The HARP-GUITAR in point of power and brilliancy of Tone is little inferior to the Pedal-Harp, and as an Accompaniment to the Voice most undoubedly surpafses all Instruments of a similar kind. ___ For a description of the Instrument and most proper manner of holding it, we beg to refer to the design in the Frontispiece.

Fig 2.3: Front page and partly extracted preface.

In addition to the descriptions mentioned here, there are more accounts concerning the harp-guitar, which to some extent describe a similarity to the harp in its timbre.[11] According to accounts found in contemporary documents, it appears the harp was undoubtedly one of the most important instruments, not only in influencing Light's invention of the harp-guitar, but also in his promotion of the instrument to the public. Moreover, he seems to have designed the instrument to be used as a substitution for the real harp. In response to such frequent comparisons between the harp-guitar and the real

[11] These descriptions are fairly similar and common; further examination of these accounts would not add significantly to the discussion. Thereby, to avoid confusion and repetition by presenting too many documents of a similar type, which would not add to the discussion, such documents are omitted.

harp, a basic question arises:

Why was the harp so crucial?

To answer this question, firstly French society in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, concerning the aristocracy and the harp, should be briefly described.

2.2 PRE-HISTORY OF THE HARP IN BRITAIN FROM 1770-1800

Symbolised by the contemporary French Queen Marie Antoinette, widely known as fond of the harp, the harp was very popular amongst aristocratic ladies at the end of the eighteenth century. Rensch (2007: 132) mentions:

> '[…] many […] late-eighteenth-century pedal harps appear elegant enough to have been made for royal personage […] Marie Antoinette […] was undoubtedly a devoted harp student despite parental objection, as some of her correspondence shows. In January 1773, when she wrote her mother that despite the pleasure of court life she was always faithful to her dear harp and took a long harp lesson almost every day, the Empress of Austria instructed her ambassador to the French court to remind the young Dauphine that her hours might be better employed. However, whatever the extent of Marie Antoinette's harp playing […] her interest in the harp could only enhance its status since the French court set the standard for the courts of Europe, as well as for French society. A Portrait of Marie Antoinette with the harp and representations of other young and aristocratic ladies of fashion as harpists soon followed.'



Fig 2.4: Marie Antoinette playing on the harp at the French Court: Jean-Baptiste Gautier Dagoty (1777).[12]

The fashion of the harp amongst the French nobility soon spread to the rest of Europe. Britain was, of course, no exception. Rensch (2007: 132-133) goes on to suggest:

> 'In 1777 Sir Joshua Reynolds produced a gloriously painted portrait of Jane, Countess of Eglinton, with a harp. While the thirty-string instrument in this large painting […] may not be a pedal harp, it is nonetheless and appropriate symbol of grandeur for so handsome a work.
>
> Females of the late eighteenth century had surely found a most acceptable way to display pretty arms and sometimes even a "well-turned ankle." And harp music itself

[12] The image was taken form Lady Reading.net,
< http://www.ladyreading.net/marieantoinette/big/marie10.jpg>, (Accessed March, 2013).

had a special Charm; […] a gentleman who lost his heart to a lady who was "neither young nor beautiful but played the harp to perfection.'[13]



Fig 2.5: Countess of Eglinton with a harp (1777): Sir Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723-1792).[14]

As such, the harp was enthusiastically played by aristocratic ladies in high society and royal courts. However, in 1789 when the French revolution broke out, all members of the aristocracy were at risk of attack from the French public, and instrument makers were not unaffected since they had supplied instruments to the aristocracy.

Involved in the disaster was one of the most important harp makers for harp

[13] This was a quotation from Tallemant des Réaux in his *Histoirettes*. Rensch presumably quoted from Karl Freund, 'From Harp to Harpsichord', International Studio 75/303 (August 1922), 374. He mentioned 'The lady's name (appropriately) was Madam de Joyeuse' (quotation 15).

[14] Image Source: 'Books and Art: Books, Art of art: literature, music, dance, visual arts', <http://books0977.tumblr.com/post/65154901712/countess-of-eglinton-1777-sir-joshua-reynolds>, (Accessed November, 2013).

development in Britain, and is worthy of mention: Sébastien Erard.



Fig 2.6: Portrait of Sébastien Erard.[15]

It is generally believed that Strasbourg-born Sébastien arrived in Paris in 1768. Patronised by the Duchesse de Villeroy, he set up his workshop in her mansion in the rue de Bourbon. Accordingly, he became involved in with the French nobility at the very beginning of his career. In his early period, he was most likely engaged in keyboard instrument making, and in 1777 he built a five-octave piano, modelled after Zumpe, for his patron the Duchesse de Villeroy. Soon after he became successful in making five-octave pianos in the English style, in accordance with the fashionable aristocratic tastes of the day, and set up a new workshop in cooperation with his older brother, Jean-Baptiste. In 1781, they moved workshop to 13 Rue du Mail, where they ran their business until its closure. The most noteworthy event in the 1780s is probably that, in 1784, the Erard enterprise obtained a special dispensation from Louis XVI, followed by a Royal Commission. From 1786 to 1787, Erard made pianos for Marie

[15] The image was taken from 'Sébastien Erard', Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:S%C3%A9bastien_%C3%89rard.jpg >, (Accessed Mar., 2013).

Antoinette. Thereafter, the brothers' business achieved such enormous success that, in 1791, they became proprietors of the Rue du Mail premises. In terms of production output, from 1788 to 1789 they sold 254 and 410 pianos respectively. However, as the French revolutionary troubles escalated, sales of Erard pianos dropped dramatically (in 1790 only 76 instruments were produced).[16]

This did not only impact on their sales, as Erard's business had been protected and licensed by Louis XVI with his own authority,[17] but also Erard himself probably needed to flee Paris during the French Revolution, although he still maintained the Paris branch. As a result of this circumstance, in 1792 he set up his workshop in London where he started his business of manufacturing and retailing pianofortes and harps. He had already realised the importance of improving the poor harp mechanism and mentioned in a letter.

> 'The mechanism of this instrument is too complicated; I have changed and much simplified it; this means it doesn't break strings like before. Once I have obtained the right to show my discovery, I will bring out my harps'[18]

Rensch (1969: 101) referred to Erard and the poor quality of the harp in those days:

> 'Once in the British Isles, he [Erard] turned his attention to the sweet-toned but still musically limited and poorly mechanized harp. The altering hooks (Naderman's *crochets*, Cousineau's "crutch" system, etc.) of the early pedal harps were a source of constant aggravation to players. Cousineau harps, often commended for their fine tone, were also accused of "excessive fragility"; on some occasions the string itself was broken by the action of the altering mechanism. Madame Krumpholz, a gifted player and wife of the harp *virtuoso* and composer Johann Baptiste Krumpholz, at one time started that she would no longer play in public if the harp-makers could not remedy this

[16] All information on Erard derives from Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).
[17] 'A History of Sebastian Erard, Piano and Harp Maker', <http://www.piano-tuners.org/history/erard.html>, (Accessed Mar., 2013).
[18] Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).

inconvenience.'

Erard's first visit to London is generally believed to have been as early as 1779, but it wasn't until 1790 or 1791 that he settled in London, where he eventually opened his workshop at 18 Great Marlborough Street in 1792. Afterwards, he placed more emphasis on harp manufacturing and innovation in his new musical instrument business in the British Isles.

Since most of the harps sold and played in Britain before Erard's arrival were imported from France,[19] it was, therefore, natural that the first-ever British patent for the harp was taken out by him (patent no. 2016) in 1794. Around this time, the popularity of the harp in Britain had presumably increased, and its market had expanded. There follows a breakdown analysis of how the popularity and market place of the harp changed.

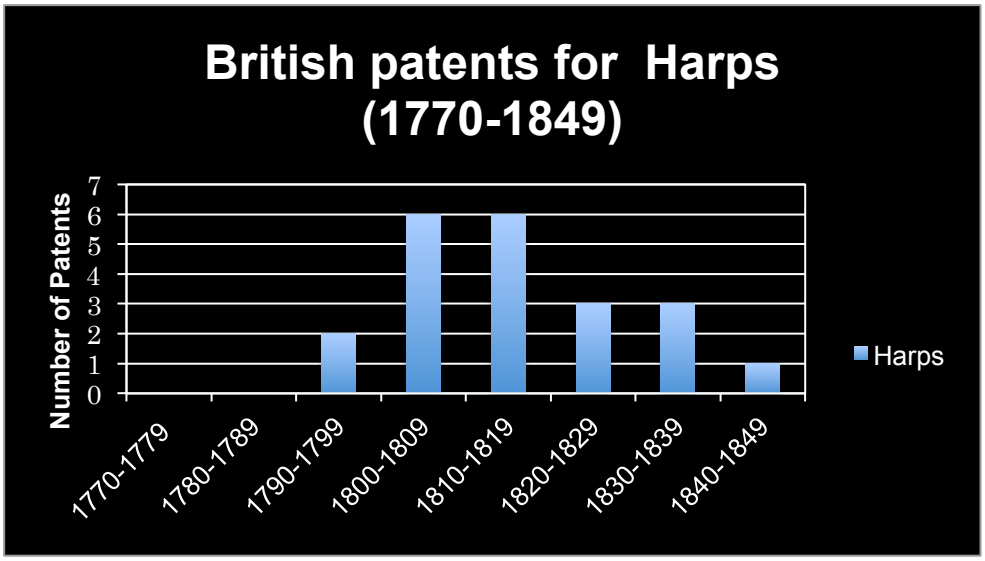
2.3 POPULARITY AND MARKET PLACE OF THE HARP FROM 1770-1850

The competitiveness in the market place of the harp in Britain to some extent corresponded to the popularity of the instrument, and can be measurable if we count the number of patents for the harp registered during certain periods and compare them in a decade.[20] The following graph (Graph 2.1) shows British patents for the harp classified

[19] Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).

[20] Of course absolute popularity cannot be measured simply by counting patents, but to some extent it is possible. Firstly, patents were usually taken to protect the inventor's own invention by paying expensive fees to register it. This means there was more likely to be a market where the inventor can safely obtain profits despite paying the high priced registration fees for obtaining a patent. Secondly, some patents were taken out on the same day by different makers, which may suggest competitiveness amongst the makers. This also indicates an expectation of certain profits earned from the patented products, since it would be an unnecessary action to apply urgently for a patent if there were no competitors. This does not mean that more competitors imply the existence of a bigger market, but it encourages that market to expand. For these reasons, whether or not their inventions became fashionable, for larger genres such as harp or pianoforte, the number of patents may illustrate the expansion and stability of the market, where the latter means fierce competitions between makers died down, so that there was no need to take more patents for a certain product. Thus, to some extent, it is possible to measure popularity, since that popularity is strongly connected to the expansion and stability of the market. However, this theory is only applicable to the products that are in process of development. For instance, the figure-of-eight shaped Spanish guitars were very popular in the 1830s and 40s in Britain, but no patent for the guitar was registered in that period. This is perhaps because such popular guitars were mostly imported from other countries such as Italy and France, or sold in such styles, and the instrument had already been in a state of

into decades from 1770 to 1849:



Graph 2.1: Number of British patents for harps granted by decade from 1770 to 1849.[21]

This graph shows that in the first two decades, between 1770 and 1789, there were no patents for the harp registered in the British Isles, while in the next decade the number has increased to two. To break it down, one was granted to Sébastien Erard in 1794[22] and the other was for William Southwell in 1798.[23] Interestingly, both patents were also granted for improvements to the pianoforte, and Southwell took another patent[24] for improvements to the pianoforte prior to 1798. It was on the next day that Erard took out the first ever British patent for the harp. Considering that Southwell's patent in 1798 for the harp was registered together with one for the pianoforte, he seems to have become aware of the gradual increase in popularity of the harp, but he may have believed that harp manufacturing would not lead to as many business opportunities as could be had in the pianoforte market. Thereafter, he did not take out any more patents

completion with no need for improvements. This seems more important for how it was marketed in Britain rather than for the development of its construction.

[21] The figures are calculated using two different accounts, one by Woodcroft (1854) which describes all the patents granted in Britain in sequence from no.1, and the other by Woodcroft (1871) republished by Tony Bingham (1984) which comprises only the patents for musical instruments. To provide precise information, these two accounts are compared to avoid any errors or omissions. Therefore, the numbers indicated in this graph should be precise and reliable.

[22] Patent no. 2016 (17 October, 1794).

[23] Patent no. 2264 (8 November, 1798).

[24] Patent no. 2017 (18 October, 1794).

for the harp although he obtained four more patents for pianofortes,[25] the last being in 1837.

While Southwell shifted to concentrating on the development of pianoforte, in the first ten years of the nineteenth century the number of patents granted for harps suddenly increased to six. It should be noted that half of them are still registered for improvements to the pianoforte. Nevertheless, this is quite significant, and interestingly from that number two out of six were patented by Erard.[26] This shows the significance of Erard's arrival in London, especially for the spread in popularity of the harp amongst the London public. Such circumstances seem to have encouraged other makers to step into harp explorations, and in consequence four more patents were taken in the same decade - by George Fröschle[27] in 1800, John Conrad Becker[28] in 1801, Richard Jubb[29] in 1805 and Charles Gröll[30] in 1807.

For the next ten years, the number of patents remained the same, six in total. Conversely, what is significant about this number is that five patents were granted solely for the harp. More specifically, one of them was again granted to Erard[31] though still with pianoforte amendments; according to the description[32] he seems to have concentrated more on harp improvements that were to some extent applicable to the pianoforte. Apart from that, the other patents were all for the harp. Interestingly, Gröll took out another patent for the harp[33] in 1813 but this time he was granted the patent in cooperation with Frederick Dizi, who also patented his own improved harp in 1817.[34] It is noteworthy that François Dizi[35] was, like Edward Light and others (e.g. Pierre Erard), a musician who invented instruments. Rensch (2007: 170) mentions:

---

[25] Patent no. 3029 (8 April, 1807), Patent no. 3403 (4 March, 1811), Patent no. 4546 (5 April, 1821) and Patent no. 7424 (24 August, 1837).
[26] Patent no. 2502 (16 May, 1801) and Patent no. 3170 (24 September, 1808) – these patents were registered together for the pianoforte.
[27] Patent no. 2397, (3 May, 1800) – solely patented for the harp.
[28] Patent no. 2551 (7 November, 1801) – registered for the pianoforte.
[29] Patent no. 2838 (5 April, 1805) – solely patented for the harp.
[30] Patent no. 3059 (13 July, 1807) – solely patented for the harp.
[31] Patent no. 3332 (2 May, 1810).
[32] Woodcroft (1984), pp.60-61.
[33] Patent no. 3642 (22 January, 1813).
[34] Patent no. 4171 (1 November, 1817).
[35] Probably the same person as Frederic Dizi, who appeared in the patent documents.

> '[…] a gifted Belgian-born harpist, François Dizi (1780-c. 1840), was engaged in 1820 to lead a band of twelve pedal harp players at London's Covent Garden. Not to be outdone, the Drury Lane Theatre engaged Robert Nicholas Charles Bochsa to lead a band of thirteen harpists! Both Dizi and Bochsa were famous as concert harpists and teachers (with Parish Alvars as their most renowned pupil), and Dizi, like Bochsa, also composed for the harp […] Living in London from 1796 to 1830, Dizi also worked on some improvements for the harp and obtained patents for his ideas in 1813 and 1817'.

As can be seen, competition for obtaining patents for new ideas existed not only amongst makers but also musicians, and thus it seems natural that musicians such as Light invented their own instruments. Similar to Light, who collaborated with Barry (a maker), Dizi, in order to bring his idea into reality, also opened a harp factory on his return to Paris in 1830 in collaboration with Pleyel, though the venture did not succeed.[36] This was presumably because the harp was not used by enthusiasts as much as before and also perhaps because the market place for the instrument was to some extent controlled by the leading makers, whose intense competition had more or less subsided. However, he did succeed in becoming a harp teacher for some members of the French Royal family at last.[37] Notably, apart from these experienced makers who had already taken out some patents, other patentees in the 1810s were all new applicants. The patents were, in chronological order, taken out in 1813 by two makers, Jacob Erat[38] and John Bateman,[39] and one by Robert Wills[40] in 1819.

Over the next twenty years, the number of patents dropped by half to three, and did not rise for the next two decades (1840-59). The first two decades of the nineteenth century may be regarded as the height of prosperity for the harp in the British Isles. Nonetheless, three registered patents are still significant, especially compared to the other decades, where no patents for the harp can be found (e.g. before 1790 or in the 1850s[41]).

[36] Rensch (2007: 171).
[37] Ibid.
[38] Patent no. 3693 (8 May, 1813).
[39] Patent no. 3765 (9 December, 1813).
[40] Patent no. 4343 (13 February, 1819).
[41] No patent specifically granted for the harp was identified in the 1850s.

Additionally, all of them (six patents in the two decades) were solely granted for the harp. In the 1820s, three patents were registered for the harp, one of which was taken out by the son of Jean Baptiste Erard, and Sébastien's nephew, Pierre Erard, in 1822.[42] 1814 to 1829 saw great changes in Erard's London firm, which had already achieved remarkable success in harp manufacturing, enabling them to pay off the debts incurred by their Paris establishment.[43] On the exact same day as Pierre took out his patent, two more patents for the harp were granted: after Pierre's (no. 4670) comes a patent for Edward Dodd[44] (no. 4671) followed by one for James Delveau[45](no. 4672). The need of all three parties to take out their patent on the same day suggests a high degree of competitiveness in harp manufacturing in those days. One reason for this is the price of harps. For instance, in 1817 Erard's double action harp was sold for £126, extremely expensive, almost four times the price of a square piano (£32 15s), and higher even than a grand piano (£94 10s), both of which were made by Broadwood in 1818.[46] In this way, harp manufacturing involved the opportunity to earn enormous profits. These three patents, therefore, were probably registered on the same day to protect the makers' own inventions. However, as this conclusion has been reached using only small evidence, it is still uncertain why these three patents were simultaneously registered, though to some extent surely highlights the significant competition involved in the improvements and development of the harp. Such competition continued in the following decade, the 1830s, which saw three harp patents registered in the name of Pierre and two newcomers, James Corbett[47] and John Frederick Grosjean.[48]

However, these experiments on the harp did not last long, and over the next ten years only one patent for the harp was granted, that of John Hawley's[49] in 1840. This particular patent was for the strings used by both pianoforte and harp, and was not

[42] Patent no. 4670 (24 April, 1822).
[43] See Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).
[44] Patent no. 4671 (24 April, 1822).
[45] Patent no. 4672 (24 April, 1822).
[46] Thanks to Jenny Nex, who told the author about the extremely high prices of harps and the intense competition between the harp makers themselves. In this conversation, she also generously provided the author with these figures, which are included in her thesis 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London' (2013:105-107).
[47] Patent no. 7241 (3 December, 1836).
[48] Patent no. 7450 (20 October, 1837).
[49] Patent no. 8526 (1 June, 1840).

therefore a dedicated improvement to the harp itself. Moreover, no patents for Erard's firm, which seems to have been one of the most effective manufacturers involved in the development of the harp and its expanding market in the British Isles, were registered during the 1840s. Later, this decline in harp innovation continued and, although not shown in the graph (Graph 2.1), the number of harp patents eventually fell to zero in the 1850s.

To sum up the graph, if we examine the fluctuating number of patents, it can be seen that the number of patents gradually increased from the 1790s right on through the next two decades when, between 1800 and 1820, the number of patents peaked. As the five out of six of the above patents in the 1820s were taken out solely for the harp, this decade seems to have been the busiest era for patenting developments of the harp. Subsequently, the success of harp manufacturing in the British market seems to have been sustained until the end of the 1830s, though the number of patents dropped off. This period of patenting did not last long, and from the 1840s, the number of harp patents fell, which may indicate a decline in the popularity of the harp or an end to the intense competition amongst harp-makers, i.e. a certain degree of stability in the market.

2.4 INFLUENCE OF THE HARP ON LIGHT'S INVENTION

To understand the impact of the public tendency on purchases of musical instruments, namely consumers preference, especially that of ladies,[50] a typical advertisement for music lessons, as an example, is shown below (Fig 2.7).

[50] It is important to understand trends of musical instruments among contemporary ladies because the harp (the instrument under discussion) seems, according to analysis of archives on the harp-guitar and patent comparisons, to have been played mostly by ladies as an amateur's instrument, though men played it professionally.

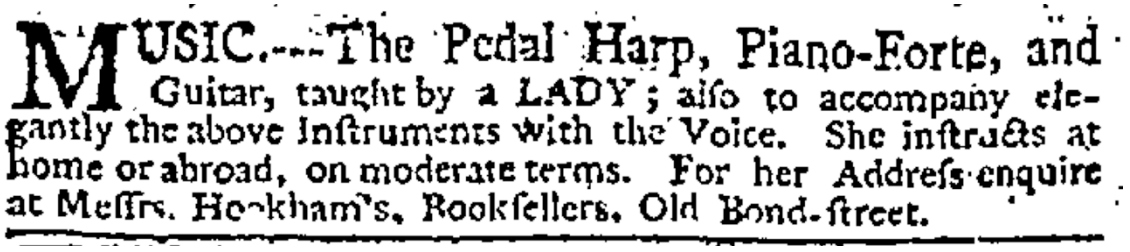

MUSIC.---The Pedal Harp, Piano-Forte, and Guitar, taught by a LADY; alſo to accompany elegantly the above Inſtruments with the Voice. She inſtructs at home or abroad, on moderate terms. For her Addreſs enquire at Meſſrs. Hookham's, Bookſellers, Old Bond-ſtreet.

Fig 2.7: A typical advertisement for music lessons by ladies, issued in 1795.[51]

This clearly suggests that the instruments ladies should be proficient in were the harp, pianoforte and guitar, and that they were also required to master singing, accompanying themselves on those instruments, albeit at different levels of society.[52] This kind of advertisement constantly appeared in British newspapers through the nineteenth century, as these adverts in 1813 and 1822 show:

> 'THE PEDAL HARP, PIANO-FORTE, and every sort of GUITAR, TAUGHT by a LADY whose method of Teaching possesses ease, elegance, taste, and correctness; also to accompany with the voice; terms very moderate […]'[53]

> 'A SWISS PROTESTANT LADY, brought up in the first society of Paris, and who has lived with distinguished families in England, now desires a Situation as CONFIDENTIAL GOVERNESS. She instructs in French, Italian, and English, Pianoforte, Harp, Guitar, & c. […]'[54]

At least throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Britain, the harp, pianoforte and guitar continued to be regarded as the main instruments in which ladies needed to be accomplished.

Of those instruments, the harp seems to have been the most important influence on Light's first invention: the harp-guitar. Firstly, he was able to identify his target

---

[51] *The Times* 29th April 1795.
[52] In those days, from the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain, it seems to have been quite unusual for ladies to teach music to gentlemen, according to the typical gender attitudes of the time, thus the advert was most likely to be directed at ladies.
[53] *The Morning Post* 22nd March 1813.
[54] *The Morning Post* 5th July 1822.

audience, '**ladies**', and even though he had been very familiar with pianofortes, it would also be rather easier to distribute this instrument to the public than instruments such as pianofortes, which were more widely used by a variety of people.[55] Secondly, as shown in the comparisons of patent numbers, the increasing '**popularity of the harp**' in the British Isles had quite a significant bearing on Light's decision. Thirdly, no other similar instrument had emerged that could be played by people in wealthy society.[56] Harpsichords were enthusiastically played by both professionals and amateurs regardless of sex[57] in the eighteenth century in Britain, and pianofortes seem to have emerged through changes in tone preference amongst the public, issues of expression, facility of playing and more, thus gradually supplanting harpsichords. In contrast, the harp was most likely a '**novelty**' domestic instrument that suddenly began appearing in salons alongside keyboard instruments; there had not been a precedent to supplant. Fourthly, an important factor for Light was presumably the expensive '**prices** of the harp', which cost more than pianofortes. For instance, as previously shown, in 1817 Erard's double action harp was sold for £126, extremely expensive and almost four times the price of a single action square piano (£32 15s) and even higher than a grand piano (£94 10s), both made by Broadwood in 1818. Though this was the comparison in price in 1817-1818, it is doubtful that the harp would have been much cheaper than pianofortes at the end of the eighteenth century. If makers such as Erard, who brought the harp industry to Britain, had been engaged to the Royal family while he was in Paris, providing instruments to them and other wealthy patrons, it would certainly not have been cheaper. For instance Rensch mentions (1969: 100): 'This pedal harp [once belonging to Marie Antoinette] was made in 1780 by Cousineau of Paris. When new, Cousineau harps cost from 375 to 500 livres'. Here is another example of the British market in the early nineteenth century: 'In London the harp had remarkable success. Sales took off from November 1800, when the Princess of Wales paid £75 12s'.[58]

---

[55] This will be explained in more detail in the Chapter 4.

[56] The harp had of course existed before the end of the eighteenth century, but seems not to have been used in the same manner as it was in the nineteenth century, when it was mostly played by amateur ladies as an instrument one played to appear attractive and well-educated in fashionable society.

[57] For amateur musicians there were perhaps some gender restrictions for playing on keyboard instruments, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century. Harpsichords were more likely to have been the ladies' instruments in the amateur music scene, but for reasons of clarity and consistency, this research does not delve into this matter in detail. This account was only presented to contrast the harp as more of a novelty instrument.

[58] Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition,

Therefore, it can be assumed that Light got his idea to make a harp-like instrument with a much more affordable price from the rise in middle-class customers, who were achieving success in their business and gaining more power and wealth in society. Fifthly, though the harp is smaller than pianofortes and movable within rooms, it is still quite large in size to be taken on such occasions as holiday visits to the countryside.[59] It appears Light noticed this disadvantage of the harp quite early on, when the harp was gradually gaining popularity in the British Isles, and therefore came up with an idea of inventing a new instrument that would be easily '**portable**'. For these reasons, Light seems to have decided to build this new instrument, which involves largely harp elements and could substitute for a real harp. However, to bring these ideas to fruition, he would have to combine the harp with another stringed instrument that already possessed the qualities shown above: very popular among ladies, a distinctive form and character (novelty), sold at a moderate price and easily portable. The 'Guittar', known as the English guitar in these days, ticked all of these boxes.

2.5 THE PRECURSOR: THE GUITTAR

As shown in Bolton's instructions for the harp-guitar and Apollo Lyre (1):

> 'The Harp Guittar and Lyre tho' different in form are played and fingered precisely the same which correspond with the scale of the English Guittar with the addition sometimes of an Additional Bass strings which is G a fourth below the 6th. String or an Octave to the 4th. String, but much superior in tone in consequence of peculiar construction and being strung with Harp Strings instead of wire which gives the effect and sound of the real Harp.'[60]

The guittar (Fig 2.8) was no doubt the instrument from which the harp-guitar was

---

<www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).

[59] Of course, taking a harp to the countryside was not impossible, harps were quite often taken out of the house and brought, along with other items, anywhere wealthy families went. However, it is easy to imagine the practical difficulties involved.

[60] *New Instructions for the HARP GUITAR and Apollo Lyre, Replete with every Instruction relative to those Instruments Elucidated by a Variety of Examples corresponding with the modern Systems to which annexed A Selection Of the most admired Songs, Popular Airs, Waltzes*, (London: Published by C. Wheatstone: 436. Strand).

developed. This account also states the superiority of the tone resemblance to the harp by using gut strings rather than wire strings. The public preference for the tone of gut-strung harps meant that this was the better material, possessing a warmer and mellower sound. Why, then, did Light come up with the idea of developing the guittar into a new harp-like instrument rather than converting real harps into a smaller portable size? To understand his intention, firstly the guittar should be briefly overviewed in its history and usage.



Fig 2.8: One of the typical guittars with a watch-key tuning machine by Preston, London, YCN(4584).

2.5.1 THE GUITTAR AS A LADIES INSTRUMENT

As mentioned by Poulopoulos (2011: 12) and suggested by the 1795 advert (Fig 2.7) which appears to be targeted at ladies, the guittar was more likely to be an instrument played by women. To begin with, an instruction book for the guittar printed by Preston is shown as an example (Fig 2.9).



Fig 2.9: Front page of the instruction book for the guittar published by J. Preston[61] (c.1785).[62]

As written at the very beginning of the instruction on the first page, it is clearly stated that the guittar is recommended for Ladies and suited to accompanying the female voice.[63]

> 'THE GUITTAR (or CITRA) is an Instrument which from its delicacy Tone & gracefull manner of holding for Performance, has ever recommended itself to the use of the Ladies - it is esteemed a complete Accompaniment to the Female Voice, and is capable of producing all the beauties of Melody, and effects of Harmony, (or combination of Sounds.)', (1).

Secondly, when we examine extant British portrait pictures surviving from the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly the ones involve the guittar and sitter(s), it

---

[61] *Complete Instruction FOR THE GUITAR Containing the most usefull directions & Examples for Learners to obtain a speedy proficiency, to which is added, A Choice Collection of Favourite Airs, Minuets, Marches, Songs &c. properly adapted for that Instrument and two Scales shewing the Common Chords on each Fret, & the Method of taking the Notes on different Strings to facilitate the Execution of difficult Passages*, (Printed & Sold by J. Preston, his Music Warehouse No.97 Strand, c.1785), MS., BLL [a.76].

[62] See Poulopoulos (2011: 604-606). According to his account he had a workshop in 1785 at 97, The Strand and considering that in 1789, Preston's son, Thomas, joined the firm, which became 'Preston & Son', the music was more likely to have been published during these four years as the firm's name shown on the front page was still 'J. Preston'.

[63] There are more accounts recommending the use of guittar for ladies. For more evidence please see Poulopoulos (2011: Chapter 3.3.7, 106-107).

can be seen that most of the portraits involving the guittar had a female sitter(s).[64] (Fig 2.10 and Fig 2.11).



Fig 2.10: One of the portraits of guitar and lady sitter, entitled 'The Month, February'.[65]



Fig 2.11: A printed portrait of Miss Harriot Powell, with her tuning a guittar, (c.1769).[66]

[64] For more portrait paintings, please see Poulopoulos (2011: Chapter 3.3.9, 108-125).
[65] 'The Months, February', Painted by Robert Dighton (1752-1814), Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1750-1800-3.html> (Accessed, 2010). According to the lady's fashion and hairstyle, this portrait was presumably painted in the second half of the eighteenth century. It cannot be a nineteenth-century portrait - hairstyles became much simpler and high-waisted dresses were popularly worn by ladies in Regency Britain.
[66] Print made by Charles Corbutt; after Catherine Read; Published by Robert Sayer in London;

In those days, it was generally believed that to have one's portrait painted was an important way for ladies to display their status within fashionable society. Just as importantly, they should align themselves with the cutting edge of contemporary fashion, which meant in a musical sense being seen seated with a guittar. These portraits suggest that the guittar was one of the fashionable instruments played by ladies and an iconic symbol of femininity which on the one hand made the sitter appear more attractive and on the other demonstrated her musical ability. Poulopoulos (2011: 41) provides an interesting analysis of the gender proportion of guitar players 'by analysing the clients' details in the accounts of Thomas Green[67][…] the predominance of women who played the guittar is quite evident, estimated at 90%'. Ladies from wealthy middle-class families, in order to maintain their elegant, high status, would have avoided being portrayed with any artefacts commonly used amongst poor people, since those in poverty and the working-class were unlikely to be drawn in a portrait. It can therefore be said that the guittar was seen as an instrument preferred by ladies who belonged to middle class or the higher classes.

2.5.2 THE POPULARITY OF THE GUITTAR

To understand the popularity of the guittar in those days, there is an interesting numeral analysis by Poulopoulos (2011) that to a certain extant enables us to measure the significance of supplies of the guittar within the British Isles. He mentioned that:

> '[…] around the late 18th-century guittar manufacture was a well-established and thriving trade. There are at least 52 musical instrument manufacturers, dealers and inventors who are known to have been involved in the guittar trade, by 34 of whom there are surviving guittars […]' (227)

Inscription below the image: with title, and 'C. Read Pinxt / C. Corbutt fecit. / Printed for Robt. Sayer, No. 53 Fleet Street.', BML [k.68.71], <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3046353&partId=1>, (Accessed, 2013). Pulopoulos (2011: 113) also mentioned the same printed portrait stored in St. Cecilia's Hall Museum of Instruments, Edinburgh, which has a similar inscription and appears to be dated 1st October, 1769. Therefore, the one in the British museum was most likely published around the similar time, though it describes the date as '(c.1746-1766)' on the website.

[67] 'Thomas Green, a music teacher and tuner of musical instruments. In his accounts from 1742 to 1790, mainly regarding the maintenance and tuning of various keyboard instruments, he records 'mending and Stringing a citron''. Poulopoulos (2011: 79).

Of the 34 known makers, according to his table 5.1 (227-228), 24 definitely had workshops in London, which is significant in that it means a great number of makers were able to earn a living through guittar manufacturing, but one can easily imagine the high competitiveness amongst them working within such a small area. To put it another way, the numbers suggest that there was a certain demand for guittars in the musical instrument market, and that the instruments were actively traded, hence the existence of a large number of makers in the city. Moreover, his analysis also claims that London was the most important market for the guittar and became its centre of manufacturing. To support this, Poulopulos mentions:

> '[…] the examination of surviving instruments and the investigation of archival sources have proved that London was by far the most important and influential centre of guittar manufacture and distribution. Out of the 346 presently known signed guittars, 300 of them, representing more than three quarters of the total number (86.7%), have been produced by makers working in London, while only 46 are by makers working outside London.' (230).

He also made an interesting estimate of the number of guittars produced in the lifetime of one of the leading makers, Preston. An approximation of the number of whole guittars manufactured within roughly 50 years (1756-1805) in the British Isles was at least 12,834, (230-231).

Considering the guittar was only used by middle and upper class ladies, therefore limited in its number of customers, and that most likely the majority of instruments were manufactured within London, the figure shown by Poulopoulos is significant. Recalculated for a year's production, at least 247 instruments (approx.) would have been manufactured. However, this is only one average, and in reality the earlier period of the 1750s and 60s, and the period after 1800 (after the establishment of the guittar in Britain and its later decline in popularity) presumably show a smaller number of guittars produced than in the 70s and 80s, as opposed to those during which time relatively higher number of production is expected. Therefore, it suggests that guittar manufacturing was one of the largest businesses in musical instrument making in the second half of the eighteenth century in Britain, enabling makers to produce the

instrument in large annual quantities.

2.5.3 PRICES FOR THE GUITTAR

A cost reduction was important for makers, who needed the instrument to be priced affordably according to a middle-class budget. Consequently, guittars were made very cheaply - according to Poulopoulos' research (2011: 128-133), they were likely to cost in the range of two to six guineas from the 1750s to 90s. There is an interesting price list from Clementi, Collard & Collard in 1823, which can be called into doubt since the guittar had already gone out of fashion in the year this catalogue appears to have been published (Fig 2.12).

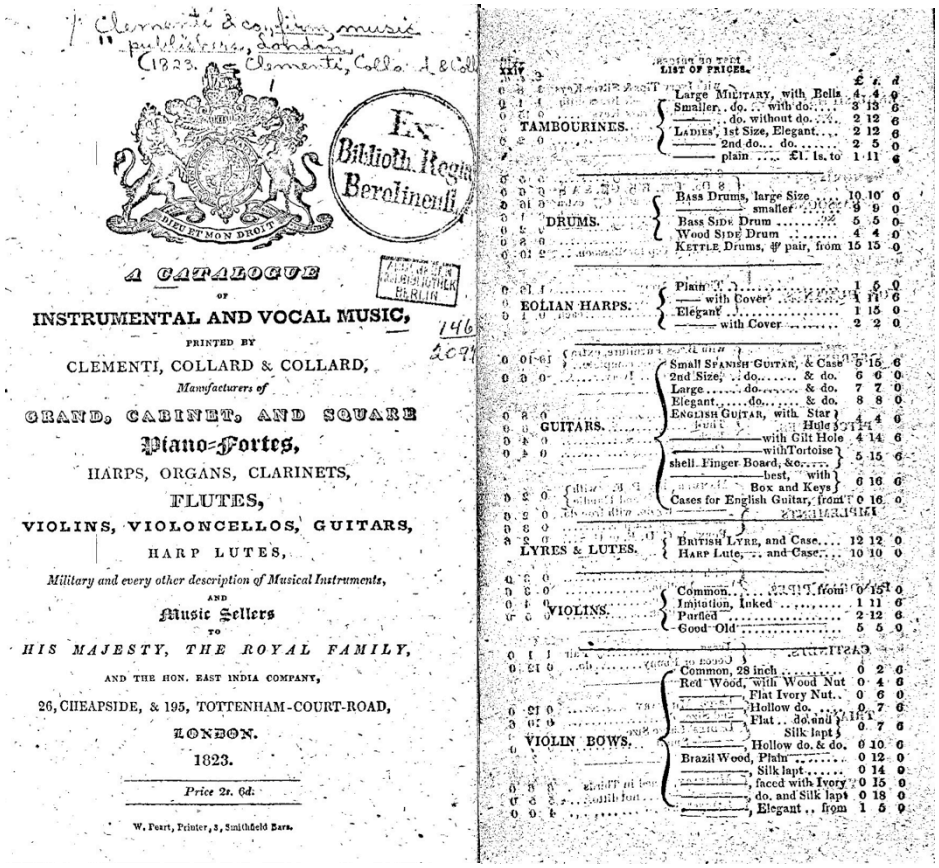


Fig 2.12: A Catalogue of musical instruments by Clementi, Collard & Collard in 1823, London. (Left) front page and (Right) price lists [courtesy of J. Westbrook].

The catalogue was more likely to have been issued in the first fifteen years of the

nineteenth century, because the earliest evidence so far identified shows that the term 'harp lute' was used as early as 1803, and the price, ten and twelve guineas, corresponds more to the range of harp-lutes and Apollo Lyres Light introduced in 1809 (priced at nine to twelve guineas).[68] Furthermore, around this time or even later, the guittar was also still played in the amateur music scene, as illustrated by an advertisement for music lessons from 1814:

> 'MUSIC. – INSTRUCTIONS given upon the Harp, PIANO-FORTE, SPANISH and ENGLISH GUITAR, by a Lady […]'[69]

Even this advertisement from 1816 shows that the English guitar was taught (Fig 2.13):

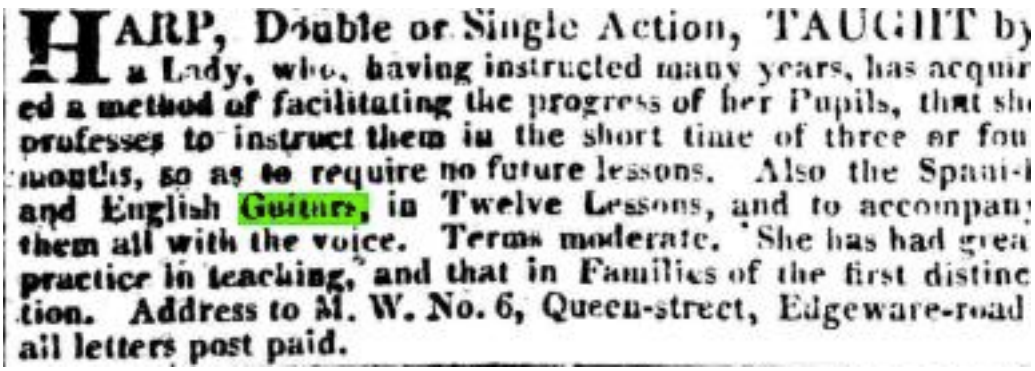

HARP, Double or Single Action, TAUGHT by a Lady, who, having instructed many years, has acquired a method of facilitating the progress of her Pupils, that she professes to instruct them in the short time of three or four months, so as to require no future lessons. Also the Spanish and English Guitars, in Twelve Lessons, and to accompany them all with the voice. Terms moderate. She has had great practice in teaching, and that in Families of the first distinction. Address to M. W. No. 6, Queen-street, Edgeware-road all letters post paid.

Fig 2.13: An advertisement by a lady who teaches music, including English guitar, in 1816.

It might be possible here that 'English guitar' does not mean 'guittar', but it is most likely to do so since this was an advert by a lady offering herself as a tutor of the types of musical instruments in which ladies were expected to be accomplished. At that time, there seems no alternative instrument that might have been called 'English guitar' other than the guittar. Moreover, the lady in the advert, who was teaching music, seems to have been learned the guitar quite some time before (the advert clearly states 'a Lady, who, having instructed many years'). Besides, there would have been a certain demand from guittar learners, otherwise there would have been no point in stating that she was able to teach such an instrument. For the above reasons, the price list in the catalogue is most likely to have been edited after 1809, and not during the 1790's.

[68] This will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4 and 5.
[69] *The Morning Post* 25th March 1814.

Nevertheless, in this debate, the most important thing is that the price of the guittar from the 1750s until after 1800 (perhaps until 1823) has not shown much change - it remained more or less the same. According to Poulopoulos (2011: 128), the average price was two to six guineas (£2 2s to £6 6s) in the 1750s, and the price shown in the catalogue of Clementi, Collard & Collard in 1823 (Fig 2.14) varies from £4 4s to £6 16s.

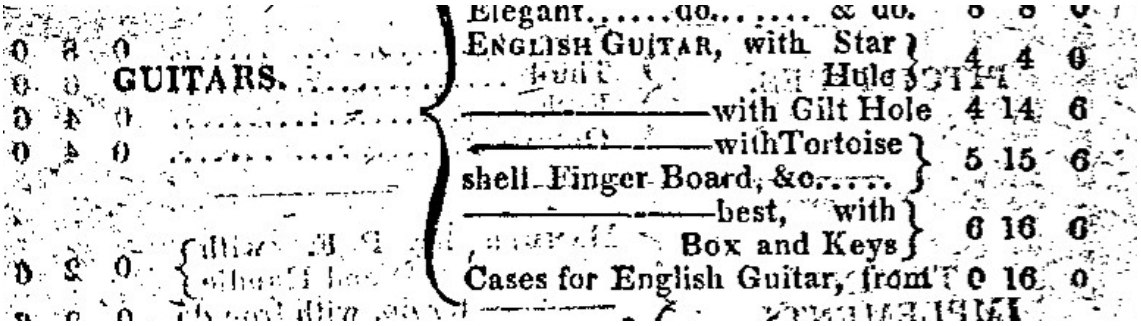


Fig 2.14: Extraction of prices for the guittar from the catalogue of Clementi, Collard & Collard in 1823 [courtesy of J. Westbrook].

This shows the price of the guittar in the 1790s was more or less the same, around two to six guineas.[70] These prices were quite cheap compared to other contemporary instruments. There is an interesting advert for the musical academy and musical instrument repository at No.6 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, in 1792, which indicates prices for some other instruments:

> '[…] The instruments now at this place [No. 6 Duke street] for sale are, three fine toned Piano Fortes, one at fourteen guineas, one at eleven guineas, and a small sized neat one for five guineas; a neat and sweet-toned Harpsichord five guineas; a very fine toned Pedal Harp, quite as good as new, for sixteen guineas; a charming Violincello, and a Tenor; good violins and Guitars very cheap […]'[71]

Although these prices were more likely for second hand instruments, interestingly this

[70] This does not mean all guittars were in the range of two to six guineas, and indeed there were more expensive guittars sold by other makers.
[71] *World* 1st August 1792.

reveals that the fashionable contemporary ones were rather more expensive than the old-fashioned instruments. For instance, a pianoforte was priced at fourteen guineas while harpsichords were almost a third of that, and it is remarkable that the pedal harp fetched the highest price of all, sixteen guineas. This evidence therefore suggests that harps were extremely expensive in those days. In contrast, guitars are mentioned as being 'very cheap', which probably means that its price was so cheap as not to be worth putting in this newspaper advert. Although the most expensive guitar, plus case, is priced at six guineas in the catalogue (one guinea more than small-sized pianoforte), the price of guittars in general seems to have been relatively low. As opposed to the guittar, the price of a harp was extremely high even as early as 1792, about the time Erard was establishing his workshop in London.[72] Nonetheless, the cheap guittars were definitely affordable to middle class ladies, although the price range of guittars involved different models from very plain ones to those excessively decorated with exotic materials such as ivory and tortoiseshell. Added to this the social distinction also raised the price. These prices, combined with the flexibility in model type, were no doubt one of the reasons why the guittar was enthusiastically taken up by amateur ladies from the middle to upper classes.

2.5.4 PORTABILITY OF THE GUITTAR

Another important aspect of the guittar that attracted middle class ladies was its portability. It is easy to understand that the guitar was a portable instrument if we consider its size. Poulopoulos (2011) describes the general measurements of typical guittars in a footnote (12). According to it, for standard models the body length varied from 335 to 370mm, the width from 275 to 305mm, and the depth from 75 to 120mm. For a representative scale length, it varies from 410mm to 440mm, which is rather short compared to the representative Spanish guitars sold by British music sellers in the nineteenth century (around 630mm[73]). Without providing a comparison in size with pianofortes or harps, it is rather obvious that the size of the guittar is much smaller than

[72] See 'Ann Griffiths, 'Erard', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, online edition, <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, (Accessed Oct., 2013).

[73] For instance, one by C. Boullangier, 1848, London, MIMEd (286) measured 631-632mm, one by Joseph Gerard, 1830, London RCM (172) measured 634mm, one by Metzler & Co., London, MAT (A972) measured 632-634mm. Of course, there is more variety of scale lengths both longer and shorter.

those instruments. In terms of weight, it was lighter and easily portable for females, as most of its parts were usually constructed from wood, with sometimes tortoiseshell and ivory for the fingerboards. Of course, thanks to the innovation of a tuning mechanism that gave rise to metallic tuning devices, instruments with these devices weighed more. Additionally, a small keyboard device known as a 'piano-key mechanism', was attached to the body, also adding extra weight. Despite this, the instruments were nonetheless very light and portable, especially compared to harps and pianofortes. Furthermore, due to the innovation of these mechanical tuning devices, harps and pianofortes also became heavier, particularly from the end of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth. Therefore, if we look purely at instruments' weight, the guittar was, undoubtedly, easily portable.

2.5.5 NOVELTY OF THE GUITTAR

Having been invented and innovated almost exclusively in the British Isles, the form of guittars became so distinctive as to be easily identifiable at first glance. When the guittar was first introduced in the British Isles, it must have seemed a remarkably novel instrument, the like of which had never been seen before. Add to this the fact that it was tuned in open C (introducing ease of playability and fast learning of the instrument), the guittar must have stood out as an attractive purchase, especially amongst amateur musicians. However, the novelty of most products gradually wears off, and while the guittar seems to have been one of the most commonly played instruments in fashionable society during the 1780s, to some extent it must have started to lose its freshness.

As if to recover from such loss of novelty, by adapting to the then growing popularity of pianofortes, a new innovation for the guittar took place by having them include a piano mechanism. Instruments with such a mechanism, an internal or external device consisting of a set of keys and hammers to strike the strings, were often referred to as a keyed or 'pianoforte' guittar.[74] Although it is generally believed that the key mechanism was introduced to protect ladies' fingernails,[75] such an innovative design and idea would surely have regained some of the novelty the guittar had been losing

[74] Poulopoulos (2011: 439).
[75] Ibid.

amongst the public. Supporting this theory, Poulopoulos (2011: 441) mentions:

> '[…] in the emerging consumerist society of Georgian Britain, the introduction of any new design, shape or function on an otherwise common item could instantly attract the interest of fashion-conscious clientele which, from the middle of the 18th-century onwards, was craving for novelties, especially in the decorative and fine arts.'

As mentioned in his account, 'novelty' was one of the most key elements when it came to inventing or innovating new products at the end of the eighteenth century, and especially when marketing the instrument in fashionable society.

To sum up, as discussed above, the guittar had all the essential features for the invention of a new harp-like instrument: very popular amongst ladies, low price, and extremely portable. If it truly possessed all of these qualities, it would not have been necessary to create a new instrument. However, there had been a change in the public taste. People now preferred instruments with softer and mellower sounds - instruments such as pianofortes and harps. Moreover, despite the guittar's distinctive form and character, a lack of novelty about it amongst the public seems to have created the opportunity to create a new but similar kind of instrument. To recover such loss of freshness, there began attempts to install a pianoforte mechanism (the so-called 'key mechanism') into the instrument. As a result, however, the guittar was adapted to functioning more like a piano. There now emerged the chance to create a new instrument, this time one more adapted to harps. The installation of a piano mechanism into the guittar seems to have become fashionable, and different models of piano-key were invented. However, these instruments could never surpass real pianos. One of the selling points of the guitar, its 'novelty', had begun to wear off. This led to the invention of the harp-guitar, which sought to supplant the guittar while involving elements of the then growing popularity of the harp.

Such a novelty instrument to replace the guittar was invented by an English musician, Edward Light. In the 1790s, Light was a musician who taught all kinds of major musical instruments, especially to ladies. These included harpsichord, pianoforte, harp, and guitar. He was also a dealer in instruments sold in the music academy where he

gave lessons. It was therefore natural that he published instructions for these instruments, which of course involved at least one work for the English guittar.[76] As a dealer in instruments, Light must surely have been aware of the changing in public taste from wired-strung instruments such as the harpsichord and English guittar to instruments producing softer and mellower sounds, capable of greater dynamic changes, such as the piano-forte and harp. This transitional movement in the music scene eventually gave him the idea of combining two instruments, the English guittar and the harp.

[76] For instance, *The Ladies' Amusement, being a Collection of Favourite Songs and Lessons within Compass of the Guitar, etc. No. 1*, Printed for the author, 1783, MS., BLL [a.76.(3.)].

CHAPTER THREE:

EARLY CAREER OF EDWARD LIGHT



Miniature of Edward Light [courtesy of Rosemary Cook]

3.1 BACKGROUND

Going by his certificate of marriage intention (4th August 1774), in which he is described as twenty-six, Edward Light was born in 1747 or 1748 (Fig 3.1).

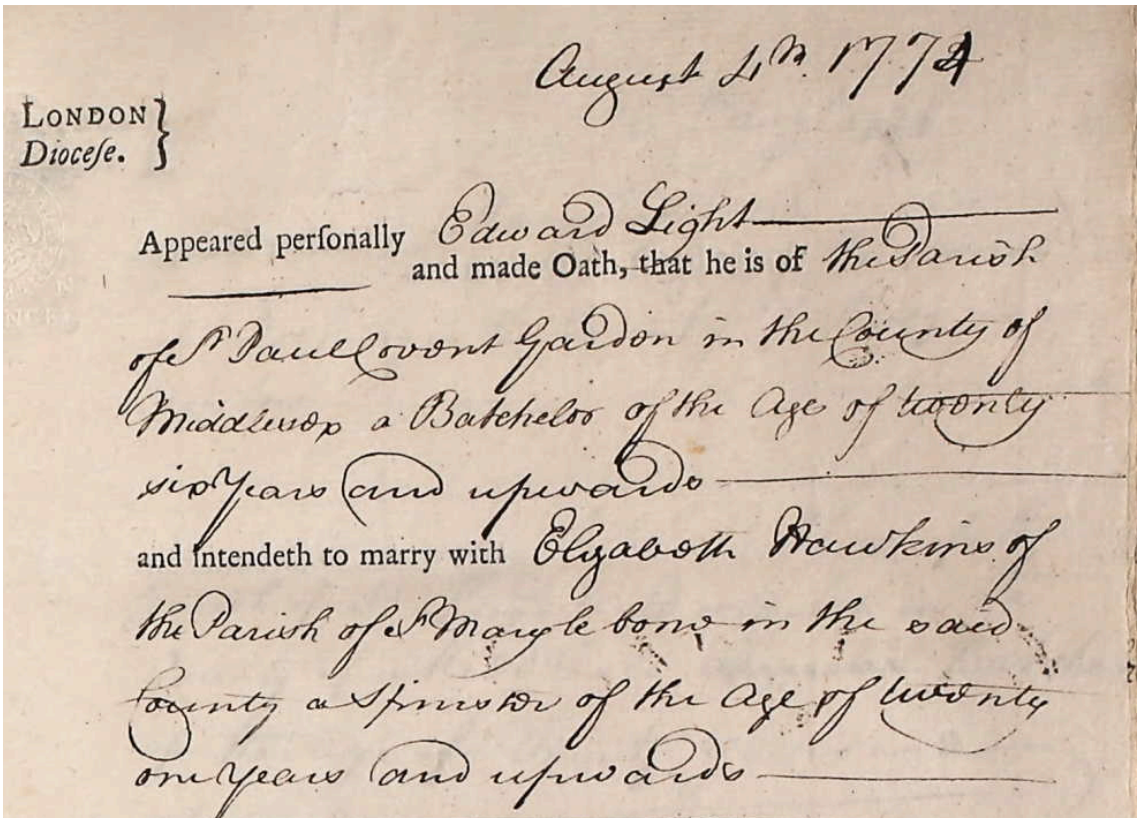


Fig 3.1: Edward Light's certificate of marriage intention 1774.[1]

A family tree, shown in the online-database of ancestry.co.uk, dates Edward Light's birth as 22 Oct 1747, Covent Garden, London, despite no clear citation or source. Similarly, in the Dictionary of National Biography, Light's date of birth is listed as 1747.[2] Since the document claiming '22 Oct 1747 in Covent Garden' as Light's date

[1] ancestry.com, *London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011). Original data: *Marriage Bonds and Allegations*. London, England: London Metropolitan Archives. <www.ancestry.co.uk>, (Accessed, 2013).
[2] Ancestry.com, *Dictionary of National Biography, Volumes 1-20, 22* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010). Original data: Sir Leslie Stephen, ed. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1921–1922. Volumes 1–20, 22.* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1921–1922), p.775.

of birth and place does not provide satisfactory evidence,[3] this thesis will avoid giving a clear date and place, but he was certainly born between 7th August in 1747 and 6th August 1748.[4]

The first appearance of Light's name in a public document is found to be as early as 1754. The name appears in a newspaper advert as a ticket seller for a concert (Fig 3.2). Although there is no evidence to prove, it is probably one of Light's relatives (e.g. his father, John Light,[5] or his uncle).[6] Most probably Edward Light helped out in the family business.

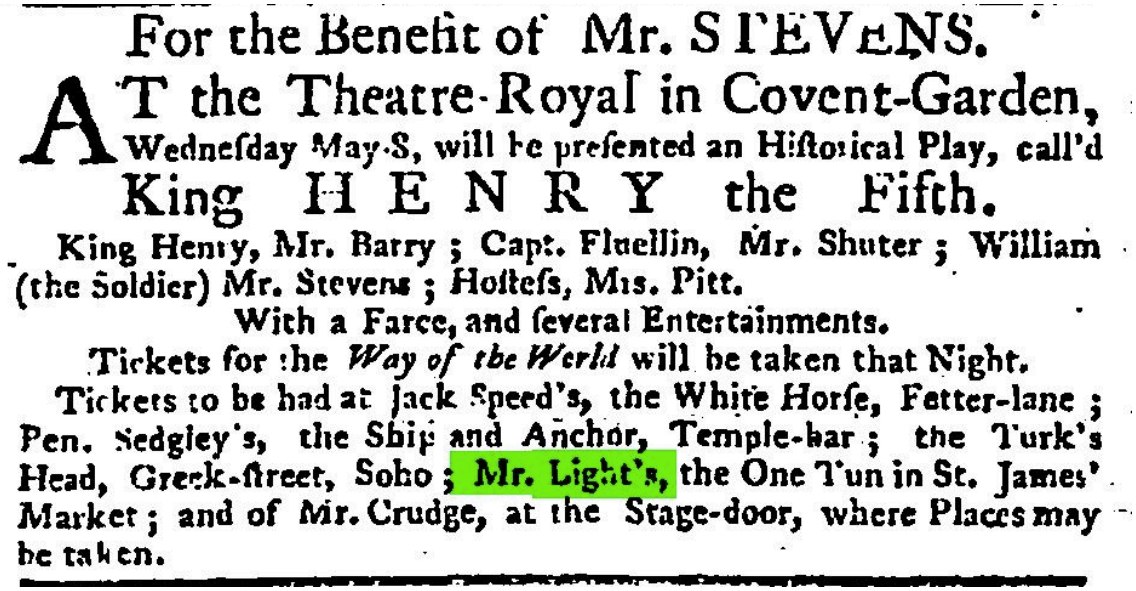
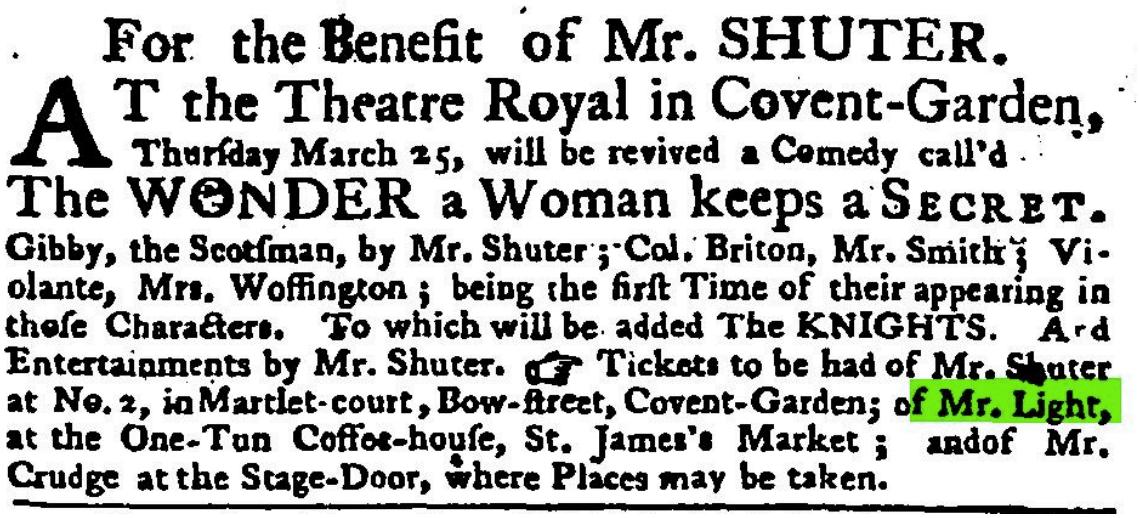

For the Benefit of Mr. STEVENS.
AT the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, Wednesday May 8, will be presented an Historical Play, call'd
King HENRY the Fifth.
King Henry, Mr. Barry; Capt. Fluellin, Mr. Shuter; William (the Soldier) Mr. Stevens; Hostess, Mrs. Pitt.
With a Farce, and several Entertainments.
Tickets for the *Way of the World* will be taken that Night.
Tickets to be had at Jack Speed's, the White Horse, Fetter-lane; Pen. Sedgley's, the Ship and Anchor, Temple-bar; the Turk's Head, Greek-street, Soho; Mr. Light's, the One Tun in St. James' Market; and of Mr. Crudge, at the Stage-door, where Places may be taken.

Fig 3.2: Earliest advert so far discovered featuring the name Mr. Light (1754).[7]

Considering the year, 1754, it is unlikely that Edward Light was already engaged in music retailing at the age of six, so this is unlikely to be Edward Light himself.

[3] It is uncertain where his birth record is, as the author could not find the source.
[4] There is the actual marriage certificate mentioning a different date (6th August) – this will be explained further down.
[5] According to a family tree of Light shown in the ancestry.co.uk. (Accessed, November 2013).
[6] Because the name 'Light' was not particularly common and this advert is related to the music business makes it more specific. Moreover, someone appearing in newspapers would have had a certain reputation among the public. The address in Covent Garden, which Light's marriage certificate mentions as his parish ('Parish of St Paul, Covent Garden'), means that the Light appearing in this newspaper was more likely to have been one of Edward Light's relatives (i.e. father or uncle). Furthermore, Edward Light's business in music retailing began shortly before 1800. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Light featured in this 1754 newspaper is most likely to have been a relative of the inventor of harp lutes.
[7] *Public Advertiser* 27th April 1754.

Additionally, a newspaper advert published two years later features Light's name and shows the same address that had appeared in the 1754 advert, 'the One-Tun, St James' Market' (Fig 3.3).



For the Benefit of Mr. SHUTER.

AT the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden, Thurſday March 25, will be revived a Comedy call'd The WONDER a Woman keeps a SECRET. Gibby, the Scotſman, by Mr. Shuter; Col. Briton, Mr. Smith; Violante, Mrs. Woffington; being the firſt Time of their appearing in thoſe Characters. To which will be added The KNIGHTS. And Entertainments by Mr. Shuter. ☞ Tickets to be had of Mr. Shuter at No. 2, in Martlet-court, Bow-ſtreet, Covent-Garden; of Mr. Light, at the One-Tun Coffee-houſe, St. James's Market; and of Mr. Crudge at the Stage-Door, where Places may be taken.

Fig 3.3: Second earliest advert so far discovered featuring the name Mr. Light (1756).[8]

Although this is a supposition, these two pieces of evidence may suggest that Light's family (when Light himself was about six or seven years old) were making a certain profit by selling concert tickets at St. James's Market. In the latter advert, his address is described as 'Coffee-house'. This was perhaps the name of the shop, hence 'One-Tun Coffee-house'. Working at a coffee house in St. James's Market,[9] where the latest and daily news in those days was frequently discussed. Music tickets were commonly sold in coffee houses. Goff et al. (2013: 144) refer to a Georgian coffee house with an example:

> 'If the tea table was a female domain, a coffee house belonged to men…Coffee and coffee house had been introduced to Britain in the mid-seventeenth century. By the Georgian period they were well-established in London and elsewhere as places to take refreshments, talk, smoke and read the newspapers. One of the most famous coffee houses was King's in Covent Garden…King's Coffee House was fashionable but disreputable; it attracted theatre-goers after the show and those seeking early morning

[8] *Public Advertiser* 16th March 1756.
[9] St James's market was situated near where Piccadilly Circus is today.

refreshment following all-night entertainment.'

It can be, therefore, conjectured that his talent for the music business developed early in his career through listening to the latest conversations and rumours discussed by visitors to the coffee house, which was situated near a theatre.

For the next eight years, as far as the author has discovered, his name does not appear in newspapers, but the situation suddenly altered in the year 1774, when Edward Light's life dramatically changed. At the very beginning of the year, on January the first, Edward Light announced to the public that he had established his own music repository at the Corner of Charles and Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, London, which would become the premises for his successful business and musical life (Fig 3.4). This probably marked his new independence from the family business at Covent Garden, although he probably continued to sell musical instruments. His move seems to have been strongly connected to his later wife, Elizabeth Hawkins, whose parish was St Mary-le-bone.

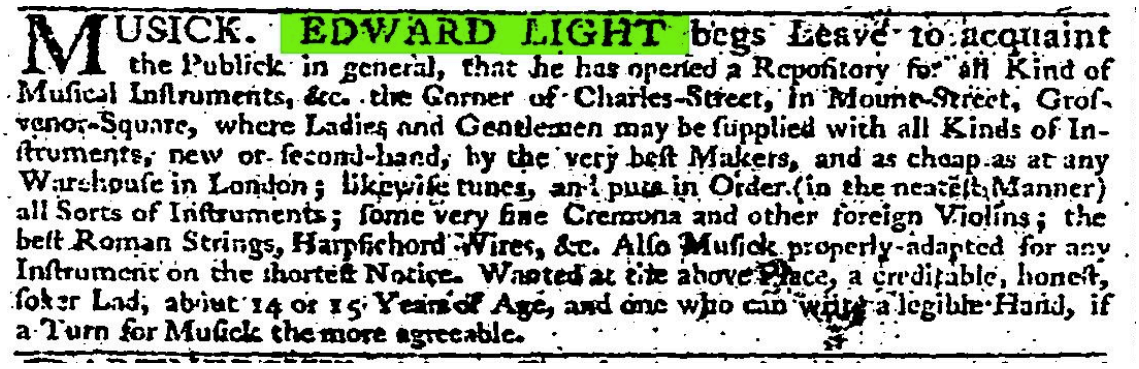

MUSICK. EDWARD LIGHT begs Leave to acquaint the Publick in general, that he has opened a Repoſitory for all Kind of Muſical Inſtruments, &c. the Corner of Charles-Street, in Mount-Street, Groſvenor-Square, where Ladies and Gentlemen may be ſupplied with all Kinds of Inſtruments, new or ſecond-hand, by the very beſt Makers, and as cheap as at any Warehouſe in London; likewiſe tunes, and puts in Order (in the neateſt Manner) all Sorts of Inſtruments; ſome very fine Cremona and other foreign Violins; the beſt Roman Strings, Harpſichord Wires, &c. Alſo Muſick properly adapted for any Inſtrument on the ſhorteſt Notice. Wanted at the above Place, a creditable, honeſt, ſober Lad, about 14 or 15 Years of Age, and one who can write a legible Hand, if a Turn for Muſick the more agreeable.

Fig 3.4: Advert announcing the opening of Edward Light's shop in Grosvenor Square.[10]

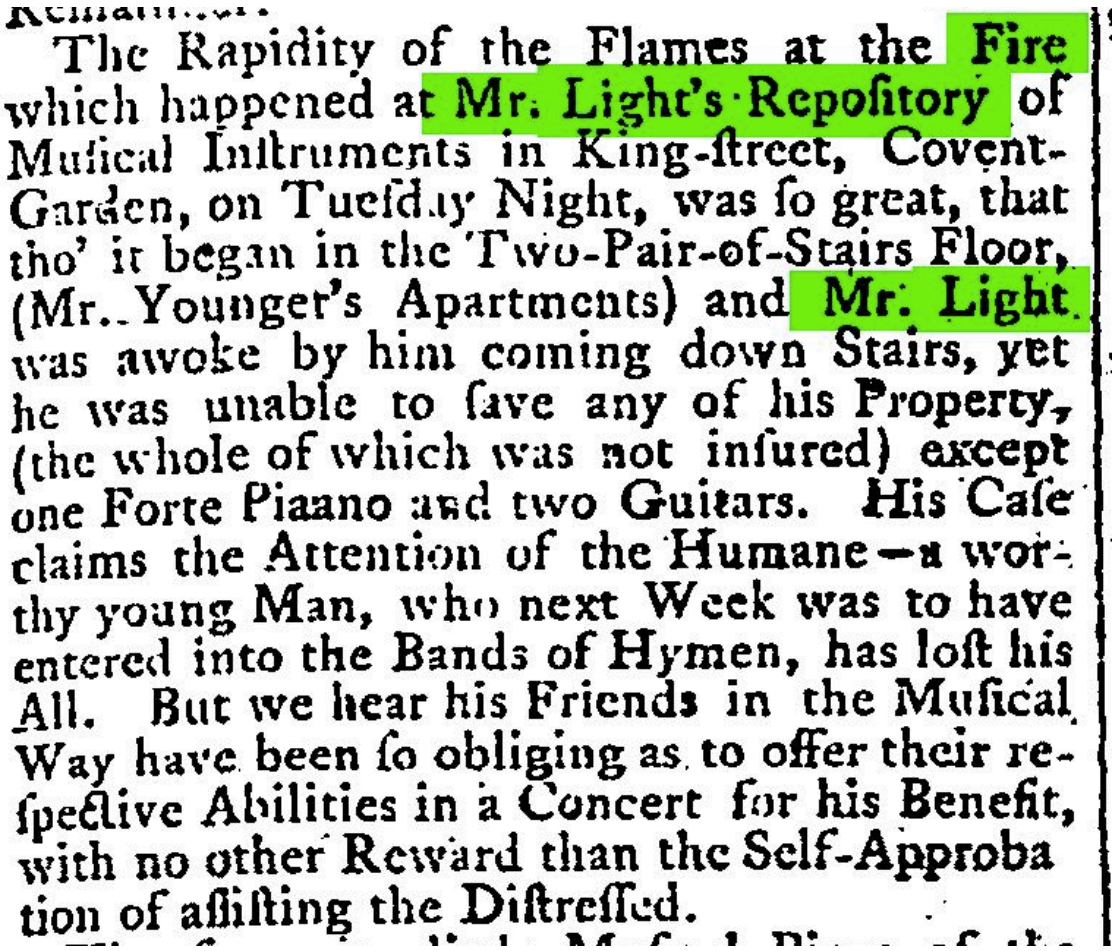
It is most likely that a music repository under the name of Light had already been established at Covent Garden before 1774, and Edward's would therefore have been an extension of the family business.[11] Unfortunately, only five months after the establishment of the shop in Grosvenor Square, their repository of musical instruments

[10] *Daily Advertiser* 1st January 1774.

[11] The reason why Light looked for a sober lad is thus far not known.

in Convent Garden, which was probably another property of them and different from the St James's coffee house, burnt down on 3rd May, 1774. This was described in a newspaper issued a week later, in a small account for the latest news from Covent Garden (Fig 3.5), in which it was mentioned that all Light's instruments had been destroyed except one fortepiano and two guitars. The fire started from Mr. Younger's Apartments and he might be Edward, though there is no evidence to prove. It is interesting to note that while the Light's old business was more engaged with the world of gentlemen (coffee house), simultaneously the Light had been selling women's instruments, such as keyboards and guitars. However, instruments were quite often purchased by gentlemen and given to ladies,[12] so engaging with male customers would have been vitally important in musical instrument retailing.

[12] In relation to the gender of the Erard's customers, Nex (110: 2013) mentions 'Although it is undoubtedly possible that some of the men were purchasing instruments to play themselves, others may well have been acquiring gifts for the ladies in their life, perhaps their wife or daughters. On the other side, it is not clear whether all the 'Miss'es actually paid the bills themselves or whether they had a patriarch or benefactor who looked after their financial affairs'. Accordingly, there was the possibility that men bought or paid for the instruments for ladies.

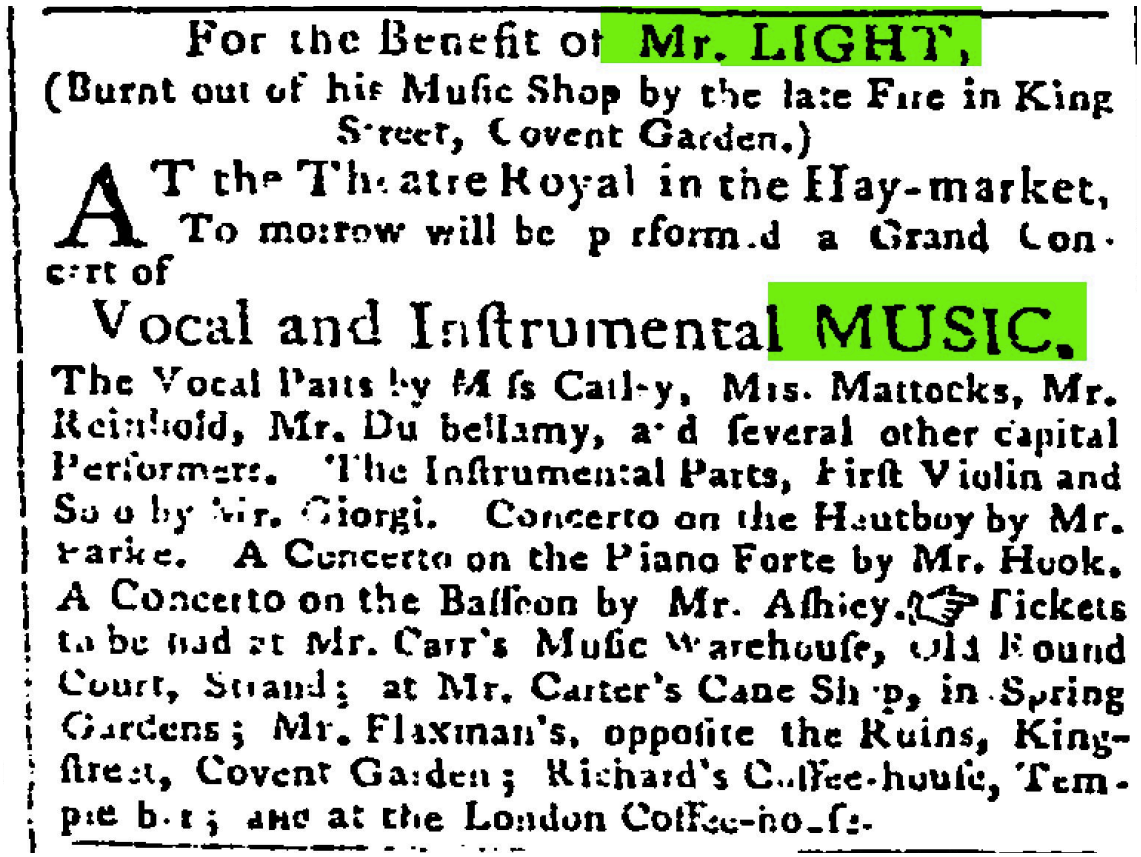


The Rapidity of the Flames at the Fire which happened at Mr. Light's Repoſitory of Muſical Inſtruments in King-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, on Tueſday Night, was ſo great, that tho' it began in the Two-Pair-of-Stairs Floor, (Mr. Younger's Apartments) and Mr. Light was awoke by him coming down Stairs, yet he was unable to ſave any of his Property, (the whole of which was not inſured) except one Forte Piano and two Guitars. His Caſe claims the Attention of the Humane—a worthy young Man, who next Week was to have entered into the Bands of Hymen, has loſt his All. But we hear his Friends in the Muſical Way have been ſo obliging as to offer their reſpective Abilities in a Concert for his Benefit, with no other Reward than the Self-Approbation of aſſiſting the Diſtreſſed.

Fig 3.5: Report describing the fire at Light's repository in King's street, Covent Garden (May 1774).[13]

Soon after the fire, with the help of supportive friends and acquaintances, several charity concerts for Light were held. On 17th May, a concert dedicated to Light, subtitled 'burnt out of his Music Shop by the late Fire in King Street, Covent Garden' was held at The Theatre Royal, Hay-market, with performances by various vocal and instrumental musicians (Fig 3.6).

[13] *Public Advertiser* 9th May 1774.



For the Benefit of Mr. LIGHT,
(Burnt out of his Muſic Shop by the late Fire in King Street, Covent Garden.)
AT the Theatre Royal in the Hay-market, To morrow will be p rform.d a Grand Concert of
Vocal and Inſtrumental MUSIC.
The Vocal Parts by Mſs Cail-y, Mrs. Mattocks, Mr. Reinhold, Mr. Du bellamy, a·d ſeveral other capital Performers. The Inſtrumental Parts, Firſt Violin and Solo by Mr. Giorgi. Concerto on the Hautboy by Mr. Parke. A Concerto on the Piano Forte by Mr. Hook. A Concerto on the Baſſoon by Mr. Aſhley. ☞ Tickets to be had at Mr. Carr's Muſic Warehouſe, old Round Court, Strand; at Mr. Carter's Cane Sh·p, in Spring Gardens; Mr. Flaxman's, oppoſite the Ruins, King-ſtreet, Covent Garden; Richard's Coffee-houſe, Temple b·r; and at the London Coffee-houſe.

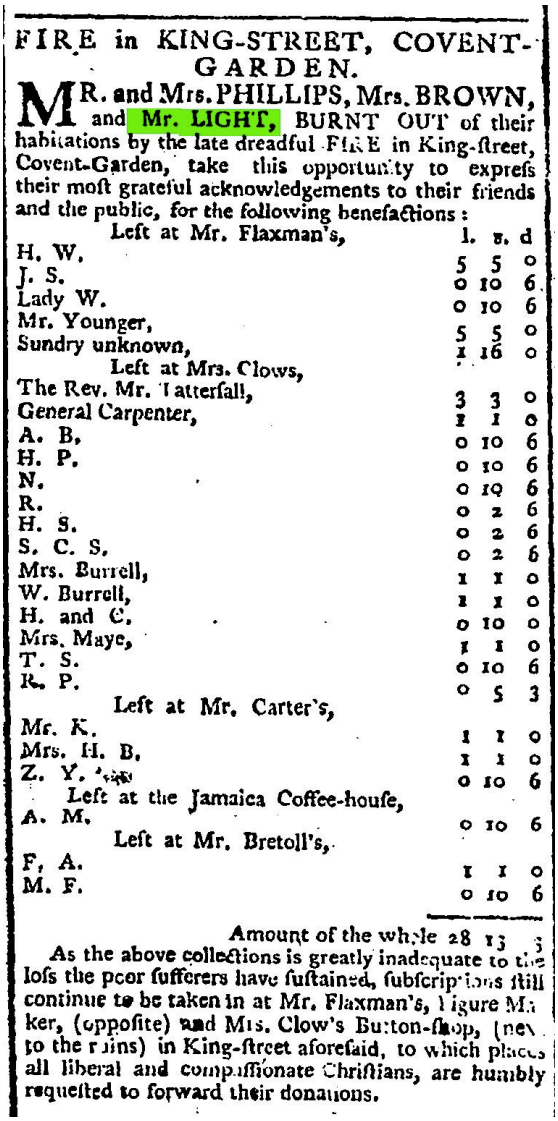
Fig 3.6: Advertisement announcing a benefit concert for Mr. Light in 1774.[14]

Due to the short notice, however, the concert was unsuccessful, as was reported in the next day's newspaper:

> 'The very short notice given of Mr. Light's concert for his benefit at the Theatre Royal in the Hay-market yesterday morning prevented many of his friends attending, and it was with the greatest concern that he was obliged to dismiss the company who honoured him with their presence, he therefore begs the indulgence of the public for a short time […]'[15]

The second benefit concert for Light was held at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket on 7th June,[16] and simultaneously a donation to the victims of the King Street fire was raised, which achieved an amount of £28 13s 3d on 25th June (Fig 3.7).

[14] *Public Advertiser* 16th May 1774. The concert was also advertised in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* 16th May 1774; in *Public Advertiser* 17 May 1774.
[15] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* 18th May 1774.
[16] The concert held on 7th June was advertised in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* 7th June 1774.



FIRE in KING-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

MR. and Mrs. PHILLIPS, Mrs. BROWN, and Mr. LIGHT, BURNT OUT of their habitations by the late dreadful FIRE in King-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, take this opportunity to expreſs their moſt grateful acknowledgements to their friends and the public, for the following benefactions:

	l.	s.	d
Left at Mr. Flaxman's,			
H. W.	5	5	0
J. S.	0	10	6
Lady W.	0	10	6
Mr. Younger,	5	5	0
Sundry unknown,	1	16	0
Left at Mrs. Clows,			
The Rev. Mr. Tatterſall,	3	3	0
General Carpenter,	1	1	0
A. B.	0	10	6
H. P.	0	10	6
N.	0	10	6
R.	0	2	6
H. S.	0	2	6
S. C. S.	0	2	6
Mrs. Burrell,	1	1	0
W. Burrell,	1	1	0
H. and C.	0	10	0
Mrs. Maye,	1	1	0
T. S.	0	10	6
R. P.	0	5	3
Left at Mr. Carter's,			
Mr. K.	1	1	0
Mrs. H. B.	1	1	0
Z. Y.	0	10	6
Left at the Jamaica Coffee-houſe,			
A. M.	0	10	6
Left at Mr. Bretoll's,			
F. A.	1	1	0
M. F.	0	10	6
Amount of the whole	28	13	3

As the above collections is greatly inadequate to the loſs the poor ſufferers have ſuſtained, ſubſcriptions ſtill continue to be taken in at Mr. Flaxman's, Figure Maker, (oppoſite) and Mrs. Clow's Button-ſhop, (next to the ruins) in King-ſtreet aforeſaid, to which places all liberal and compaſſionate Chriſtians, are humbly requeſted to forward their donations.

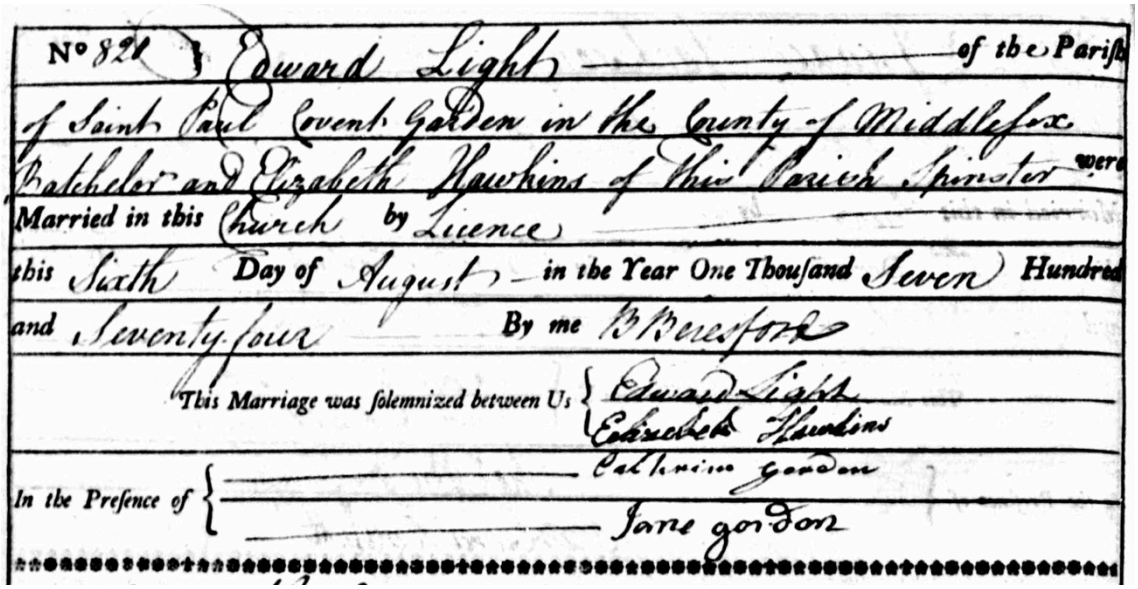
Fig 3.7: A donation to the victims, including Mr. Light, of the King Street fire.[17]

Not all things affecting Light's family were misfortunes. Light married Miss Hawkins[18] on 6th August (Fig 3.8),[19] an event that was announced to the public in a newspaper, highlighting the fact that he had a certain reputation in London (Fig 3.9).

[17] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* 25th June 1774.

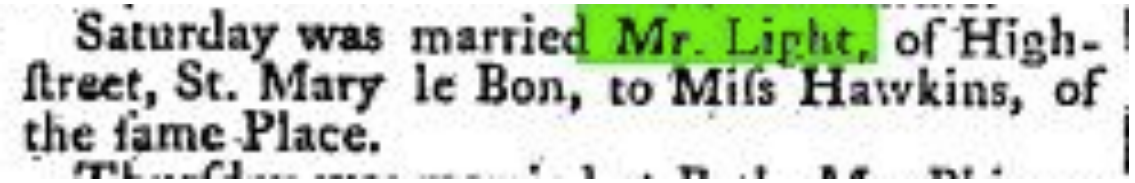
[18] Further information about Miss Hawkins has not yet been found.

[19] The date (6th) is different from the certificate mentioned before; the first one was only an intention to marry and the second is the actual marriage certificate.



N° 821 } Edward Light of the Parish
of Saint Paul Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex
Batchelor and Elizabeth Hawkins of this Parish Spinster were
Married in this Church by Licence
this Sixth Day of August in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Seventy four By me B Beresford
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Edward Light / Elizabeth Hawkins
In the Presence of { Catherine Gordon / Jane Gordon

Fig 3.8:Actual marriage certificate of Edward Light with Elisabeth Hawkins.[20]

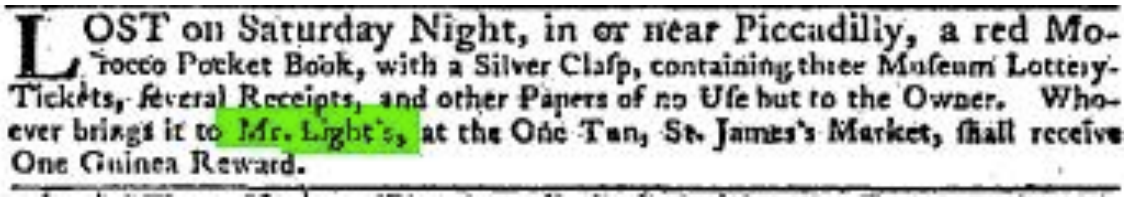


Saturday was married Mr. Light, of High-
ſtreet, St. Mary le Bon, to Miſs Hawkins, of
the ſame Place.

Fig 3.9: Edward Light's marriage was announced to the public through the newspaper.[21]

Their marriage was held at St. Mary-le-bone, which was not Light's parish. Marriages usually happened in the parish of the wife, so nothing can tell about Light's premises from the location of the wedding. However, the notice does say of High Street, St Mary le Bon (Fig 3.9), so perhaps he was in temporary accommodation with his in-laws. Nonetheless the events of 1774 must have been tumultuous for Light's family, both publically and privately. However, the year ends with a somewhat anticlimactic announcement that the Light's St James's shop was seeking a red Morocco Pocket Book, which probably was their customer's lost property (Fig 3.10).

[20] The image was found in the 'London, England, Marriages and Banns1754-1921', ancestry.co.uk.
[21] *Public Advertiser* 9th August 1774.



LOST on Saturday Night, in or near Piccadilly, a red Morocco Pocket Book, with a Silver Clasp, containing three Museum Lottery-Tickets, several Receipts, and other Papers of no Use but to the Owner. Whoever brings it to Mr. Light's, at the One Tun, St. James's Market, shall receive One Guinea Reward.

Fig 3.10:The final event of 1774 for the Light family.[22]

From this advert it can be assumed that, despite the fire at King Street, business carried on as usual at the One Tun Coffee House, albeit no evidence to connect between all Lights appeared in adverts. Although only a hypothesis, this probably indicates, as does the move to a new address for Edward's repository, that the fire did not totally halt Light's trade in the music business. This fortunate circumstance, along with the financial support he received from friends and acquaintances, encouraged Light to set up a new collection of musical instruments, and the following year he or his family began selling them in their new, seemingly temporary, music repository in New Bond Street (Fig 3.11).



At the HANDELL's HEAD, No. 79, New Bond-ſtreet,

To the Curious in Muſical Inſtruments.

MR. LIGHT begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that he has taken great pains to collect a variety of the very beſt and moſt curious MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of all kinds, viz. Finger and Barrel Organs, Harpſichords by Kirkman, Shudi, the famous Rucker, and ſeveral other curious makers, Pianofortes with a ſwell, a ſmall neat Harpſichord, only four feet long, not to be equalled for tone and keeping in tune, beſides all other kinds of ſmall inſtruments, as Baſſes, tenor and treble Violins, Harps, Spaniſh and Engliſh Guitars, &c. which may be had wholeſale and retail at a very reaſonable price. Alſo a good aſſortment of foreign and Engliſh Muſic.

N. B. Inſtruments of all ſorts tuned and neatly repaired, and old Inſtruments bought or exchanged.

WANTED, as an Apprentice, a Lad of entire good behaviour, about 14 or 15 years of age, who will be taught Muſic, &c. A premium will be required. Apply as above.

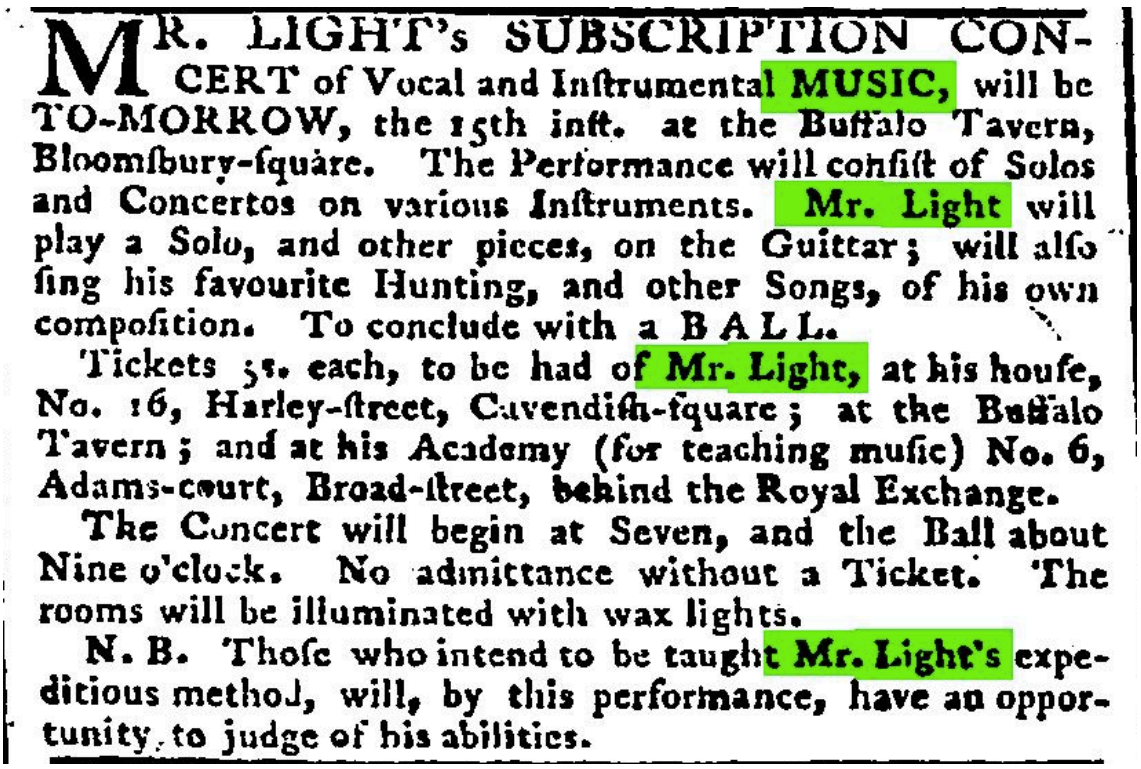
Fig 3.11: Advert for musical instruments by Light, New Bond Street.[23]

[22] *Daily Advertiser* 22nd December 1774.

[23] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 16th March 1775. The reason why Light looked for a sober lad is

3.2 MR. LIGHT AS MUSICIAN AND RETAILER

After the turbulent year of 1774, as far as this author has discovered, Light's name does not appear publically until 1778, this time as a musician rather than a musical instrument retailer (Fig 3.12).



MR. LIGHT's SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT of Vocal and Inſtrumental MUSIC, will be TO-MORROW, the 15th inſt. at the Buffalo Tavern, Bloomſbury-ſquare. The Performance will conſiſt of Solos and Concertos on various Inſtruments. Mr. Light will play a Solo, and other pieces, on the Guittar; will alſo ſing his favourite Hunting, and other Songs, of his own compoſition. To conclude with a BALL.

Tickets 5s. each, to be had of Mr. Light, at his houſe, No. 16, Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare; at the Buffalo Tavern; and at his Academy (for teaching muſic) No. 6, Adams-court, Broad-ſtreet, behind the Royal Exchange.

The Concert will begin at Seven, and the Ball about Nine o'clock. No admittance without a Ticket. The rooms will be illuminated with wax lights.

N. B. Thoſe who intend to be taught Mr. Light's expeditious method, will, by this performance, have an opportunity to judge of his abilities.

Fig 3.12: An advertisement of Light's subscription concert in 1778 at Buffalo Tavern, Bloomsbury.[24]

In this concert he performed, on the guittar, solo tunes and accompaniment, very much the kind of music at which ladies were expected to be accomplished. This suggests his intention to be a teacher of female students. His selection of instruments also promoted his reputation and musical methods, giving his audiences the opportunity to judge his abilities. More importantly in this advertisement, he indicates two addresses – that of his private house and music academy. At this time he had continuously maintained two addresses in which he ran businesses in music teaching and instrument retailing.

---

thus far not known.

[24] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 14th May 1778.

In the same year (1778), he insured his properties with Sun Insurance[25] (Fig 3.13). Soon after the fire of 1774 in which his family had lost most of their property and had not insured it, though the author did not make access to the original document, Edward seems to have partly insured his properties in 22nd July 1774.[26]

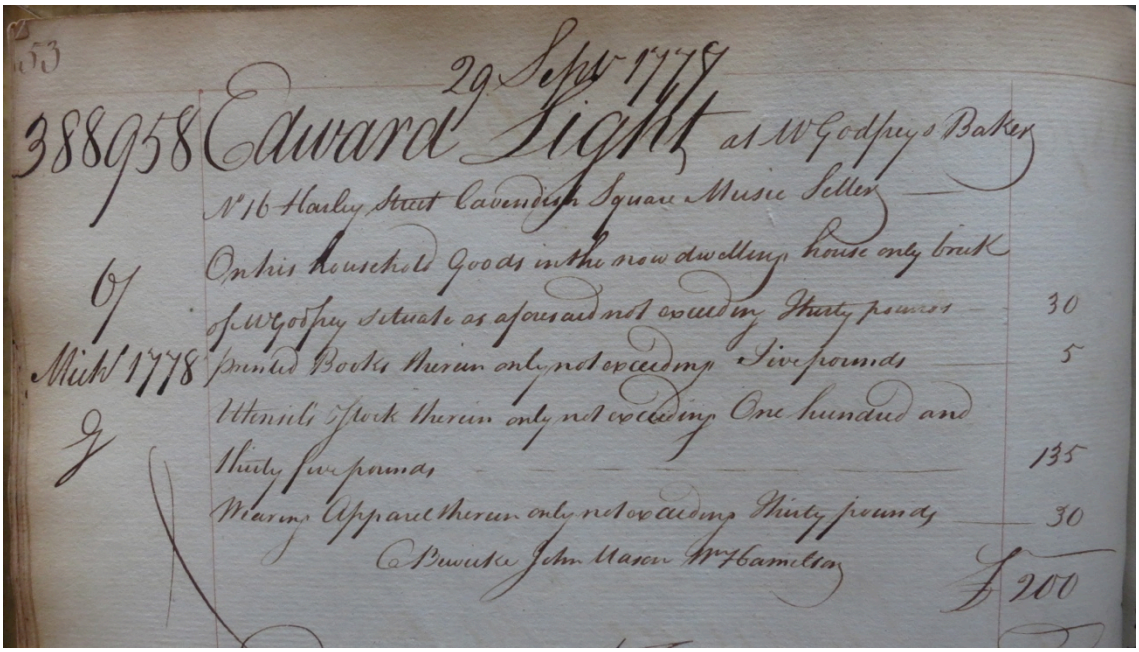


Fig 3.13: Edward Light's Sun Insurance document (1778).[27]

Although he had already departed from his career as musician, he described himself as a music seller, meaning he probably went on to run his music retailing business at his private house, No.16 Harley Street. Furthermore, as he has insured 'Utensil's Stock', the business must also have included his publications of music, instructions and

[25] This was mentioned in Maxted: 1992, 55; the author obtained access to the original document. It is quite possible that he had already insured his properties with Sun Insurance before 1778. However, no evidence of his name was found in an online search, making Maxted the only source for this. The LMA, who have the original document, explained that the digitalising of Sun Insurance documents has not been completed yet, so some registrations cannot be found via an online search (at the time of writing - December 2013).

[26] See *The Galpin Society*: Whitehead and Nex, 'Sun insurance policies 1710-79', J to O (2013: 200), <http://www.galpinsociety.org/galpinextras/GS_Whitehead&Nex_J_to_O.pdf>, (Accessed Apr., 2015). Unfortunately, the information about Edward Light in the footnote includes some errors which are corrected by the research undertaken for this thesis. It has not yet been possible to verify the information in the insurance policy at first hand.

[27] LMA [MS 11936/206/388958].

probably musical instruments too. It is uncertain why Light was residing at Mr. Godfrey's Baker.

In 1780, there appears more evidence of his music career. Interestingly, he taught music in several places. He was a proprietor of the Academy of Polite Arts at No.38, Margaret Street, Cavendish Square; there he taught harpsichord, piano forte, spinet and organ using his own publications as instructions. Interestingly, he had already advertised these, stating that 'the above accomplishments [his instructions for the instruments] are taught very compleat, in a short time, attend with very little experience, and in the most genteel manner'.[28] This concept remained in his mind and was to a large extent later applied to his newly invented instruments, the family of harp lutes. In the same advertisement, he mentions that he teaches 'private or at home' which also will later be his conventional method of teaching and distributing harp lutes.

For his private lessons, he taught music three times a week, by appointment, at Mr. Hedges's (Mrs. Sledge's)[29] apartment, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden,[30] where he seems to have temporarily resided because his private home at No. 16 Harley Street had vanished from his advertisements. The account in *The science of music in Britain, 1714-1830* mentions that 'About 1777 Light resided at Mrs. Sledge's, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden'.[31] However, he is more likely to have moved to this address later than 1779. It would have been quite natural for him to be staying at Covent Garden because, as mentioned before, his family business had already been established in this area.

As with the academy, he taught a similar selection of instruments (harpsichord, violin, German flute and guittar with singing in English, French and Italian), which could have been studied for half price if the pupils visited Henrietta Street: 'the terms are Half a Guinea a month, there [Hedge's (Mrs. Sledge's) apartment], and a Guinea if attended at

---

[28] *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle* 6th May 1780.
[29] They are most likely the same person but appear in the advertisements with two different names and exactly the same address (probably a typing error). 'Mr. Hedges' appears in Morning Herald and Daily *Advertiser* 4th December 1780 and 'Mrs Sledges' in *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 9th December 1780.
[30] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 4th December 1780.
[31] Kassler (686-687: 1979).

home [visiting pupil's house], no entrance required'.[32] A more noteworthy point is that, as a musician, he was successively selling musical instruments on the side: 'The Master [Light] provides instruments and music, good and cheap, either new or second hand…he has a present to dispose of a neat good double keyed Harpsichord, very cheap. Enquire on the days above mentioned [three times a week]'.[33] This is rather important in relation to the cheaper fee at Henrietta Street; in a business sense, the more students visited this residence, the more likely they were to buy instruments, which probably made up for the loss of lesson fees.[34]

Light's endeavour in expanding his business area was impressive. He did not just confine his activities to London, but also promoted himself to 'Ladies Boarding Schools' near London for reasonable terms, offering to travel 'any distance in the country' in return for being paid accordingly.[35] The last advertisement, promoting his lessons in Henrietta Street, mentions that he has increased the lessons to four times a week, of course, not forgetting to make a simultaneous announcement on instrument sales: 'An exceeding good double-keyed Harpsichord is to be disposed of for Seven Guineas [...]'.[36] To expand his reputation in fashionable society, he also announces a ball:

> 'By desire of several genteel Families, there will be a Secret Ball, at a large private commodious Room, nearly at the Center of the Town. Ladies and Gentlemen, that with a compose a genteel agreeable party, without extravagance, will find this plan perfectly agreeable to their desire, by enquiring as above, on the days before mentioned. No person will be admired without giving their real address. Tickets at 7s will admit Two, and 4s One […]'[37]

This advertisement shows a new aspect of Light's marketing approach that is worth pointing out. By mixing business with a social occasion, is an example of Light's

---

[32] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 4th December 1780.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Of course, visiting student's home will cost for traveling, but still half price is significant, therefore, it seems that there was to some extent beneficial connection in between the musical instrument retailing and music lessons in terms of the fee.
[35] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 4th December 1780.
[36] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 9th December 1780.
[37] Ibid.

management in the acquisition of customers.

Throughout 1781, having achieved a certain degree of success in the music scene, Light energetically promoted himself to the public, giving lessons and publishing instructions for different kind of instruments, while residing at the Henrietta Street:

> 'The great utility and rapid sale of this [musical grammar or book of instructions for the harpsichord], has induced him to write instructions of a similar nature of the Guittar, Violin, and German flute, which are forwarding, and will soon be published.'[38]

Subsequently, in 1783, his successful career gave him the opportunity to open his evening academy at No.1, Thanet Place, Temple Bar. The way in which he was able to spread his own reputation seems to have been successful, resulting in the acquisition of a private house at No. 50, Frith Street, Soho Square:

> 'Mr. Light having benefits at several villages, near London, families or good schools within his circuit, will be attended on the same reasonable terms as in Town, by addressing as above [the evening academy], or at his house, No. 50, Frith Street, Soho Square.'[39]

Perhaps around this time, Light met his later collaborator, Barry (a harp maker), as one of Barry's extant harps bears the same address – 'No. 17 Frith Street, Soho, London'.[40] Barry seems to have resided at 'No. 1 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square' in 1808 (Fig 3.14), the street where Light also lived from 1792 to 1800;[41] it is possible that they met at some point in the 1780s, moving to Duke Street to be nearer each other in the 1790s – but this is only hypothesis and requires more research.

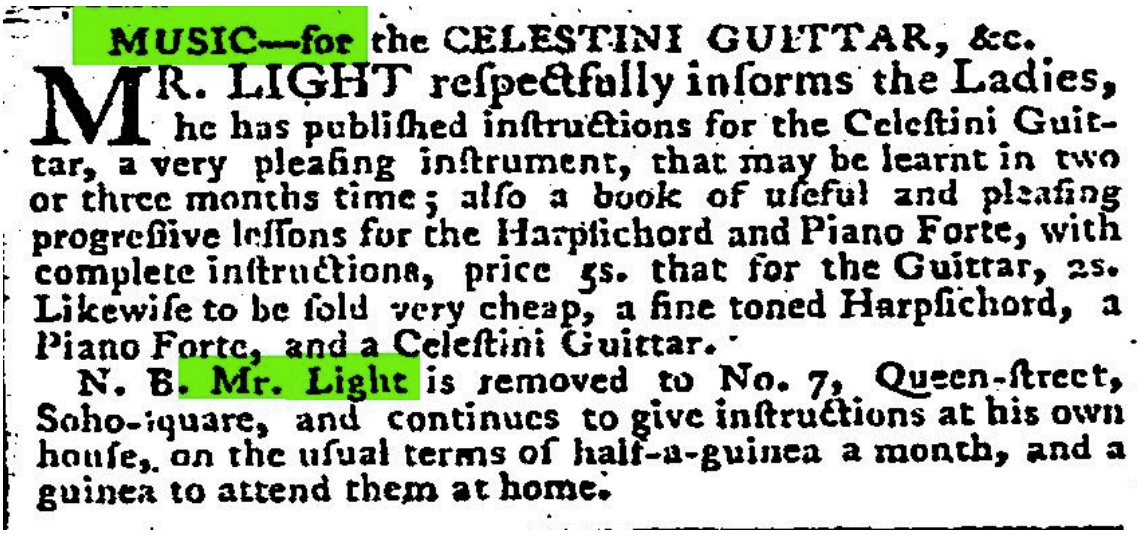


Fig 3.14: 'A. Barry' appearing in an 1808 annual post office directory.[42]

[38] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* 19th March 1781.
[39] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 19th June 1783.
[40] The picture will be shown in Chapter 5.
[41] Explained later in this chapter.
[42] B.Critchett, 'Post Office Annual Directory for 1808',

3.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF PROMOTIONAL METHODS

In addition to his music lessons, Light advertised sales of musical instruments and gave weekly private concerts in his private house, in which attendees were given the opportunity of learning from Light's instructions.[43] The following year, he organised a ball at Sherrard House, Sherrard Street, Golden Square, which was probably a more open event but still confined in admittance to ticket holders (Fig 3.15).[44]



MUSIC—for the CELESTINI GUITTAR, &c.

MR. LIGHT reſpectfully informs the Ladies, he has publiſhed inſtructions for the Celeſtini Guittar, a very pleaſing inſtrument, that may be learnt in two or three months time; alſo a book of uſeful and pleaſing progreſſive leſſons for the Harpſichord and Piano Forte, with complete inſtructions, price 5s. that for the Guittar, 2s. Likewiſe to be ſold very cheap, a fine toned Harpſichord, a Piano Forte, and a Celeſtini Guittar.

N. B. Mr. Light is removed to No. 7, Queen-ſtreet, Soho-ſquare, and continues to give inſtructions at his own houſe, on the uſual terms of half-a-guinea a month, and a guinea to attend them at home.

Fig 3.15: Announcement of the Celestini Guittar.[45]

In 1785, he announced to the London public that he had 'published instructions for the Celestini Guittar' (Fig 3.15). This advertisement is an important marker in Light's career as an inventor, although it is not yet known what 'Celestini Guittar' indicates, nor whether this was Light's invention. Light had published instructions for a particular instrument that seems to have been a newly invented stringed instrument[46] that could be learnt in a short time. This may be an early glimpse of Light's interest in inventing new instruments. He sold the instrument together with instructions, a type of marketing

---

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16445coll4/id/8860/rec/1>, (Accessed, 2013), p.23.

[43] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 5th July 1783.

[44] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 29th March 1784 and *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 29th March 1784.

[45] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 16th March 1785.

[46] He mentioned the instrument using a double 't', guittar, rather than saying 'guitar' with single 't', which probably meant the instrument was similar to the guittar, namely the English guitar.

that would later be used in his distribution of harp lutes. Although Light's ongoing retailing business became extremely successful, he continued with the offer of cheaper half-guinea lessons (he had now moved to No. 7 Queen Street, Soho Square).

In 1787, he was listed in the 'Handel's Subscription' as a subscriber,[47] which included the King and Queen, other members of the royal family and nobles. This magazine was planned to be issued weekly or twice a month, and its details are as follows:

I. 'The Work to come out in Numbers every week, or Twice in each month, as may be hereafter determinded(sic).
II. Each Number to contain TWELVE sheets of paper.
III. The Price of each Number Three Shillings ONLY; upon large Paper, Four Shillings.
IV. An Apotheosis of HANDEL, designed by REBECCA, from and Original Painting by HUDSON, and Engraved by HEATH, to be given with each Class of his Works, in order to form a Frontispiece.
V. The Money to be paid on the Delivery of each Number.'

As a subscriber to a magazine supported by nobles, Light must have known or been keen to read the latest trends in fashionable London society, and may also have expanded his reputation to the London public by having his name appear alongside other prominent people in daily newspaper adverts.

For the next five years, his name did not feature very much in newspapers,[48] but he expanded his business, both the music lessons and the musical instrument dealing, and in 1792 he boldly announced to the London public the opening of his new music shop:

> 'MR. LIGHT having just engaged with J. MATHISON 'as one of the Proprietors of the Repository for New and Second-hand MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, at No. 6, in

[47] *World and Fashionable Advertiser* 15th May 1787 and *The Times*, 30th May 1787.
[48] The name Edward Light appears in a newspaper as being involved in a court case, but it is uncertain if the person was the same Edward Light discussed in this thesis. This thesis confines itself to mentioning the newspaper and the address of Rathbone Place, which was shown in the article, in this footnote for future scholars. The name appears in *The Times* 1st August 1788 and *The Times* 28th October 1788.

> Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, is hereby induced respectfully to inform his Friends in particular, and the public in general, they may now and in future, be provided with the finest toned Grand, Portable Grand, and all other kinds of Piano Fortes, Harpsichords, Harps, Guitars, Violins, &c, by the best Makers at the very cheapest prices.'[49]

In this announcement, Light also referred to the warranty of instruments, which was probably of great importance for contemporary customers in the modern Georgian period:

> '[…] Cheapest is not the only advantage here, as every purchaser will be at liberty to exchange their Instruments at any time if not approved of, which makes it both a security and satisfaction to every buyer…Likewise bought, exchanged, or sold by commission.'[50]

As well as his announcement regarding instrument retailing, Light also informed the public about his music publications and lessons. Together with pianoforte, he offered lessons on violin, guitar, and harp. In the line-up of instruments, it is important to note that his inclusion of the 'harp' corresponds exactly with the sudden increase in enthusiasm for the harp in the 1790s.[51] This probably shows Light's foresight and ability to adapt to the demand of contemporary fashions in the music scene. During this period, he also became more involved in the sale of harps. A fine toned pedal harp, good as new, was sold for sixteen guineas, despite being second-hand. The value was surprisingly high compared to a neat and sweet-toned harpsichord that sold for five guineas (also probably second-hand), which was listed as one of Light's featured instruments.[52] Through these experiences, Light must have begun to appreciate the high market value of the harp, which undoubtedly led him towards the idea of inventing a harp-like instrument.

---

[49] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 10th January 1792.
No. 6 Duke Street was a music repository or shop where seems not only organised by Light but also others such as Mr. Mathison and Mr. Cooke, whose name appeared on an advert of a newspaper (*Morning Chronicle* 29th May 1792).

[50] Ibid.

[51] Please see Chapter 2.

[52] *World* 1st August 1792.

The shop seems to have moved, or been newly opened by Light at No. 9 Duke Street, Portland Chapel[53] for the following three years (1792-1795), while he resided at Kensington in 1794.[54] There, he continued dealing in new and second hand instruments,[55] while providing music lessons at his music academy.[56] Additionally, as was his convention, he gave lessons at No.169, The Strand.[57]

3.4 IMPLICIT PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST INVENTION

Since 1796, from Light's comments, there can be observed some clues as to his interest or attempts in inventing a harp-like-instrument. For instance, in a newspaper advert of 4th March, he described the guitar as:

> 'The Guitar, which is an instrument now very much fashion from its strong resemblance of the Harp, and its cheap and easy acquirement, and very pleasing accompaniment to the voice, also the Piano Forte, &c […]'[58]

This probably refers to the Spanish guitar rather than the guittar with wire strings, considering the tone of the instruments. More important, however, is Light's description of its 'resemblance of the harp', placing an importance on its harp-like qualities. Furthermore, the account involved in the Light's advertisement of 18th March is more noteworthy:

> '[…] The Guitar improved, and is a good substitute for the Harp […] the improvement of the Guitar is in bringing it to suit the voice, to extend the compass, give richness of tone, and keep longer in tune, and play easier. Terms of learning reasonable.'[59]

---

[53] This address is shown in a newspaper advert issued in 1795, (*The Times* 13th August 1795), and in the following year it is clearly described as a musical repository, (*Morning Chronicle* 4th March 1796).
[54] Light's private house appears in a music instruction book. He wrote the preface on 1st Jan. 1794. MS., BLL [h.3213.g. (6)].
[55] In 1796, Light advertised the sales of instruments including guittars, violins and harps. (*Morning Chronicle* 4th March 1796.
[56] *Oracle and Public Advertiser* 19th January 1796.
[57] Ibid.
[58] *Morning Chronicle* 4th March 1796.
[59] *Morning Chronicle* 18th March 1796.

So far it is uncertain what kind of guitar this refers to, but considering the phrase 'substitute for the Harp', it may well have been a gut-stringed instrument and the extended compass probably necessitated an increased number of strings.

Two years later, in an advertisement from May in 1798, Light announced to the London public:

> 'Musical Instruments, &c., Selling off Cheap, No. 9 Duke Street, Portland Place. Mr. Light now leaving the Business of selling INSTRUMENTS, informs his Friends and the Public, he has to dispose of Three Excellent Fine-toned PIANO FORTES, a PEDAL HARP, and a HARPSICHORD, which sold at a very low Price; also a small quantity of good Music at half price […]'[60]

Surprisingly, he had decided to leave instrument retailing, adding the following:

> '[…] his Rooms will be immediately opened as a Musical Academy for reaching the Piano Forte, Guitar, Violin, &c. on a new, improved, and more easy expeditious and cheap Plan...has also opened a Musical Academy, No.159, Sloane Street, Knightsbridge, on the same cheap plan.'[61]

The clearance continued into September:

> 'They [musical instruments] are now selling thus cheap on account of dis continuing the Instrument Business […] these Rooms [where the instruments had been stored] will in future to be opened for giving instruction only on the Piano Forte, Violin, Guitar, (greatly improved) Singing, the Tambourine, &c. on a cheap Plan.'[62]

He seems to have decided to concentrate on teaching music, but his abandoning instrument retailing suggests that his first invention, the 'harp-guitar' was already in development. However, this decision, along with the setting up of music academies,

[60] *True Briton* 19th May 1798.
[61] *True Briton* 19th May 1798.
[62] *Morning Chronicle* 17th September 1798.

would definitely prove beneficial to his subsequent new career in marketing his newly invented instruments.

In addition, it is important to note that, in 1799, Alexander Meek Barry,[63] who would supply instruments to Light, married Ann Susannah, daughter of Joseph Buchinger (music seller/publisher and instrument maker), who would also to some extent become involved in harp lute manufacturing (Fig 3.16). This meant the two makers (Barry and Buchinger) had become related, and seems to have been highly influential on Light's success in inventing and distributing his instruments.

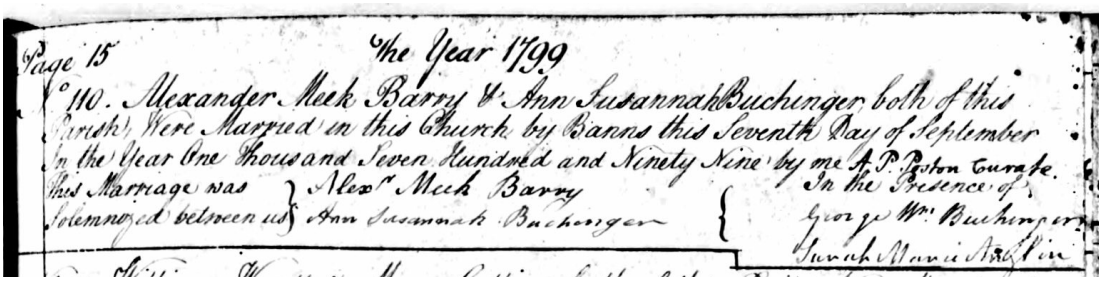

Page 15
The Year 1799
No 110. Alexander Meek Barry & Ann Susannah Buchinger both of this Parish Were Married in this Church by Banns this Seventh Day of September In the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Nine by me A. P. Poston Curate.
This Marriage was Solemnized between us Alexr Meek Barry Ann Susannah Buchinger
In the Presence of Geo: Wm Buchinger Sarah Maria Buchinger

Fig 3.16: Marriage certificate of Barry and Ann Susannah Buchinger (7th September in 1799).[64]

[63] (b. Stepney, London, 3 Oct 1777 – d. London, 21 Jan 1837 [burial]), it must be noted there is a five-year discrepancy for his birth since one surviving document suggests that he died at the age of 65 (Sources: birth and death certificates on ancestry.co.uk.) so if the document (death certificate) is definitely of Barry he was mostly likely to have been born in 1772. More research needs to be conducted.

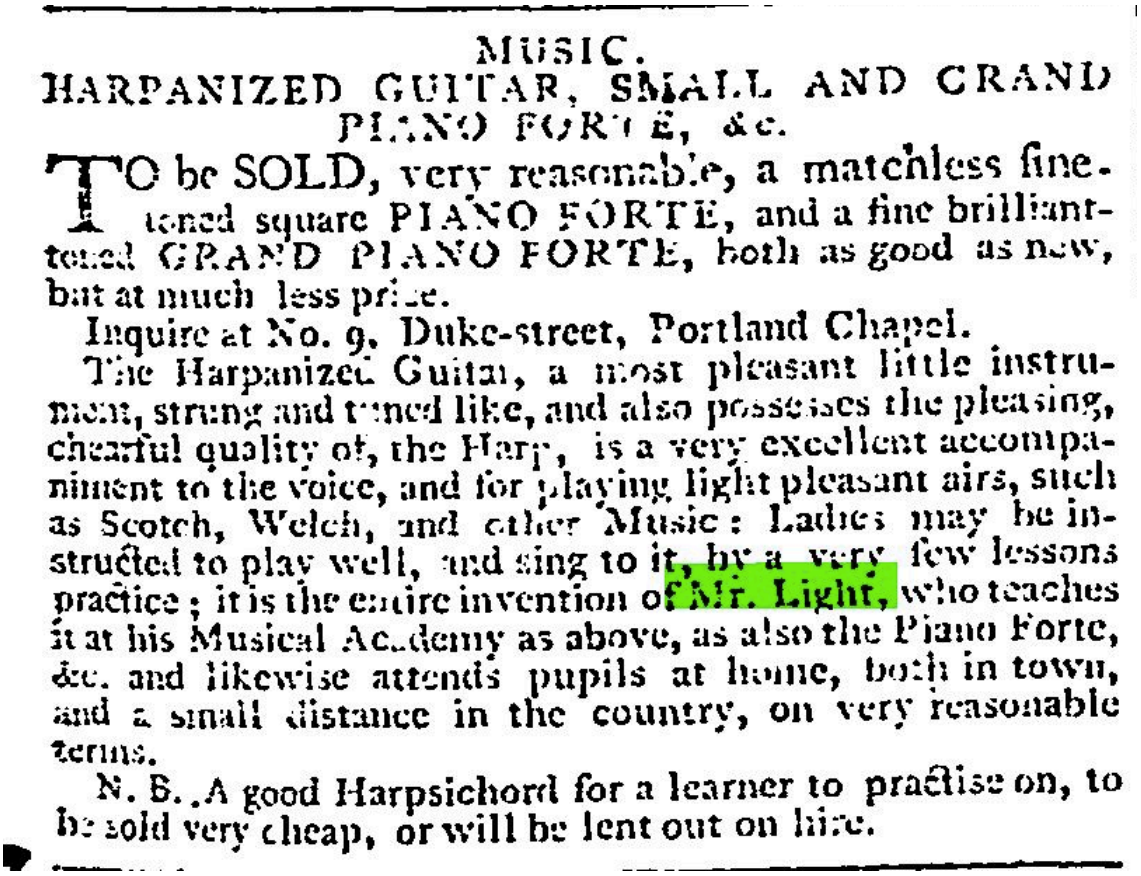
[64] The document was taken from the Ancestry.co.uk and the original is in LMA [P82/GEO1, Item 019].

CHAPTER FOUR:

EARLY INVENTIONS OF LIGHT

4.1 FIRST INVENTION: THE HARP-GUITAR

On March 22nd, 1800, Light finally announced to the public his first entire invention of 'Harpanized guitar' (most likely the same as the harp-guitar) (Fig 4.1):



MUSIC.

HARPANIZED GUITAR, SMALL AND GRAND PIANO FORTE, &c.

TO be SOLD, very reasonable, a matchless fine-toned square PIANO FORTE, and a fine brilliant-toned GRAND PIANO FORTE, both as good as new, but at much less price.

Inquire at No. 9, Duke-street, Portland Chapel.

The Harpanized Guitar, a most pleasant little instrument, strung and tuned like, and also possesses the pleasing, cheerful quality of, the Harp, is a very excellent accompaniment to the voice, and for playing light pleasant airs, such as Scotch, Welch, and other Music: Ladies may be instructed to play well, and sing to it, by a very few lessons practice; it is the entire invention of Mr. Light, who teaches it at his Musical Academy as above, as also the Piano Forte, &c. and likewise attends pupils at home, both in town, and a small distance in the country, on very reasonable terms.

N. B. A good Harpsichord for a learner to practise on, to be sold very cheap, or will be lent out on hire.

Fig 4.1: An advert for the Harpanized Guitar by Light.[1]

Light explained the instrument in detail:

> 'The Harpanized Guitar, a most pleasant little instrument, strung and tuned like, and also possesses the pleasing cheerful quality of, the Harp, is a very excellent accompaniment to the voice, and for playing light pleasant airs, such as Scotch, Welch, and other Music: Ladies may be instructed to play well, and sing to it by a very few lessons practice; it is the entire invention of Mr. Light, who teaches it at his Musical

[1] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 22nd March 1800.

> Academy as above […]'[2]

Although most likely to be the same instrument we are calling 'harp-guitar' in this thesis, he initially named the instrument the 'Harpanized Guitar'. According to his announcement, the size seems quite small, not seeming to indicate an arch-lute-guittar, as this has a long theorboed neck. Light further explained the instrument in the succeeding advertisements,[3] however, using the name 'harp-guitar'. In a newspaper announcement issued in May, he writes:

> '[…] the Harp Guitar is now completed, and they are ready for sale at the Musical Academy, No. 9 Duke-street, Portland-place. – The merits of this charming little instrument can be best known by seeing and hearing it; suffice here to say, it is fashioned like the harp, has the same sweet quality of tone for playing airs, and as an accompaniment in song none excels; is very light and portable, easily learnt, and cheap in purchase.'[4]

In this account, Light emphasises the merits of his instrument, including its harp tone, portability, ease of learning, and cheap price, all of which seem to have very much appropriated the consumerism of the day. Light's talent for instrument marketing, which had probably been cultivated in his early career of instrument retailing, can be seen. In this author's interpretation, the harp-guitar was most likely invented as a substitute instrument to the highly popular harp, possessing its tone but also competing with it in the above-mentioned aspects. This was important, especially how the actual harp compared negatively to the harp-guitar in terms of portability and price. Such descriptions appeared frequently and consistently in newspaper adverts and instructions for harp lutes.

---

[2] Ibid.
[3] Light announced the completion of his harp-guitar to the London public through an extensive advertising campaign – a large number of harp-guitar adverts can be found from 1800.
[4] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 8th May 1800.

4.1.1 PORTABILITY OF THE HARP-GUITAR

Firstly, in relation to the portability of the harp-guitar, Light provided more specific descriptions, e.g.' [the instrument] is well calculated for travelling, or to take to watering places',[5] or 'convenience in traveling, to take into the country, garden, the fire-side',[6] which presumably meant, as a smaller-sized instrument, it could easily be taken on visits to the countryside, or accompany having leisure activities (i.e. picnics). Light also mentions that '…as a small size one of them, with a desk, music, &c. will go within a coach seat or portmanteau'.[7] This must have been a significant advantage for harp enthusiasts as the harp, because of its size, fragility,[8] and the time it took to tune,[9] was inevitably not going to be ideal for traveling. In terms of constructional evidence, it is notable that extant harp-guitars typically have strip hooks (i.e. end pins) at the bottom and top of the instrument (Fig 4.2), with which players could easily handle and move the instrument during leisure activities or even in a domestic setting.

According to one account, the harp-guitar 'might not prove a bad speculation to Captains of ships, or others, going to other countries'.[10] It was, to some extent, still a fragile instrument which, at the very beginning of 1800, had not yet proven itself capable of withstanding different climates, such as India's. Light, of course, did not neglect this area either. In the following year, he announced that the '…[harp-guitar] is warranted to stand the change of any climate; several have recently been take for the East and West Indies'.[11] Purchasers of the harp-guitar were now assured the instrument could survive any climate.

---

[5] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th June 1800.
[6] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 15th August 1800.
[7] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 19th March 1801.
[8] Some harps had excessive decorations, with illustrations and gilt work, which did not cope as well with moisture or rain; this inevitably did not make them as suitable for outdoor activity in English weather. Though the harp-guitar was decorated with non-water-resistant materials, its portability meant it could instantly be put its case when the rain started.
[9] The player in most cases had to tune the strings if the instrument had been moved, by carriage or coach, to a distant place, which meant even smaller-sized harps, such as the Irish harp, required retuning of all of their strings, far more than the harp-guitar, which had between six and eight strings.
[10] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 28th February 1801.
[11] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 15th May 1801.



Fig 4.2: Strip hooks (i.e. end pins) of the harp-guitar.[12]

4.1.2 PRICE OF THE HARP-GUITAR

It is significant that Light once referred to the harp-guitar's price in a newspaper advert: '[…] the price only from Four to Six guineas'[13] (Fig 4.18). This was decidedly cheaper than harps, and easily affordable to the middle classes. Surprisingly, the price range corresponds exactly to that of the guittars shown in an 1823 catalogue from Clementi, Collard & Collard (four to six guineas),[14] which probably meant Light was trying to supplant the guittar in the market place with his invention of the harp-guitar. Being a less decorated instrument,[15] with less use of exotic materials (there was a preference for domestic timber like sycamore and no employment of tortoise shell or ebony), the price range would have suited Light, and predictably he did obtain a certain amount of profits

[12] Pictures are the harp-guitar by Clementi & Co., V&A [243-1882].
[13] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 24th July 1800.
[14] See Chapter 2.5.3.
[15] Compared to the highly ornate later harp lutes, it must have cost far less in the decorating process.

from it. Light's clever marketing and ability to adapt to contemporary trends,[16] together with the novelty of the instrument, led to him successfully distribute his harp-guitar in the market place. Probably as a result of this success, he slightly raised the price range at the end of 1801 ('the Price of them only from Five to Eight Guineas each').[17]

4.1.3 EASE OF LEARNING OF THE HARP-GUITAR

As mentioned, one of the most pleasant sales points of the instrument, and something in common with all of Light's inventions, was that the harp-guitar was easy to learn. Light explained: 'Persons whose stay in town is short may be sufficiently instructed to play well on it [harp-guitar] by receiving only about ten or twelve lessons'.[18] He further claimed that '[…] those who know something of Music may learn it by twelve hours instructions'.[19]

4.1.4 LIGHT'S MULTI-TALENTEDNESS

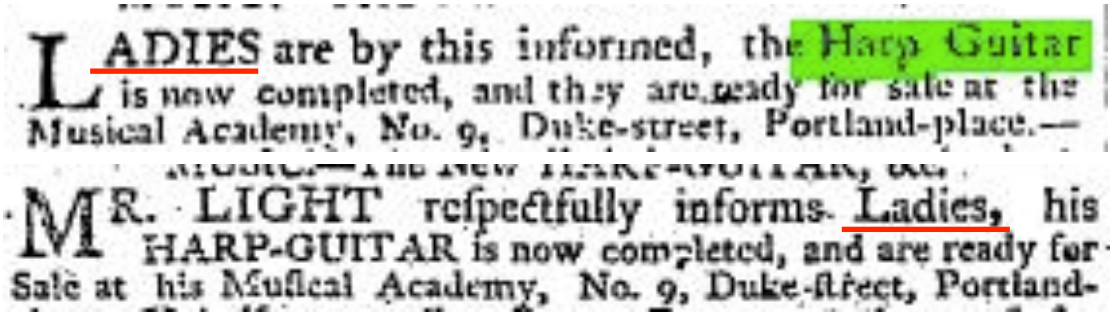
Along with selling the instrument, Light sold the first published instruction book for the harp-guitar;[20] these achievements, together with his business acumen, and the fact that his new career as an inventor took off around this time, demonstrate the multi-talented personality of Edward Light. His family's support was of significant help to him in expanding his market, especially the support of his son Thomas, who seems to have mainly helped with music lessons.[21] Regarding the business, although Light had announced in 1798 that No. 9 Duke Street had become his music academy, this doesn't seem to have meant that he had completely cut his ties with musical instrument

[16] Public preference for the soft tone of the piano and harp was carefully taken into account in the invention of the instrument. Attention was also paid to the tendency of the Georgian and Regency public to prefer appearance and a cheap price to the use of genuine materials, something which is represented by the application of wallpapers in typical Georgian interiors rather than expensively painted walls or tapestry and textile hangings. See Vickery (2009:166-183).
[17] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 25th November 1801.
[18] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 15th May 1801.
[19] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 3rd July 1801.
[20] Ibid. The instruction book was promoted, together with the sale of the harp-guitar, in the succeeding advertisements in May. No copy of the book is known to survive.
[21] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 8th May 1800. This advertisement states that 'Ladies are taught this [harp-guitar] and likewise the piano forte, at home and aboard, both in town and in country, on very moderate terms, by E. Light and Son.' The son was probably Thomas, as he often appeared with Edward Light in the later newspaper advertisements.

retailing; this aspect of his business continued through the distribution of his new instrument and music lessons.[22] Business seems to have been brisk, and sales of instruments were mentioned in almost all of Light's successive newspaper adverts. He was also occasionally responsible for another musical instrument repository. An announcement from 1801 states: 'A fine-toned, grand Piano Forte to be sold cheap; likewise a fine-toned Organ, fit for a large room […] of them inquire at No. 38, Maiden-lane, Covent-Garden'.[23] This differed from Light's residential address, and was probably where his relatives and friends, or might be a business arrangement.[24]

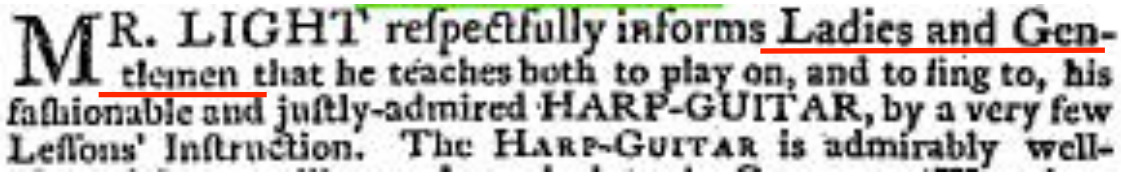
4.1.5 SALES TARGET OF THE HARP-GUITAR

In terms of a target audience for Light's instrument, he clearly targeted ladies as customers for the harp-guitar initially (Fig 4.3 and Fig 4.4). However, he soon changed tack, abandoning such exclusiveness, and expanding his audience to gentlemen.


LADIES are by this informed, the Harp Guitar
is now completed, and they are ready for sale at the
Musical Academy, No. 9, Duke-street, Portland-place.—

MR. LIGHT respectfully informs Ladies, his
HARP-GUITAR is now completed, and are ready for
Sale at his Muſical Academy, No. 9, Duke-ſtreet, Portland-

Fig 4.3: Early advertisement headings targeting Ladies[25]


MR. LIGHT reſpectfully informs Ladies and Gen-
tlemen that he teaches both to play on, and to ſing to, his
faſhionable and juſtly-admired HARP-GUITAR, by a very few
Leſſons' Inſtruction. The HARP-GUITAR is admirably well-

[22] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 8th May 1800. In which Light advertised the sale of piano-fortes. He also sold instruments such as square pianos, harpsichords and guitars, adverts for which can be found in newspapers such as *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th June 1800 and *Morning Herald* 24th June 1800. Sales of instruments were frequently advertised in various newspapers. Therefore, it can be seen that Light continued musical instrument retailing after the announcement of his retirement from it in 1798.
[23] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 2nd May 1801.
[24] At this time he lived at 64, Margaret Street, Cavendish-Square.
[25] From top: *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 8th May 1800; *Morning Chronicle* 8th May 1800.

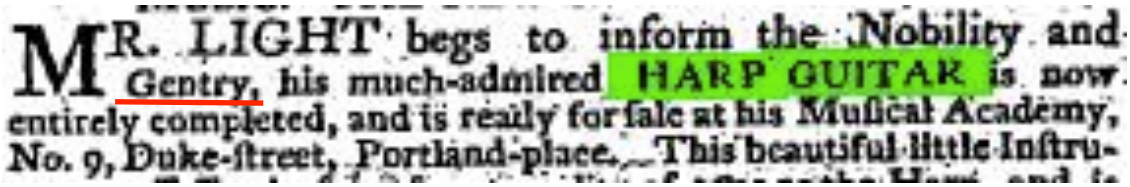

MR. LIGHT begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry, his much-admired HARP GUITAR is now entirely completed, and is really for sale at his Musical Academy, No. 9, Duke-ſtreet, Portland-place. This beautiful little Inſtru-

Fig 4.4: The advertisements' heading not exclusively targeted ladies as customers.[26]

Even though he expanded his target audience to include men, Light still seems to have maintained his focus on ladies as players or enthusiasts of the instrument, as can be seen from some later advertisements: 'Mr. LIGHT engages to teach Ladies to play on it [harp-guitar]'[27] or '[…] MR. LIGHT begs to inform Ladies, that his beautiful little instrument called the HARP GUITAR, waits the inspection of, and soft touch of other fair hands, and to harmonize in conjunction with the rapturous strains of female eloquence […]'.[28] However, he continued to issue advertisements for sales of harp-guitar that targeted gentlemen. This probably means Light saw gentlemen as potential customers, but ones who would purchase the instrument for ladies, and who, if they did come to Light's workshop, came to view instruments rather than for harp-guitar lessons.[29]

Additionally, as if to resolve this gender conflict, Light published instructions 'for the Harp Guitar and Flute',[30] which were generally considered as ladies' and gentlemen's instruments (respectively), with which they could play happily together or perhaps even be pupils of Light as a couple.

4.1.6 EXCLUSIVENESS IN SALES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Light's typical method of selling harp-guitars or harp lutes had already been established from the start – he sold his inventions exclusively. As evidence of this, a typical phrase

[26] From top: *Morning Chronicle* 18th June 1800; *Morning Chronicle* 31st May 1800.
[27] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 2nd September 1800. Similar announcements can be seen in newspaper adverts issued around the period, for instance, *Morning Herald* 8th September 1800.
[28] *Courier and Evening Gazette* 13th September 1800.
[29] As evidence, there were hardly any (this does not mean there were none) announcements offering lessons on the harp-guitar to gentlemen. Although Light often publicised music lessons for gentlemen at his music academy or private residence, these were more likely to be on other instruments (i.e. violins, flute and pianoforte).
[30] *The Times*, 29th May 1801.

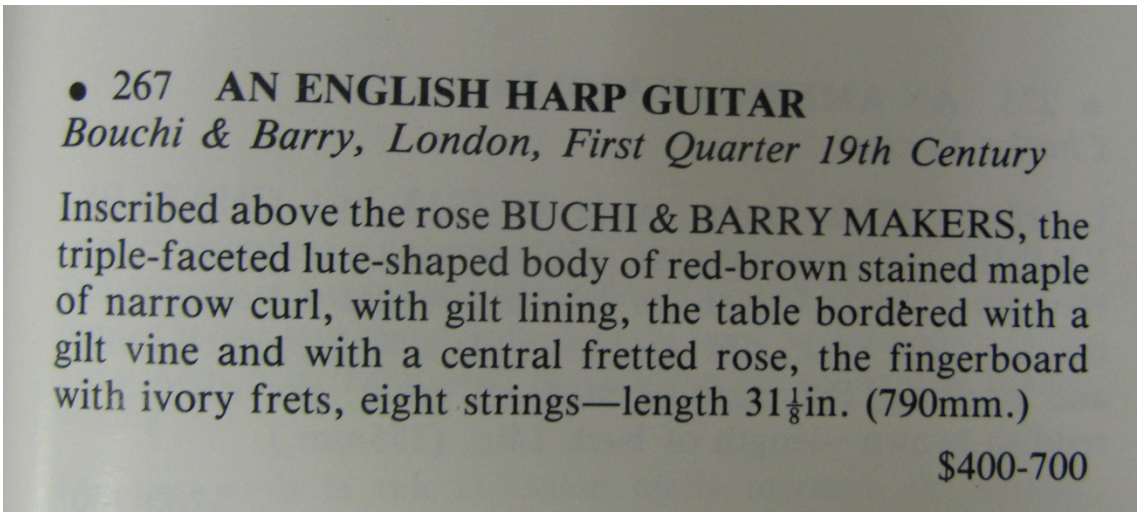
regularly appears in his advertisements up to the announcement of his last instrument, the 'dital-harp': 'They [harp-guitars] are to be had only of Mr. Light (sole-inventor), and teacher of it at his musical Academy […]'.[31] Despite the word 'sole-inventor', however, many of the surviving harp-guitars bear the name of makers other than Light. For instance, so far identified makers are, Barry, Clementi & Co., Phipps and Co., while others were left as anonymous (Fig 4.5).



Fig 4.5: Examples of extant harp-guitars bearing makers' inscriptions.[32]

Despite an insufficient amount of evidence, a harp-guitar by Buchinger & Barry[33] listed in an auction catalogue is worthy of mention – N.B. there is no image and its current location is uncertain (Fig 4.6).

[31] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th June 1800.
[32] Pictures, from left, by Barry, BCB [11.4], by Clementi & Co., V&A [243-1882], by Phipps and Co., MIMEd [1072].
[33] The instrument appeared in an auction by Christies (18 June, 1985). The information is from the catalogue lot. 267, p. 77.



• 267 **AN ENGLISH HARP GUITAR**
Bouchi & Barry, London, First Quarter 19th Century

Inscribed above the rose BUCHI & BARRY MAKERS, the triple-faceted lute-shaped body of red-brown stained maple of narrow curl, with gilt lining, the table bordered with a gilt vine and with a central fretted rose, the fingerboard with ivory frets, eight strings—length 31⅛in. (790mm.)

$400-700

Fig 4.6: A description of a harp-guitar by Buchinger and Barry in a Christie's catalogue.[34]

According to Armstrong, 'one of these instruments [harp-guitars[35]] in his possession has eight strings and is signed "Light Invenr; Barry Maker"' (1908: 25). The instrument made by Buchinger and Barry seems very similar because, according to the auction catalogue, it has eight strings[36] with an inscription above the rose – "BUCHI & BARRY MAKERS". Considering Joseph Buchinger was Barry's father-in-law, and the two makers built arch-lute-guittars, they were more like cooperative workers rather than competitors in a business sense.[37]

On the other hand, only two extant harp-guitars with Light's name – one solely with Light's inscription and another together with Barry – have hitherto been confirmed with certainty by the author (Fig 4.7).

[34] Christies (18 June, 1985). The information is from the catalogue lot. 267, p. 77.
[35] This is different from the [No. 7] in the table.
[36] This cannot be any other harp lute because others have a minimum of ten strings in total.
[37] Buchinger was more like a music-shop director while Barry was a maker, mostly of harps.



Fig 4.7: Harp-guitars bearing Light's inscription.[38]

As seen by entrepreneurs' and makers' inscriptions on extant instruments, despite Light's description in his advertisements, in the earlier period around the time when harp-guitars were distributed, his so-called exclusiveness in selling does not seem to have been very exclusive. We also know from specimens (extant instruments) that Barry was a contractor who made instruments for Light as early as Light's first invention (harp-guitar). To support this, the one in the MMA, despite its rarity, is the only harp-guitar so far confirmed by the author that bears a conjunct inscription, in which it is clearly stated 'Light inventor and Barry maker'. Although this style can typically be seen on subsequent models of harp-lute-guitars, the MMA's harp-guitar is important in that it indicates that the contract between Light (inventor) and Barry (maker) probably began as early as 1800, albeit three harp-guitars solely bearing

[38] Pictures; (left) Light's inscription only, MMS [M2063], (right) inscription of Light and Barry, MMA [98.4.1010].

Barry's inscription have so far been confirmed as surviving instruments,[39] a greater number than those with Light's. This might suggest the maker's or even entrepreneur's name was, conventionally,[40] more valued by customers than that of the inventor's when it came to purchasing the instrument.

4.1.7 COMPARISON IN CONSTRUCTION

In terms of classification, the MMS's harp-guitar bears an address of Foley Place, but Light settled there in 1807. It is therefore very unlikely that the instrument was made before that year. Therefore, the harp-guitar seems to have been continuously produced, along with the successive models of harp lutes such as the harp-lute-guitar and the harp-lute. Controversially, it is now questionable whether instruments of a similar style, such as the one by Phipps and Co. in MIMEd, came before or after ones like the MMA's. Moreover, questions also emerge over Light's target audience. A newspaper advert mentions that '[…] they [harp-guitars] are of different sizes to suit Children or Grown Persons, both Ladies and a large size for Gentlemen […]'[41] but it is uncertain what exactly is meant by this.

To understand such aspects of the harp-guitar, it is essential to compare them in terms of their construction. Therefore, the selected surviving instruments are now concisely compared, and a list of instruments with their inscription, body dimensions and number of strings are shown in the following table (Table 4.1):

[39] One in BCB [11.4], one in GNN [MI372] and the last one found in a web page Boxedindesign.com, <http://boxedindesign.com/2011/01/top-10-most-unique-guitars/>, (Accessed July, 2012). The image is no longer in that website (2014).

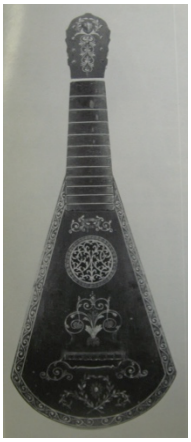
[40] As musical instruments invented by musician or dealer that had obtained a certain success were uncommon, any instruments made before 1800 usually bear the maker's or entrepreneur's inscription. Customers had most likely got used to this tradition. In such context, it is likely that a smaller number of harp-guitars bearing Light's name have survived.

[41] *Morning Chronicle* 18th June 1800. A similar phrase appears in other newspaper advertisements: '[…] Guitars are made of different sizes, to suit children or grown persons, and a large sort to suit the Tenor Voice of Gentlemen […]' (*Courier and Evening Gazette* 13th September 1800); '[…] made of different sizes to suit Ladies, Gentlemen, and Children […]' (*Morning Post and Gazetteer* 7th November 1800).

Table 4.1: Comparison of harp-guitars

Entry no. [] & Inscriptions	Scale length	Body dimensions	Strings (total)	Picture
[No. 1] "LIGHT INVEN:/ BARRY MAKER" at top of the body (MMA: 98.4.1010)	N/A	L = 445 mm W= 301 mm D = 144 – 50 mm	6[42] (Originally probably 8 stringed)	
[No. 2] "Light/ Foley Place/ London" on the head **(MMS: M2063)**	447 mm	L = 419 mm W = 315 mm D = 127 – 51 mm	7	
[No. 3] "Phipps & Comp$^{y.}$ / London" on the head (MIMEd: 1072)	448 mm	L = 415 mm W= 310 mm D = 140 – 50 mm	6	

[42] Neck and bridge were modified.

[No. 4] [43] "CLEMENTI & C^{O}. LONDON" on the fingerboard between 11th and 12th fret (V&A: 243-1882)	477 mm	L = 440 mm W = 300 mm D = 157 – 60 mm	8 strings with 10 pegs	
[No. 5] Anonymous (Catalogue of Sotheby's, 25, April, 1975 p. 16)	N/A	N/A	8 strings with 10 pegs	
[No. 6] "BARRY / MAKER" on the ribbon painted above the soundhole (BCB: 11.4)	449 mm	L = 427 mm W = 303 mm D = 149 – 50 mm	6	

[43] All measurements on this instrument, except scale length and body depth, are taken from Baines (1968: 66). The picture was taken by the author.

[No. 7][44] "BARRY / MAKER" Probably on the ribbon painted above the soundhole (Armstrong, 1908: after p. 24)	473 mm (18 5/8 in)	L = N/A W = 302 mm (11 7/8 in) D = N/A	8	
[No. 8] Anonymous (from Private Collection)[45]	483 mm (19.0 in)	L = 457 mm (18.0 in) W = 308 mm (12.125 in) D = 159 - 57 (6.25 - 2. 25 in)	8	
[No. 9] Anonymous (RNCM: S7)	634 m (not original)	L = 458 mm W = 330 mm D = 159 – 50 mm	Originally 8 strings (currently 6 strings)	

*(L) = length, (W) = width at the widest and (D) = depth at the deepest point – at the heel.

The comparison of front views, with their dissimilarities and past modifications,[46] may

[44] Measurements were taken from Armstrong (1908: 26).
[45] All pictures concerning to this instrument were given by Gregg Miner.
[46] This probably is because some of the instruments were greatly modified from the original condition, for instance the necks of [No. 1] and [No.9] have definitely been altered in order to change it compatible to the Spanish guitar.

appear to cause more confusion regarding classification. If we, however, compare the selected surviving instruments, including anonymous ones, using a back view, distinctive types can be observed amongst them.[47]



[No. 1]



[No. 2]



[No. 3]



[No. 4]



[No. 6]



[No. 8]



[No.9]

According to the design of body and neck, they can be categorised into three different

[47] Pictures of the back view for [No. 5] and [No .7] are not available since their current locations are known.

groups:[48]

Group 1: Soundbox consisting of seven flat staves with a semi-circular neck

Entry	Scale	(L)	(W)	(D)	Strings
[No. 1]	N/A	445	301	144 – 50	6 (originally 8)[49]

Group 2: Semi-conical soundbox; neck with thumb groove

Entry	Scale	(L)	(W)	(D)	Strings
[No. 4]	477	440	300	157 – 60	8 (10 peg holes)
[No. 8]	483	457	308	159 – 57	8
[No. 9][50]	634(not original)	450	330	159 – 50	6 (originally 8)

Group 3: Semi-conical soundbox consisting of a flat stave with a semi-circular neck

Entry	Scale	(L)	(W)	(D)	Strings
[No. 2]	447	419	315	127 – 51	7
[No. 3]	448	415	310	140 – 50	6
[No. 6]	449	427	303	149 – 50	6

According to this comparison, representatively the soundbox varies by the number of staves and how it is curved, despite the use of at least three pieces of wood consisting of multiple flat staves (seven),[51] an entire semi-conical shape – a corn cut in half vertically – (three) or a semi-conical shape with the centre flattened (three). There can also be identified two different shapes of neck, whether there is a thumb groove or not. A neck with thumb groove was a typical feature of Light's later invention (the harp-lute), probably due to physical necessity – the greater the number of strings over the fingerboard, the wider the neck.

Interestingly, the comparison clearly shows that necks with thumb groove were always

[48] All figures are in millimetres.
[49] It seems to have originally been an eight stringed instrument. The instruments [No.1], [No. 4] and [No.9] will be discussed further down.
[50] It does not have a neck with a groove, but the neck is not original; in its original state, it seems to have had a neck with a groove, and is therefore categorised in this group.
[51] The numbers shown in brackets in this sentence are the total number of staves used for constructing the soundbox.

attached to a soundbox that was entirely semi-conical in shape (no flat stave in the centre) and they usually have eight strings. There are a greater number of strings than in those with a semi-circular cross section neck with the centre-stave-flattened soundbox – these usually consist of six to seven strings, hence no need for a wider neck. This is obvious when we compare them in measurement: the width of fingerboard at the heel of [No.6] is 64mm while [No.9][52] is 85mm wide. Likewise, though its neck seems to have been modified, [No.1] also has a wider neck measuring 87mm at the heel.

The two harp-guitars ([No.1] and [No.9]) in more depth to give a clearer picture of their original condition. This would make it easier to understand their classification. Firstly, both instruments originally had eight strings, as examination of the bridges proves.

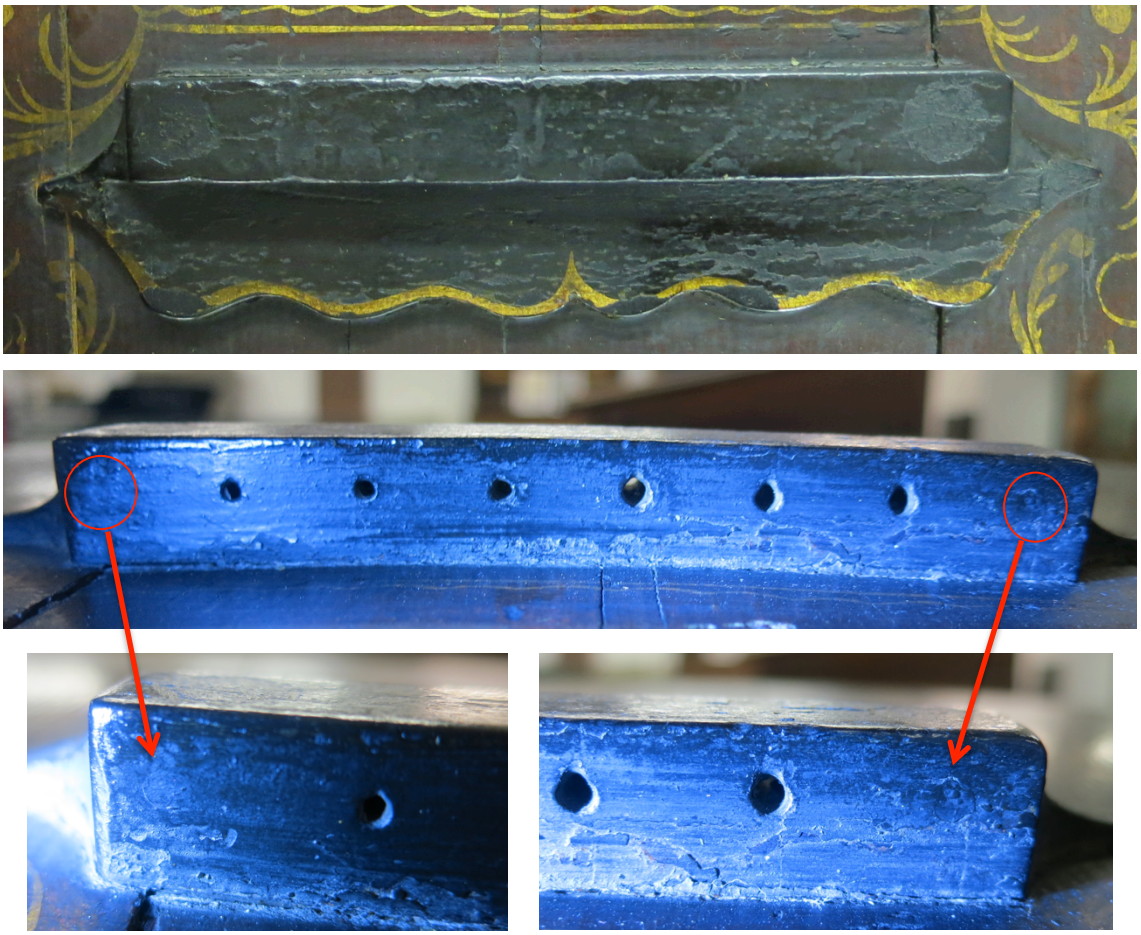


Fig 4.8: Bridge of [No.9] showing that the first and eighth holes have been filled.

[52] There is no doubt that it had eight strings originally; the heel has not been modified at any stage, so the width of the fingerboard is original.

As shown in the pictures (Fig 4.8), [No.9] originally had eight holes at the bridge, and it is obvious that [No.1]'s bridge has been modified from being a tie-bridge to being a pin-bridge, as seen in [No.9]'s, by trimming off the mounted part of treble and bass sides and planing off the height of bridge (Fig 4.9).

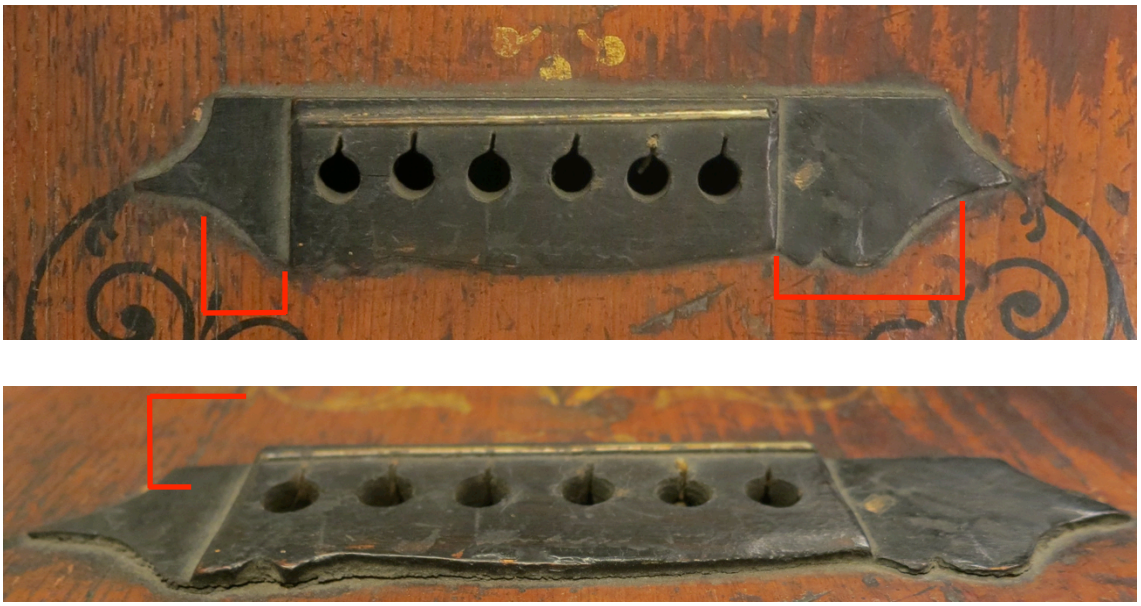


Fig 4.9: Bridge of [No.1] with evidence of modification (shown in red lines).

For [No.9], it is rather obvious when we look at the head that two peg holes have been filled (Fig 4.10).



Fig 4.10: Head of [No.9] with evidence that two holes have been filled.

This, together with the wider neck width at the heel, shows beyond doubt that the two instruments originally had eight strings, like [No.4] (Fig 4.11).

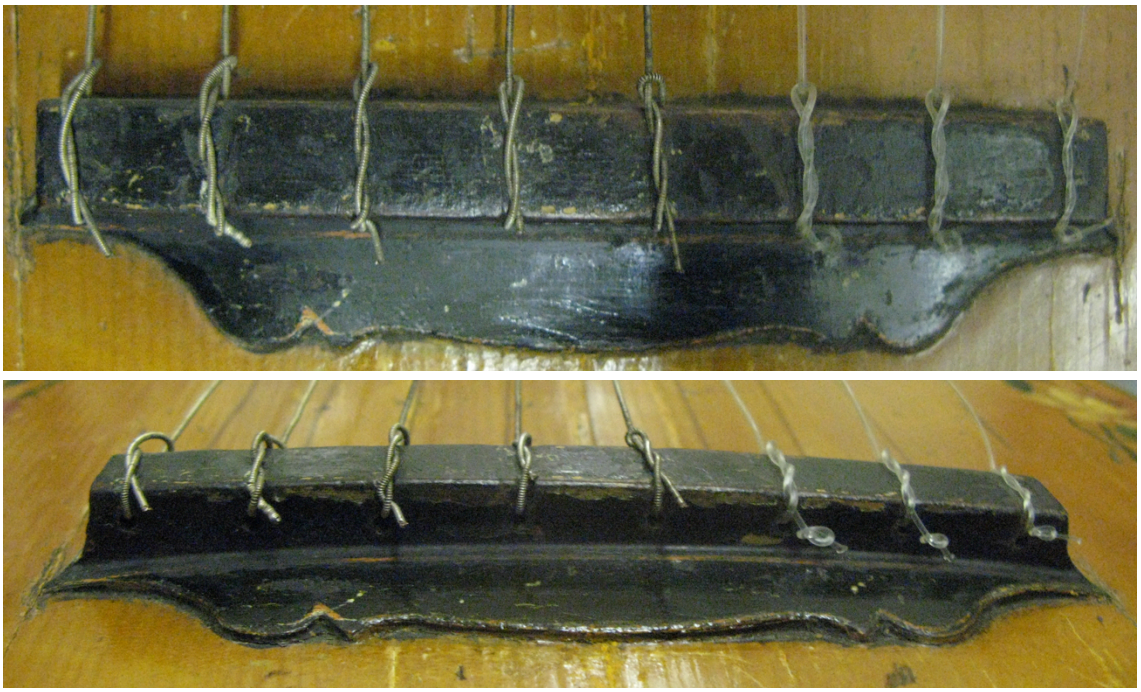


Fig 4.11: Bridge of [No.4] with eight strings.

Moreover, both necks have evidently been replaced (Fig 4.12 and Fig 4.13) and according to the width at the heel, more likely the necks were originally like that of [No.4] – with a thumb groove (Fig 4.14). This also suggests that the scale length of [No.9] is not original, and seems to have been much shorter.



Fig 4.12: Neck of [No.1] with clear indications of modification (several joint lines are seen).



Fig 4.13: Neck of [No.9] with line marks for the later joint with extended neck.[53]

[53] Moreover, the v-joint at the head was not usually used for making harp lutes, probably because the makers were more engaged with guittar and harp making. It has to be noted, however, that there are, of course some exceptions, for instance [No.2] has a v-joint and is more likely an original. The v-joint surely came from the continent (probably France) and the style seen in [No.9] was mostly typically seen in the Spanish guitars used from 1820 to 1890 in the British Isles, and were represented by Panormo's guitars.



Fig 4.14: Neck of [No.4] with thumb groove.

Bearing in mind the analysis on the modified instruments, it is now much easier to classify the instruments and possibly reveal their chronological order. Firstly, [No.1] can be classified into group 2, as it only differs in construction of the soundbox (consisting of flat staves). Apart from that, it has the same number of strings (eight) and, predictably, a neck with a groove in original condition. In this way, only two types exist, those of eight strings or six/seven strings. [No.7], as it has eight strings, may be classified into group 2. Secondly, the hole in the soundbox shows the distinctive character of the instruments. Those in group 1 (including [No.1]) have wider[54] and more squared-shaped holes while those of group 3 are narrower[55] and oblong in form. Considering that [No.2] bears the address of 'Foley Place', and the latter style of oblong-shaped hole was the preferred shape of subsequent models, group 3 seems to have come after groups 2 and 1. Perhaps instruments in group 3 were produced after or around 1807.[56]

The scale lengths of group 2 varied slightly (473mm – 483mm)[57] while those of group

[54] For instance, [No.9] measured 69mm long/27-33mm wide.
[55] For instance, [No.2] measured 69mm long/13-15mm wide.
[56] It must be noted that [No.2] has a neck joined to the head in the shape of a V, something commonly seen in contemporary Spanish guitars influenced by the Continental style. It also has seven strings, which seems to correspond to the harp-lute-guitars and Harley's Apollo lyres, so it was very probably made around 1807. However, the others in group 3 are slightly different, having six strings with conventional necks and head joints. This may indicate that they were made before 1807, but it is more likely they were introduced after groups 1 and 2.
[57] These measurements include [No.7].

3 stayed more or less the same (447mm – 449mm). As with Armstrong's assertion,[58] such variation may explain Light's account referring to the size of the harp-guitar where he states that 'they are of different sizes to suit Children or Growing Persons, both Ladies and a large size for Gentlemen',[59] or another account, where Light mentions 'the new and much admired Harp-Guitars [plural]'.[60] Therefore, it may be said that, chronologically, the latter group, similar in scale length (more standardised and made for more specific targets), came after the former. Interestingly, perhaps because of their form, the instruments in group 2[61] have a deeper and longer body than the ones in group 3; likewise, the former have a longer scale than the latter, which probably means the harp-guitar was initially made in a slightly bigger size with different scale lengths to suit customers of different ages and genders.

Although there is an interesting account stating '[…][harp-guitars in different sizes] are tuned to any pitch of voice, be it ever to high or low',[62] it is hitherto uncertain whether the difference in scale lengths effectively alters the pitch of tuning, since they only differed by 10mm. To prove this requires more evidence. This research, therefore, confines itself to the earlier models that most likely differed in their scale lengths, which seems to correspond to Light's account of 'different sizes'. It is also still uncertain why [No. 4] and [No. 5] have two extra pegs, even though only eight holes can be found on the bridge, which is unlikely to have been modified in the past. More research is required for this matter.

Taken together, these findings may suggest that Light invented at least two different models of harp-guitar, either with chiefly eight or six/seven strings, the former usually constructed with a neck with a thumb groove and the latter without it. The eight-stringed harp-guitar also commonly has a semi-conical shape of soundbox, whereas the latter seems to have had a soundbox semi-conical in form with a flattened centre stave. Chronologically, it is more likely that the former was introduced before the

[58] He compared two instruments in his book (1908, 25-26), resulting in two different scale lengths; however, one of them has a modified head, and this means the comparison may not be correct.
[59] *Morning Chronicle* 18th June 1800.
[60] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 15th August 1800.
[61] Excluding [No.1] because it has different form of soundbox.
[62] *Morning Herald* 8th October 1800.

latter. Therefore, the final classification should be that, in chronological order, perhaps the earlier models were [No.1], [No.4], [No.5], [No.7], [No.8], [No.9] and the later models (probably of the production since around 1807) were [No.2], [No.3], [No.6] (Fig 4.15 and Fig 4.16).

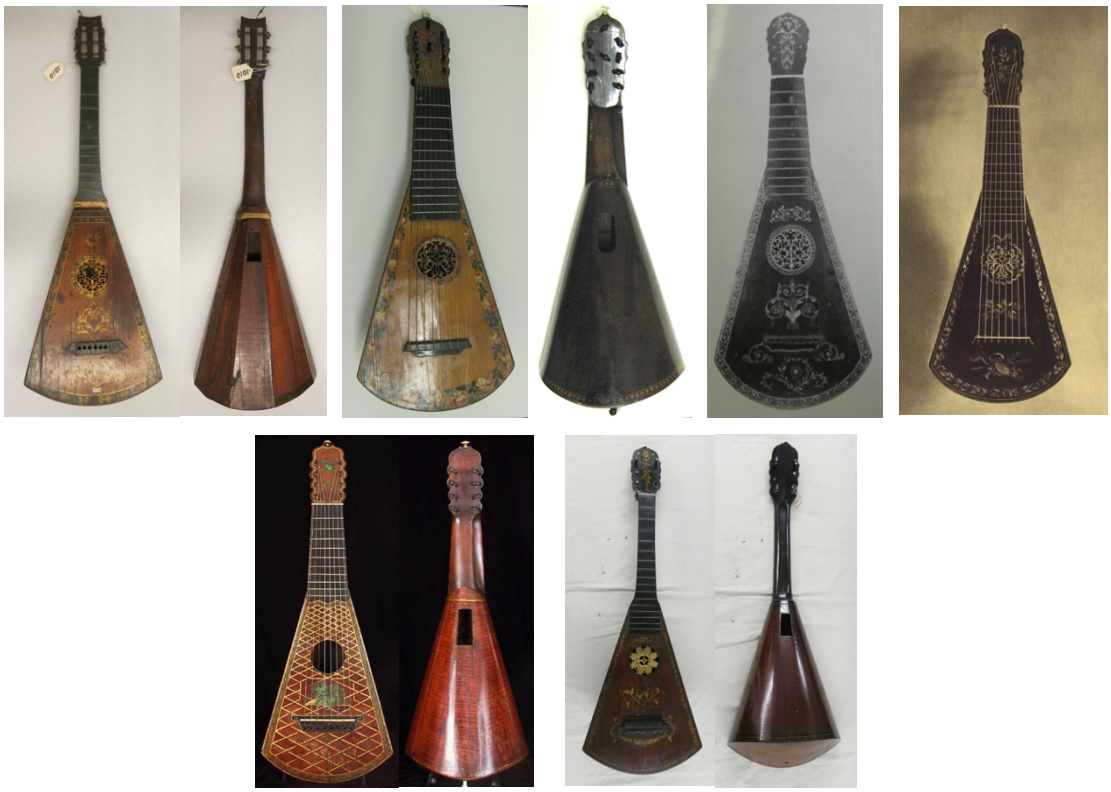


Fig 4.15: Most likely earlier models of the harp-guitar (all originally have eight strings).[63]



Fig 4.16: Most likely later models of the harp-guitar (they either have six or seven strings).[64]

[63] From top left: [No.1], [No.4], [No.5], [No.7], [No.8] and [No.9].
[64] From left: [No.2], [No.3] and [No.6].

In support of this, there is an interesting portrait of Mrs John Mellon painted by John Russell in 1804 (Fig 4.17), in which the sitter is holding a harp-guitar with eight strings, similar to [No. 7] by Barry. Painted in 1804, this portrait would have had to include the latest fashions. Therefore, the eight-string harp-guitar was most likely the first model introduced to the public.



Fig 4.17: A portrait of Mrs John Mellon by John Russell in 1804.[65]

In addition, it is interesting to note that at least two harp-guitars with eight strings bearing the inscription 'Light Inventor / Barry Maker'[66] have been so far identified.

[65] The image was taken from 'Early Guitars and Vihuela: A network for historic guitars and vihuelas', <http://earlyguitar.ning.com/photo/mrs-john-mellon-1804?xg_source=activity>, (Accessed July, 2001), and details on the paintings was taken from Sotheby's, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2004/the-british-sale-paintings-drawings-and-watercolours-l04122/lot.134.lotnum.html>, (Accessed June, 2014). 'The sitter appears to be Harriot Mellon (c.1777-1837) who would have been twenty-seven at the time this portrait was drawn. She acted on the stage from the age of ten, her mother and stepfather both being actors. She first appeared at Drury Lane for Sheridan in 1795 and remained on the London stage until 1815. She was intimate with the banker Thomas Coutts, who was said to be the richest man in London, and they married in 1815 after the death of his first wife. Coutts died in 1822 leaving his fortune to his wife and in 1827 she married William Aubrey de Vere, 9th Duke of Albans. She was also painted by Romney and Sir William Beechey.' < http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2004/the-british-sale-paintings-drawings-and-watercolours-l04122/lot.134.html>, (Accessed, Apr., 2015).

[66] One is in MMA: 98.4.1010 and the other is mentioned in Armstrong (1908: 25).

Analysis revealed them to be earlier models that might have been introduced around 1800, which means the harp-guitar was initially cooperatively produced by Light and Barry. Moreover, this fact also suggests that Light was already inscribing his name on the instrument at a very earlier period in his career as an inventor, though his sole name would be more frequently and exclusively seen on the later models, especially after the standardised harp-lute was introduced.

4.1.8 CONTEMPORARY INSTRUMENTS

By June 1800, the sale of harp-guitar seems to have achieved a certain commercial success in the musical instrument market, and Light was pleased to describe the instrument as 'the harp-guitar, a most commodious, pleasant little instrument, and now almost the only one of the Guitar kind, used in the fashionable circles'.[67] This may indicate the decline of the guittar's popularity in England, and the harp-guitar taking its place. In newspaper advertisements accompanying the public launch of the harp-guitar, Light also uses phrases like 'other kind of Guitars may be strung and tuned like the Harp-Guitar, if sent here',[68] which most likely indicates Spanish guitars. As if Light appears to have been attempting to corner the guitar market with his new invention, all kinds of guitars, including guittars, were potential obstacles to his business aims.

[67] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th June 1800.
[68] *Morning Chronicle* 8th May 1800. There are other subsequent advertisements using similar phrases, e.g. '[…] some sorts of Guitars, strung like Harp-Guitars' in *Morning Herald* 26th August 1800.

4.2 INTRODUCTION OF THE ARCH-LUTE-GUITTAR

In July 1800, Light published an interesting advertisement (Fig 4.18).


MUSIC.

THE new LUTE and HARP GUITAR, a fashionable, sweet-toned, portable little instrument, lately invented by Mr. LIGHT, No. 9, Duke-street, Portland-place, where only they can be had; the price only from Four to Six Guineas; they are very easy to learn, and a charming accompaniment to the voice, &c. Mr. Light instructs ladies completely to play on it in the space of one month. Teaches also the Piano Forte, with Singing, &c. as usual, on reasonable terms.

N. B. A very fine-toned square Piano Forte (new) to be sold cheap, or exchanged for a smaller, to travel with; a sweet-toned Barrel Organ, also to be sold, very reasonable.

Fig 4.18: Newspaper advert featuring the term 'Lute' and 'the prices of harp-guitar' (July 1800).[69]

Light mentions 'THE new LUTE', and it is unlikely that this indicates the model of harp-lute with eleven to twelve strings that had already been invented as early as 1800. This term may have been referring to the arch-lute-guittar, as this instrument was described in the contemporary harp-guitar's instructions using the terms 'Lute' or 'Modern Lute'.[70] Therefore, the Lute in this advert was probably the so-called arch-lute-guittar in this thesis (Fig 4.19).

[69] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 24th July 1800.
[70] See the entry 'arch-lute-guittar' in Appendix i.



Fig 4.19: Arch-Lute-Guittars.[71]

Hitherto, four arch-lute-guittars have been identified as surviving instruments.[72] First of all, the instrument was made to be played with gut strings,[73] which probably was of great importance in gaining a harp-like tone. Secondly, extra bass strings were added to expand the compass. The instrument was probably tuned either f-g-a-b-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'' or g-a-b-c'-d'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'' by differing the lowest note by a tone, thus they show a tone difference up to the sixth string.[74] The manner of tuning, at the same time, provided ease in playing because the bass was arranged in a diatonic scale, meaning the player could play lower notes without having to hold the strings with the fingers. This expansion of the bass range undoubtedly imparted an extra richness in tone.

The instruments, at a glance, look very similar in style to the later invention of the

[71] Left: by Buchinger, MIMEd [306] and Right: by Barry MIMEd [307].
[72] More details please see Appendix i.
[73] The longer scale length was more suitable for gut strings than wire strings, though silk-wound strings might have been used for the bass strings as a substitute for the thicker gut strings. A fixed bridge is also usually used for gut stringed instruments.
[74] More details for the arch-lute-guittar tuning is provided in Appendix i – see the entry 'arch-lute-guittar'.

harp-lute-guitar, especially in the theorbo-style neck. However, although it greatly influenced to the invention of the harp-lute-guitar, the arch-lute-guitar retained more elements of the guittar (English guitar). The shape of the body is no doubt that of the guittar (almond-shape with flat back), and the manner of tuning followed the typical guittar tuning of c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'' for the top six strings passing over the fingerboard. The harp-lute-guitar, on the other hand, was constructed in a diatonic scale up to the fourth string only, with open C tuning for the top three strings.[75] Considering the later development of tuning, with the addition of more and more bass strings tuned in a diatonic scale like the harp, it is hard to believe that the arch-lute-guittar was invented after the emergence of harp-lute-guitar.

In addition, they also differ in the number of strings: the arch-lute-guittar is a ten-stringed instrument, while the harp-lute-guitar usually has eleven strings. As a reduction of strings rarely occurred in the development of harp lutes,[76] the arch-lute-guittar was most likely invented prior to the harp-lute-guitar. However, as the arch-lute-guitar seems to have appeared in instructions together with the harp-guitar (the first model of harp lutes, which has a smaller number of strings totalling six to eight), the arch-lute-guitar, going by the theory of number of strings, came after the invention of the harp-guitar. With this confusion, the year of emergence of the arch-lute-guittar is, indeed, uncertain. However, the instrument's body was still that of the guittar, and did not consist of the most distinctive character of harp lutes, the 'soundbox', which gave harp lutes their harp tone. Therefore, the instrument, including the one described in 1800, was more likely invented between the transitional period between the guittar and the harp-lute-guitar.[77]

In relation to the year of invention, there is a portrait of Mrs Jordan[78] painted in 1801

[75] More details for the harp-lute-guitar tuning will be given later.
[76] The total number of strings for the harp lutes increased rather than reduced since the invention of harp-guitar (the first model of harp lutes), which varied from six to eight strings. The instrument ended with 19 strings in total (the last model of dital-harp). Of course, there might have been some irregularity, but in the competitive market the expansion of compass was one of the essential elements to making the instruments more attractive. For more details, please read the following accounts in this thesis.
[77] It must be noted that this does not mean the arch-lute-guittar was the improved guitar described in the advert. It is just an interpretation from the author's perspective that the arch-lute-guittar was probably invented before the harp-guitar, thus pre-1800.
[78] She was a celebrity comedienne/actress and her songs were published by Buchinger, so the

by John Russell, in which she is holding an arch-lute-guittar. This adds weight to the assertion that the arch-lute-guittar was invented before 1801 (Fig 4.20).



Fig 4.20: A portrait of Mrs Jordan by John Russell (1801).[79]

It is interesting that the strings are coloured red (c) and blue (f) – they are no doubt harp strings – and it is now apparent that the arch-lute-guitar was made or invented with the intention of sounding like the harp rather than improving the guittar or being similar to Spanish guitars. The arch-lute-guitar was therefore most likely the invention of Light, since he consistently referred to the harp in his creation of new instruments.

Yet, this painting occurs a conflict that neither tuning appearing in the original

---

arch-lute-guittar shown in the painting was probably given by Buchinger for the advertisement. See more details in Chapter 5.

[79] The picture was taken from 'National Trust prints, posters and canvasses', <http://www.ntprints.com/image/348263/mrs-jordan-1801-by-john-russell-1745-1806-pastel-portrait-from-fenton-house-hampstead>, (Accessed Nov., 2013). Property of Fenton House in London, NTPL Ref. No. 78544. It is notable that all the surviving portraits of ladies playing harp lutes are actresses rather than society ladies; the reason is not known.

instructions matches the order of colour strings displayed in the painting: regarding the string arrangement, it was most likely tuned c-d-e-f-g-a-b-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g''. Despite the surviving instruments that are all ten-course arch-lute-guittars having three bass pairs and seven singles, the instrument in the painting seems to be a thirteen-string arch-lute-guittar tuned in C diatonic scale base. This may be explained if we consider that the arch-lute-guittar was primarily invented as thirteen-string instrument, and subsequently the three lowest strings became paired to be ten-course. Dismissing the lowest three, it could be tuned f-g-a-b-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'', which is exactly the same tuning that appears in one of the original instructions.[80] It is therefore probable that the arch-lute-guittars manufactured around 1801 had thirteen single strings, though no extant instrument is known to survive. In addition, the scale length of the surviving arch-lute-guittars that pass over the fingerboard are about 500mm, which is slightly longer than that of the ordinary violin (330mm) so that as with the harp-lute, most likely sounds at a sixth lower pitch than the written notations rather than octave lower.

In terms of construction, it is important to mention the variation of scale lengths in the extant arch-lute-guittars despite the same number of frets (twelve) in total. This seems to connect them to the successive series of Light's inventions. The longest scale length of the three examined instruments is that of the arch-lute-guitar by Buchinger MIMEd [306], which measures 506-507mm for the strings on the fingerboard and 900-901mm for the floating bass strings. This is followed by the Barry's MIMEd [307], 500-503mm long and 772mm.[81] The shortest scale of all is in the one by Harley in the V&A [W. 36-1917] - 475mm and 665-668mm. Interestingly, even Harley's instrument still has longer scale lengths than those of the harp-lute-guitars (about 445mm and 620mm).[82] Nonetheless, as the difference in the scale lengths relates to the space between the frets (the longer the scale length is, the wider the space), in practical terms, it affects the fingering. Perhaps a shorter scale was made for ladies, whose hands were smaller than

[80] Felice Chabran, Instructions For Playing upon the HARP GUITAR & LUTE, Containing a Selected Collection of Songs, Duets, Airs, Marches, RONDOS, DANCES & PRELUDES: Composed & adapted by F. CHABRAN, (London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis), MS., BLL [H.2348.j. (1)]. See more detail in Appendix i and viii.

[81] This instrument possesses two bridges (see more detail in Appendix i), and though both seem original, only the scale lengths from the fixed bridge to the nut are mentioned in order to compare the instrument with others in terms of consistency (the other two are both measured from the fixed bridge to the nut as they only had a fixed bridge).

[82] More details will be explained later in this chapter.

gentlemen's. It can therefore be said that there were variations in size depending on gender or age (the shorter scales might have been for children). Such intention in production can also be often seen in the earlier models of harp lutes, especially for harp-guitars.

Moreover, regarding the term 'Lute', around the same time Light also mentioned the harp-guitar in relation to its tone and size:

> '[…] [harp-guitar] comprises a combination of the pleasing, sounds of the real Harp, the Lute, and Lyre, with the accommodating difference of being very portable, of easy purchase, from its simple construction, is exceedingly easy to learn and to tune: it is allowed by the best judges to be superior to any other instrument of the kind […] and is, in the true sense of the words, MULTUM IN PARVO, or much in little.'[83]

In the advertisement, Light uses the two terms Lute and Lyre. According to his accounts, they were bigger than the harp-guitar, adding weight to the theory that the term 'Lute' indicated the arch-lute-guittar,[84] presumably meaning the kind with gut strings[85] otherwise known as 'guitar'.[86] Interestingly, he also mentioned 'Lyre' as early as 1800, but the Lyre in the advert was more likely a generic term designating the smaller size of harp (i.e. Irish harp etc.) rather than specifically referring to the Apollo Lyre, with its difficulty in learning compared to the harp-guitar.[87] Therefore, the terms 'Lute' and 'Lyre' used around earlier period of the nineteenth century, unless otherwise stated with specific accounts, were more likely of generic term indicating the gut-strung guitar-kind and smaller size of harp (respectively), thus neither the harp-lute nor the Apollo Lyre.[88]

---

[83] *Morning Herald* 8th September 1800. Similar accounts can be seen in successive advertisements. For instance, 'The Harp Guitar closely resembles the Harp, Lute, and Lyre…' in the *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* 15th November 1800.

[84] The arch-lute-guittar is apparently bigger in size than the harp-guitar.

[85] In England, the term Spanish guitar was not very common at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so Light used the generic term 'Lute' to indicate the gut-strung guitar-type of instrument such as the arch-lute-guitar and Spanish guitar, distinguishing them from guittars with wire strings.

[86] The term 'guitar' probably still meant the guittar with wire strings so Light probably used the term 'lute' to insist that the harp-guitar comprised the timbre of gut strings.

[87] The Apollo Lyre was tuned exactly the same way as the harp-guitar, so it could not have been more difficult to learn.

[88] Similar accounts can also be seen in other advertisements for instance 'The Harp Guitar closely resembles the Harp, Lute, and Lyre…' in *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* 15th November 1800.

In September 1800, he moved from Duke Street to No. 64, Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, in which he continued to sell harp-guitars and give lessons on the instrument and on others (pianoforte, singing etc.),[89] while continuing in musical instrument dealing.[90] Subsequently, at the beginning of the next year, from the same address, he made a significant announcement: '[…] he [Light] has got finished several of his new-invented, much admired Harp Guitars, and also Lutes upon an improved plan […]'.[91] The lutes described in this advert were probably a prototype of harp-lute-guitar, since its precursor, the arch-lute-guittar, more likely included in the Lutes described in Light's account, only differed from it in body shape, namely whether it had a soundbox (rounded back) or flat back.[92] There also is the possibility that this indicated an improved version of the Spanish guitar(s). Regardless of the identity of the instrument, the Lute was surely altered by Light since an account mentions 'E. Light, sole inventor of the Harp-Guitar, and improver of the Lute'.[93] Similarly, in the conventional manner of Light's marketing, in March, 1801, he simultaneously published 'a complete Book of Instructions for the Harp-Guitar, also for the Lute',[94] which might have been the same instructions as the ones by Chabran or anonymous.[95]

4.3 EMERGENCE OF COUNTERFEIT INSTRUMENTS

In July 1801, Light warns against counterfeit instruments in a newspaper advert (Fig 4.21):

[89] *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 19th September 1800.
[90] Light mentioned sales of musical instruments in an advert (*Morning Post and Gazetteer* 7th November 1800) in which his new address No. 64, Margaret Street was mentioned clearly.
[91] *The Morning Chronicle* 5th February 1801 and *The Times* 10th February 1801.
[92] This is only an interpretation, and exactly what instrument is indicated by 'Lutes on an improved plan' is so far uncertain. However, as he has constantly mentioned the instrument in successive newspaper adverts, e.g. in *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th February 1801, it must have indicated certain instruments of a Lute kind, which may have been a prototype of harp-lute-guitar or improved Spanish guitar(s).
[93] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 28th March 1801; also announced in an advert issued in *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 6th April 1801, with its price 5s.
[94] Ibid.
[95] See Chapter 2, Appendix iii and viii.



NEW INVENTED HARP GUITAR, &c.

PRECAUTION.—Mr. LIGHT, finding several Persons in London are now attempting to make Harp Guitars, in imitation of his much-admired new invented ones, feels it incumbent on him thus publicly to inform the Musical World, that any such imitations made, and now offered at Music Shops, are neither made, strung, tuned, nor played on, like his. Ladies and Gentlemen may therefore be assured that the real Harp Guitars are only to be had of him, No. 64, Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, which

Fig 4.21: Precaution against counterfeit harp-guitars by Light.[96]

This advertisement is significant, in that it not only suggests the existence of harp-guitars that were not made and sold under the inspection of Light, but also that this in turn indicates the growing popularity of the harp-guitar in London. He mentioned that the harp-guitars sold in music shops were counterfeit instruments, and it is therefore possible that the instrument by Clementi & Co. in the V&A and Phipps and Co. in MIMEd are examples of them. As no Light inscription is found on the eight-stringed harp-guitar with ten pegs, it may not be a genuine harp-guitar by Light. Unfortunately, due to insufficient evidence, modifications, and the existence of so many anonymous harp-guitars, identifying counterfeit instruments is remarkably hard and should only be confined to assumptions in this thesis.

Regarding the uncertainty in identifying genuine harp-guitars, Light, as he always did in his advertisements, emphasises the exclusiveness of sales: '[…] The real Harp Guitars are only to be had of him, No. 64, Margaret-Street, Cavendish-Square'. To protect the identity of the genuine instrument, the easiest way to inscribe the maker's or inventor's name, so that in this way all instruments not bearing the inscription either of Barry or Light would be deemed counterfeit harp-guitars.

[96] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 3rd July 1801. He also continued to give 'precautions' in newspaper adverts together with his sales of harp-guitar, using phrases like '…Some other persons are attempting to imitate them [harp-gutitars] but the real Harp-Guitar can be had only as above [his address]'- *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 14th September 1801.

4.4 FAILURE OF NEW INVENTION: DIPLO-KITHARA

At the beginning of 1802, Light's business in harp-guitar retailing seems to have been going very well, and the stock of harp-guitars in his possession at his residence became nearly empty, as he mentions: 'The purchase very small to be had of the Inventor only […]'.[97] Around this time, Light started to describe himself in newspapers as 'Music Professor and Inventor of Harp Guitars'.[98]

Before long, following his success in the distribution of harp-guitars, he invented a new instrument, the 'Diplo-Kithara', and announced it to the London public in February that year:

> '[…] he has just invented an Instrument called the Diplo-Kithara, being a kind of Harp of a new form and principle and that has the power and effect of the best kind of other Harps, and not near one quarter the expense in the purchase; it is very light and portable, keeps well in tune and, like the Harp Guitar, is very easy to lean'.[99]

As Light said, it was a new kind of harp, differing in form from the series of harp lutes discussed in this thesis. In a series of newspaper advertisements, Light added a supplementary term in brackets – '(or small Double Harps)[100] – after the name Diplo Kitharas. Soon after the invention, Light moved to No. 34, Queen Ann-Street, Portland Chapel, and perhaps because of this there seems to have been no further advertisements of the Diplo Kitharas in any public newspaper, which might be one of the reasons (along with the unusual name) that this instrument failed to win the affection of the public, despite Light's attempts to promote it.[101] Only advertised over a certain period,[102] Light's second invention did not achieve as much commercial success as the harp-guitar, and perhaps because of this, we unfortunately cannot so far identify what

---

[97] *The Morning Chronicle* 20th January 1802.
[98] This can be seen in *The Morning Chronicle* 22nd January 1802.
[99] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 27th February 1802.
[100] *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* 28th April 1802.
[101] From April, he resumed advertising the Diplo Kithara in public newspapers but it seems not to have gone down well with the public.
[102] From February to around July, 1802, when the term 'Diplo Kithara' was used; it seems to have been on sale afterwards but under the name 'small harp'.

the instrument was like or confirm whether any of them survive. From the account in the newspaper, we only can surmise that the instrument was not like harp lutes,[103] but more similar to the harp. Additionally, though he claimed in the advert in February 'THE New Patent DIPLO-KITHARA', there was no registration of such an instrument in the British patent documents from 1801 to 1802.[104] Furthermore, the Diplo-Kithara seems to have consistently been sold from his residence, under the name 'small harp', and in 1804 could be purchased for five guineas.[105]

4.5 BIRTH OF THE HARP-LUTE-GUITAR AND THE TERM 'APOLLO LYRE'

In 1803, there occurs some confusion regarding Light's invented instruments, as more new terms concerned with his production emerged. It is therefore important to classify them. First of all, around that year, the term 'harp-lute-guitar' seems to have appeared in public newspapers, as one account shows '[…] It is here only that the fashionable, much admired Harp-Lute-Guitars, and improved Lyres, &c. are to be had […]'.[106] This is the earliest account so far confirmed where Light publically mentions the term 'harp-lute-guitar'. Even more interestingly, he also refers to 'improved Lyres'. In addition, his son Thomas Light provides more new terms in an advertisement showing the same address as Light's residence '[…] Musical Instruments, the best in purchase, most in fashion, and cheap in price […] to be DISPOSED OF are […] a fine Apollo's Lyre […] Harp Lutes […]'.[107] This clearly suggests the emergence of the term 'Apollo Lyre', now associated with the ones we commonly recognise, and Harp Lutes in the plural, which probably meant a generic term involving similar kinds. Subsequently,

[103] If the instrument involved an element either of Lute (guitar-like form) or Lyre (small harp or something like the Apollo Lyre), he should have used either term, but neither term was applied in the supplementary term. As he calls it 'Double Harp', it seems to have been rather similar in principle to the form of the harp than the harp lutes.
[104] Researched on Woodcroft (1854) and (1871). From this point of view, 'Patent' presumably meant 'New' as with the contemporary manner seen in the nineteenth century, which did not always meant the item was officially patented. Discussion with Dr. Darryl Martin in 2011.
[105] An advert in The Morning Post (London, England), Wednesday, September 12 mentioned '[…] a very small, new constructed Harp, well adapted for travelling, or any young lady to learn on, price but five guineas […]'.
[106] *The Morning Post* 7th October 1803.
[107] *The Morning Post* 16th November 1803.

Light gave a further announcement:

> '[…] the following portable, newly invented, elegant, very fashionable, and much admired instruments which sound like the real Harp, and which are exceedingly easy and soon learned to play on – those are the Harp-Lute, the Ten-stringed Lyre, the Harp-Guitar, and the very small real Harp, the whole invented and improved by Mr. E. LIGHT […]'[108]

To summarise, we know from the aforementioned discussions what is meant by 'Harp-Guitar' and the 'small real Harp' (probably was Diplo Kithara). However, the rest needs to be reconsidered and compared with the other accounts and extant instruments. Firstly, the 'Harp-lute' probably meant the same instrument indicated in Thomas's advertisement for the 'harp-lute-guitar', and was presumably an improved version of the harp-guitar with added bass strings (creating a total of eleven) (Fig 4.22) The instrument was tuned g-c'-d'-e'-f'-g'-a'-b'-c''-e''-g'',[109] which differs in the bass arrangement from the arch-lute-guittar[110] with the top three strings remaining the same. After the issue of this advert, Light frequently used the term 'Harp Lute', not including 'harp guitar'.[111] Though Light mentioned the Apollo Lyre, the main sales of instrument did not happen until 1807.

[108] *The Morning Post* 6th December 1803.
[109] The tuning is described in Att. Edward Light, 'A short account of the newly Invented HARP-LUTE-GUITAR', MS., BLL [e.138.j (1)].
[110] Retaining the low g and, instead of having the low notes of a-b or g-a-b, it used the C major diatonic scale starting from c'. This meant more high notes became available in the diatonic scale as open strings.
[111] For instance in 1804, an advert showed '[…] Harp Lute, Lyre, Harp Guitar, and Pedal Harp Taught […]', *The Morning Post* 5th April 1804.



Fig 4.22: Harp-lute-guitars (presumably the instrument indicated in Thomas Light's adverts and also in Edward's as 'Harp-Lute').[112]

Secondly, as the only ten-stringed instrument amongst surviving harp lutes and relatives is considered to be the arch-lute-guittar, it is therefore possible that Light renamed it the 'ten-stringed Lyre' since from around this time Light tended to apply the term 'Lyre' to gut-strung plucked instruments with the back flattened, such as the Apollo Lyre and the bass-lyre, distinguishing them from the 'Lute' which employs a vaulted soundbox instead.

In 1804, an advert clearly mentions 'newly invented fashionable and much admired Harp Lutes, elegant little Instruments, made to sound like the Real Harp'.[113] More detailed accounts are seen here:

> '[…] The much admired newly invented HARP-LUTE, which sounds like the real harp, and meets such distinguished approbation, being found the most agreeable, convenient, and compleatest little instrument every yet produced in this country, are vey pleasing alone and accompany the pianoforte, the harp, or any other instrument, and the voice,

[112] Pictures from left: MFA [17.1770] and HMS [C-0030].
[113] *The Morning Post* 5th April 1804.

very charmingly […]'[114]

'[…] The newly-invented Harp Lutes, elegant little instruments, which sound like real harps, first in fashion, and greatly admired by all who see and hear them, and what renders them yet more desirable is their portable convenience, and being so very easy and soon learnt to play on, that Ladies at any period of life can, in the short space of a month or two, acquire, of all others, the most rational an agreeable entertainment at home, at a small expence, and without seeking it aboard, The Harp Lutes to be had only of Mr. Light […]'[115]

The term 'Harp Lute' in those accounts seems to have indicated the harp-lute-guitar (eleven strings with a theorbo-like neck) rather than the harp-lute (with a pillar and brass tuning pins). This gradually became the plural 'Harp Lutes' involving instruments such as harp-guitars. Though there was still confusion in terms of terminology, another advert mentioned 'the newly invented, fashionable greatly admired Harp Lute Guitars, elegant little instruments', which presumably means Harp Lutes, and therefore involved other kinds (the harp-lute-guitar and the harp-guitar). The variation in terminology occurred perhaps because of the introduction of the harp-lute-guitar, and the fact that the harp-lute did not yet exist, so that Light was able to apply the term 'harp lute' as a generic term for all kinds. Subsequently, he classified them as follows: '[…] Ladies who wish to learn the newly invented much admired Harp Lute [harp-lute-guitar], the Lyre [arch-lute-guittar], or Harp Guitar [harp-guitar][…]'.[116]

Based on the discussion above, we now see another advertisement which states '[…] THE newly-invented HARP LUTE GUITARS […] To be had only of Mr. LIGHT, the Inventor (at the small price of from two to ten Guineas) […]'.[117] It can therefore be assumed that all kind of harp lutes, including harp-guitar and harp-lute-guitar priced from two to ten guineas, were in stock at Light's residence.

[114] *The Morning Post* 27th June 1804.
[115] *The Times* 27th Aug 1804.
[116] *The Morning Post* 26th October 1804.
[117] *The Morning Chronicle* 3rd November 1804.

Additionally, along with such abovementioned accounts, Light never forgot his conventional business in sales of musical instruments from his residence.[118] Besides there is an advertisement published without mentioning the seller (only indicating the sales of harp lutes): '[…] Also two or three very charming GUITARS, which sound equal to a Harp […]',[119] which most likely indicates harp lutes or improved Lyres.

4.5.1 COMPARISON OF THE HARP-LUTE-GUITARS

As the harp-lute-guitar seems to have been introduced around 1803, more constructional aspects are presented here, providing comparisons amongst the extant instruments. First, a certain amount of surviving harp-lute-guitars are so far confirmed, with images by the author, and five selected instruments[120] are shown with general information in the table below (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Comparison of harp-lute-guitars

Entry no. [] & Inscriptions	Scale length	Body dimensions	Strings (total)	Picture
[No. 1] "LIGHT INVR/ BARRY MAKER" on painted ribbon above soundhole. (MFA: 17.1770)	(1st – 7th) 446-445mm (8th – 11th) 626-627mm	L = 446mm W= 355mm D = 140-51mm	11	

[118] e.g. *The Times* 27th Augst 1804, in which Light mentions '[…] his house [Light's], 34, Queen Anne-Street, by Portland Chapel. Where likewise at present is to be disposed of, a very excellent Piano Forte, with additional keys, for 18 guineas; also, a very neat fine-toned, small sized second-hand one, and such a one as is rare to be found, price 12 guineas; and a very fine-toned Pedal Harp, for only 16 guineas […]'. Interestingly, the Pedal Harp was one of the highest priced amongst them, evidently highlighting the significance of harp-guitars in terms of purchase value, despite a slight increase in 1801.

[119] *The Times* 27th August 1804 - an advertisement mainly for the purchase of musical instruments; Light's name is not mentioned, but his address of No. 34, Queen Ann-street, by Portland Chapel is printed, so it is possible that this was advertised by his son Thomas.

[120] The harp-lute-guitars that were examined by the author.

[No. 2] "[LIG]HT / INV[R]/ BAR[RY] / [M]AKER"[121] on painted ribbon above soundhole. **(MMS: F453)**	(1st – 7th) 447-443mm (8th – 11th) 609-608mm	L = 420mm W = 312mm D = 145-50mm	11	
[No. 3] "HARL[EY] / LONDON" London" on painted ribbon above soundhole. (HMS: C0030)	(1st – 7th) 441-443mm (8th – 11th) 622-623mm	L = 437mm W= 307 mm D = 150-65mm	11	
[No. 4] "HARLEY / MAKER" on painted ribbon above soundhole. (HML: 15.10.48/65)	(1st – 7th) 448-445mm (8th – 11th) 620mm	L = 435mm W = 305mm D = 153-55mm	11	

[121] As the soundhole seems to have been enlarged in the past, the inscription has partly varnished, but compared to the other surviving instruments, the complete inscription was "LIGHT INVER/BARRY MAKER".

[No. 5][122] "HARLEY / MAKER" on painted ribbon above soundhole. (V&A: 250-1882)	(1st – 7th) 440mm (8th – 11th) 620mm	L = 430mm W = N/A D = N/A	11	

*(L) = length, (W) = width at widest point and (D) = depth at deepest point – at the heel.

The harp-lute-guitar with eleven strings seems not to have been as successful with the public as the harp-guitar. Presumably because of this, so far only two types, the Light/Barry and the Harley, have been found. It is noteworthy that the maker Harley [123]was only engaged in the production of harp lutes over a certain period; instruments with his name hitherto identified are arch-lute-guittar, harp-lute-guitar and the Apollo Lyre. As mentioned, interestingly, the latter two instruments were more or less simultaneously introduced to the public (1803 and 1807 respectively) while the arch-lute-guittar was popularly played between 1800 and 1803. This period corresponds to Harley's exclusive engagement in the production of harp lutes, namely between 1800 and 1811.[124] Afterwards, his participation in the harp lute market was somewhat limited. As Harley's name has never appeared alongside Light's in any of the inscriptions on instruments, he was either a part-time contractor or imitator,[125] while Barry was Light's official contractor, manufacturing two different models. Therefore, it is likely that Harley's harp-lute-guitars differed from those of Light/Barry in the position of the neck at the bodies, which were attached off- or on-centred (Harley and Light/Barry respectively). Additionally, Harley's instruments usually featured a representative rose

[122] All measurements were taken form Baines (1968: 66). Images for this instrument were all taken by the author.
[123] Dan Warner Harley. Not many are known about him, little information found within the research is provided in Chapter 5.2.5.
[124] The period when the three instruments were vigorously advertised in public newspapers.
[125] There is no documentary evidence of any contact between Harley and Light.

motif surrounding the Prince of Wales' feathers and two trumpets.[126] Thanks to less successful marketing, the two types were easily distinguishable (Fig 4.23). It would seem that no other type existed, meaning there were not as many counterfeit harp-lute-guitars as that of harp-guitars.



Fig 4.23: (Left) by Harley ([No. 5]) with an off-centred neck and the representative rose motif; (Right) by Light/Barry ([No.1]) with a centred neck.

Similarly, compared to harp-guitars, a smaller number of unlabelled harp-lute-guitars have survived and, regardless of maker, in most cases they bear the inscription on the ribbon decorated above the soundhole (Fig 4.24). Interestingly, despite the common part of the inscription, the design of the ribbon varies quite significantly, with almost all

[126] There seems to have been no other harp lutes, including the Apollo Lyre, featuring such a design. The online catalogue of the V&A suggests that 'The 'Prince-of-Wales' feathers, which form the rose, may refer to Princess Charlotte (1796 - 1817), the Prince Regent's only daughter and an enthusiast of such instruments' <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58979/harp-lute-guitar-harley/>, (Accessed, 2012), which probably suggested a possibility that Harley supplied the harp-lute-guitar to the Princess Charlotte.

having a different style.[127] The reason is not known.



[No.1]



[No.2]



[No.3]



[No.4]



[No.5]

Fig 4.24: Inscriptions on harp-lute-guitars bearing on the ribbon decorated on top of the soundhole.

For the most representative part of the harp lutes, the soundbox, there can be observed a preference by makers for a simpler construction, particularly compared with the precursor harp-guitars (Fig 4.25).

[127] Most likely decorations were painted in picture frame makers' workshop.



[No.1] [No.2] [No.3] [No.4] [No.5]

Fig 4.25: Designs of harp-lute-guitar soundboxes.

Examining the extant instruments, the obvious feature of the soundbox design is in a semi-conical form with the flattened centre-stave. Interestingly, thereafter and until the introduction of the last model, the dital-harp, the common semi-conical shaped soundbox represented by the earlier types of harp-guitar was not used. Additionally, as we can see, one extant harp-guitar amongst the specimens featured a design with seven staves in a conical shape that was also applied to the harp-lute-guitar [No.1], and would later be the most common construction for later models. It seems to have been economical and easier in making the soundbox if makers used a style like [No. 1] since it removed the need for the procedure of bending the staves, which in turn meant no need for a solid mould like that used for constructing harps.[128]

Furthermore, by using narrower pieces of wood, the scraps that had been thrown away were able to be reused for constructing new instruments, and being painted or stained in finish, they were all usable, no matter what figures were shown on the wood. In turn, the design, like that of the eighteenth-century-style French harps, seems to have gone against contemporary trends and preferences of harp enthusiasts and makers in London that was a conical form without any corners.[129] This probably means that, since the

[128] Please see the discussion in Chapter 7.
[129] Please see Chapter 7.

invention of the harp-lute-guitar, Light prioritised economical use of material over the use of valuable material.

Regarding the form of the neck, the two styles may be more concisely distinguished; the Light/Barry usually employs a wider neck while the Harley's being narrower. For the width at the heel, the former measures, 95mm [No.1] 81mm [No.2], while the latter measures 74mm [No.3] and 74.5mm [No.4].

As shown in the comparison, the Light/Barry instruments vary in size (scale length of open basses and body), whereas the Harleys are more or less standardised. For instance, [No.1] is apparently longer (626-627mm) and bigger (446mm long and 355mm wide) than [No.2], whose scale length is between 608 and 609mm, with a 420mm long and 312mm wide body. These measurements are coincidentally quite similar to those of Harley. This probably means that there was, as with the harp-guitar, a variation in size in harp-lute-guitars by Light and Barry in order to physically suit all types of customer, hence why the adverts were aimed at different groups.

Regarding the development of the shape, it may be natural that Harley's off-centred neck to some extent gave Light ideas in the creation of the next generation (the harp-lute) with the addition of a Greek/Roman style pillar in the empty space on the bass side of the body. Accordingly, the hole seen on the fingerboard (e.g. [No.3]) was very much a later addition, coming after the introduction of the hole on a certain model of harp-lute (Fig 4.26). To sum up, despite minor dissimilarities amongst the examined instruments, it is most likely that only two types (Light/Barry or Harley style) of the harp-lute-guitar were constructed and marketed. More importantly, however, in those constructional aspects there can be glimpsed some connections to the creation of Light's next generation, the 'harp-lute'.

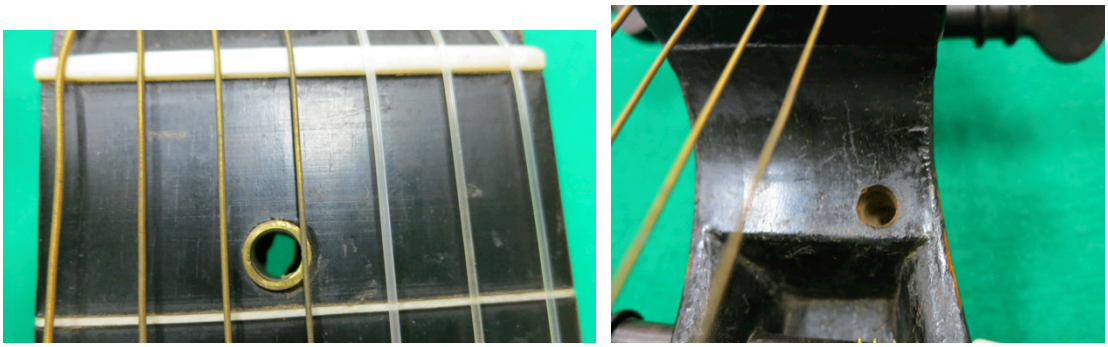


Fig 4.26: Holes on the harp-lute-guitar [No.3]: one for the stop (capotasto) (left) and the other for the holder (right). These holes commonly featured in a certain type of harp-lute.

4.5.2 CUSTOMERS FOR THE HARP-LUTE-GUITAR AND SEASONS

Around the time the harp-lute-guitar was introduced, Light had gradually been focusing more on ladies as the main customers for his instruments. An advert in 1805 stated: '[…] Mr. Light hopes Ladies (that yet have not) will do him the favour before leaving town for the season) to see and hear his greatly-admired, newly invented HARP LUTES […]'.[130] This account is also interesting and important in the way he advertised during the time of year when the harp market was most inactive[131] by publicising the advantage of their portability. Light's publicity adapted well to the social activity of the winter season, and he announced (in cooperation with his sons) that '[…] Young Ladies, during the ensuring vacation, may be advantageously instructed, by E. Light and Sons'.[132] It seems that business in the winter season, when the highest sales of the instruments were expected,[133] was more cooperatively run with help from his family.

4.5.3 NEW INVENTION: LYRE HARP

In the end of 1805, Light presented a new term, the newly invented 'LYRE HARP', together with the conventional term 'Harp Lutes'[134] with a description of their

[130] *The Morning Post* 10th June 1805 and *The Morning Post* 18th June 1805.
[131] Figure 3.9 of Nex's thesis (2013: 114) clearly shows the drop in sales at Erard's workshop in May and June 1812.
[132] *The Times* 24th December 1805.
[133] See A Figure 3.9 of Nex's thesis (2013: 114).
[134] *The Morning Post* 29th November 1805 and *The Times* 30th November 1805.

advantages similar to that seen in previous adverts (i.e. sound of the harp, easy to learn etc.). This seems to indicate, as discussed before, the Apollo Lyre. This advert continued to appear in public newspapers, but with the term 'Lyre Harps' (plural) or simply 'Lyre'[135] until 1806,[136] always together with the promotion of harp lutes. Perhaps due to the introduction of the Lyre Harp(s) the price range increased to between five and ten guineas but included a handsome case[137] that actually exceeded the prices of guittars.

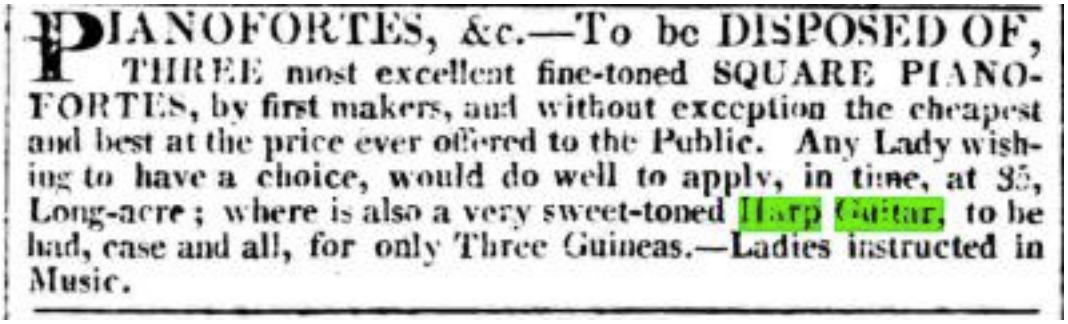
4.5.4 PRE-GOLDEN AGE

At the beginning of 1806, Light seems to have been preparing to move house. An advert reads: 'Valuable LEASEHOLD HOUSES, Queen Ann-street, East By Mr. WILLOCK […] by order of the Executors of Mr. Carr, in 3 lots […] – Lot 2. Another excellent House, adjoining, and being No. 34, in Queen Ann-street, East, in the occupation of Mr. Light, music master, on lease'.[138] However, it was not until the summer of 1807 that he finally left the house and settled in his most well-known address, 8 Foley Place, Portland Chapel (or Cavendish Square).[139] Interestingly, as a music professor, Light helped one of his female pupils who sought the position of governess in a Gentleman's house, since an advertisement indicates his address for letters to be sent to her.[140]

As the increase in the popularity of harp lutes led to some being sold outside of Light's control. For instance, in 1806 a harp-guitar could be purchased at 35, Long-acre for three guineas, which does not match Light's price range (five to ten guineas) or address (Fig 4.27). Additionally, the following year a harp-guitar with a case was sold from a different address (29, Brook-street, Holborn) for seven guineas,[141] despite the possibility of those harp-guitars being second-hand. The term harp-guitar was quite well established in public, and undoubtedly a certain amount of harp-guitars were sold in the

[135] *The Morning Post* 27th December 1806.
[136] *The Morning Post* 27th May 1806 and *The Morning Chronicle* 27th May 1806.
[137] *The Morning Post* 11th June 1806.
[138] *The Morning Chronicle* 5th February 1806, *The Morning Post* 22nd February 1806 and *The Morning Post* 26th February 1806.
[139] *The Morning Post* 7th April 1807. This is, from the newspaper advertisements the author has seen, the earliest the address 8 Foley Place was presented in public documents.
[140] *The Morning Post* 20th February 1806.
[141] *The Morning Post* 7th April 1807.

musical instrument market without Light's approval.



PIANOFORTES, &c.—To be DISPOSED OF, THREE most excellent fine-toned SQUARE PIANO-FORTES, by first makers, and without exception the cheapest and best at the price ever offered to the Public. Any Lady wishing to have a choice, would do well to apply, in time, at 35, Long-acre; where is also a very sweet-toned Harp Guitar, to be had, case and all, for only Three Guineas.—Ladies instructed in Music.

Fig 4.27: Advertisement for a harp-guitar that does not match Light's production.[142]

[142] *The Morning Post* 27th March 1806.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE HEIGHT OF PROSPERITY

5.1 NEW INVENTION: THE APPOLO LYRE

After moving to Foley Place, Light seems to have begun to concentrate on sales of the Apollo Lyre (probably the same instrument from the newspaper advert in 1805 called the 'Lyre Harp') and the harp-lute. By the end of the year 1807, both instruments were appearing consistently in newspapers: '[…] The new-invented HARP LUTE and the APOLLO LYRE […] Are only to be had of Mr. E. Light, (Inventor) at his house, No. 8 Foley Place, Cavendish-square […]'[1] or 'NEW INVENTED HARP-LUTE […] No. 8, Foley Place, Cavendish-square, where only can be had, the new invented HARP-LUTE and APOLLO-LYRES […]'.[2] From these accounts, it can be assumed that full-scale sales of the Apollo Lyre began around the middle of 1807 (its prototype had already been formed) and that this was most likely to have been Light's invention. What follows is a comparison of surviving instruments.

Today, there is a small number of surviving Apollo Lyres. They vary in certain ways, and four makers/entrepreneurs have so far been identified: the makers Barry, Harley and R. Wornum, and entrepreneurs Clementi & Co. (Fig 5.1). It must be noted that strangely none of them bear Light's inscription seen on the other harp lutes, which has led to debate as to whether he was the genuine inventor. From the author's perspective, however, newspaper evidence and comparison of surviving instruments suggests he was.

[1] *The Morning Post* 1st December 1807.
[2] *The Morning Post* 11th December 1807.

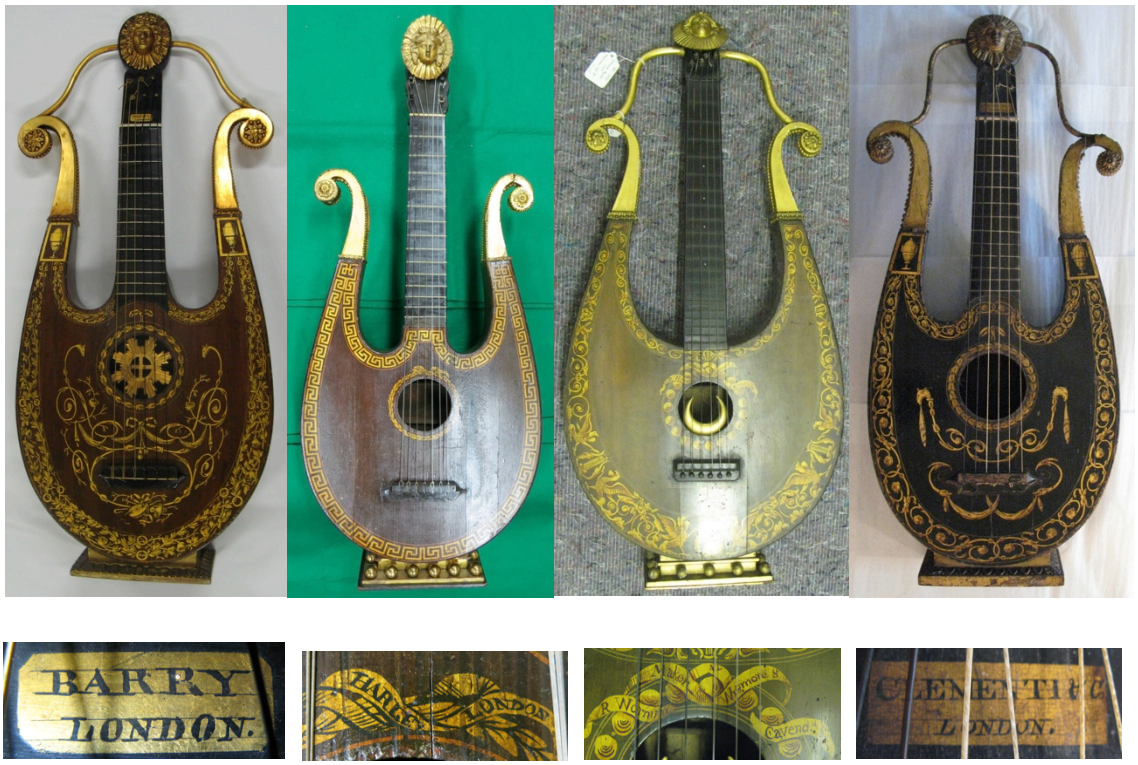


Fig 5.1: Apollo Lyres by four different makers/entrepreneurs.[3]

5.1.2 COMPARISON OF THE EXTANT INSTRUMENTS

Due to time constraints, access, budget, the rarity of the extant instruments, not enough data was taken during the research. Nonetheless, below are presented brief outcomes so far found through comparing the specimens, some of which were seen by the author and others were examined through images and accompanying data.

5.1.3 APOLLO LYRES BY BARRY

To begin with, three Apollo Lyres by Barry, who most likely supplied the instruments to Light, have so far been found (MAT [A318], DMC [173][4] and BSH [No.7]). They

[3] From left to right: Barry, MAT [A3180]; Harley, HMS [C0031]; Wornum, V&A [891-1875]: Clementi & Co., DCK [MI/A13].

[4] The information was kindly given by Poulopoulos, along with a front image. However, the author did not examine the instrument and has so far obtained little data on it. There seems to be a joint inscription by Buchinger/Barry. As we know, some other harp lutes with such inscriptions exist, so it is probably authentic, but there is not enough evidence to claim this for certain.

appear to have distinctive characteristics when compared to other makers'/entrepreneurs' models, except the last one which probably contains some modifications.[5] Although only an image of the DMC [173] is available, it seems to have been jointly manufactured by Buchinger/Barry. The first two are relatively similar in style (Fig 5.2), and below we shall present common characteristics between them which may be of use for distinguishing or identifying Apollo Lyres made in Barry's workshop.[6]



Fig 5.2: Two Apollo Lyres by Barry (left) and Buchinger/Barry (right).[7]

[5] Examined by the author, one (BSH [No.7]) appears to have been modified (the scrolls, head and holes on the bridge).

[6] The analysis presented here is based on a survey of a very small number of extant instruments, so may need revising or modifying should further instruments come to light.

[7] The picture on left is of the Barry stored in the MAT (examined by the author), and the other on the right is by DMC [173]. The latter's picture was provided by Poulopoulos and had been given to Poulopoulos by the museum curator. The Apollo Lyre on the picture is very important for discussion in this section, and so is displayed here.

First, the two instruments have ‘extra arms’ probably made of iron with gilding on the mounted plaster (Fig 5.3) or sometimes simply gilded wood, which may be of use for distinguishing it from the ones manufactured by Harley since they usually did not use them. However, the other two makers and entrepreneurs typically attached these to their instruments.



Fig 5.3: Rusted extra arm made of iron attached to the DCK [MI/A13] by Clementi and Co., on which can clearly be seen the layers of plaster and gilding.

Second, the manner of attaching the ‘finial’, on which an iconic gilded face of Apollo is usually mounted, may be useful when trying to distinguish Barry’s instruments. This is usually made from one piece, is extended from the head, and then integrated (Fig 5.4). The style is perhaps typical of Barry, especially in comparison to other makers, but except the entrepreneur, Clementi and Co., some of whose Apollo Lyres also use possess such a feature.



Fig 5.4: Barry's integrated finial with the head made from one piece.[8]

Thirdly, the brass tuning pins are a noteworthy feature, since none of the harp lutes introduced before the Apollo Lyre or the harp-lute had them. Even harp tuning pins for guitar-styled instruments were not traditionally used; commonly, wooden tuning pegs or specifically mechanical tuning machines (primarily used by the guittar or tromba marina) were used. Although Barry was not the only harp lute maker using those pins, this can also be useful in distinguishing his instruments from Harley's. Furthermore, Barry's Apollo Lyres typically have six pins, making it a six-stringed instrument (Fig 5.5).

[8] MAT [A3180].

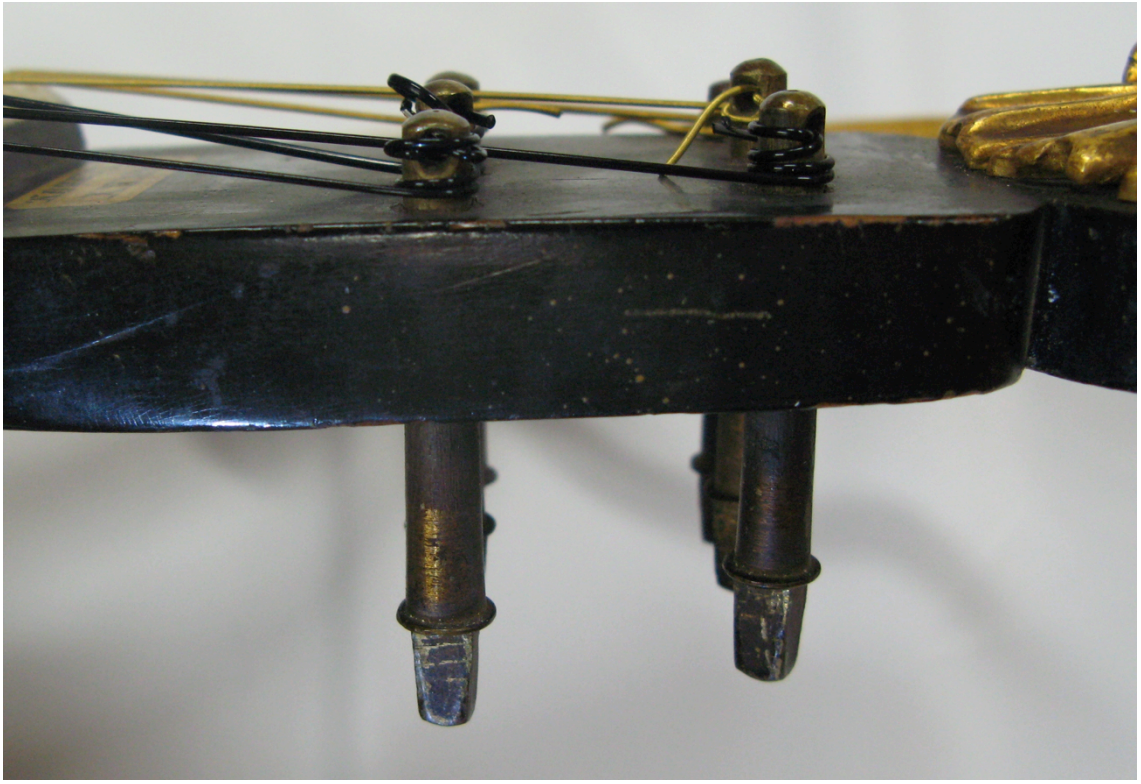


Fig 5.5: Harp brass tuning pins used in Barry's Apollo Lyre (usually six in total).[9]

Fourthly, the two specimens have twelve frets in total, which was intriguingly similar to the other standard harp lutes, including harp-guitars, harp-lute-guitars and harp-lutes. Additionally, the scale length (444mm to 446mm)[10] is remarkably similar to those by Barry and Light, while rather longer scale lengths were measured in the other makers' Apollo Lyres, again except those by Clementi and Co.

Unlike the two specimens, the one in BSH [No.7] (Fig 5.6) shows slightly different features. For instance, it does not have extra arms or an integrated finial (currently missing). It seems, in its original state, to have had a movable finial made separately from the head, typically is seen on Harley's or Wornum's instruments.

[9] MAT [A3180].
[10] The measurements taken from MAT [A3180].



Fig 5.6: Barry's Apollo Lyre in the BSH with pencil inscriptions on the inside of the back.

Moreover, though very unusual in harp lute manufacturing, pencil marks 'Barry / Maker' are found on the inside of the back (Fig 5.6), which strongly suggests this was made by Barry. It is also notable that, unlike other Apollo Lyres, the scrolls are pyramidal in shape and seem to be original; only one other in a similar style was identified amongst surviving instruments, as far as the author knows.[11] Likewise, the back has a hole (Fig 5.7), which is unusual compared with the others, although it is commonly seen on similar kinds with extra floating bass strings, known as 'bass-lyres'.

[11] The one in the Liverpool Museum [1967.161.46] once appeared in the exhibition catalogue in Rushton (1994). The information was primarily kindly given by Poulopoulos.



Fig 5.7: Back of the BSH [No.7] (left) with a hole and the MAT [A318] (right) with no hole.

The wooden pegs may have replaced brass pins whose holes are currently filled (Fig 5.8). The bridge seems to have originally tied seven strings,[12] though there are presently twelve holes, some of which were probably later additions or modifications (Fig 5.9).

[12] Though the current bridge has more than seven holes, some of them were probably later additions and in its original condition it is likely to have been a seven stringed instrument.



Fig 5.8: The head of BSH [No.7][13] with the original holes filled.



Fig 5.9: The bridge of BSH [No.7] with additional holes (modification).

Furthermore, the seemingly original neck is extremely long and probably the longest amongst the surviving harp lutes that the author has ever examined. It is 620 to 660mm (bass and treble respectively) and it employs 'fourteen frets', rather similar to those made by Harley. More interestingly, the two Apollo Lyres by Barry employ a rose motif surrounding the Prince of Wales' feathers, a common feature of harp-lute-guitars by Harley but not of ones by Light/Barry. This may indicate a connection between Barry and Harley. Overall, the BSH [No.7] involves more features in common with the ones manufactured by Harley.

[13] BSH [No.7] and DMC [173].

5.1.4 HARLEY'S APPOLO LYRES



Fig 5.10: Harley's Apollo Lyres so far identified by the author.[14]

So far, three of Harley's Apollo Lyres have been found (Fig 5.10),[15] of which one in the HMS [C0031] was examined by the author (Fig 5.11).[16] As with his harp-lute-guitars, they seems to have been well standardised. It is instantly noticeable from the images that none of them have 'extra arms' and the 'plinths' attached to the three are all in the same design, with iconic gilded (or perhaps just painted gold) spheres.

[14] The picture of the HMS [C0031] (left) was taken by the author, while the other two were from auction catalogues Christies 17-May-1978 Lot: 31, p.10 (centre) and Christies 22-Nov-1977 Lot: 86 p.27 (right).
[15] HMS [C0031] (left) that was examined by the author and the other two were found in auction catalogues with at least one image and brief description of the instrument (i.e. inscription and total number of strings) for each, Christies 17-May-1978 Lot: 31 (centre) and Christies 22-Nov-1977 Lot: 86 (right).
[16] One in the HMS [C0031] and in the Christies may be the same instrument, but so far it is uncertain.



Fig 5.11: The Apollo Lyre in the HMS [C0031].

Another aspect of Harley's standardisation is the 'finial', in which most likely all three have the same style.[17] Differing from the Barry's integrated type, the finial was made separately from the head, partially covered the pegs in normal position and could be opened to give access to the pegs by tilting upwards so that it could pivot upon a hinge installed at top of the head, making it movable (Fig 5.12).

[17] As the finial of Christies 22-Nov-1977 Lot: 86 is missing, this is not a hundred per cent certain.

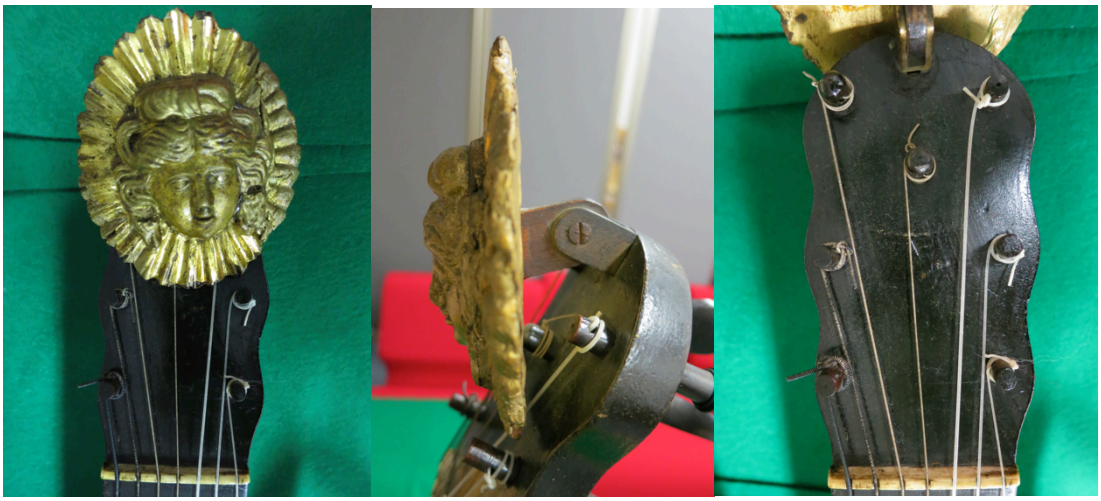


Fig 5.12: The movable finial common to Harley's Apollo Lyres,[18] could be in normal (left) and open (right) position by pivoting on the hinge installed at top of the head (centre).

In relation to the head, all of the extant Harley Apollo Lyres have seven 'wooden pegs', which is a fairly distinctive feature since he was probably the only maker who made them with seven strings (again except those sold by Clementi and Co). Interestingly, as seen in Barry's BSH [No.7], Harley's instruments also have 'fourteen'[19] or 'fifteen'[20] frets in total, which is of course relatively longer than the rest of Barry's Apollo Lyres. An example[21] shows 554 mm scale length. Moreover, the standardisation was not only seen in the parts described above but also on the inscription that, as with the earlier models, is usually found on the ribbon painted just above the soundhole (Fig 5.13).

[18] Picture is of HMS [C0031].
[19] HMS [C0031] and Christies 17-May-1978 Lot: 31.
[20] Christies 22-Nov-1977 Lot: 86.
[21] HMS [C0031].



Fig 5.13: Harley's inscription on the ribbon painted just above the soundhole.[22]

Peculiarly, all three have no rose on the soundhole, either missing or was not attached in the original – due to the insufficient number of specimens, this is uncertain. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that, no matter what similarity or dissimilarity may be seen amongst the surviving instruments, there is one aspect that largely differentiates between those by Barry and those by Harley, namely the form of the heel (Fig 5.14).

[22] HMS [C0031].



Fig 5.14: The heels of Apollo Lyres in Barry's MAT [A318] (Left) and Harley HMS [C0031] (right).

As seen from the pictures, Barry's heel is usually rounded smoothly, connecting to the profile of the cutaways. Therefore, seen from above, it shows a blurring of the borderline between the heel and the back, while the heel design seen on Harley's Apollo Lyres more visibly displays the boundary by carving the heel angled disconnected to the contour.[23] Barry's was in the style commonly seen on harp lutes, while Harley's design is usually found on nineteenth-century French style Spanish guitars.

Despite such a difference, when we consider the similarities between the Barry's BSH [No.7] and Harley's Apollo Lyres, there emerges the possibility that, due to the increasing demand for harp lutes, Harley became a subsidiary of Barry and manufacturered a certain model by order of the employer in his workshop. He would supply this to Barry or perhaps directly to Light, hence the standardised production of his harp-lute-guitars and Apollo Lyres.[24]

[23] This is because of space.
[24] This is just a possibility that has been considered by analysing the similarity between the two makers' instruments; it has to be regarded as hypothesis, as it is not supported by firm evidence.

5.1.5 APPOLO LYRES BY WORNUM

The Apollo Lyres produced by Wornum (Fig 5.15) have more features that make them more easily distinguishable from others. So far four[25] extant instruments have been found.



Fig 5.15: A typical Wornum Apollo Lyre and its inscription.[26]

[25] V&A [891-1875], HML [MT507-1998], NMS [A.1894.96] and ACM [1122].
[26] V&A [891-1875].

First of all, Wornum's Apollo Lyres have a distinctive body shape. Instead of curving back up to meet the neck, Wornum's body outline has a smooth curve moving up from the left to the right shoulder in a single line (Fig 5.16). Amongst the surviving instruments, this style was only seen on these. Even Clementi and Co. do not seem to have produced anything similar. Therefore, this part is useful in distinguishing them from others. However, this method is only valid for Apollo Lyres and not for the attribution of 'bass-lyres'.[27]

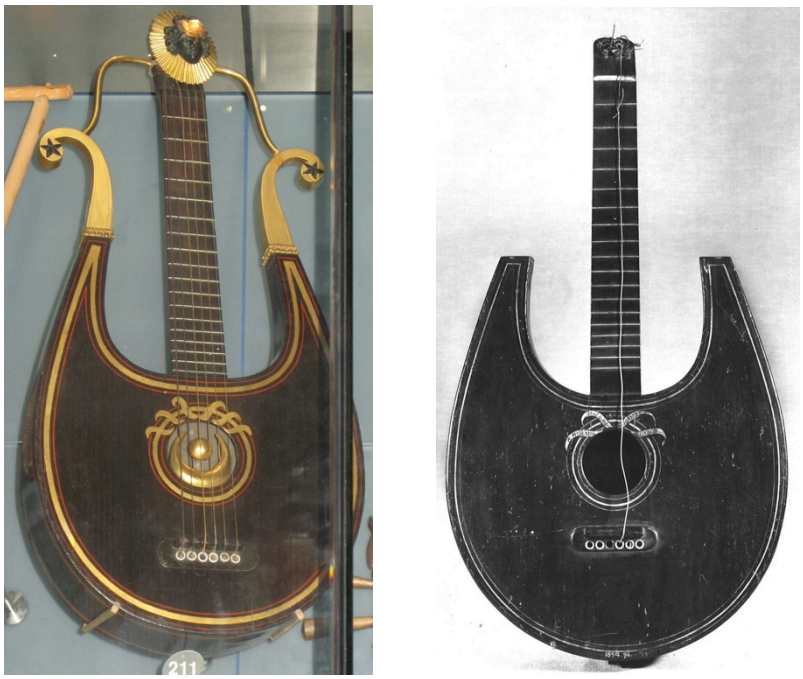


Fig 5.16: Other extant Apollo Lyres by Wornum in museums.[28]

The more oriental motif of a 'crescent moon' is exclusively seen on Wornum's Apollo Lyres (Fig 5.17).

[27] There is a bass-lyre whose body is made in the same form as the Wornum's, MBR [1884.11.2].
[28] (left) HML [MT507-1998] and (right) NMS [A.1894.96] – the picture was kindly given by Poulopoulos.



Fig 5.17: Wornum's representative 'crescent moon'.[29]

In relation to the form, abandoning cutaways enabled a greater number of frets to be installed (eventually reaching 'eighteen or twenty'[30] in total). The scale length remained slightly shorter than the Harley's – one example at the V&A [891-1875] is 540mm long.[31] Use of 'brass tuning pins', similar to Barry's, is also common to his instruments since none of the Apollo Lyres so far identified as Wornum's have wooden pegs. On the other hand, Wornum preferred to use a Harley-style finial (movable) but seems to have designed it to hide all the pins when in normal position (Fig 5.18), whereas Harley's only covered them partially due to the wooden pegs.

[29] (left) V&A [891-1875] and (right) HML [MT507-1998].
[30] Eighteen frets for V&A [891-1875] and twenty for HML [MT507-1998]. By examining the image, we can see that the NMS [A.1894.96] employs eighteen frets, but it has extra space capable of twenty. Nonetheless, variation in number of frets was found even in a small number of extant instruments, so there might have been more variety at the time when the instruments were actively used and manufactured.
[31] The measurement was taken from Baines (1968: 65).



Fig 5.18: Wornum's finial in normal position.[32]

Similarly, perhaps because they are long scale instruments, or through adapting to the increasing popularity of the Spanish guitar, the heels were also in the style of Harley (Fig 5.19).



Fig 5.19: The heel on Wornum's Apollo Lyre and a French-style Spanish guitar.[33]

Additionally, it is rather noteworthy that his Apollo Lyres always come with a pin bridge for six strings (Fig 5.20), a new construction influenced by Spanish guitars that seems to have spread coincidentally with the distribution of harp lutes. Light also used this type of bridge on his later models manufactured after 1816.[34]

---

[32] (left) V&A [891-1875] and (right) a heel of Spanish guitar made by Gerard (iron stamp) having a label of Pelzer (MIMEd [294]).
[33] V&A [891-1875].
[34] Harp lutes such as the British Lute Harp and dital-harp.

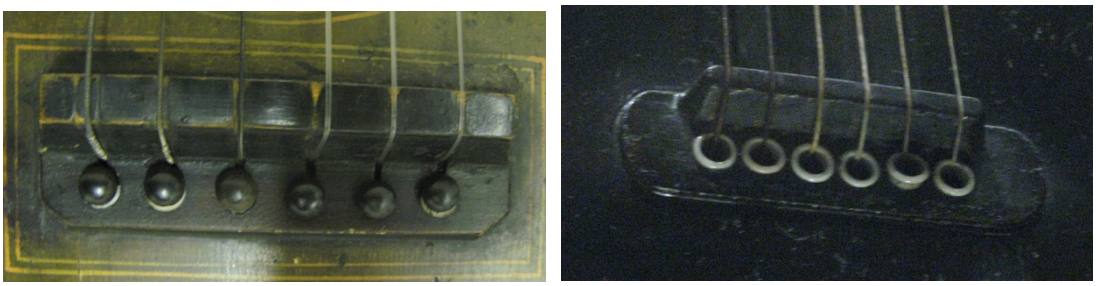


Fig 5.20: Pin Bridges attached to Wornum's Apollo Lyres.[35]

Perhaps, to make the instrument more practical or compatible with Spanish guitars, some Apollo Lyres by Wornum do not have the plinth that is usually attached to the bottom of the body. Furthermore, one of his Apollo Lyre carries brass frets (Fig 5.21), an unusual feature in harp lute manufacturing – they usually were of ivory. This seems rather similar in manner to Spanish guitar makers such as Panormo, who was resident in London and commonly used bar frets made of brass on his instruments.

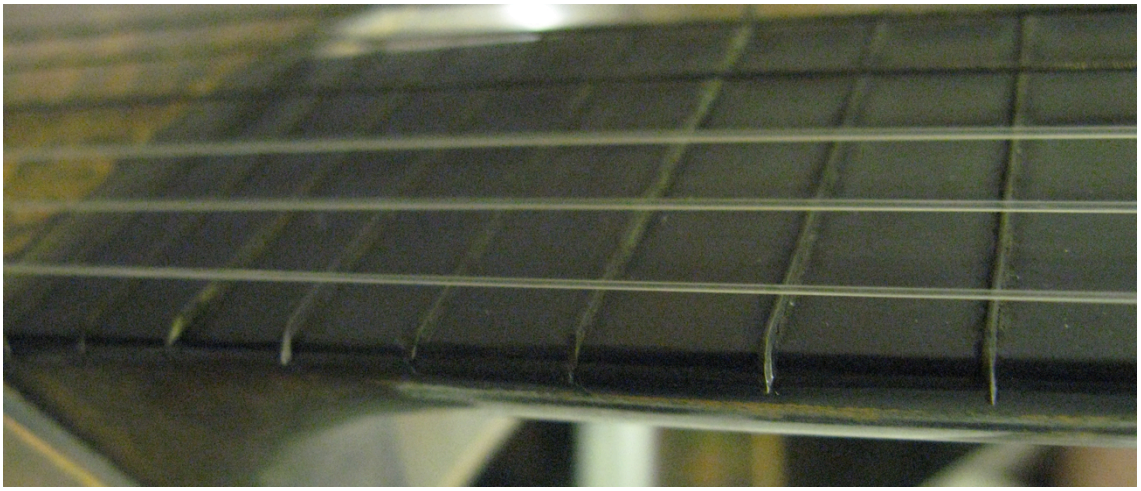


Fig 5.21: Bar frets made of brass installed on a Wornum Apollo Lyre[36] **– no physical evidence of modification was found in the examination.**

Additionally, unlike other harp lutes or even Apollo Lyres, one example bears a paper label inside the body, something commonly seen in Spanish guitars made in nineteenth-century Britain (Fig 5.22). This usually involved the maker's, shop's or even

[35] (left) V&A [891-1875] and (right) HML [MT507-1998].
[36] V&A [891-1875].

music teacher's name and details (i.e. address and occupation).



Fig 5.22: (left) Paper label found on a Wornum Apollo Lyre[37] and label of Madam Pratten attached to a Spanish guitar.[38]

To sum up these characteristics, Wornum's Apollo Lyres seem to be an updated version of Barry and Harley's instruments by combining the prominent parts to create a hybrid model influenced by the latest Spanish guitars, then viewed as mainstream guitars. Therefore, Wornum's Apollo Lyres were presumably introduced after Barry's and Harley's, and the Apollo Lyre was, as seen in Light's consecutive assertions appearing on his newspaper advertisements, a genuine Light invention created in cooperation with Barry and possibly with the part-engagement of Harley.

Nevertheless taking the analysis outcomes of Wornum's instrument into account, it is now easy to discriminate his instrument from surviving instruments. For instance, an Apollo Lyre that once appeared in an auction as 'by anonymous' (Fig 5.23) can be attributed to Wornum since it is rather obvious that it contains the characteristic features discussed above. However, due to limited access to the instruments, there are of course still uncertainties.

[37] V&A [891-1875].
[38] MIMEd [769].



Fig 5.23: Apollo Lyre that once appeared in an auction[39] – attributed to Wornum.

5.1.6 APOLLO LYRES BY CLEMENTI & CO.

In contrast to the makers discussed above, who created their original design of Apollo Lyres, Clementi and Co. (hereafter referred to as 'Clementi') were more like consumer and distributer, being supplied the instruments from makers such as Barry and Harley. Two main types can be identified amongst the surviving instruments bearing Clementi's inscription (Fig 5.24) (four have so far been found).[40]

[39] Sotheby's 23-Oct-1975 Lot: 41 and picture was taken from the catalogue page 9.
[40] DCK [MI/A13], RNCM [S8], LML [1967.161. 46] and private collection, Kuronen (2000: 54).



Fig 5.24: The two types (either Barry's or Harley's models) of Apollo Lyre sold by Clementi.[41]

Obviously, even by looking at the images (Fig 5.25), both of them are iconic Apollo Lyres built by Barry (left) and Harley (right), as seen by the integrated and movable finial, harp lute and Spanish guitar style heels, six and seven strings,[42] and the positioning of tuning pins – in parallel and vertical to the bridge (respectively).

[41] (left) DCK [MI/A13] and (right) RNCM [S8].

[42] One specimen, LML [1967.161. 46], currently carries only six strings, though examination of the image in Rushton's book (1994: 118) shows the seventh hole on the head seems to have been filled. Therefore, it was perhaps originally a seven-stringed instrument.



Fig 5.25: The two other surviving Clementi Apollo Lyres in the style of Harley.[43]

The instruments in the Harley style (Fig 5.25) are standardised to the original model,[44] and it is therefore easier to recognise common features. For instance, their plinths are provably identical, both carrying representative golden spheres (Fig 5.26). The one in the style of Barry,[45] however, have a plinth very similar to that seen on the MAT [A3180] but not the same – it would have varied similarly to Barry's (Fig 5.27).

[43] (left) Kuronen (2000: 54) – from which the picture was taken and (right) LML [1967.161. 46] –picture taken from Rushton (1994: 118).
[44] So far identified as Harley's style were RNCM [S8], LML [1967.161. 46] and private collection, Kuronen (2000: 54).
[45] DCK [MI/A13].

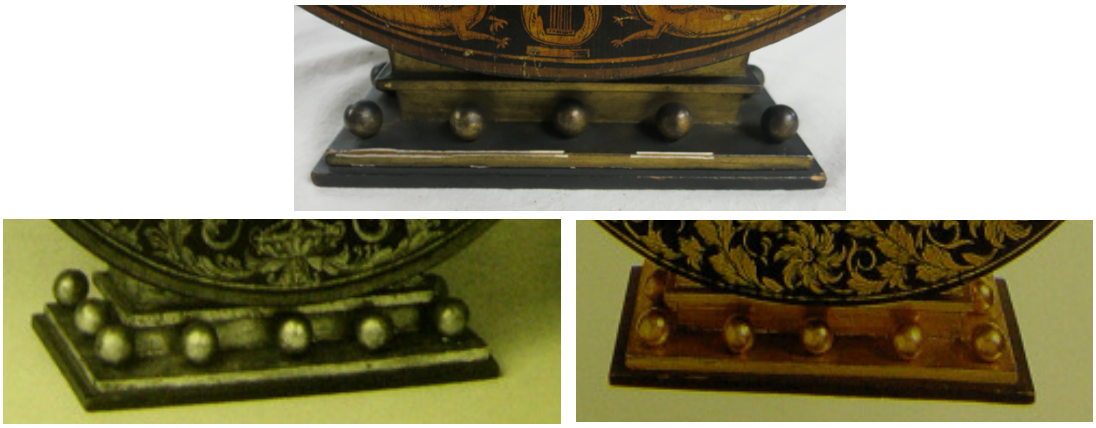


Fig 5.26: Plinths of Apollo Lyres by Clementi – they are all identical and in style of Harley.[46]

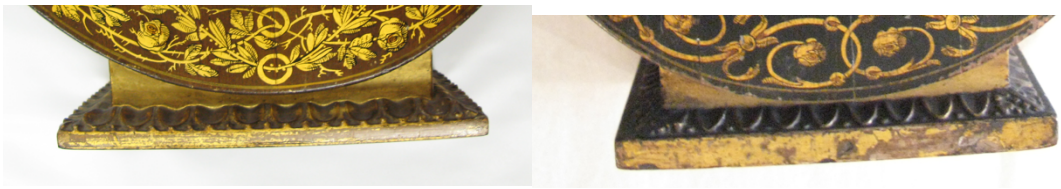


Fig 5.27: Plinths of Apollo Lyres by Barry (left) and Clementi (Right)[47] **– they are very similar but not exactly the same as we can see variation on Barry's Apollo Lyres.**

In addition, the variation in the total number of frets carried by the three is exactly the same as the authentic Harley's Apollo Lyres, either fourteen[48] or fifteen,[49] while identically to Barry's, twelve frets were installed on the one at DCK [MI/A13]. In scale length, they measure 560mm at the RNCM [S8] (fifteen frets), slightly longer than the Harley at HMS but more likely the same, whereas the one at DCK [MI/A13] is 447mm, corresponding to that of the Barry at MAT and of the earlier models of harp lutes – now we can clearly see the two different types: one longer and the other shorter in scale. The difference between the two is, however, significant – about 110 mm.[50] Looking at the specimens, it seems that the short scale ones were chiefly manufactured in Barry's workshop while Harley was engaged in manufacturing the long scale ones. This may explain the price range, which differed in size and degree of ornamentation;[51] different

[46] (above) RNCM [S8], Kuronen (2000: 54) and LML [1967.161. 46].
[47] MAT [A3180] and DCK [MI/A13] respectively.
[48] Kuronen (2000: 54).
[49] RNCM [S8] and LML [1967.161. 46].
[50] Compared to electric basses in modern times, the significance would have been like the difference between a Gibson EB-0L (long 34.5in – 876mm) and a Fender Mustang Bass (short 30in – 762mm).
[51] This will be explained more in detail later, the account was appeared on Trewman's Exeter Flying Post

sizes means most likely variation in scale lengths, as seen in the two models by Barry and Harley. If so, this means the two manufacturers supplied instruments to Light in cooperation.

Additionally, though this was not always the case, one specimen, the DCK [MI/A13], shows similar features to Barry's, not only in design and constriction but also in the inscription (Fig 5.28).

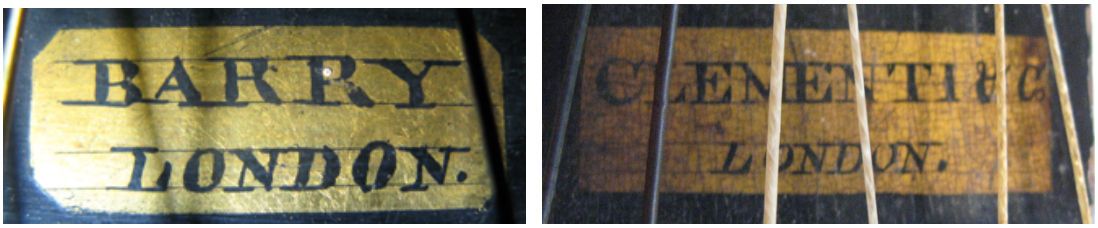


Fig 5.28: The two identical styles of inscription by Barry and Clementi.[52]

Examining the instruments from the perspective discussed above, there is a high probability that Clementi was supplied the instruments by the two makers (Barry and Harley), which, of course, suggest that not all instruments by other makers and retailers were counterfeit. The facts are hitherto uncertain, but it is unlikely that Clementi manufactured the Apollo Lyres or even other harp lutes in their workshop or manufactory.

What may be relevant to this conflict is that there can be observed some minor differences from Harley's instruments. For instance, although they are in the style of Harley, all three specimens employ extra arms, unlike any of the genuine ones. More interestingly, though placed vertically to the bridge as seen on the original model, the three in the Harley style carry brass pins instead of wooden pegs (Fig 5.29).

---

or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser (Exeter, England), Thursday, March 2, 1809.

[52] (left) MAT [A3180] and (right) DCK [MI/A13]. If the two were painted by the same painter is still uncertain but more likely.

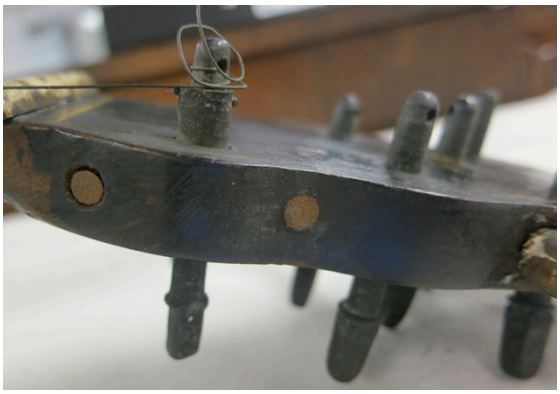


Fig 5.29: Brass tuning pins used in the model at RNCM [S8].[53]

Furthermore, although the one mentioned above had an inscription in the same manner as an original, apart from that none of the Clementi's Apollo Lyres were authentic in style (Fig 5.30), while Harley's inscriptions are always to be found on the ribbon above the soundhole.



Fig 5.30: The two types of inscription, (left) RNCM [S8] found above the soundhole,[54] **(right) Kuronen (2000: 54) found on the head.**

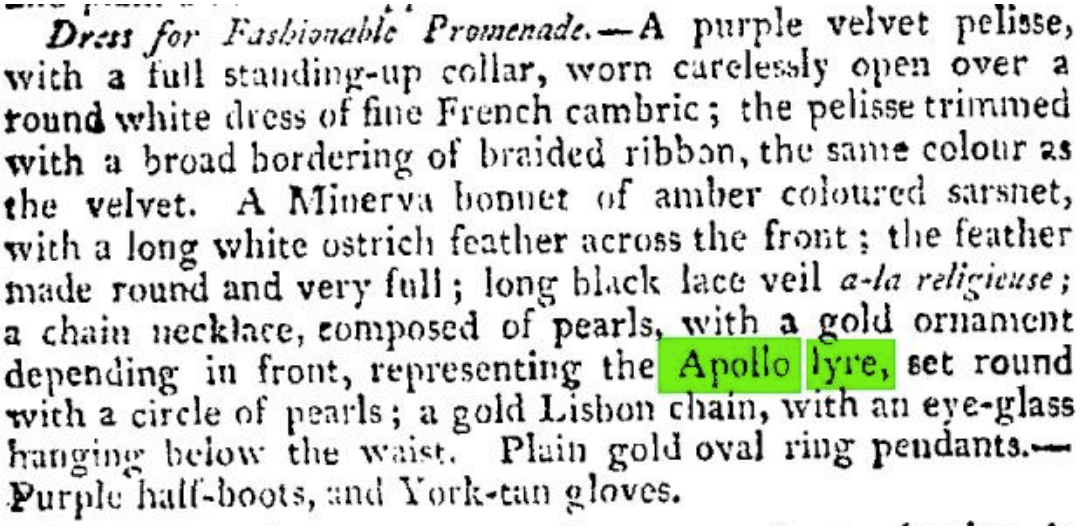
Notwithstanding these irregularities and minor differences, the Apollo Lyres sold from Clementi were almost certainly all supplied by the two makers, albeit probably as exclusive models, in the same way as certain products today are designed exclusively for Harrods, from whose shops and nowhere else the model is available.

[53] For the other two, LML [1967.161. 46] was confirmed from the slightly angled image to have a brass tuning pin; Kuronen (2000: 54) mentions an account in the same page that '[…] who [the finial] adorns a hinged disk partially covering the metal tuning pins'.

[54] Confirmed that LML [1967.161. 46]'s inscription was in the same style as RNCM [S8].

5.1.7 CURIOSITY OF THE APOLLO LYRE

Nevertheless, the Apollo Lyre became one of the most sought-after instruments in fashionable society. In 1812, it features in a description of a Ladies' dress (Fig 5.31).



Dress for Fashionable Promenade.—A purple velvet pelisse, with a full standing-up collar, worn carelessly open over a round white dress of fine French cambric; the pelisse trimmed with a broad bordering of braided ribbon, the same colour as the velvet. A Minerva bonnet of amber coloured sarsnet, with a long white ostrich feather across the front; the feather made round and very full; long black lace veil *a-la religieuse*; a chain necklace, composed of pearls, with a gold ornament depending in front, representing the Apollo lyre, set round with a circle of pearls; a gold Lisbon chain, with an eye-glass hanging below the waist. Plain gold oval ring pendants.—Purple half-boots, and York-tan gloves.

Fig 5.31: The term Apollo Lyre used in a description of a contemporary Ladies' dress.[55]

However, although the term 'Apollo Lyre' became successfully established in society, from around 1811-12, it disappeared from Light's mainstream line-up, diminishing and disappearing from his advertisements.[56]

Contrary to the analysis of the Apollo Lyre discussed above, there is a peculiar painting of Rossini playing on Apollo Lyre (Fig 5.32). The instrument appears to be in the style of Wornum (pin bridge with six strings, decoration around the soundhole), but the number of frets is more like Harley's (fourteen) and the two cutaways are similar to Harley and Barry's. The oval-shaped plinth seems very unusual (they were usually rectangular). This type commonly featured in later models of harp lutes introduced after 1816.[57] Considering Rossini's first arrival in London in 1823,[58] this would seem too

[55] *Jackson's Oxford Journal* 7th March 1812.
[56] Until then, the Apollo Lyre had always been advertised together with the harp-lute, but since about 1812, more and more advertisements appeared solely to mention the harp-lute, as sales of the Apollo Lyre began to diminish. However, it is not simply the case that the instrument went out of fashion.
[57] Commonly used for British Lute Harp and dital-harp.
[58] Anonymous (1900: 'Rossini in England', 18).

late for the era of the Apollo Lyre. Of course, it is possible that he had come across the English origin of such a unique instrument and became fascinated with it. It might also be possible that he asked a painter to create his original design of the Apollo Lyre by taking his preferred choice of parts from already existing ones,[59] though this is, of course, only a hypothesis. The facts are uncertain – to prove anything, more surviving instruments and archives are required. In this thesis, the Apollo Lyre in the painting is regarded as an exceptional case since the instrument was accompanied by a celebrity.



Fig 5.32: Rossini playing an Apollo Lyre seemingly in the style Wornum but involving some parts from Barry and Harley (Courtesy of Tony Bingham).[60]

In 1889, when the Apollo Lyre had long since gone out of fashion, an interesting

[59] It is hard to imagine that he ordered Wornum to make his own specially-designed Apollo Lyre, since Wornum would have had to make a new mould. This would not have been worth doing just for one instrument in the Georgian or even Victorian period, when mass production was the main method of manufacturing.

[60] The picture was kindly provided by Tony Bingham in email correspondence 31st May, 2012 and the information on the paintings (i.e. painter, date and place) is uncertain.

painting appears entitled *Still Life of Instruments,* involving an Apollo Lyre in the style of Barry (Fig 5.33).

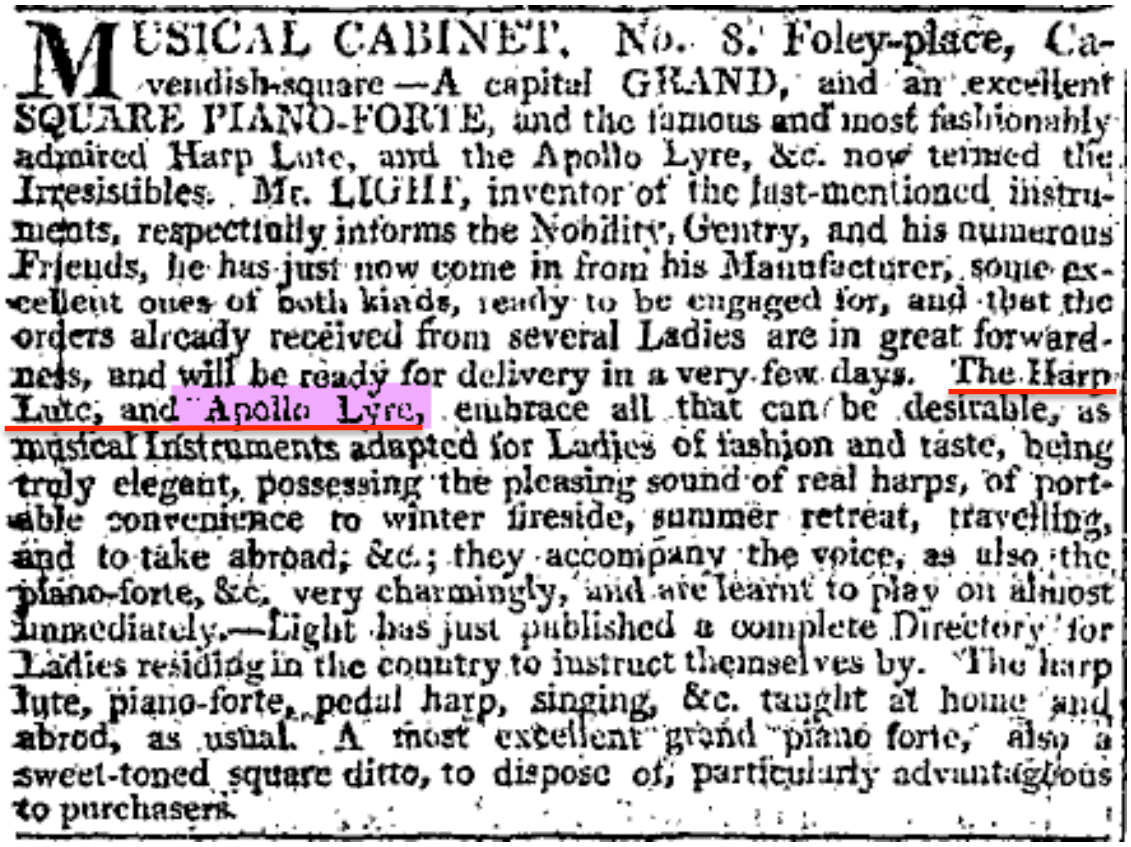


Fig 5.33: A painting by Erisa Marchalle, *Still Life of Instruments*, 1889.[61]

[61] The painting was sold at auction (Phillips, 21-Nov-2000 Lot: 290) and the picture was taken from the catalogue, p.51.

5.2 NEW INVENTION: THE HARP-LUTE (1807 – 1814)

With the full-scale sales and promotion of the Apollo Lyre in 1807, there has always been a simultaneous sale of a seemingly newly invented instrument, the 'Harp-Lute', which looks like Light completely renewed his instrument line-up getting into a new phase of his business career.



MUSICAL CABINET, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square—A capital GRAND, and an excellent SQUARE PIANO-FORTE, and the famous and most fashionably admired Harp Lute, and the Apollo Lyre, &c. now termed the Irresistibles. Mr. LIGHT, inventor of the last-mentioned instruments, respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and his numerous Friends, he has just now come in from his Manufacturer, some excellent ones of both kinds, ready to be engaged for, and that the orders already received from several Ladies are in great forwardness, and will be ready for delivery in a very few days. The Harp Lute, and Apollo Lyre, embrace all that can be desirable, as musical Instruments adapted for Ladies of fashion and taste, being truly elegant, possessing the pleasing sound of real harps, of portable convenience to winter fireside, summer retreat, travelling, and to take abroad; &c.; they accompany the voice, as also the piano-forte, &c. very charmingly, and are learnt to play on almost immediately.—Light has just published a complete Directory for Ladies residing in the country to instruct themselves by. The harp lute, piano-forte, pedal harp, singing, &c. taught at home and abroad, as usual. A most excellent grand piano forte, also a sweet-toned square ditto, to dispose of, particularly advantageous to purchasers.

Fig 5.34: Advert by Light mentioning sales of the Harp-Lute and Apollo Lyre.[62]

The advertisement (Times) (Fig 5.34) is an example of Light's detailed descriptions of his instruments, and supports the facts that Light was the inventor of the harp-lute and Apollo Lyre, and that the customers for harp lutes were indeed ladies.[63] Appearing in

[62] *The Times* 25th December 1807. Also the same publicity appeared in *The Morning Post* 23rd December 1807.

[63] When the harp-guitar was introduced, Light targeted both ladies and gentlemen as his newly invented instrument's customers but, as discussed, he gradually focused on ladies. In this advertisement, his intention can be seen quite clearly.

the singular and often connected with a hyphen[64], the HARP(-)LUTE that appeared in adverts around this time is most likely the so-called 'harp-lute' of this thesis, namely the birth of the instrument that succeeded the harp-lute-guitar. Otherwise it would have been described in the plural if Light was referring to generic harp lutes.

Supportively, the sentence '[…] he has just now come in from his Manufacturer, some excellent ones of both kinds, ready to be engaged for', reveals the fact that Light was not a maker, but ordered the instruments from his manufacturer. Moreover, he mentions '[…] the orders already received from several Ladies are in great forwardness, and will be ready for delivery in a very few days […]', where it can be glimpsed that the release of a new model (harp-lute) had possibly already been publicised amongst his pupils and acquaintances while taking pre-orders from his clientele. This may suggest the harp-lute (with a pillar on the bass) was completed and put on sale to the public around the end of 1807 (Fig 5.35).



Fig 5.35: Newly invented Harp-Lute by Light (most likely circa 1807).[65]

[64] For example, advertisement on *The Morning Post* 11th December 1807.
[65] (left) HML [6905/M66-1983] and (right) MAT [A831].

5.2.1 BEYOND HARP-LUTE SALES

In addition, Light's talents can be seen not only in his invention of new instruments but also in his simultaneous attempts to improve other instruments such as the piano-forte (Fig 5.36). This seems to suggest Light had extensive connections, and that he was not only engaged with harp makers such as Barry and Buchinger, but with others such as keyboard makers. This would have been possible for a music retailer-musician like Light.

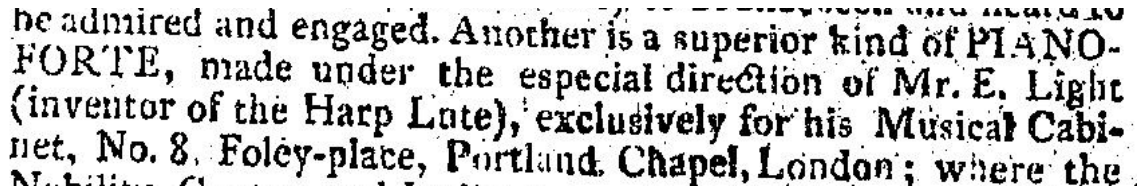

be admired and engaged. Another is a superior kind of PIANO-FORTE, made under the especial direction of Mr. E. Light (inventor of the Harp Lute), exclusively for his Musical Cabinet, No. 8, Foley-place, Portland Chapel, London; where the

Fig 5.36: Evidence that Light was collaborating with a piano maker.[66]

Since then, the newly invented Harp-Lute and Apollo Lyre continued to be sold from Light's private residence,[67] sometimes in cooperation with his sons,[68] with his conventional pitch regarding the strengths of the instruments (harp sound, easy to learn, adapted for travel, small price). In turn, the term 'harp-guitar' seems to have gradually disappeared from public advertisements, particularly those issued by Light, which probably meant the instrument had been removed as one of the main ones in Light's line-up or even that they had stopped being made.

Beyond sales, the general retailing of musical instruments that had been carried out since his early years have continued. To prevent confusion he often stated '(not a shop)' in case people thought the address shown in the adverts was a music shop. Nevertheless, it shows us he was active in musical instrument dealing, and never retired as stated in 1798. Additionally, as he had always done when selling instruments to the public, he offered lessons for the invented ones at his home and pupils' residences, confining the

[66] *The Morning Chronicle* 23rd April 1808; the same advert was in *The Morning Post* 30th April 1808.
[67] Some advertisements mentioned that 8 Foley Place was not a shop but more of a private residence where Light also gave music lessons.
[68] Sometimes Light announced that '[…] taught as usual at home and aboard, by E. Light and Sons', *The Morning Post* 1st March 1808.

travelling distance to about 10-12 miles around London,[69] perhaps because of the demands of work the musical instrument business. Light also published instructions for those who could not make the journey to London.

5.2.2 PROTOTYPE OF THE HARP-LUTE

The first model of the harp-lute seems to have been rather simple, copying the features that had been used for the harp-lute-guitars. For instance, the earliest known model by Light amongst the surviving instruments is the one bearing the conventional joint inscription 'Light Inventor / Barry Maker' in HML [6905/M66-1983]. In common with its precursor, the harp-lute-guitar by Light/Barry, the soundbox consists of three staves (the two outer were bent with a flattened centre) with thumb groove at the neck. Twelve frets were installed on the fingerboard that was extended closer to the soundhole[70] (Fig 5.37).



Fig 5.37: The earliest known model amongst extant harp-lutes, HML [6905/M66-1983] consisting of parts in common with its precursor, the harp-lute-guitar by Light/Barry.

[69] *The Morning Post* 29th August 1809.
[70] The fingerboard is very important, as it would be one of the most significant parts that changed its form remarkably in consecutive applications of minor changes by Light.

Moreover, the joint inscription by Light and Barry is found in the conventional position that is on the ribbon painted above the soundhole (Fig 5.38).



Fig 5.38: Joint inscription by Light and Barry.[71]

Although the same number of strings (eleven) was used for the harp-lute, it differed in its arrangement. Six strings pass over the fingerboard and the rest (five) are floating, while the precursor arranged it seven and four respectively (Fig 5.39). Though differing in arrangement, the eleven-stringed harp-lutes seem to have been tuned exactly the same way as the harp-lute-guitar.[72]

[71] HML [6905/M66-1983].
[72] g-c'-d'-e'-f''-g'-a'-b'-c''-e''-g''.

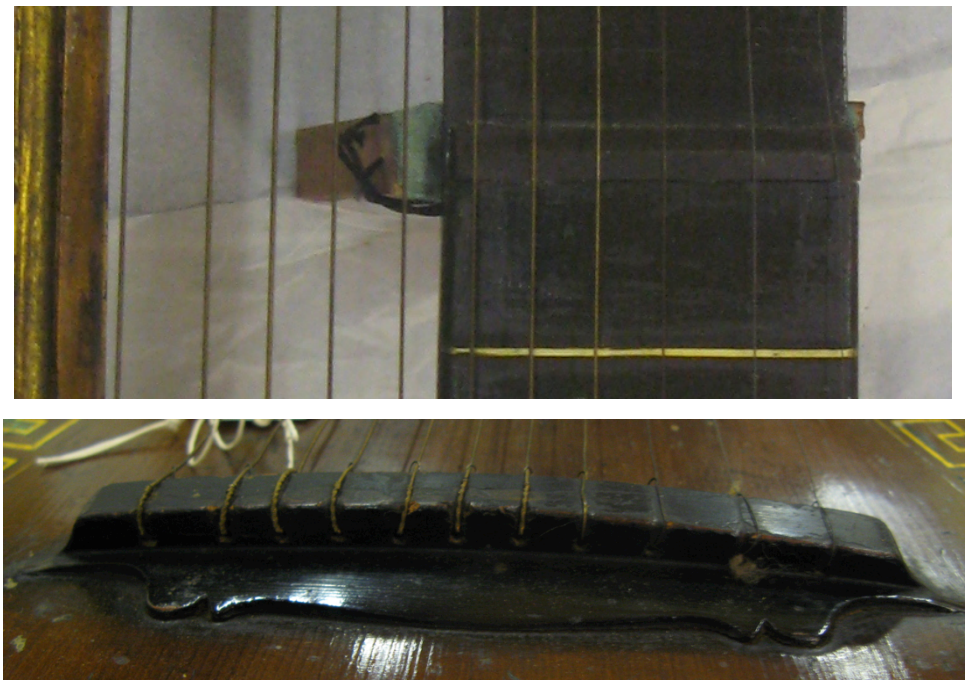


Fig 5.39: Eleven strings in total but divided into six on the fingerboard and five floating bass strings.[73]

As opposed to the similarities, there are, of course, many parts that have completely changed from the preceding generation. For instance, there is the addition of an upper neck and pillar, replacing the theorbo-style neck and pegbox, to resist the increasing tension of strings whilst simultaneously adapting to the fashionable art movement of 'Regency Classicism'[74] (Fig 5.40). The earliest model has the pillar in Ionic order, where the capital is in a simpler design with a smaller amount of materials used compared to that of later models in Corinthian order.

[73] HML [6905/M66-1983].
[74] Regency Classicism occurred in Britain from 1800 to 1830, Jackson (2005: 82).



Fig 5.40: New installation of upper neck and pillar in Ionic order.[75]

As with the Apollo Lyres, especially those manufactured in Barry's style, the traditional wooden pegs were replaced by brass tuning pins, and string hooks were fixed for floating strings (Fig 5.41). These updates seem very effective in the way they remained in tune, resisting the high tensions and maintaining certain tension for the open basses (functioning like a nut). Of course, being like the latest fashionable harps with novelty parts that had never been used for any kinds of guitar, they must have attracted customers.



Fig 5.41: The newly installed brass tuning pins and string hooks.[76]

Cleverly, a string guide was attached above the nut, which was physically very

[75] HML [6905/M66-1983].
[76] HML [6905/M66-1983].

important since it gives greater string-break angle to ensure the string sounds clearly, and also having the added benefit of preventing the neck from being bent by the string tension (Fig 5.42).

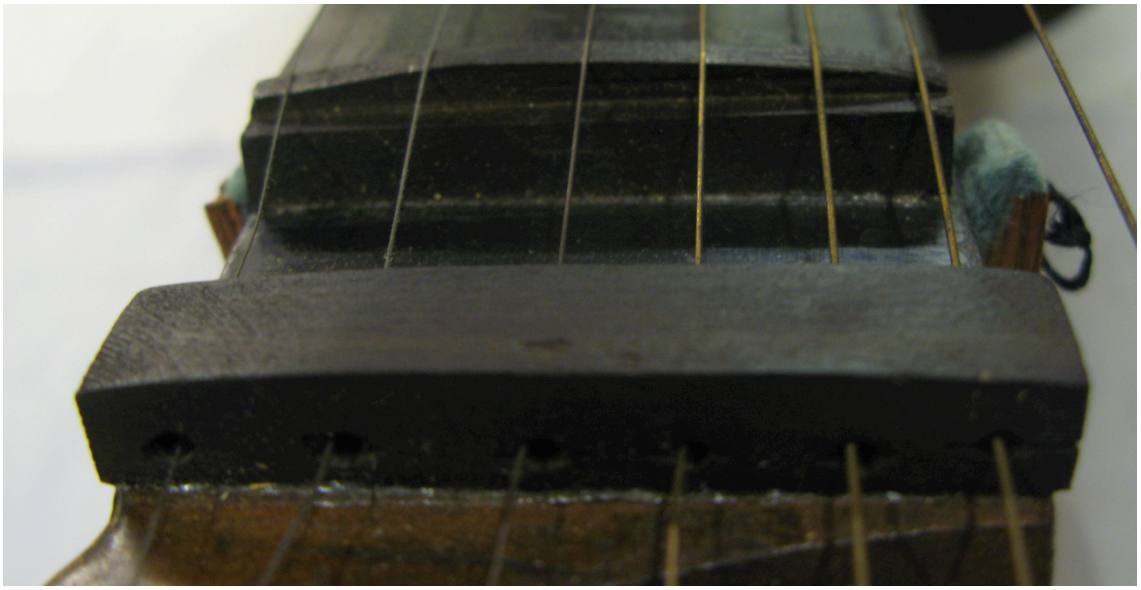


Fig 5.42: New attachment of string guide.[77]

5.2.3 HARP-LUTES BY WARD, LIVERPOOL

A harp-lute in the similar style has, however, not so far been found amongst extant instruments by Light, but there survive some bearing the music sellers' inscriptions – Clementi and Ward. Interestingly, the latter did not reside in London but in Liverpool. Firstly, two harp-lutes by Ward (Fig 5.43) have so far been identified by the author and are very similar to that of Light/Barry (HML [6905/M66-1983]).

[77] HML [6905/M66-1983].



Fig 5.43: Two harp-lutes by Ward, Liverpool.[78]

For instance, there are eleven strings in total (six passing over the fingerboard and five floating), for which the scale lengths on the fingerboards (445 for FHL and 447 for BCB)[79] are very close to the Light/Barry (447), though those for the floating strings show a small variation (±10mm).[80] Likewise, for the resemblance, the neck has a thumb groove; a fingerboard with twelve frets is extended closer to the soundhole; a string guide is attached; there are brass tuning pins with string hooks; a pillar in Ionic order; the manner of inscription is the same (Fig 5.44).

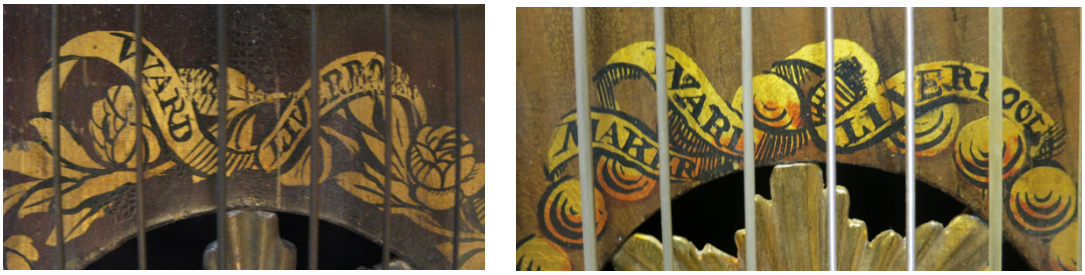


Fig 5.44: Inscriptions by Ward: (left) FHL [NT/FEN/I/15] and (right) BCB [11.3]

It is interesting that the body dimensions are nearly identical, the Light/Barry measuring

[78] (left) FHL [NT/FEN/I/15] and (right) BCB [11.3].
[79] The figures are from treble to bass, namely first to sixth string.
[80] From seventh to eleventh strings in millimetres for the Light/Barry (605-635-655-665-675), for the FHL (585-621-645-660-666) and for the BCB (596-640-660-675-687).

L=420, W=315 and D=135-58[81] while that of the FHL and the BCB by Ward measure L=415, W=320 and D=135-59 and L=427, W=359 and D=143-65 respectively. Though we notice that the width and depth of BCB slightly differs from the other two, the FHL is remarkably similar to the Light/Barry in the distinctive design of the soundbox.

Correspondingly there are a couple of dissimilarities[82] between them, even though the two for the most part resemble the Light/Barry in HML. The BCB [11.3] contains a soundbox that seems slightly updated, consisting of seven staves, which would be more commonly used for later harp-lutes. Another part (seemingly the latest) that both the two by Ward carry is mounted flowers, probably made of gilded composition, attached to the capital rather than being painted on (Fig 5.45).



Fig 5.45: Mounted flower on the capital of the harp-lutes by Ward (centre and right), as opposed to one painted on the Light/Barry (left).[83]

From the analysis, although some minor differences can be seen, the three are very much identical and presumably were all manufactured in the same workshop, most likely Barry's. If so, there again emerges a contradiction to Light's consistent claims that 'the harp-lute is to be had of him'. Though there is no certain clue, it might be

[81] They are all in millimetres; L = length, W = widest point of the body and D = depth from the deepest to the narrowest.
[82] Though the BCB carries two ring stops, they seem to be later additions and are not therefore considered to be a dissimilar part.
[83] (left) HML [6905/M66-1983], (centre) FHL [NT/FEN/I/15] and (right) BCB [11.3].

possible that Ward was a subsidiary music shop or manufacturer of Light, whose name was used as warranty for those customers living in the Liverpool area so that if anything happened to the instrument it could be fixed without sending it to the Barry's original workshop in London. In this case, all orders were primarily taken by Light while the instrument was made in London with the warrantor's name and shipped to Ward's shop[84] or directly to the customer's address. This meant the instruments were not always manufactured by the inscribed maker.[85]

5.2.4 HARP-LUTES BY CLEMENTI & CO.

In relation to the music seller, there is a harp-lute in similar style to those mentioned above amongst surviving instruments so far found bearing the inscription 'Clementi & Co / London' (Fig 5.46) similar to his Apollo Lyre (DCK [MI/A13]). Apart from the arch-lute-guittar and the harp-lute-guitar, until then, Clementi's name appeared consistently on every harp lute including Apollo Lyres from the first model of harp-guitar, suggesting Clementi was seriously engaged in harp lute retailing.

[84] He often mentioned in newspaper adverts that he would ship the instruments within the country and also abroad.

[85] Despite no supporting evidence, in the author's opinion, the inscriptions on the harp lutes seem not always to have meant that the instrument was made in the indicated workshop; it was more like a warranty ensuring the instrument would be fixed or repaired under the indicated maker's inspection. It could also have been useful if the owner lived outside London; if anything happened to the instrument, the repairer would know the particular model and where to send it.



Fig 5.46: A harp-lute bearing the inscription by Clementi & Co.[86]

Interestingly, most parts are very much identical to the aforementioned three harp-lutes. The body dimensions are relatively close as well, measuring L=404, W=313 and D=153-63. It only differs in body depth (slightly deeper) and scale length passing over the fingerboard, which is 420-422mm, about 20mm shorter than the others. Similarly to the Apollo Lyre, there might have been a longer scale harp-lute by Clementi in existence. So far, however, as this is the only instrument confirmed by the author, the actual production line of harp-lutes by Clementi cannot be determined. Again, summing up the similarities, Clementi's instrument was most likely manufactured in Barry's workshop like the other three from around the same period.

[86] RNCM [S18].

5.2.5 DAN WARNER HARLEY

It should be noted that no harp-lute bearing the Harley's inscription has so far been found by the author; we can assume that he became engaged with the manufacturing of Apollo Lyre from 1807 onwards, probably by order of Barry and Light. As his name only appeared on specific models of harp lutes, Harley seems to have been the subcontractor and was not asked to make harp-lutes, at least not under his name. By examining Light's advertisements for his series of inventions in chronological order,[87] it can be reckoned that manufacturing of arch-lute-guittars and harp-lute-guitars by Harley probably began around the time of the enrolment of his son, 'Dan Warner Harley',[88] in Thomas Wall's workshop as an apprentice in 1802 (Fig 5.47). This presumably means the father was primarily responsible for harp lute making, but that later his son probably succeeded him in the business.



N. I. S.

This Indenture Witnesseth, That Dan Warner Harley the Yo
The Son of Dan Warner Harley of Wych Street London Musical
Instrument Maker
doth put himself Apprentice to Thomas Wall of Swithins Lane

Citizen and Barber of *London*, to learn his Art, and with him (after the Manner of an Apprentice) to serve from the Day of the Date of these Presents, until the full End and Term of Seven Years, from thence next following, to be fully complete and ended. During which Term the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commandments every where gladly do. He shall do no damage to his said Master, nor see it to be done of others; but that he to his Power shall let, or forthwith give Warning to his said Master of the same. He shall not waste the Goods of his said Master, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony, within the said Term. He shall not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful Game, whereby his said Master may have any Loss. With his own Goods, or others, during the said Term, without Licence of his said Master, he shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses, nor absent himself from his Master's Service Day nor Night unlawfully; but in all Things, as a faithful Apprentice, he shall behave himself towards his said Master, and all his, during the said Term. And the said Master (for and in the Consideration of the faithful Services to be performed by his said Apprentice

his said Apprentice in the Art and Mystery of a Coal Merchant which he useth, by the best Means that he can, shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, finding unto his said Apprentice Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, and all other Necessaries, according to the Custom of the City of *London*, during the said Term. And to the true Performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements, either of the said Parties binds himself unto the other by these Presents. *In Witness* whereof the Parties above-named to these Indentures interchangeably have put their Hands and Seals the Sixth Day of April in the forty second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE* the IIId. by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and two

Presented the Day of the Date above written, before M. Franc. Pearson } *Master.*
Being first duly stamped
Edw. Grose Smith Clk

Dan Warner Harley

The Indenture, Covenant, Article, or Contract, must bear Date the Day it is executed; and what Money or other Thing is given or contracted for with the Clerk or Apprentice must be inserted in Words at Length; and the Duty paid to the Stamp-Office, if in LONDON, or within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, within one Month after the Execution; and if in the Country, and out of the said Bills of Mortality, within two Months, to a Distributor of the Stamps, or his Substitute; otherwise the Indenture will be void, the Master or Mistress forfeit Fifty Pounds, and another Penalty, and the Apprentice be disabled to follow his Trade, or be made free.

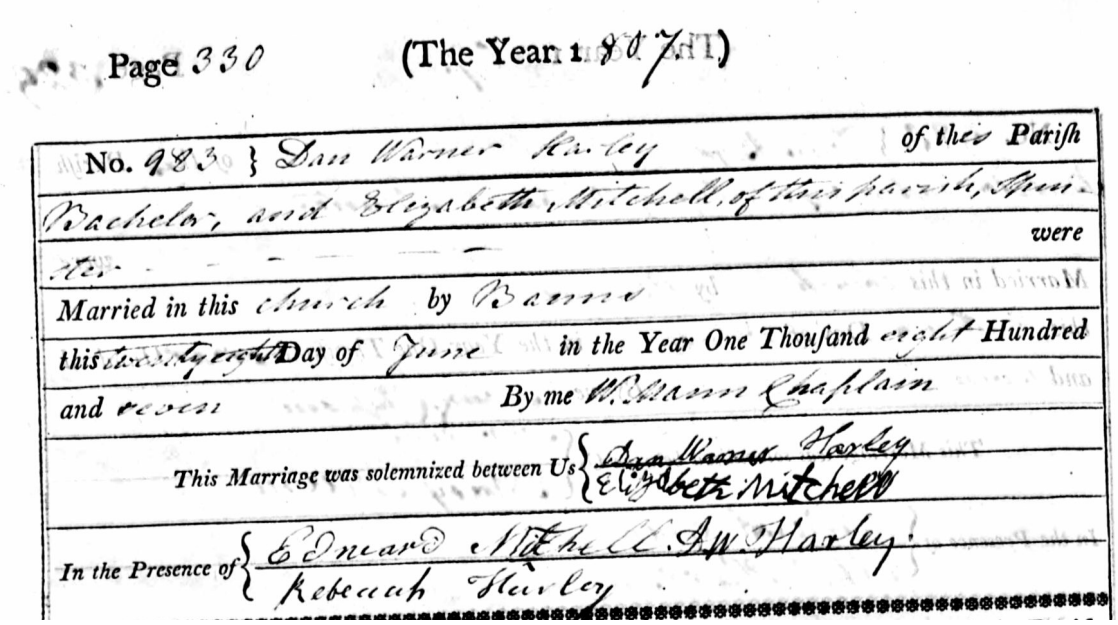
Lane, Leadenhall-Street.

Fig 5.47: Document featuring Dan Warner Harley's (son) name, for his apprenticeship (6th April, 1802).[89]

---

87 From the launch of the harp-guitar in 1800 to the invention of the harp-lute in 1807.
88 His father also had the same name, Dan Warner Harley.
89 The document was taken from ancestry.co.uk; the original is in LMA [COL/CHD/FR/02/1339-1345].

Interestingly, the year 1807 when sales of Apollo Lyre began in earnest, coincided with the marriage of Harley (son) to Elisabeth Mitchell on 7th July (Fig 5.48). This might be related to the disappearance of Harley's name from the harp-lute – unfortunately this is currently uncertain and more research is required.


Page 330 (The Year 1807)

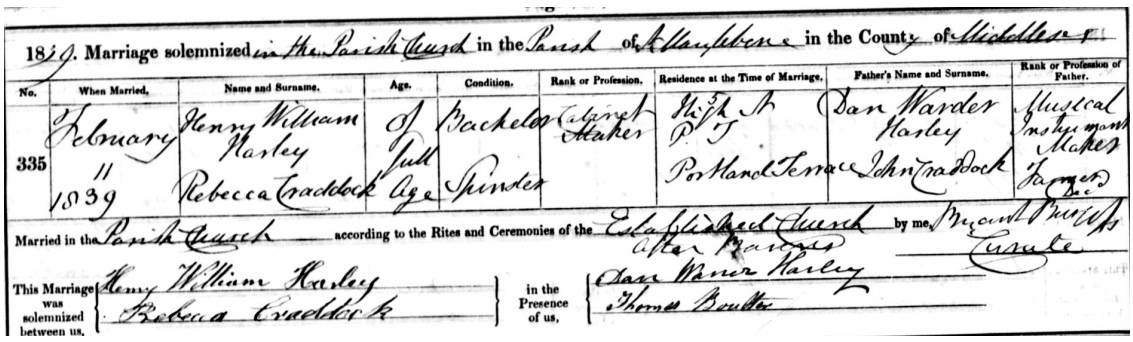
No. 983 } Dan Warner Harley of this Parish Bachelor, and Elizabeth Mitchell, of this parish, Spinster were Married in this church by Banns this twenty eight Day of June in the Year One Thousand eight Hundred and seven By me W. Mann Chaplain

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Dan Warner Harley / Elizabeth Mitchell

In the Presence of { Edward Mitchell A.W. Harley / Rebecca Harley

Fig 5.48: Marriage document of Dan Warner Harley - 28th June, 1807.[90]

Regardless of this, Harley (son) still seems to have been a musical instrument maker in 1839 (Fig 5.49) and in 1841 (Fig 5.50). He probably continued manufacturing musical instruments even though his name vanished from harp lutes after the decline of the Apollo Lyre.


1839. Marriage solemnized in the Parish Church in the Parish of St Marylebone in the County of Middlesex

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
335	February 11 1839	Henry William Harley / Rebecca Craddock	of full Age	Bachelor / Spinster	Cabinet Maker	High St P.T. / Portland Terrace	Dan Warder Harley / John Craddock	Musical Instrument Maker / Farmer Dec

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church after Banns by me Bryant Burrows Curate

This Marriage was solemnized between us. Henry William Harley / Rebecca Craddock in the Presence of us, Dan Warner Harley / Thomas Boulter

Fig 5.49: Marriage certificate of Henry William Harley, most likely the son of Dan Warner.[91]

[90] The document was taken form ancestry.co.uk and the original is in LMA [P93/SAV, Item 3046/001].
[91] The document was taken form ancestry.co.uk and the original is in LMA [P89/MRY1, Item 209].

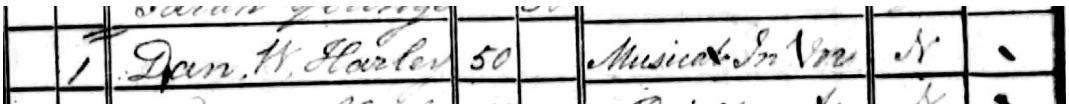


Fig 5.50: Dan Warner Harley at the age of 50 in the 1841 England census.[92]

5.2.6 HARP-LUTES BY BUCHINGER

Following Harley's gradual exit from the field of harp lute manufacturing, Barry's relative, Buchinger, seems to have introduced a new style of harp-lute, probably in cooperation with Light or possibly Barry as well. This had a Corinthian order of capital attached to the top of the pillar (Fig 5.51) – so far two of them have been identified by the author: one is in the PRO, and the other was sold at an auction, Christies in 1983 (Fig 5.52). The latter is slightly updated version.[93]



Fig 5.51: (left) Corinthian order and (right) Ionic order.[94]

Although it mentions 'Dan Warder Harley', this is probably a misspelling, and it is most likely the same person as the 'Dan Warner Harley' under discussion.

[92] The document was taken form ancestry.co.uk and the whereabouts of the original document are uncertain.

[93] Please note that the one in Christies is an updated version introduced after the one in PRO and involves more features than the one in PRO, e.g. the ring stops and eleven strings with the newly introduced pillar.

[94] (left) PRO [1938.34.612] and (right) RNCM [S18].



Fig 5.52: Two harp-lutes by Buchinger.[95]

It is interesting that the earlier ones in the Corinthian order, like Buchinger's, usually retain a small original pedestal from the Ionic order model at the bottom, and therefore a bud shaped new pedestal is installed on top of the original piece (Fig 5.53). This cannot be seen in the later models with the pillar in the Corinthian order.

[95] (left) PRO [1938.34.612] - the pictures were kindly provided by Madeleine Ding (a curator at PRO); (right) appeared in an auction, Christies 6-Apr-1983 Lot: 39 - the picture was taken from the catalogue, page 9.

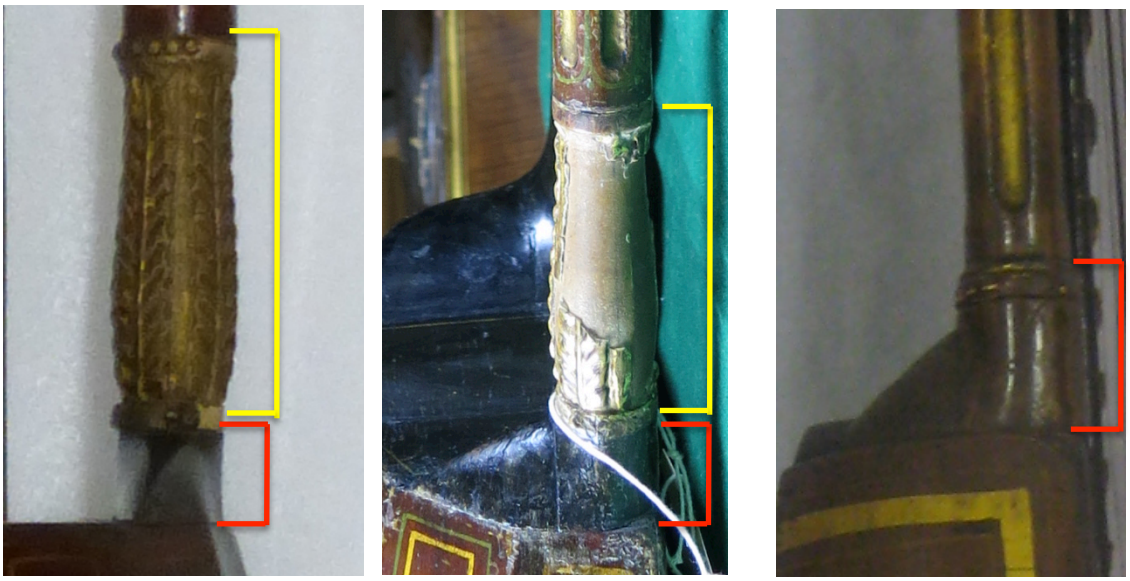


Fig 5.53: (Left and centre) Two pillars in Corinthian order[96] and (right) one in Ionic order[97]: (red line) old pedestal and (yellow line) new pedestal.

Most parts of the Buchinger's harp-lute in PRO are similar to others that were most likely manufactured in Barry's workshop, although it differs in the stringing. Unlike the other surviving harp-lutes confirmed by the author, it carries the lowest number of strings, ten in total with one less string in the basses (six passing over the fingerboard and four open bass strings).[98] This might be due to the installation of a Corinthian capital in a larger size, which was required to be expanded into the upper neck. This resulted in the loss of the lowest string, as the position of the tuning pin was too close to the capital in three-dimensional form. In relation to the strings, the instrument was built as a long scale harp-lute, probably the largest of all the surviving harp-lutes, measuring 513 to 514mm[99] (treble to bass) in the six treble strings. The reason for this is currently uncertain, and more specimens are required for further investigation. Nonetheless, his instrument is significant in the way it introduced a new style pillar that would be commonly used in later models.

[96] (left) PRO [1938.34.612] and (centre) MMS [M2052].
[97] (right) HML [6905/M66-1983].
[98] The one from the Christies Auction seems to be a slightly updated version; it carries eleven strings (six passing over the fingerboard and the rest floating. It surely came up after the one in PRO and thereby the issue of limited space near the capital has already been solved.
[99] The measurements were kindly provided by Madeleine Ding (a curator of PRO).

5.2.7 EARLIER PILLAR, STOPS, STRING ARRANGEMENT

The new pillar did not immediately replace the conventional style Ionic order; the two were simultaneously manufactured but the Ionic order pillar seems to have been more in use until the introduction of the serial number by Light. The next development of the harp-lute was probably the addition of key-shaped stops installed for the bass strings to change the pitch by a semitone and usually fixed to the highest three of the open bass strings (Fig 5.54).



Fig 5.54: Key-shaped stops.[100]

There are two surviving instruments that carry this type of stops, bearing the inscriptions, 'LIGHT INVENTR / BARRY MAKER' (MAT [A831]) and 'BARRY MAKER' (MMS [M2052]), which, interestingly, have the conventional and the new pillar respectively (Fig 5.55).

[100] MAT [A831].



Fig 5.55: Harp-lutes by Light/Barry and Barry with key-shaped stops.[101]

Although the two substantially differ in the number of strings and the arrangement, the Barry has, as with his other examples, eleven strings, while the Light/Barry surprisingly has thirteen strings, more than the other Light harp-lutes, including later ones. In the development of the harp-lute, this differentiation is of great importance in the way Light/Barry succeeded in fitting one extra bass string into a limited space, with seven strings passing over the fingerboard and Barry avoiding the loss of the lowest string despite having a pillar in the Corinthian order.[102] Though it is uncertain which came first, these two harp-lutes seem to correspond to each other in terms of their constructional improvement and, to prove this, their bodies have been widened about 20 to 30mm by making a soundbox with seven staves;[103] the widths at the widest point are

[101] (left) MAT [A831] and (right) MMS [M2052].
[102] It is also important that the Barry has a small pedestal under the new bud-like pedestal, which means the instrument was built around the same time as Buchinger's PRO [1938.34.612]. The Buchinger's harp-lute sold at Christies also has eleven strings with a Corinthian pillar, but seems to have appeared after the Barry, as it has ring stops that were probably introduced after the key-shaped stops.
[103] The idea of constructing a soundbox with seven staves seems to have come from examples like the Ward BCB [11.3] or even earlier like the harp-lute-guitar by Barry in MFA [17.1770]. This made it

357mm for the Light/Barry and 350mm for the Barry. The changes seem to have been substantial in standardising the design of later harp-lutes.

In addition, the two are about 30mm different in scale length, the Light/Barry was constructed as a short scale harp-lute, 448 to 449.5mm, for seven treble strings while the Barry was long scale (478mm for those strings passing over the fingerboard). Although this is not as significant a difference as that found on the Apollo Lyres by Clementi (30mm), it is still substantial. They seem to have been deliberately made, since the two instruments were manufactured in a variant design by the same maker at around the same period. Additionally, concerning parts such as the eleven strings with a Corinthian pillar, the aforementioned harp-lute by Buchinger that appeared in Christies was presumably introduced just after the introduction of Barry's since it has ring stops instead of key-shaped stops.

5.2.8 THE BASS-LYRE

Coinciding with the appearance of the abovementioned harp-lutes, early models of the so-called 'bass-lyre' in this thesis were likely to have been introduced. The two instruments[104] are relatively similar, especially in terms of their development – so far, three have been identified (Fig 5.56).

possible to have more strings while appearing more like an old-fashioned harp in style.

[104] Bass-lyre and earlier models of harp-lutes.



Fig 5.56: Early models of bass-lyres: (left) Armstrong (1908: after 32), MBR [1884.11.2][105] and Musurgia.com.[106]

First of all, as with the earlier models of harp-lutes, all bass-lyres carry eleven strings but differ in their arrangement: two (Armstrong and MBR) have seven passing over the fingerboard while that of Musurgia.com has only six. The difference may be explained if we think that the former was created using the principal arrangement of the harp-lute-guitar, while the latter copied the earlier harp-lute discussed above. To support this, the Musurgia.com has a hole on the fingerboard for the key-shaped capotasto (Fig 5.57) that was commonly used in harp-lutes after the nut was first partitioned.

[105] The picture was taken from the website of 'Cité de la musique' <http://mediatheque.citedelamusique.fr/masc/?INSTANCE=CITEMUSIQUE&URL=/ClientBookLineCIMU/recherche/NoticeDetailleByID.asp>, (Accessed 30 Sep., 2013).
[106] The picture was taken from the website of 'Musurgia.com'; <http://www.musurgia.com/products.asp?ProductID=2168&CartID=342767642013>, (Accessed 30 Sept., 2013), Item number #2168.

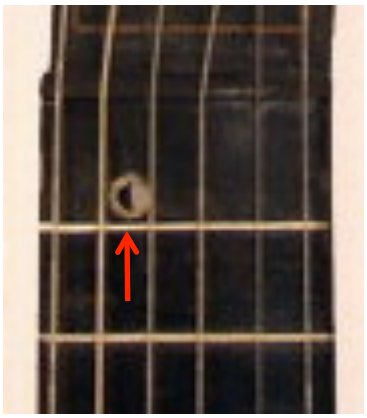


Fig 5.57: Hole for the keyed capotasto on the Musurgia.com.

As they all have brass tuning pins set in parallel to the bridge, as well as inconsistent design of plinth and an integrated finial, the three were presumably manufactured in Barry's workshop. However, as the one in Armstrong (1908) is anonymous, it was probably made exclusively for a particular entrepreneur such as Clementi & Co. Nonetheless, as the author did not examine these instruments and not many of them have survived, it must be noted that the analysis of the bass-lyre shown above is only a comparison judging from images, and should therefore merely be regarded as a remark that requires more evidence to support it.[107]

5.2.9 PARTITION OF THE NUT

Regardless of the irregularities of the bass-lyre, the development of the harp-lute is still able to be followed by studying the extant instruments. A successive improvement from the previous model came in the partition of the nut, done presumably in order to have different scale lengths for those strings passing over the fingerboard. This made the instrument more like a harp (shorter scaling towards the higher notes) and allowed for the use of thinner strings for the high register of the harp; the shorter the scale length, the higher the available note. It has primarily been split in two, most likely by displacing the nut for the seventh and sixth strings at the position of first fret, while the ones for other five were shortened equally to the second fret, making the total number of frets one less than that of the conventional style, namely eleven. A good example of

[107] There are many irregular features, for instance, the variation in number of frets (13 and 12) and the slightly different form of body from the Apollo Lyres. More research is required.

this by Light/Barry appeared at an auction[108] (Fig 5.58). The shortening of scale length (closer to 400mm for the longest strings passing over the fingerboard)[109] made it possible to add a high note of c’’’, an octave higher than the fourth string. Consequently, it became a twelve-string instrument (seven passing over the fingerboard and five for the open bass); Light’s standard stringing for the harp-lute was now established. This means the standard tuning of the harp-lute for twelve strings, g-c’-d’-e’-f’-g’-a’-b’-c’’-e’’-g’’-c’’’, was introduced at the same time as the appearance of the one with two nuts; without the partition of the nut, the scale length of the first string would have been physically too long to carry a thinner c’’’ string.



36 An English Dital Harp, circa 1820, inscribed around the circular soundhole: Invent Light, Barry Maker.
The pear-shaped body of maple showing medium curl, the table of open medium grain, the fingerboard of stained fruitwood with ten ivory frets for seven stopped strings with five open strings supported by the column, all tuned by 12 revolving pins on the scroll head, of an overall brown colour with red and gilt marginal decoration, central soundhole rose missing. £300–500
(See Front Cover Illustration)

Fig 5.58: An early model by Light/Barry in which the nut partition was applied.[110]

In relation to the nut alteration, it is noticeable that a string guide has been added,

[108] Phillips 17-Sep-1992 Lot: 36.
[109] This is not the measurement taken from the examples shown below but this would be the standard measurement of harp-lutes by Light, especially ones bearing serial numbers. This will be explained shortly.
[110] Picture and description taken from the catalogue of Phillips 17-Sep-1992, Lot: 36, front page and p.7 respectively.

becoming two in total, which was necessary in order to maintain the string tension, especially in the top five strings which were now further from where they were originally due to the shortened scale length – this type seems relatively rare, as it was soon replaced by the slanted type.

5.2.10 KEY-SHAPED CAPOTASTO AND STRING GUIDE

Coinciding with the introduction of double nuts, a key-shaped capotasto began to be used to hold the fifth string at the second fret.[111] This can be seen on the instrument in the auction, which has two holes, one on the fingerboard for the key to be placed, and the other on the string guide for holding the key while not in use (Fig 5.59).



Fig 5.59: (top left) two holes for the key-shaped capotasto on the harp-lute in the auction, (top right) keyed capotasto, (bottom left) capotasto in use holding fifth string at second fret and (bottom right) capotasto in its holder.[112]

[111] The reason for holding only one string is not known, but was probably for a musical reason.
[112] The picture on the top right is an enlarged image of a harp-lute in an auction (Phillips 17-Sep-1992, Lot: 36, front page) and the rest are from a later model of harp-lute, HML [MT537-1998]. The capotasto is shown only in order to understand what it was like, since they were normally missing from surviving instruments, including the one in the auction. Please note that the pictures of the capotasto are not of

Subsequent change was that the lower string guide became slanted while the upper remained parallel. A good example of this once appeared in an auction (Fig 5.60).

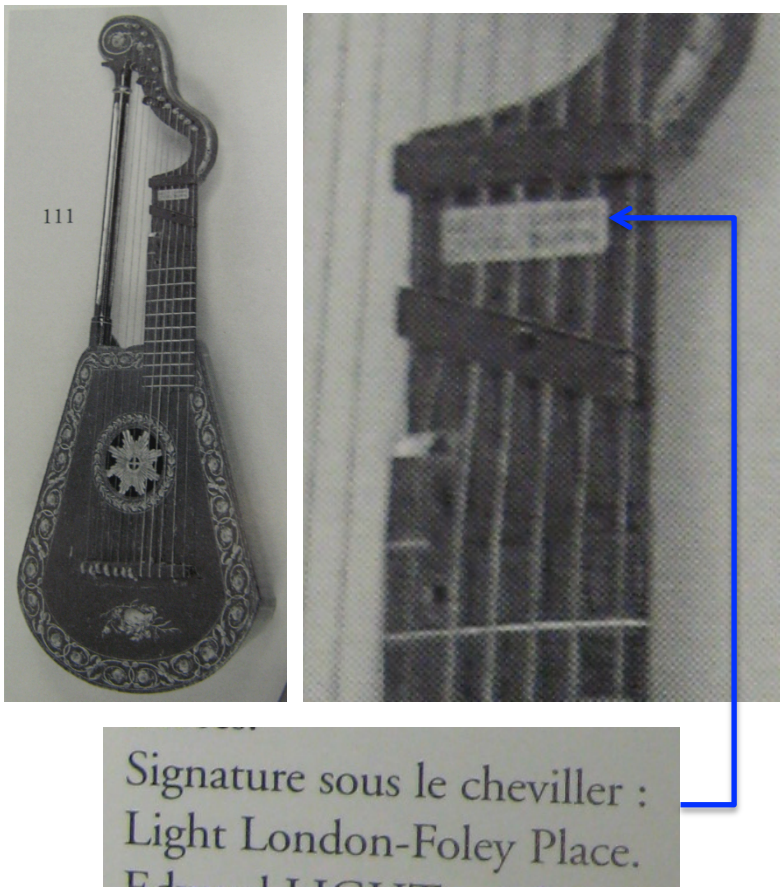


Fig 5.60: Harp-lute bearing Light's inscription with the lower string guide fixed in slanted position.[113]

Similar in style and slightly upgraded, the two surviving harp-lutes by Light (Fig 5.61), one in a private collection and the other in MMO, present more information to describe the changes in detail.

harp-lutes manufactured at the same time as the one in the auction. This is a slightly later version.
[113] Versailles 24-Mar-1996 Lot: 111 and pictures taken from the catalogue p.24.



Fig 5.61: Two harp-lutes with inscription by Light in similar style to the one appearing in the auction.[114]

It can be observed that consequently the arrangement made to the string guide became a single slanted piece, with the upper original one gone. As with the one at the Versailles auction, a new manner of inscription with address is seen above the string guide (Fig 5.62).



Fig 5.62: New inscription by Light with address above the slanted string guide.[115]

It is noteworthy that the conventional joint inscription 'Light/Barry' was less used after

[114] (left) property of Ian Grant and (right) MOO [000248].
[115] (left) property of Ian Grant and (right) MOO [000248].

the introduction of the style shown above. These were probably the first inscriptions on harp lutes solely with Light's name and his residential address. This probably meant the inventor and distributer of the instrument had become more important in terms of 'brand' to the customers than the manufacturers. This logo would have proved the harp-lute was genuine, and made under Light's inspection.

5.2.11 RING STOPS AND SHORTER FINGERBOARD

Changes were not only made to the string guide but also to the stops for floating strings, which were replaced by ring-shaped stops (Fig 5.63). These presumably made it easier to change the pitch and attain stability of tuning. They shorten the string vibrating by pinching it with two corners of the ring instead of being held by a fulcrum (key stop).



Fig 5.63: Newly introduced ring stops.[116]

What cannot be ignored in the development of harp lutes is the transformation of the fingerboard, which had become smaller and smaller. This process began around the time this style of harp lute was introduced. The two harp-lutes show a shortened fingerboard that ended at the joint between the heel and the neck. It had only eight frets, reduced from the eleven of its precursors such as the one sold at a Versailles auction

[116] MOO [000248].

(Fig 5.64). The new styles, however, were not immediately applied to the whole instrument. Instead, it gradually began to replace the conventional longer fingerboard.



Fig 5.64: New shortened fingerboards.[117]

5.2.12 MODIFICATION TO BE A GUITTAR

Perhaps the reader has already noticed that the harp-lute in MOO carries five doubled top strings (two pairs of strings) with all strings passing over the movable bridge and terminating at the bottom of the body (Fig 5.65).

[117] (above) property of Ian Grant and (below) MOO [000248].



Fig 5.65: Strings passing over a movable bridge, terminating at the bottom of the body.[118]

This seems, on the author's inspection, to have been modified to make it more like a guittar while maintaining the harp tone; this was done meticulously, however, without opening the soundboard. To support this, all lines drawn on the instrument are not the same as the other painted motifs (Fig 5.66), and it seems the original colour of the body had once been ripped off, retaining the gilded figures and then repainted in black to match the colour of the upper parts (necks and pillar).



Fig 5.66: New lines showing that the colour does not match the painted motifs.

In this process the original fixed bridge was removed, since underneath the soundboard where the original one had probably been, there is a plate glued on, which would have held the bridge with screws (Fig 5.67).

[118] MOO [000248].

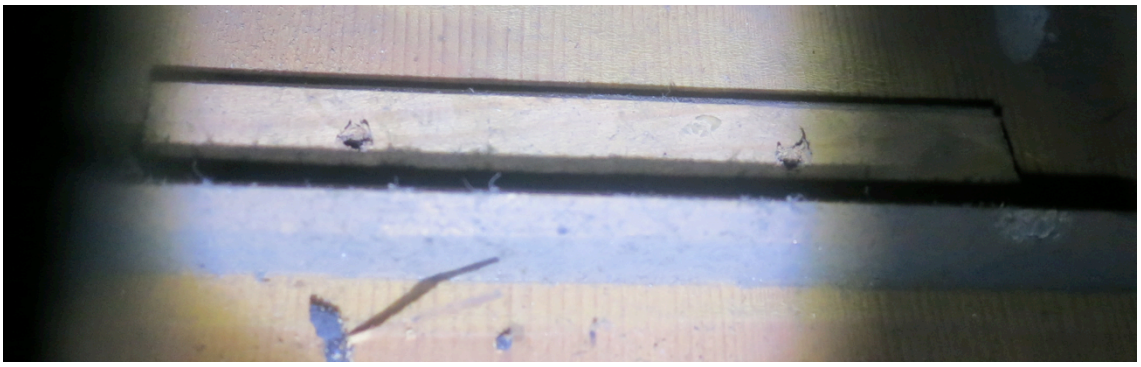


Fig 5.67: A plate attached underneath the soundboard where the original bridge would have been fixed.

Furthermore, the nut has been replaced since the finger marks on the fingerboard do not match the strings currently passing over, even though they surely sit on the slots on the nut (Fig 5.68). Although it is obvious that two pieces of woods were added before the two nuts, the position of them seems original, since the first fret shows no evidence that it has been modified.

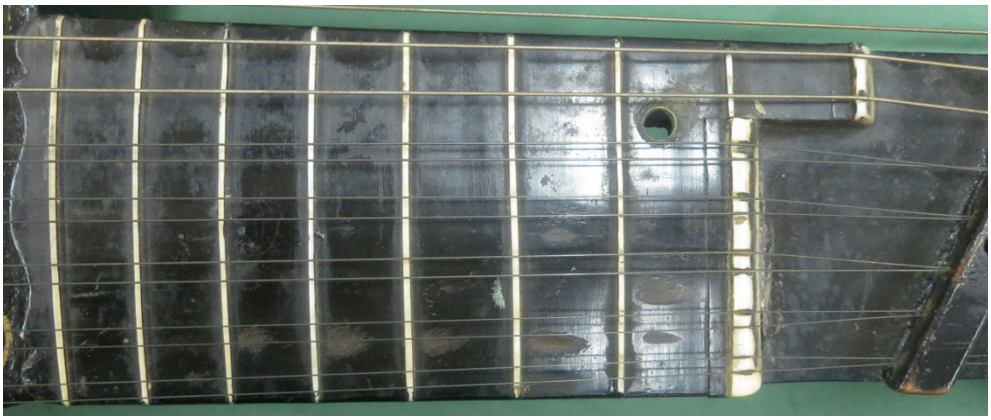


Fig 5.68: Unmatched finger marks on the fingerboard and current strings.

Unlike the others in similar style, it has an extra back hole (there are two in total), which would commonly be seen on later harp-lutes. This also seems to have been of use in the process of modification so as to pull the screws holding the bridge and also to fix the bottom brass plate using bolts without opening the soundboard (Fig 5.69).

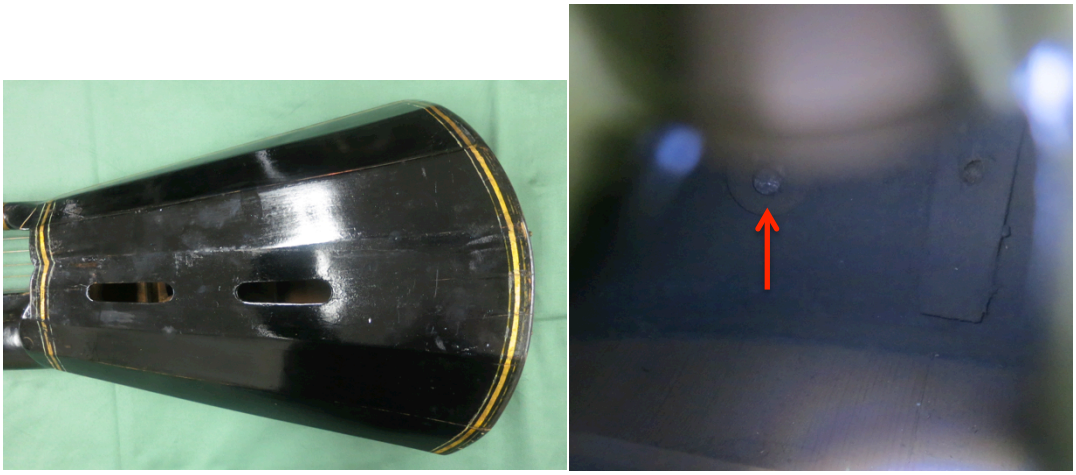


Fig 5.69: Two back holes (one most likely a later addition) and the bolt fixing the bottom brass plate for hooks (inside of the bottom).

Regardless of such modifications, this was basically the same instrument as the one in Ian Grant's possession. The current position of the movable bridge, which was slightly down from the front edge of the original position of the fixed bridge, shows that the scale was relatively shorter, probably about 30mm (Fig 5.70).

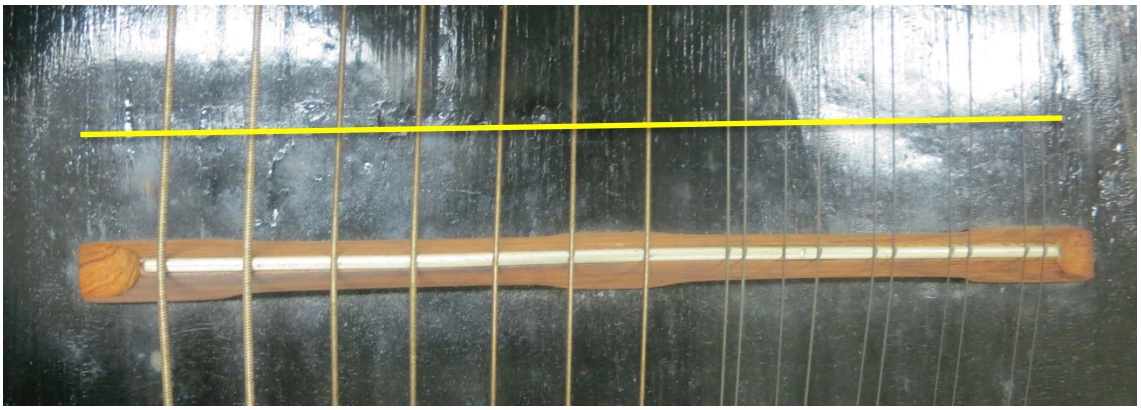


Fig 5.70: Current position of bridge and seemingly original front line , the gap seems about 30mm.

The top five strings currently measure 409mm and that for the sixth and seventh strings are 433mm, but they would originally be 379mm and 403mm, rather similar to the succeeding standardised models, particularly the ones with serial numbers. With the partition of nuts and the shortened scale length made it possible to use thinner strings, and the style became representative of Light's harp-lutes, and would be exclusively seen on them.

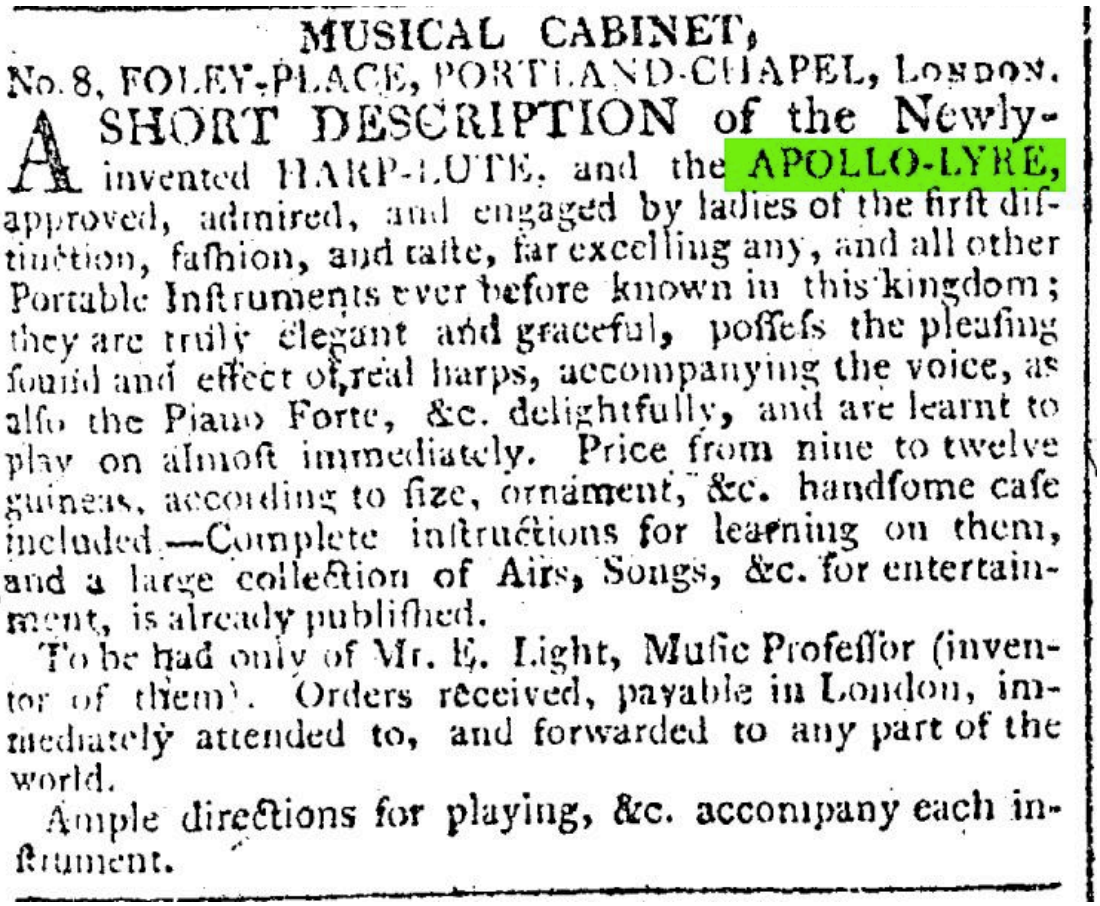
5.2.13 NEW MANNER OF DECORATION AND RAISED PRICE

It is also noticeable that in all the harp-lutes carrying a slanted string guide with an inscription above it, the whole instrument was painted black. This must have been a new manner of decoration, introduced around the time these harp-lutes were manufactured. At the same time, a simplification of adornments is apparent; the gilded flower attached to the capital, seen on harp-lutes, has gone, perhaps because it was not worth the extra cost. In terms of the year of manufacturing, though very unusual for the harp lutes, there is a pencil mark inscribed underneath the soundboard of the harp-lute in MOO, which reads '1810', thus dating this specific instrument (Fig 5.71). Given the analysis and despite the two back holes, the instrument is very similar to the ones mentioned above; therefore such a model of entirely black harp-lutes was probably introduced around 1810 or just before then.



Fig 5.71: Pencil mark '1810' found underneath the harp-lute's soundboard stored in MOO.

With written evidence (a newspaper advert in 1809), this interpretation becomes much clearer (Fig 5.72):



MUSICAL CABINET,
No. 8, FOLEY-PLACE, PORTLAND-CHAPEL, LONDON.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION of the Newly-invented HARP-LUTE, and the APOLLO-LYRE, approved, admired, and engaged by ladies of the firſt diſtinction, faſhion, and taſte, far excelling any, and all other Portable Inſtruments ever before known in this kingdom; they are truly elegant and graceful, poſſeſs the pleaſing ſound and effect of real harps, accompanying the voice, as alſo the Piano Forte, &c. delightfully, and are learnt to play on almoſt immediately. Price from nine to twelve guineas, according to ſize, ornament, &c. handſome caſe included.—Complete inſtructions for learning on them, and a large collection of Airs, Songs, &c. for entertainment, is already publiſhed.

To be had only of Mr. E. Light, Muſic Profeſſor (inventor of them). Orders received, payable in London, immediately attended to, and forwarded to any part of the world.

Ample directions for playing, &c. accompany each inſtrument.

Fig 5.72: Advert with more in-depth description of Harp-Lute and Apollo Lyre including prices.[119]

This advert clearly shows that Light had raised the price range by two to four guineas compared to his 1806 price. The new prices of nine to twelve guineas were possible due to the complex form of the instrument and the increased amount of ornamentation. Such a significant change suggests that the harp-lute in 1809 was not the same instrument as ones sold before such as harp-lute-guitars and harp-lutes with less ornamentation, a single nut, and an inscription on the ribbon.[120] The price hike was possibly applied after the twelve-string harp-lute had been completed, and the price shown in the advert included Apollo Lyres that varied in scale length (i.e. Barry and Harley styles); the phrase 'according to size' probably refers to this. The subsequent word, 'ornament',

[119] *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* 2nd March 1809; the same advertisement can be found in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* 2nd March 1809.

[120] The rise of four guineas would have been rather significant. There must have been a reason for it, and the extensive changes applied to the instrument (painting the instrument black, increased number of strings, split of nut and slanted string guide) can be considered the possible cause.

indicated probably two types: one where the whole instrument was painted a certain colour, and another where it was partially decorated. In 1809 both types appear to have been in simultaneous production.

Here we can observe one of Light's strategies – to offer a variety of adornments, allowing customers to choose their own colour to suit their budget and taste as the basic design of the instrument was being prepared. This practice seems to have corresponded well to contemporary trends in fashionable society, such as choice of wallpaper.[121] It enabled the maker to rationalise manufacturing of the instruments (economical) but allowed the space for customers to create their own design of ornamentation (superiority), and seems to be characteristic of the modern capitalism that had emerged in industrial Britain.

To support this, we can see that Light had a showroom, displaying the instruments at his house for customers to inspect. This was announced through a newspaper advert (Fig 5.73). Light's harp-lutes and Apollo Lyres, as discussed above, had become more and more standardised, and therefore 'a choice' in this advert was more likely to have been referring to variety in terms of ornamentation rather than the instrument's component parts.

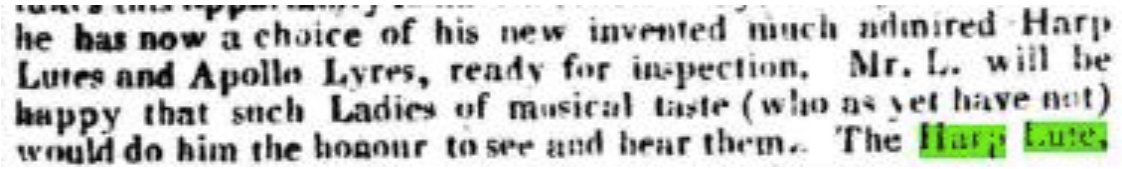

he has now a choice of his new invented much admired Harp
Lutes and Apollo Lyres, ready for inspection. Mr. L. will be
happy that such Ladies of musical taste (who as yet have not)
would do him the honour to see and hear them. The Harp Lute,

Fig 5.73: Advert for Light's newly invented harp-lute and Apollo Lyre.[122]

[121] In the Georgian Period, wallpaper was an important way, especially among the middle classes, of showing off their high status and elegance (it would be the first thing guests would see when entering the room). It was also very cheap (painting the walls required significantly higher cost) and a variety of designs were available so that customers were able to choose according to their taste. Represented by such furniture makers as Chippendale, the design pattern books were frequently published. This changed the manner of presenting items from totally custom-made products to ready-made goods that still allowed for the customer's choice in decoration, enabling mass commercialised production.

[122] *The Morning Post* 5th December 1809.

Additionally, of course, the price rise was not simply down to the updated form and style but also to Light's success in distribution. His instruments were being dispatched within and outside the country. The fact that Light's instruments, as mentioned previously, had already proven to be resistant to hot climates in countries such as the East and West Indies (Fig 5.74), enabled him to widely promote his instruments.

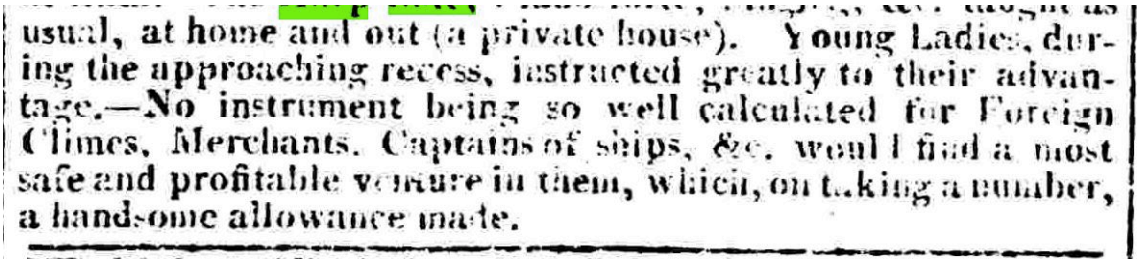
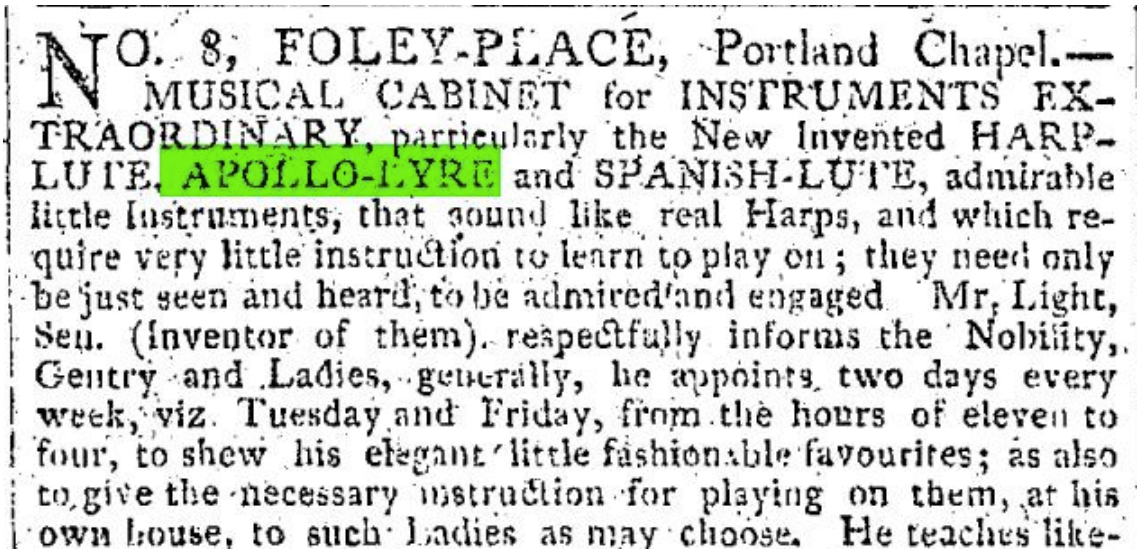

usual, at home and out (a private house). Young Ladies, during the approaching recess, instructed greatly to their advantage.—No instrument being so well calculated for Foreign Climes, Merchants, Captains of ships, &c. would find a most safe and profitable venture in them, which, on taking a number, a handsome allowance made.

Fig 5.74: Account mentioning the instrument's adaptability to foreign climates.[123]

Beyond his successes, Light never stopped inventing new instruments, not just successful ones like the harp lutes, but also a few failures. For instance, in October, 1809, Light presented another new term, 'SPANISH-LUTE', an instrument differing from the harp-lute and the Apollo Lyre (Fig 5.75). Unfortunately, due to insufficient evidence, what this instrument looked and sounded like is uncertain. However, going on the newspaper advertisement, it had as the same principal functions as Light's other harp lutes.

[123] *The Morning Post* 24th December 1810.



NO. 8, FOLEY-PLACE, Portland Chapel.—
MUSICAL CABINET for INSTRUMENTS EX-
TRAORDINARY, particularly the New Invented HARP-
LUTE, APOLLO-LYRE and SPANISH-LUTE, admirable
little Instruments, that sound like real Harps, and which re-
quire very little instruction to learn to play on; they need only
be just seen and heard, to be admired and engaged. Mr. Light,
Sen. (inventor of them), respectfully informs the Nobility,
Gentry and Ladies, generally, he appoints two days every
week, viz. Tuesday and Friday, from the hours of eleven to
four, to shew his elegant little fashionable favourites; as also
to give the necessary instruction for playing on them, at his
own house, to such Ladies as may choose. He teaches like-

Fig 5.75: An advertisement featuring the term 'SPANISH-LUTE'.[124]

Adapted to the social trends of the day, the decorative aspect of the instruments seems to have become a more and more important matter in terms of sales, and in 1811 an exhibition was held in Light's residence in which he displayed some instruments, emphasising the variety of ornamentation. The event itself was announced through public newspaper advertisements:

> 'NEW MUSIC, and an unusual Exhibition of the much admired and newly invented HARP LUTES – Mr. LIGHT most respectfully informs the Nobility and Ladies generally, that he having just completed an order for abroad, an opportunity offers at this instant for their seeing a great variety of new ornamental finishing, &c. Those Ladies who may please to honour the inventor by viewing and hearing them, are requested to make early application, as they will be speedily packed up […]'[125]

This advert shows Light's significant success as both inventor and musician-dealer in fashionable society. If he hadn't been so successful, there would have been no need of an advance appointment. It is clear Light had obtained a certain reputation in the London music and musical instrument manufacturing scene.

---

[124] *The Morning Chronicle* 13th October 1809; the same advertisement appeared in *The Morning Post* 13th October 1809.
[125] *The Morning Chronicle* 4th February 1811 and *The Morning Post* 5th February 1811.

5.2.14 FINAL PHASE OF IMPROVEMENT

Seemingly around the same time, almost the last improvements for harp-lute were made. These were an additional division of the nut and a change in the location of the inscription. There are two specimens that can provide representative examples (Fig 5.76): the MFA [17.1769] and the instruments in the possession of MG company in Japan.



Fig 5.76: Two specimens that show nearly completed form of harp-lute.[126]

For both instruments, the nut for the highest string was split and moved equal to the third fret (Fig 5.77). The shortening of the scale length, which must have been a great improvement, enabled it to be strung using a much thinner string tuned in c''' which seems to have been a comfortable tension that produced a much better sound. This arrangement did not change until the introduction of the British Lute Harp, which brought back the partition of the nut.

[126] (left) MFA [17.1769] and (right) MG Company in Japan.



Fig 5.77: Newly improved three different levels of split nuts.[127]

Though the two are for the most part identical, there can be observed an improvement in the MG Company's instrument. With an addition of a ring stop for the highest floating string (eighth), which would later be replaced with the one operated by a key, it became a total of four ring stops (Fig 5.78).

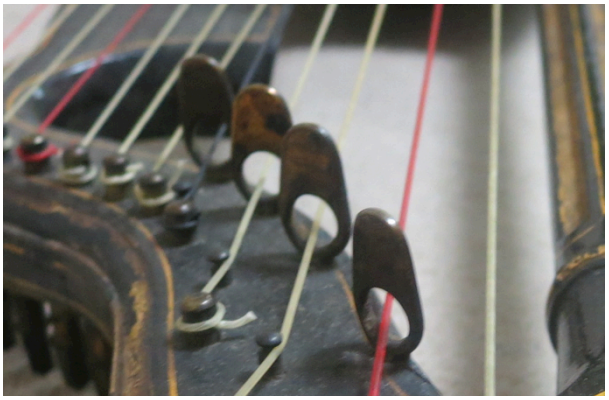


Fig 5.78: Addition of ring stops (four now in total).[128]

They also differ in the manner of inscription: the MFA's is in the conventional position

[127] (left) MFA [17.1769] and (right) MG Company in Japan.
[128] MG Company in Japan.

(above the string guide), while the MG company carries it below. As the latter style was more often used in the later harp-lutes, the former seems to have been manufactured prior to it. It is also interesting that they vary in scale length: the former is shorter in the five treble strings while the latter is shorter in the sixth and seventh strings, which measure from the first, second-fifth and sixth-seventh 341-380-433mm and 478-400-423mm respectively. The reason is hitherto uncertain but it seems quite natural that, due to the process of improvement, the instruments differed in dimensions. Nonetheless, the scale length difference might have been caused by the use of the new short fingerboard (MFA) and the conventional long one (MG company).[129]

In relation to the new manner of inscription, perhaps there was not enough space; the string guide was placed in parallel, for instance that of the instrument in MIMEd [1108] (Fig 5.79), though it has later been slanted again. Such an irregularity was surely the result of Light's step-by-step attempts and consecutive application of minor changes in the process of improvement.



Fig 5.79: Harp-Lute with string guide placed in parallel despite having three nuts.

Light mentioned 'the different sizes' in his 1811 advertisement (Fig 5.80), and

[129] As mentioned before, in the process of development, sometimes the conventional parts were used in the new style harp-lute.

harp-lutes were still in the process of development and sizes therefore varied. To support this, the updated harp-lutes bearing serial numbers are more consistent (standardised) in their dimensions, and it therefore may be said that the harp-lutes mentioned above were the dominant models in Light's production for a while, probably until around 1813.

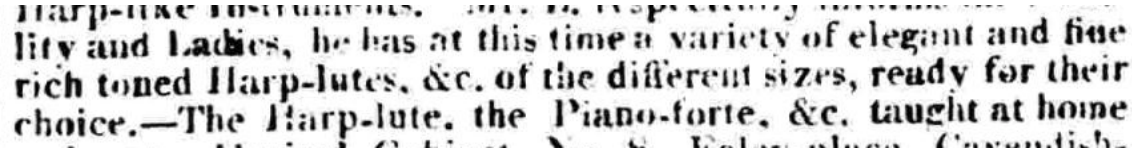
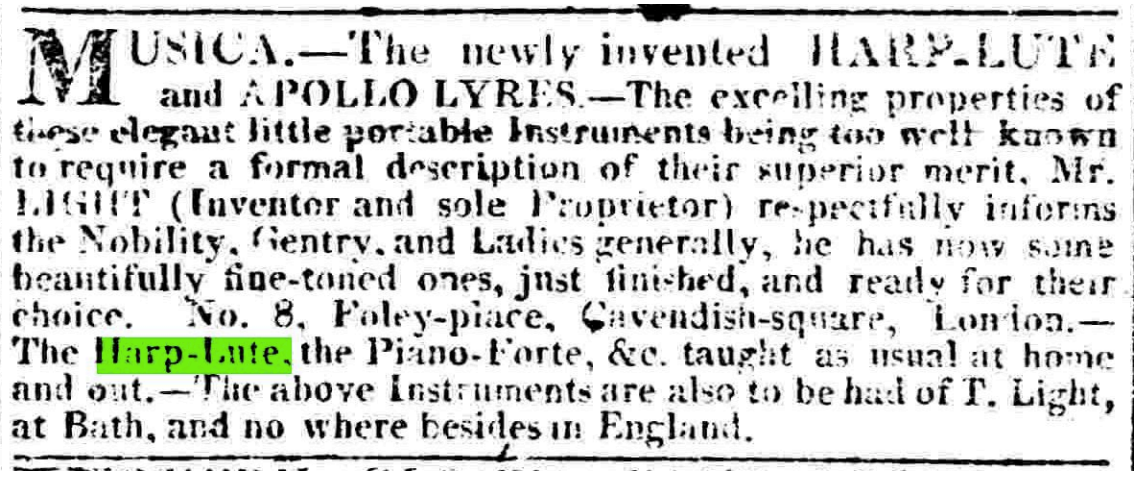

lity and Ladies, he has at this time a variety of elegant and fine
rich toned Harp-lutes, &c. of the different sizes, ready for their
choice.—The Harp-lute, the Piano-forte, &c. taught at home

Fig 5.80: Advert by Light mentioning 'different sizes' (1811).[130]

5.2.15 LIGHT'S SALES SYSTEM

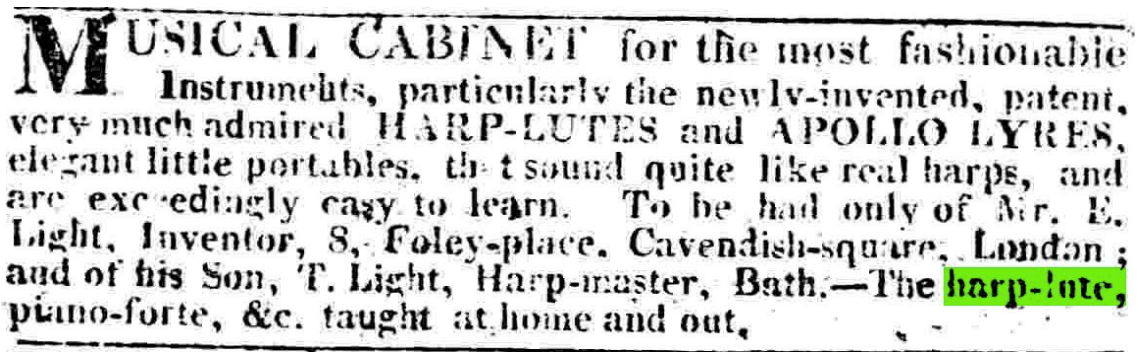
Probably around this time (1810) the abovementioned harp-lutes were on sale, and where the makers' inscription was varnished, Light's name seems to have become more important for the branding of the instrument and for discriminating it from imitations. After this, he began to distribute the instruments more exclusively from his premises. However, there was one person who had official permission to sell Light's instruments, and that was his son, Thomas Light (harp master) in Bath (Fig 5.81 and Fig 5.82).[131] It was also probably advantageous for Edward to distribute his instruments in an area where many of his clientele (the middle and upper classes) spent their holidays.

[130] *The Morning Post* 18th November 1811.
[131] Also mentioned in a newspaper advert of *The Morning Post* 24th December 1810.



MUSICA.—The newly invented HARP-LUTE and APOLLO LYRES.—The excelling properties of these elegant little portable Instruments being too well known to require a formal description of their superior merit, Mr. LIGHT (Inventor and sole Proprietor) respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and Ladies generally, he has now some beautifully fine-toned ones, just finished, and ready for their choice. No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, London.—The Harp-Lute, the Piano-Forte, &c. taught as usual at home and out.—The above Instruments are also to be had of T. Light, at Bath, and no where besides in England.

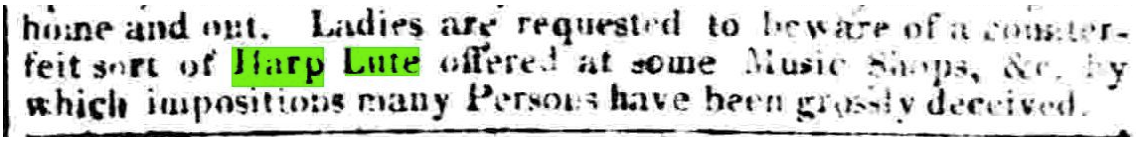
Fig 5.81: Advertisement referring to Thomas Light in Bath, who had license to sell Light's instruments.[132]



MUSICAL CABINET for the most fashionable Instruments, particularly the newly-invented, patent, very much admired HARP-LUTES and APOLLO LYRES, elegant little portables, that sound quite like real harps, and are exceedingly easy to learn. To be had only of Mr. E. Light, Inventor, 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, London; and of his Son, T. Light, Harp-master, Bath.—The harp-lute, piano-forte, &c. taught at home and out.

Fig 5.82: Another advert referring to Thomas Light in Bath, along with his profession.[133]

To make a success of the exclusive sales of harp lutes, Light also warned the public against counterfeit instruments. Similar to the situation with harp-guitars, harp lutes still were being sold at music shops without Light's permission (Fig 5.83 and Fig 5.84).



home and out. Ladies are requested to beware of a counterfeit sort of Harp Lute offered at some Music Shops, &c. by which impositions many Persons have been grossly deceived.

Fig 5.83: Advert by Light referring to counterfeit instruments.[134]

[132] *The Morning Post* 23rd October 1810.
[133] *The Morning Post* 29th November 1810.
[134] *The Morning Post* 22nd July 1811.

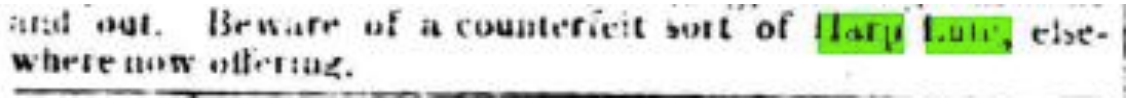

and out. Beware of a counterfeit sort of Harp Lute, elsewhere now offering.

Fig 5.84: Another advert by Light referring to counterfeit instruments.[135]

Moreover, due to the increasing number of counterfeit instrumets, Light often used the word 'Patent' to prevent fake instruments from being produced, despite no patent having been officially registered (Fig 5.85).


MUSIC.——The Newly-invented PATENT HARP LUTE; as so portable an Instrument, its equal never known in this kingdom. The Harp-Lute possesses the

Fig 5.85: Emphasis of the word 'Patent' to protect Light's genuine harp lutes.[136]

In 1811, as mentioned before, the joint publicity for harp-lute and Apollo Lyre changed, becoming more emphasised on sales of the former while the latter began being phased out from adverts. At the same time, there exists an interesting advert by Light in which he claims:

> '[…] At this Establishment Shopkeepers, Dealers, and Professions, will find the most liberal terms, on receiving their [probably harp lutes] orders both in town and country.'[137]

Similarly, in an advert issued in the same year, Light states that 'The Trade and Profession supplied on very liberal terms, and for exportation' (Fig 5.86).

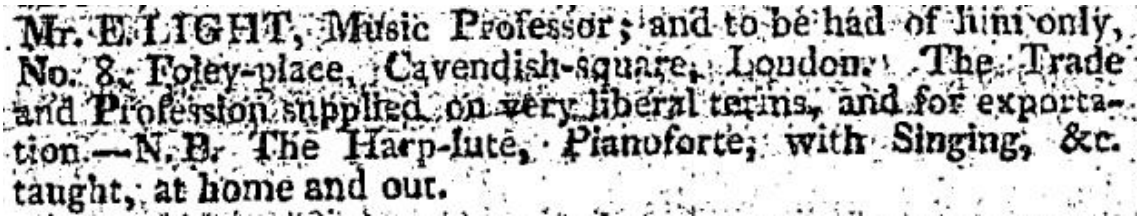

Mr. E. LIGHT, Music Professor; and to be had of him only, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, London. The Trade and Profession supplied on very liberal terms, and for exportation.—N. B. The Harp-lute, Pianoforte, with Singing, &c. taught, at home and out.

Fig 5.86: Advert mentioning supply and export with liberal terms.[138]

[135] *The Morning Post* 25th December 1811.
[136] *The Morning Post* 2nd November 1811.
[137] *The Morning Post* 29th July 1811.
[138] *The Morning Chronicle* 17th December 1811.

According to these accounts, Light seems to have taken orders for his instruments from those who were engaged in musical instrument retailing, supplying the instruments at a slightly cheaper price so that he was able to sell a lot of harp-lutes at once. It was possible to sell them through such intermediaries since the harp-lutes manufactured around the time under Light's inspection bear his inscription, and all orders were taken through Light himself. He was therefore able to maintain the quality of instruments and control the number of sales.

Perhaps related to these advertisements, in the same year (1811), Wheatstone publicised the sale of instrumets, including harp lutes, indicating prices for each. These were probably instruments supplied by Light, under the 'liberal terms' stated in Light's advertisement, they were slightly cheaper than the ones sold in Light's premises (nine to twelve guineas).

> 'MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. – On SALE, at WHEATSTONE and CO.'s Musical Instrument Warehouse 436 Strand […] an elegant Harp Lute at seven guineas; ditto Lyre, seven guineas; ditto Harp Guitar, all in cases, five guineas; ditto Spanish Guitars, from five to six guineas […] The above was selected and intended for the Brazil […]'[139]

Wheatstone created his own harp lutes, but slightly later than 1811. The harp-lute so far confirmed to be Wheatstone's, and bearing his inscription, is the one at HML [M79-1983], which seems similar in style to Levien's harp-lute invented in 1814, although no lyre and harp-guitar by Wheatstone has so far been found as a surviving instrument. Additionally Wheatstone mentioned 'selected' rather than 'manufactured', so this is likely to have meant the harp lutes had been purchased from elsewhere.

Nonetheless, Light was unable to prevent the emergence of competitors who created their own design of harp lutes. Between 1811 and 1812, a contemporary musician, Angelo Ventura, began appearing in public newspapers. According to the advertisements, he primarily taught Spanish guitar and Harp-Lute (Fig 5.87).

[139] *The Morning Post* 29th March 1811.

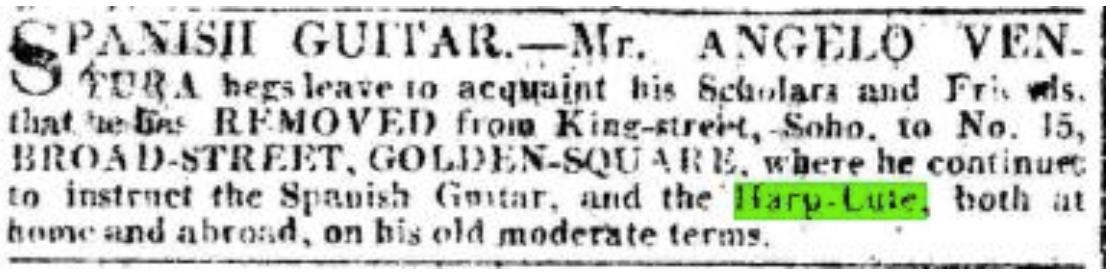

SPANISH GUITAR.—Mr. ANGELO VENTURA begs leave to acquaint his Scholars and Friends, that he has REMOVED from King-street, Soho, to No. 15, BROAD-STREET, GOLDEN-SQUARE, where he continues to instruct the Spanish Guitar, and the Harp-Lute, both at home and abroad, on his old moderate terms.

Fig 5.87: An early advertisement by Ventura.[140]

However, it was not until 1814 that Ventura's fully-fledged career as a musician-inventor began.

5.3 IMPROVED APOLLO LYRE

Interestingly, in October 1813, Light once mentioned the 'improved Apollo Lyre' (Fig 5.88) even though it had disappeared from his advertisements.

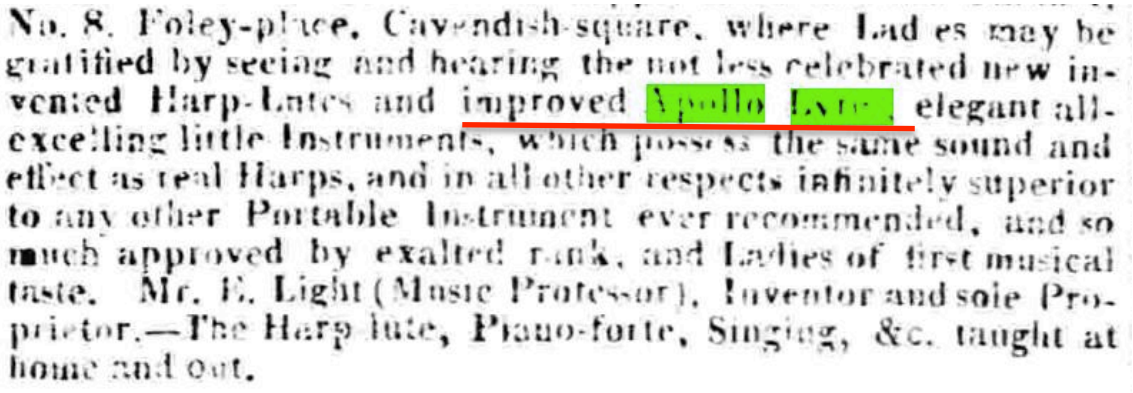

No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where Ladies may be gratified by seeing and hearing the not less celebrated new invented Harp-Lutes and improved Apollo Lyre, elegant all-excelling little Instruments, which possess the same sound and effect as real Harps, and in all other respects infinitely superior to any other Portable Instrument ever recommended, and so much approved by exalted rank, and Ladies of first musical taste. Mr. E. Light (Music Professor), Inventor and sole Proprietor.—The Harp lute, Piano-forte, Singing, &c. taught at home and out.

Fig 5.88: Advertisement mentioning 'Improved Apollo Lyre'.[141]

Considering the designs of the harp-lute around 1813, this may have indicated a bass-lyre, such as the one in PRO [1938.34.611] (Fig 5.89).

[140] *The Morning Post* 10th February 1812.
[141] *The Morning Post* 18th October 1813.



Fig 5.89: Anonymous bass-lyre, PRO [1938.34.611].

Though the instrument is in the form of an Apollo Lyre with floating bass strings, namely the bass-lyre, it involves many aspects of Light's representative harp-lute, particularly the ones with serial numbers (completed and standardised model), which were manufactured from 1813 onwards. For instance, it carries twelve strings in total, of which seven pass over the fingerboard while five are floating. The nut is divided into three. It is also very interesting to note that the neck has a thumb groove, something which does not feature on Apollo Lyres. Additionally, a hole for the key-shaped capotasto is seen in the same position as that in the harp-lute. The resemblance is not only in appearance but also in the scale lengths of the top seven strings, which measure 355mm-375mm-398mm,[142] no doubt the standard measurement of harp-lutes bearing serial numbers. For practical reasons, the lengths for the open bass strings differ from those on the harp-lute. They are slightly longer; in an attempt to improve this, the nut has been placed slanting (Fig 5.90). This physically enabled the thicker strings, which were more suitable for bass sounds, to be strung. Four ring stops were installed for the top four bass strings, which were convincingly like those of the harp-lute (Fig 5.90).

[142] The measurements are first-second to fifth-sixth and seventh.



Fig 5.90: Slanted nut for open bass strings and ring stops.

Furthermore, in common with harp-lutes manufactured from 1813 onwards, the bridge was fixed with brass screws, typically with three (Fig 5.91).



Fig 5.91: Bridge fixed with three brass screws.

In view of the resemblance, and despite the fact it was anonymous, this has clearly been manufactured under Light's inspection, and most likely constructed by Barry in 1813-14. For these reasons, the bass-lyre at PRO is the instrument appearing on the advertisement mentioned above, and is also the latest version of Light's bass-lyre amongst surviving instruments so far identified.

5.4 THE STANDARDISED HARP-LUTE (1814)

In 1814, Light was at the height of his success and prosperity. The following descriptions typically appeared in newspaper advertisements (Fig 5.92):

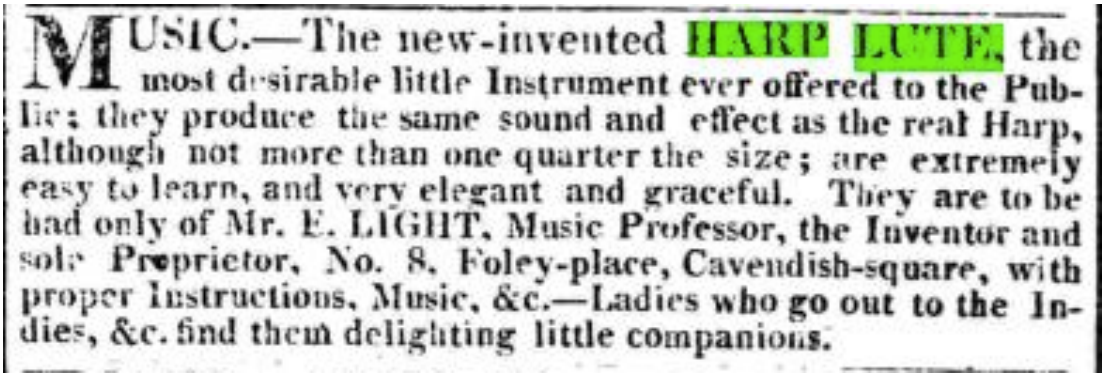

MUSIC.—The new-invented HARP LUTE, the most desirable little Instrument ever offered to the Public; they produce the same sound and effect as the real Harp, although not more than one quarter the size; are extremely easy to learn, and very elegant and graceful. They are to be had only of Mr. E. LIGHT, Music Professor, the Inventor and sole Proprietor, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, with proper Instructions, Music, &c.—Ladies who go out to the Indies, &c. find them delighting little companions.

Fig 5.92: Typical advertisement by Light (1814).[143]

Around the same time, his habit of improving upon his instruments seems to have shifted towards making the instrument look more and more harp-like, so as to be a virtually complete substitute for the real harp, with portability and harp-like sound both emphasised in Light's publicity (Fig 5.93).

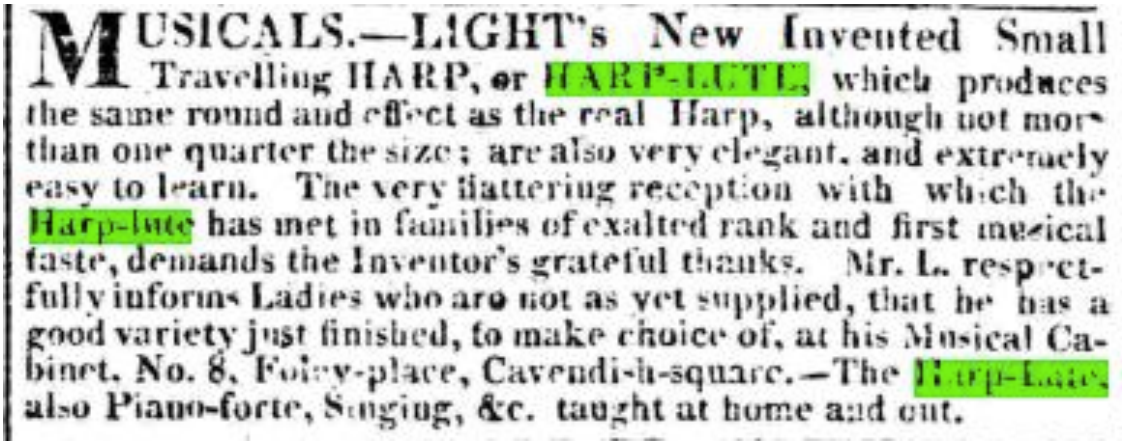
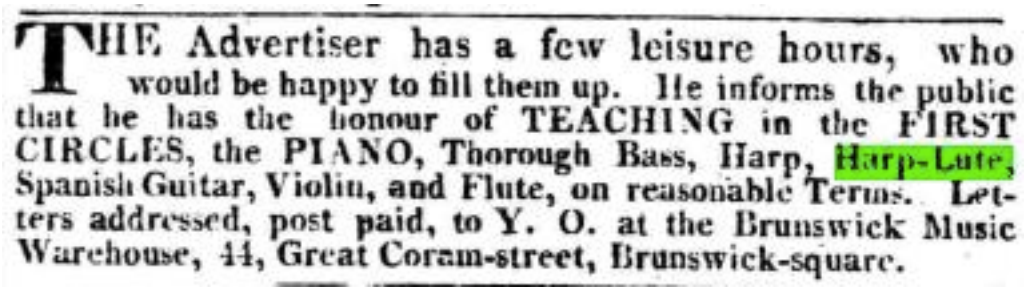

MUSICALS.—LIGHT's New Invented Small Travelling HARP, or HARP-LUTE, which produces the same round and effect as the real Harp, although not more than one quarter the size; are also very elegant, and extremely easy to learn. The very flattering reception with which the Harp-lute has met in families of exalted rank and first musical taste, demands the Inventor's grateful thanks. Mr. L. respectfully informs Ladies who are not as yet supplied, that he has a good variety just finished, to make choice of, at his Musical Cabinet, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square.—The Harp-Lute, also Piano-forte, Singing, &c. taught at home and out.

Fig 5.93: The drive towards emulating the real harp can be seen.[144]

In the context of Light's success in distributing his instruments, the term 'harp-lute' seems to have been so well established amongst the London public that it also appeared in advertisements other than those by Light (Fig 5.94).

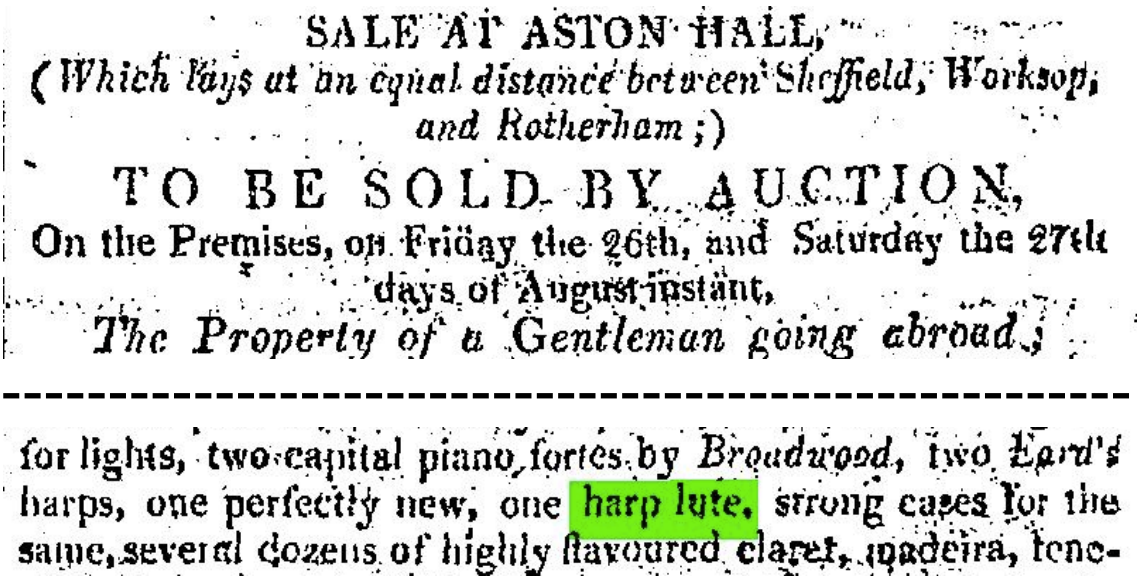
[143] *The Morning Post* 11th April 1814.
[144] *The Morning Post* 15th April 1814.



THE Advertiser has a few leisure hours, who would be happy to fill them up. He informs the public that he has the honour of TEACHING in the FIRST CIRCLES, the PIANO, Thorough Bass, Harp, Harp-Lute, Spanish Guitar, Violin, and Flute, on reasonable Terms. Letters addressed, post paid, to Y. O. at the Brunswick Music Warehouse, 44, Great Coram-street, Brunswick-square.

Fig 5.94: Establishment of the term 'harp-lute' among London public.[145]

The success of harp lutes was not simply confined to London and surrounding areas, but extended to places such as Sheffield and Derby, as shown in a household auction held nearby involving a harp lute[146] (Fig 5.95).



SALE AT ASTON HALL,
(*Which lays at an equal distance between Sheffield, Worksop, and Rotherham;*)
TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
On the Premises, on Friday the 26th, and Saturday the 27th days of August instant,
The Property of a Gentleman going abroad;

for lights, two capital piano fortes by *Broadwood*, two *Ward's* harps, one perfectly new, one harp lute, strong cases for the same, several dozens of highly flavoured claret, madeira, lene-

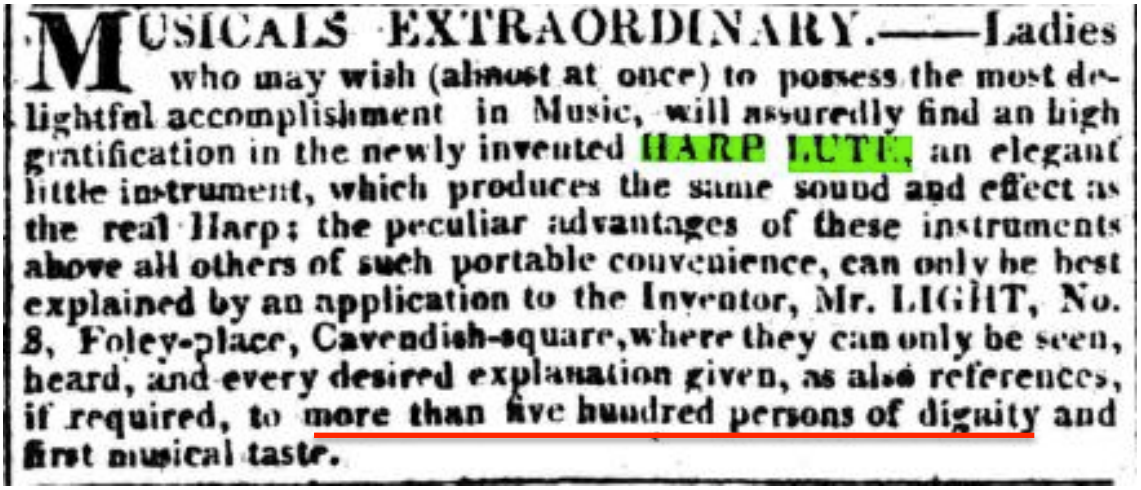
Fig 5.95: Household auction advertisement in the Derby Mercury that includes a harp lute.[147]

5.4.1 FIVE-HUNDRED USERS AND SERIAL NUMBER

In August 1814, within a specific period, Light uses the phrase 'to more than five hundred persons of dignity and first musical taste' (Fig 5.96 and Fig 5.97), which

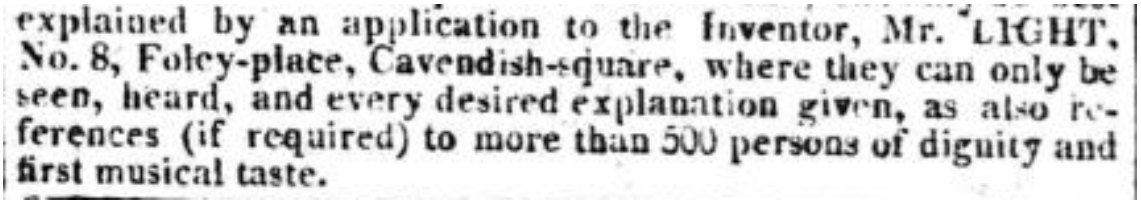
[145] *The Morning Post* 13th May 1814.
[146] With the term given in the advertisement, it is not possible to identify a specific model, but it is highly likely to have been of a type invented by Light or similar.
[147] *The Derby Mercury* 25th August 1814; the advert is partly cut by a dotted line.

probably meant (or meant to imply) he had already sold more than 500 harp-lutes.



MUSICALS EXTRAORDINARY.——Ladies who may wish (almost at once) to possess the most delightful accomplishment in Music, will assuredly find an high gratification in the newly invented HARP LUTE, an elegant little instrument, which produces the same sound and effect as the real Harp; the peculiar advantages of these instruments above all others of such portable convenience, can only be best explained by an application to the Inventor, Mr. LIGHT, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where they can only be seen, heard, and every desired explanation given, as also references, if required, to more than five hundred persons of dignity and first musical taste.

Fig 5.96: Account involving the phrase 'to five hundred persons of dignity […]'.[148]



explained by an application to the Inventor, Mr. LIGHT, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where they can only be seen, heard, and every desired explanation given, as also references (if required) to more than 500 persons of dignity and first musical taste.

Fig 5.97: Another account involving the phrase 'to five hundred persons of dignity […]'.[149]

Due to the large number of counterfeits, Light declared a rule for genuine instruments in his tutorial book:

> 'NB: As many imperfect imitations of this admired little Instrument have crept abroad, & are imposed upon Ladies as E. L's real Harp-Lute. The Inventor thinks it here a duty incumbent on him to declare, that all Instrument manufactor'd for him, & by his order, are number'd & have also his name & address upon them, & that no others are the real Harp-Lutes.'[150]

[148] *The Morning Post* 12th August 1814 and *The Morning Post* 17th August 1814.
[149] The Morning Post (London, England), Saturday, 3rd September 1814.
[150] Edward Light, *New and Compleat Instructions for playing on the HARP-LUTE by Edwd Light, lyrist, To Her Royal Highness, THE PRINCESS OF WALES*, (Printed for the Author, No. 8 Foley Place Cavendish Square). BLL [e.312.b. (1)].

This clearly states that 'all instrument manufactured for him and by his order are numbered'. The number 500 is significant, in that it suggests all Light's harp-lutes made after the production number 500 certainly bore serial numbers. More precisely, the lowest number the author confirmed amongst surviving instruments was 479[151] (Fig 5.98). For the harp-lute, it is clear that Light did not apply the serial numbers from one upwards, but included all the instruments previously made before he began applying them.[152]



Fig 5.98: Light's harp-lute so far identified bearing the lowest serial number.[153]

From Light's declaration and the phrase alluded to from the newspaper, we can assume that the application of serial number likely began in 1813 (probably started number 450 or so)[154] and exceeded 500 around the summer of 1814. This means that harp-lutes with a number smaller than 500 were built before 1814, while ones with the number above it

[151] Checked in the online catalogue of Cité de la Musique, the one stored in Musée du Palais Lascaris (Nice) (C.74) bears the number 479.
[152] According to Dr. Westbrook, who advised the author on the logic of serial numbers in the nineteenth century, they did not always start from one upwards; sometimes makers counted products made before the serial number application started. Question on the author's paper and personal discussion in The Galpin Society, Musical Instrument Conference 2013 in Oxford.
[153] Musée du Palais Lascaris (Nice) [C.74], pictures were taken from <http://mediatheque.citedelamusique.fr/masc/?INSTANCE=CITEMUSIQUE&URL=/ClientBookLineCIMU/recherche/NoticeDetailleByID.asp>, (Accessed, 2012).
[154] This starting number probably reflects the number of instruments thought to have already been made.

(larger than 500) were from the production in or after 1814. To add to these interpretations, the harp-lutes with Light's inscription, including joint inscriptions with Barry, but no number, are likely to be earlier models manufactured between 1807 and 1813.[155]

5.4.2 STANDARDISATION

By the time Light started using serial number, his harp-lute had reached the stage of virtual completion and standardisation. As evidence for this, a great number of the surviving instruments show identical measurements and were constructed to the same design. However, to reach their final form, some additional improvements and minor changes from previous models were needed. The lowest serial number of harp-lutes examined by the author personally is 500, which is now in the storage of MMA [50.184.1] and is the best example to explain the standardisation of instrument (Fig 5.99).

[155] Jenny Nex has questioned about the author's interpretation for numbering. Though the author is convinced, it has to be noted that there is possibly another way of interpreting.



Fig 5.99: Harp-lute by Light (serial no. 500), currently in the possession of MMA [50.184.1].

The emptied space above the nut for the seventh and sixth strings has been filled with the serial number (Fig 5.100). Thereafter, this method was left unchanged until the next generation, the British Lute Harp, was invented, though the font continued to vary.



Fig 5.100: The serial number was added to the space above the nut for the sixth and seventh strings.

Of significance in the evolution of harp lutes is that Light added a ring stop for covering

all the floating bass strings while installing a simple new key mechanism with which one of them could be operated (Fig 5.101).

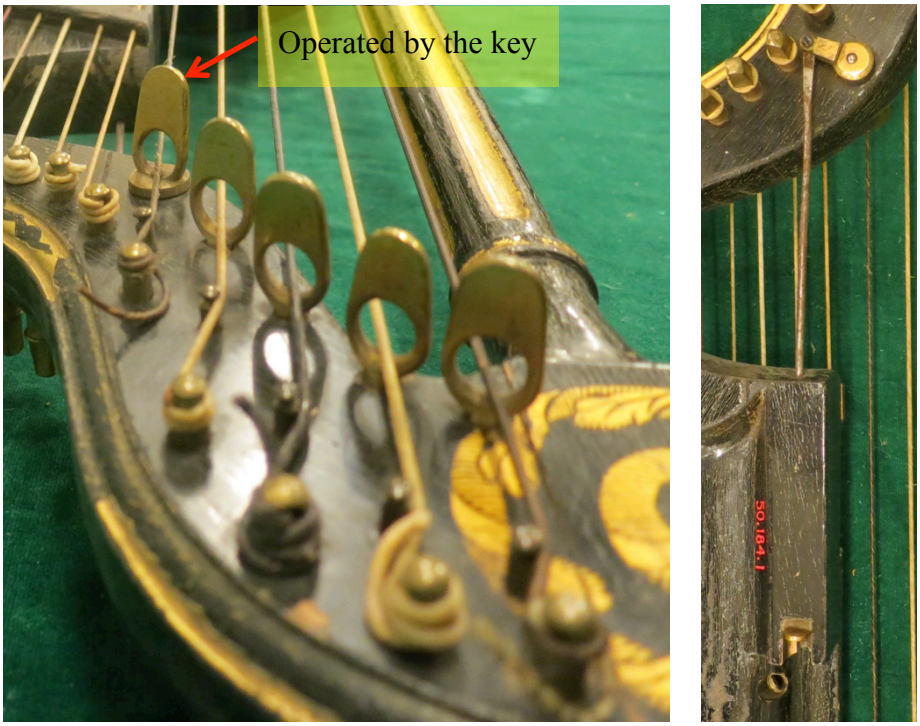


Fig 5.101: Increased number of ring stops (three to five in total) and key mechanism at the back.

The mechanism is very simple: the ring stop is turned when the player pulls the key installed at back of the neck with their thumb, and the stop twists the eighth string so that the pitch become a semitone higher (f' to f#'), making it easy to transpose to the key of G. This idea was a significant development – all later models have mechanisms, albeit slightly more complex, for changing the pitches of the strings – and was almost certainly influenced by the action of the harp. The change entailed the addition of a key box installed at the back of the neck and filling half of the thumb groove (Fig 5. 102).

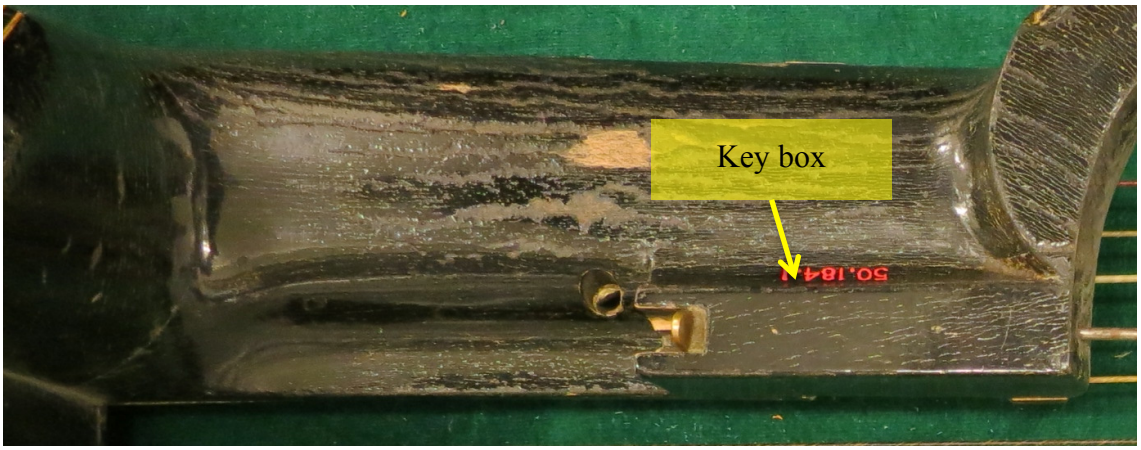


Fig 5. 102: Key box attached to the back of the neck, at the top.

Light called it 'Dital, or spring' and insisted that 'the last, and most essential improvement made on the Harp-Lute, by which it approaches nearer to the perfection of the Pedal Harp, than any other Instrument'.[156] In addition, though none of the mechanisms on the extant instruments could be successfully operated, the key was supposed to be hooked at the key box by pulling and pushing it down, since the bottom of the box was usually cut slightly at an angle towards the front of the neck and a slot was provided under the key (Fig 5.103).

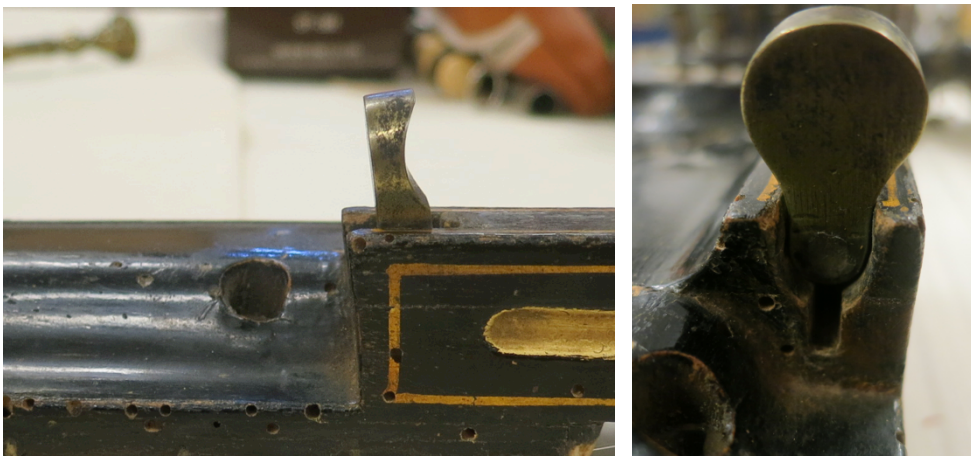


Fig 5.103: Typical Light harp-lute key in the box.[157]

[156] Edward Light, *New and Compleat Instructions For playing on the HARP-LUTE, By Edwd Light, Lyrist, To Her Royal Highness, THE PRINCESS OF WALES*, (London: printed for the author, 1807-23), p.37, MS., BLL [e.312.b. (1)]. Please see Appendix viii for more details.

[157] These pictures are not from MMA [50.184.1] but from BCO [944], since there was no good picture from the former. Though the latter is an updated version of harp-lute, harp-lutes manufactured after the

At around the same time (mentioned before in the section on the latest example of bass-lyre at PRO), due most likely to the increasing tension of strings, the bridge and the string guide of the harp-lute began to be fixed with screws (Fig 5.104).

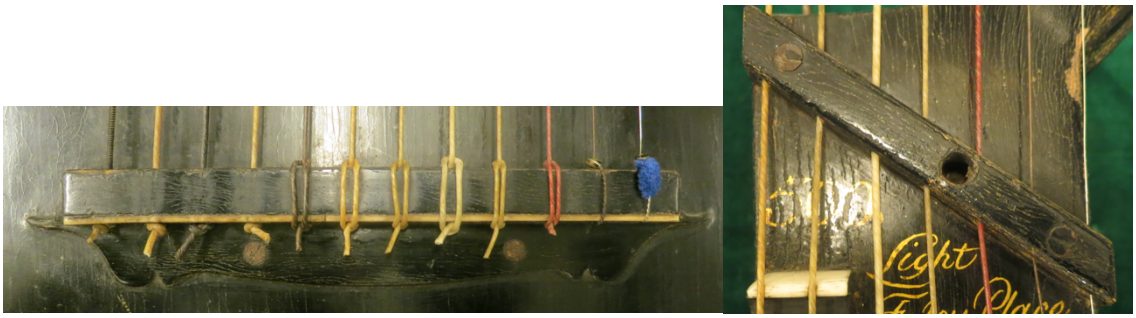


Fig 5.104: Bridge (left) and string guide, both fixed with screws.

The number of screws for the bridge seems to have later increased from two to three. Regardless of the number, they were usually held with small square blocks glued underneath the soundboard (Fig 5.105).

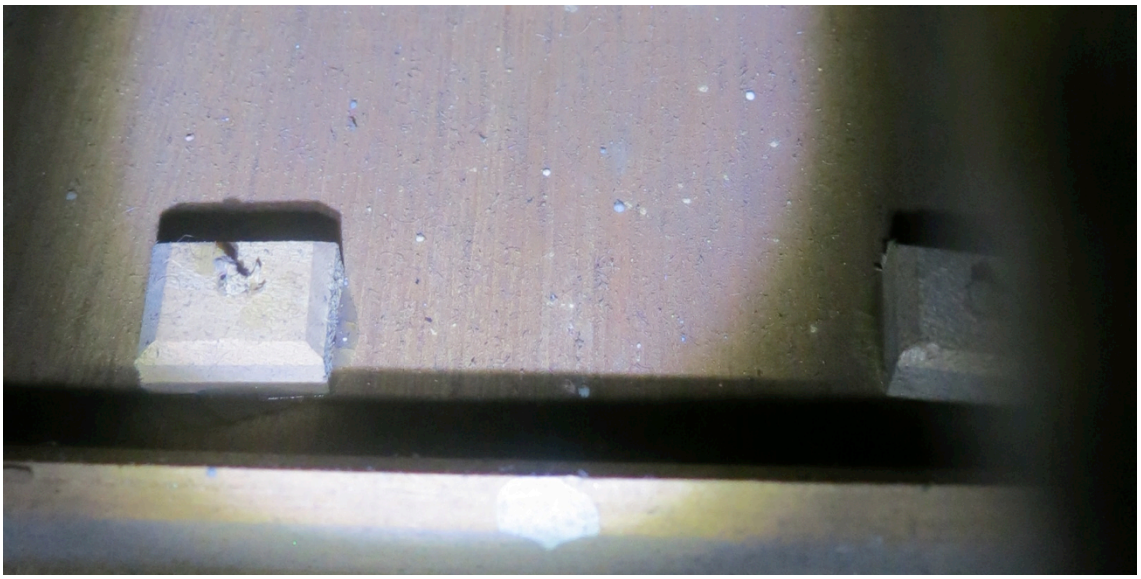


Fig 5.105: Two blocks for fixing the bridge attached underneath.

To improve the timbre of the instrument, Light added another hole for the soundbox, making two in total. This became the norm for ones manufactured afterwards (Fig

introduction of serial numbers, as explained, were constructed primarily to the same design. Therefore, the key mechanisms are more or less identical.

5.106).

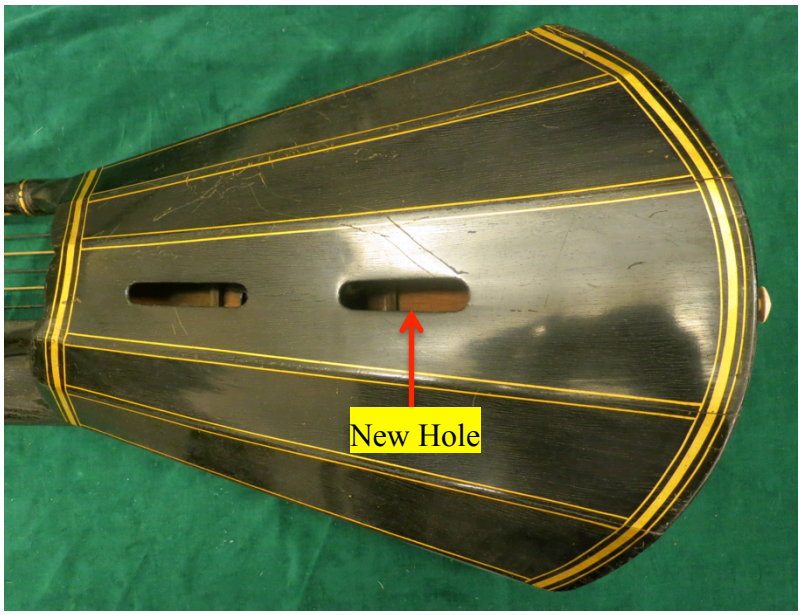


Fig 5.106: The newly-introduced second back hole on the soundbox.

As with the standardisation of the design, the varying scale lengths were regulated, providing a standard measurement that remained unchanged in the harp-lutes manufactured thereafter (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: The regulated scale lengths of the harp-lute[158]

Strings on fingerboard		Floated bass strings	
1st	350mm	8th	560mm
2nd	375mm	9th	590mm
3rd	375mm	10th	599mm-619mm
4th	375mm	11th	629mm-638mm
5th	375mm	12th	640mm
6th	400mm		
7th	400mm		

[158] The instruments have been chosen as 'typical' examples.

Additionally, standardisation not only applied to the scale length but also to the body dimensions, which became 64mm[159] at the narrowest part (top of body) and about 130mm at the deepest (around the bridge).[160] From the discussions on the harp-lutes with serial numbers, it may be derived that only the form and design of the instrument became changeable (due to the elimination of different sizes), which surely improved workshop efficiency (becoming more rationalised). To maintain their attractiveness to customers and to remain fashionable, Light seems to have provided more options in ornamentation.

5.4.3 NEW PILLAR IN CORINTHIAN ORDER

In relation to ornamentation, Light updated the pillar from the Ionic to Corinthian order at some point. The lowest number of harp-lute in this style, as far as the author knows, is 547, currently stored at BCO [944] (Fig 5.107). This was likely the final improvement of all, though the Ionic style had consistently been used until the addition of the new pillar. From the surviving instruments, the number 522, found on the Hoyler (1993: 106)[161] (Fig 5.107), is the last number so far identified with a pillar in the Ionic order, and therefore the change must have been applied to the ones manufactured between these two (522 to 547).

[159] It only varies by ±1mm.
[160] It has to be mentioned that in the construction process the neck block was easy to standardise in dimensions since it was made from one block, while the body was built with seven individual staves (thin pieces of wood), which could easily change the shape of the body, leading to different dimensions for each instrument. This is why 'about 130mm' is mentioned; more precisely the measurements vary by 10mm (127mm to 137mm).
[161] The harp-lute is in the possession of KSK and its inventory number is 86.



Fig 5.107: (left) number 547 (right) number 522.[162]

Differing from the earlier ones by Buchinger and Barry, the new pillar in Corinthian order shows no sign of a previous pedestal; only the one in a bud-shape has been installed, and the replacement of the pillar was probably done to allow more room for ornamentation, especially gilded adornments, which were applied to the capital in a three-dimensional form and the bud-shaped pedestal (Fig 5.108).[163]

[162] The picture was taken from Hoyler (1993: 106), in which mentioned the number.
[163] The harp-lutes with a pillar in Ionic order usually have no gilded adornments on any part of the instrument.



Fig 5.108: Two different styles of pillar in Corinthian order: (above)[164] the newly introduced by Light and (bottom)[165] the earlier one by Buchinger.

Perhaps due to the limited space on the upper neck after the installation of the three-dimensional capital, or because they might have not been much in use, the ring stops for the lowest string have been eliminated, making four in total. The mechanically operated stop has been retained (Fig 5.109).



Fig 5.109: New arrangement of ring stops on the harp-lute with pillar in Corinthian order.[166]

[164] BCO [944].
[165] PRO [1938.34.612].
[166] BCO [944].

All extant harp-lutes with a serial number above 547 thus far discovered have a pillar in Corinthian order, and Light completely changed its design while managing to avoid a loss of efficiency in the process of manufacturing. If there had been two different models[167] in concurrent production, the maker would have made them strictly correspond in quantity. Otherwise, in the worst case, there would have been too much stock for one model, while the other would have been out of stock. Producing one model would have eliminated this risk, and the maker would have been able to manufacture the instrument as much as he wanted until the stock reached a sufficient number. Meanwhile, the dealer (Light) would only have needed to take orders for one model – a very rationalised and economical system.

5.4.4 VARIETY OF ORNAMENTATION

Cleverly, Light left a margin for customers to choose their own ornamentation, probably from pre-designed pattern books,[168] creating their own harp-lute. Thus, the bulk of the instrument was manufactured, keeping the price down, while the extra costs of ornamentation was charged to the customers, meaning any loss in profits to Light would have been kept to a minimum. In support of this, the surviving harp-lutes display a variety of decoration, the most significant of which was probably whether the whole instrument was painted black or stained brown, retaining the pattern of the wood (Fig 5.110).

[167] Two pillars in different designs.
[168] Offered by the furniture maker Chippendale, such pattern books were very popular in Georgian Britain.



Fig 5.110: Two substantially differently ornamented harp-lutes, (left) serial number 609,[169] and (right) serial number 675.[170]

All motifs used for the ornamentation of harp-lutes undoubtedly came from the contemporary art movement known as Regency Classicism (1800-1803), which involved ancient Greek, Roman and Egyptian motifs, Classical friezes, revival of the Rococo style, Naturalism and Chinoiserie[171] – all these aspects can be identified in the surviving instruments.

5.4.5 THE WORK OF PICTURE FRAME MAKERS

Such ornamentation was most likely done by picture frame makers, which meant the completed instrument, in white,[172] was sent to them for ornamentation and decorations. Though it will be explained in Chapter 7, the trimming at the outer corners of the upper neck was apparently done by using tools and techniques of the frame maker, technically known as 'beading' (Fig 5.111). It might be possible that beadings on the corners and also the grooves on the pillar were the work of such makers.

---

[169] HML [MT537-1998].
[170] V&A [37-1873].
[171] For more detail please read Jackson (2005: 82-92).
[172] Ornamentation, mechanical devises, tuning pins and stops were not yet installed; they were assembled and completed afterwards.

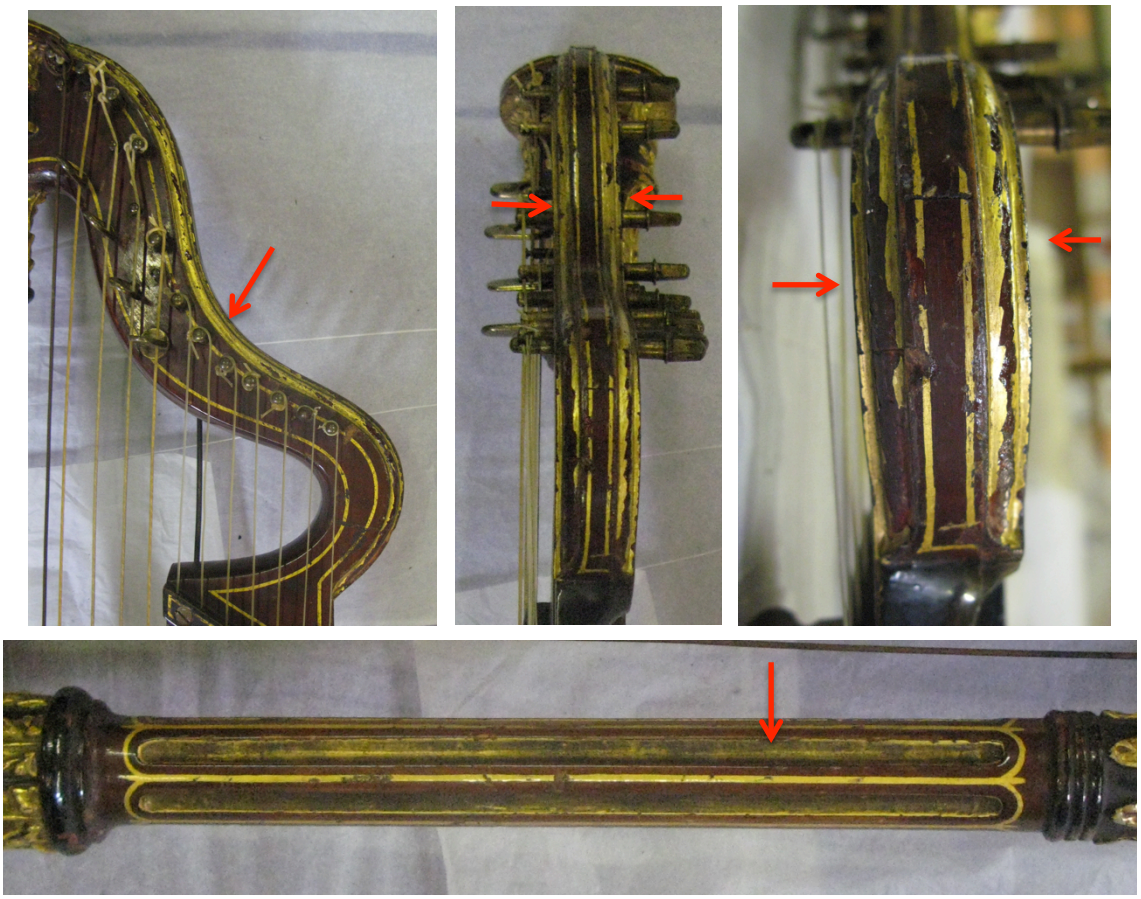


Fig 5.111: (above three) corners of the upper neck of the harp-lute and (below) the grooves on the column, beaded by using tools and techniques of picture frame makers.[173]

This will become more obvious if we look at a frame maker, George Jackson, who managed the company from 1804 to 1830[174] supplying composition ornaments for picture frames and harps. Evidently, Light's manufacturer, Barry, was a client of Jackson from 1815 to 1817.[175] Therefore, it becomes apparent that all the gilded

[173] The parts are from HML [MT537-1998].

[174] The biography is shown on National Portrait Gallery, 'British picture framemakers, 1610-1950', <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/j.php>, (Accessed Mar., 2014). According to the account, George Jackson's father, Thomas Jackson, most probably supplied composition ornaments to Robert Adams for interior architecture use from c.1780s. Jackson also stated that 'By this time [1811-18] he [George Jackson] was working closely with his father, and was producing and supplying composition ornament and applying it to frames, […] At the time [1810s], Jackson's clientele included harp makers requiring elaborate ornament to enrich instruments, and builders and decorators seeking mouldings for interiors. But most of his customers were carvers and gilders, usually picture and mirror framemakers […] By 1811 Jackson had given up his original business as a manufacturer of glue and was producing composition ornament for many leading makers. Some of his work was conducted on a subcontracted basis for his father, Thomas Jackson'.

[175] The biography is shown on National Portrait Gallery, 'British picture framemakers, 1610-1950', <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/j.php>, (Accessed Mar.,

compositions for the harp lutes manufactured after 1815 were made in George Jackson's workshop. Correspondingly, the harp-lutes and harp-lyres bearing serial numbers with the pillar in Corinthian order have composition adornments (Fig 5.112), but all the ones manufactured before show no inclusion of such embellishment.[176]



Fig 5.112: Gilded composition adornments added to the capital (left) and pedestal (right) of the harp-lute.[177]

Though it will be explained in Chapter 6, for the next generation of harp lutes, particularly after the introduction of the dital-harp, it can be seen that some of the extant instruments do not have any composition adornments. Instead, they have painted motifs in gold. In observing the period of Barry's engagement with Jackson, and from examining the surviving instruments, it may be possible that all of Light's harp lutes with gilded composition ornaments were manufactured between 1815 and 1817. To prove this, however, more research needs to be conducted.

5.5 BARRY AS A HARP MAKER

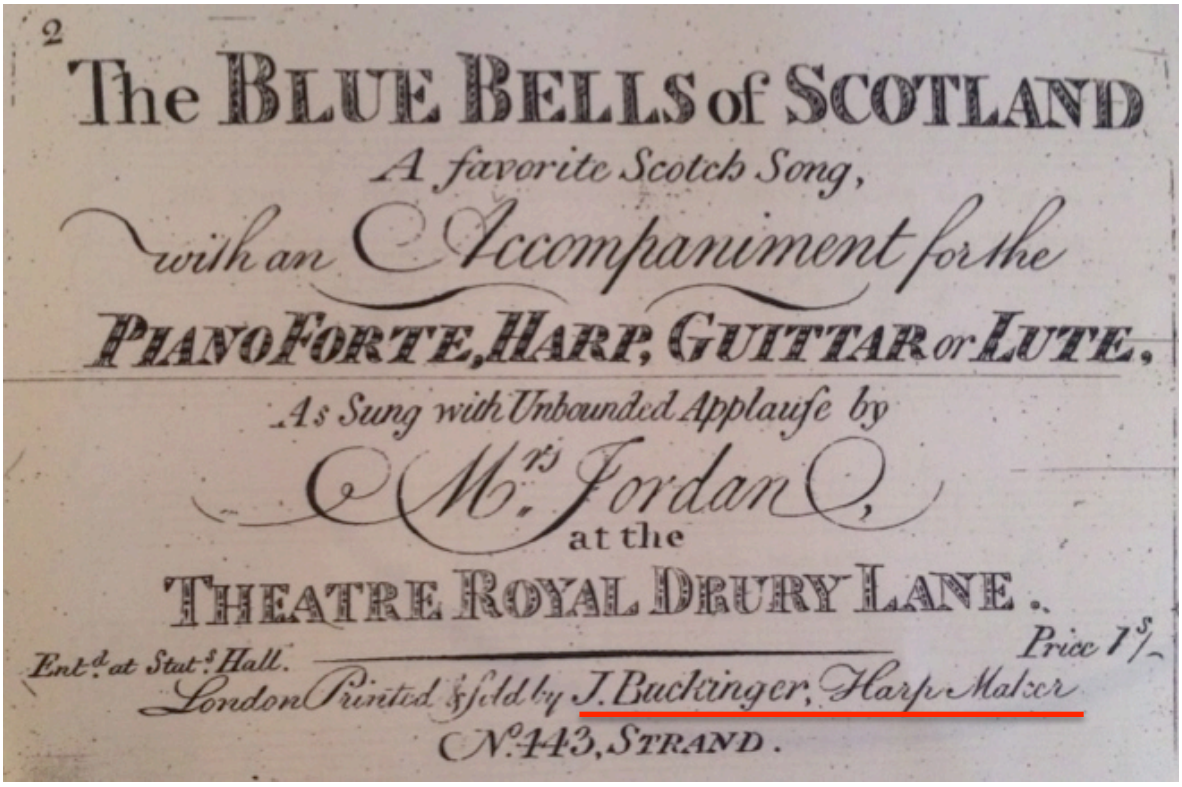
As mentioned before, Barry was Buchinger's son-in-law, who once referred himself as 'harp maker' in his publication (Fig 5.113), and was listed in the category of harp

2014). Additionally, the information on the earlier era of the company (1804-1818), given on the web page, is based on an account book in possession of the V&A (AAD/2012/1/2/1-3). This is an incomplete series, so there might be a possibility that Barry was his client before 1815, possibly from 1807 when harp-lute manufacturing began. To discuss this in more detail, the author would need access to the original document.

[176] Though such harp-lutes by Ward and Apollo Lyres carry a gilded composition (flower on the capital and Apollo's face on the finial), they were possibly made separately and attached in the workshop. This means it was not always necessary to send instruments to the composition makers. For these reasons, the gilded composition adornment discussed here does not include such ornaments, but the ones needed to be made by the composition maker.

[177] HML [MT537-1998].

makers in Jackson's biography.[178]


2

The BLUE BELLS of SCOTLAND

A favorite Scotch Song,

with an Accompaniment for the

PIANOFORTE, HARP, GUITTAR or LUTE.

As Sung with Unbounded Applause by

Mrs. Jordan,

at the

THEATRE ROYAL DRURY LANE.

Entd at Stats Hall. Price 1s/-

London Printed & Sold by J. Buchinger, Harp Maker

No. 443, STRAND.

Fig 5.113: Buchinger referring to himself as 'Harp Maker'.[179]

Barry seems to have been more engaged in harp making rather than such plucked stringed instruments as guitars, and to support this there is an interesting inventory from Erat (harp maker), compiled by Barry and Dodd in 1824 (Fig 5.114). The document is very important in that the two compilers both sent their instruments to Jackson[180] in exactly the same period (1815-1817) and still worked together in 1824, which may suggest they worked cooperatively for a relatively longer period.

[178] National Portrait Gallery, 'British picture framemakers, 1610-1950', <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/j.php>, (Accessed Mar., 2014).
[179] BLL [G.383.h.(2.)].
[180] Jackson's biography mentions 'Barry, Greek St, 1815-7; Dodd, St. Martin's Lane 1815-7, Marchmont St, 1817'. National Portrait Gallery, 'British picture framemakers, 1610-1950', <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/j.php>, (Accessed Mar., 2014. The two addresses (Greek St and St. Martin's Lane) were walking distance apart, about eight minutes; even the journey from Greek St to Marchmont St took about 30 minutes.

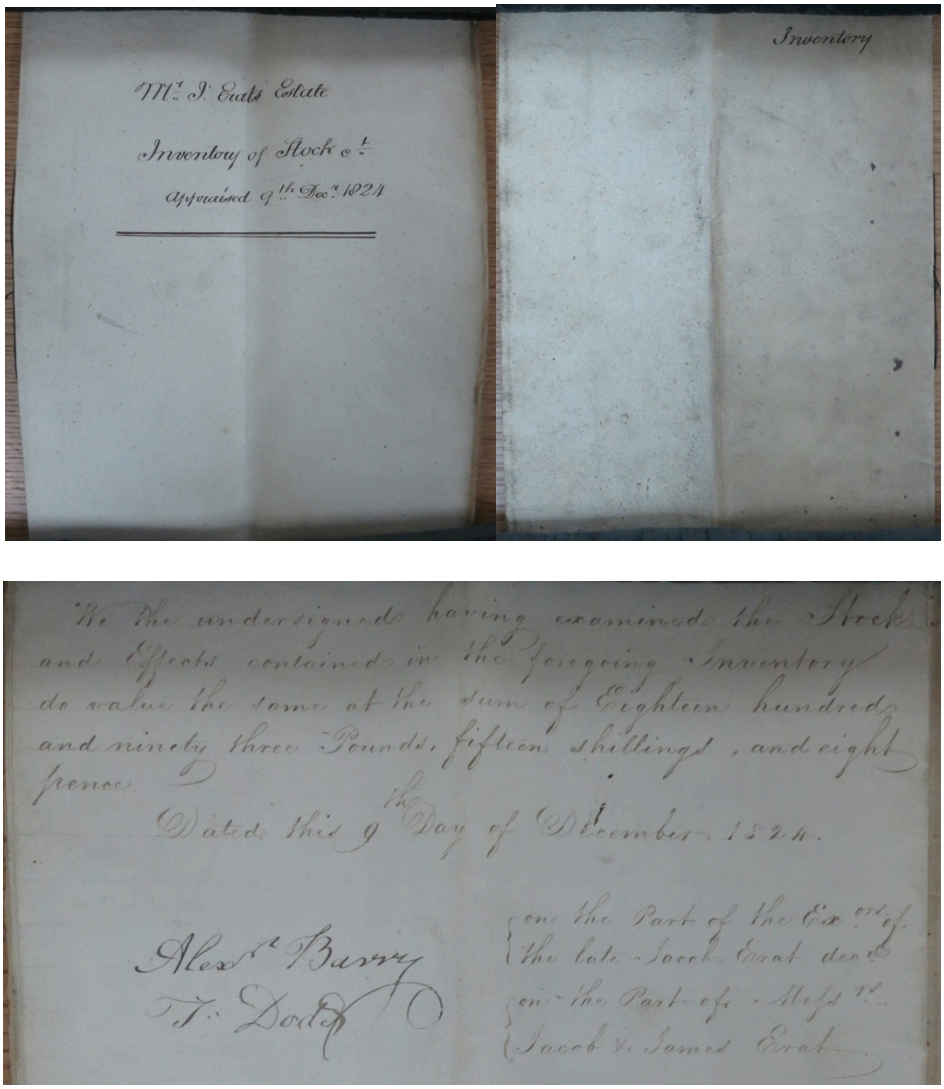


Fig 5.114: Erat's inventory 9th Dec, 1824 compiled by Alexander Barry and T. Dodd.[181]

Additionally, there are some extant harps manufactured by Barry; one is currently in the possession of the RMT [2003/1] (Fig 5.115).

[181] NAL [C110/99].

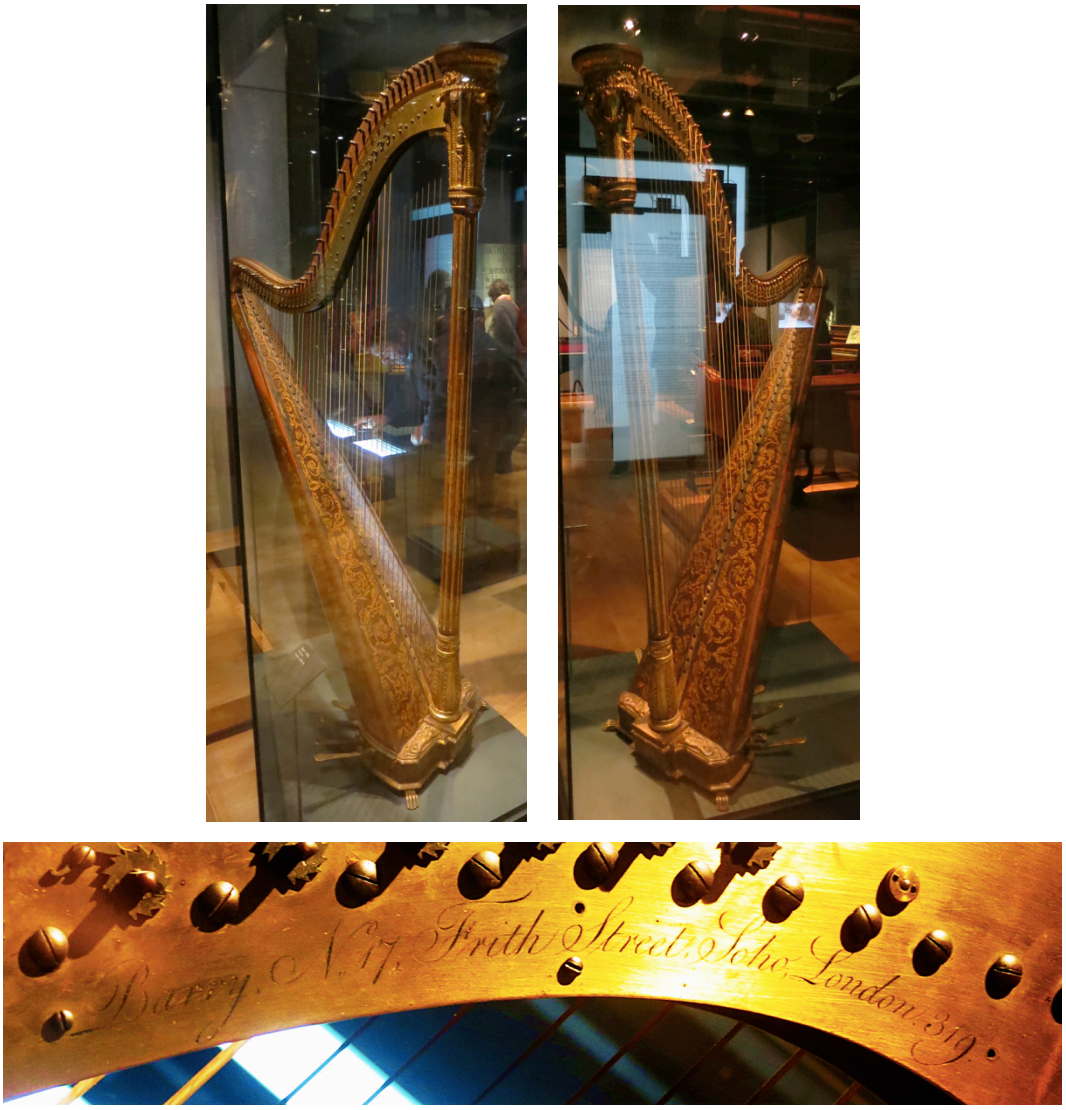


Fig 5.115: A harp manufactured by Barry.[182]

Another example, in a more French style, may suggest that Barry had been engaged with harp making from a much earlier period, as early as the 1790s (Fig 5.116).

[182] RMT [2003/1].



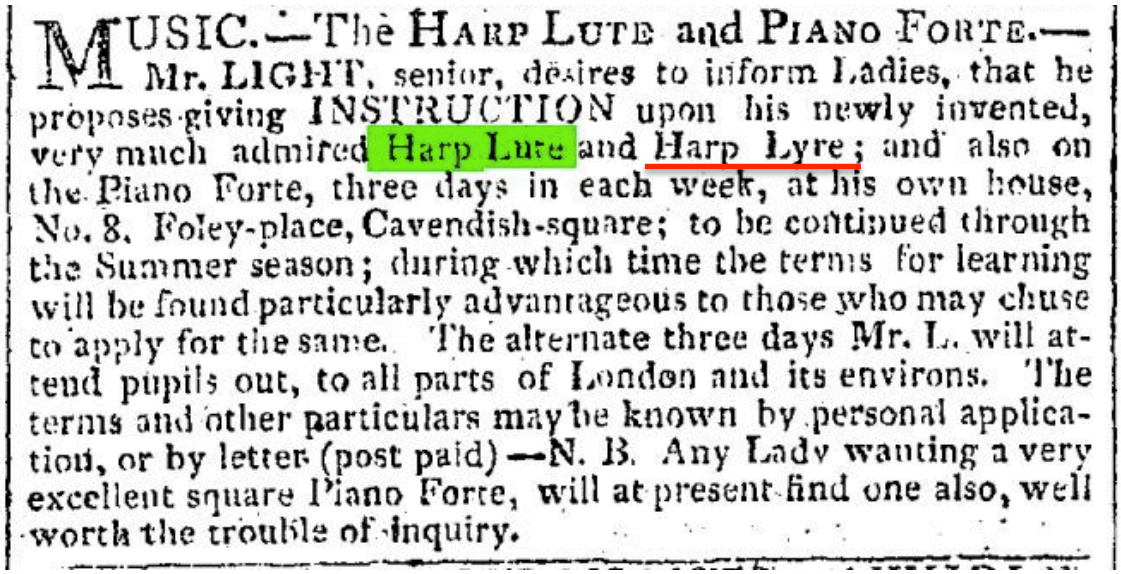
Fig 5.116: Harp manufactured by Barry in a more French style.[183]

It is natural, if we regard Barry as a harp maker, that the prototype of harp lutes, the harp-guitar, evolved to become more and more like a harp. Moreover, the gilded compositions were adorned by Jackson, whose main clients were harp makers (such as Erard and Dodd).[184]

5.6 NEW INVENTION: HARP-LYRE

Seemingly produced in a short period, Light's so-called 'Harp Lyre'[185] first appears in public documents, as far as the author knows, around the middle of 1815 (Fig 5.117).

[183] Images taken from Clive Morley Harps, 'News & Events', <http://www.morleyharps.co.uk/news-items/antique-harps-for-sale-summer-2013/>, (Accessed Sep., 2014).
[184] National Portrait Gallery, 'British picture framemakers, 1610-1950', <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/j.php>, (Accessed Mar., 2014).
[185] 'Lyre Harp' appeared in newspapers around 1805. The different word order most likely indicated the 'Apollo Lyre'; the 'Harp Lyre' was a new instrument or model introduced around 1815.



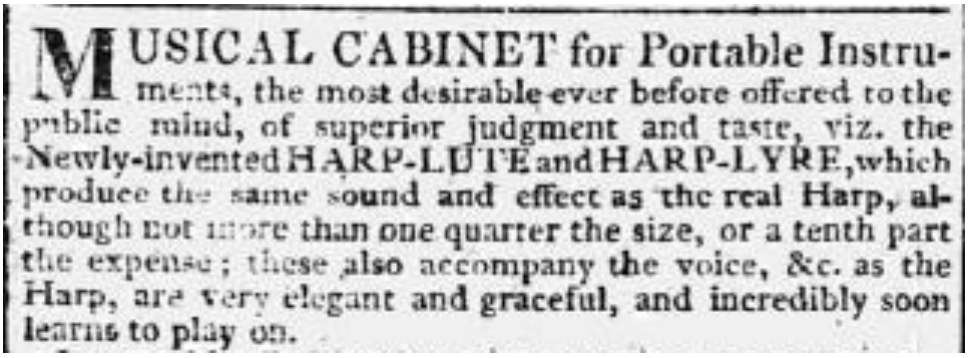
MUSIC.—The HARP LUTE and PIANO FORTE.—Mr. LIGHT, senior, desires to inform Ladies, that he proposes giving INSTRUCTION upon his newly invented, very much admired Harp Lute and Harp Lyre; and also on the Piano Forte, three days in each week, at his own house, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square; to be continued through the Summer season; during which time the terms for learning will be found particularly advantageous to those who may chuse to apply for the same. The alternate three days Mr. L. will attend pupils out, to all parts of London and its environs. The terms and other particulars may be known by personal application, or by letter (post paid)—N. B. Any Lady wanting a very excellent square Piano Forte, will at present find one also, well worth the trouble of inquiry.

Fig 5.117: Earliest advertisement featuring the term 'Harp Lyre'.[186]

Busby (1825: Vol 2, 226) described the instrument:

> 'The Harp-Lyre (by the same inventor [Light]) differs from the former [Harp-Lute] only in the shape of the body, which is flat at the back, and somewhat similar to that of the Apollo-lyre'

Only differing in body shape, the Harp-Lyre was substantially similar in function to the harp-lute; supportively, the two were usually promoted together with an elucidation (Fig 5.118).



MUSICAL CABINET for Portable Instruments, the most desirable ever before offered to the public mind, of superior judgment and taste, viz. the Newly-invented HARP-LUTE and HARP-LYRE, which produce the same sound and effect as the real Harp, although not more than one quarter the size, or a tenth part the expense; these also accompany the voice, &c. as the Harp, are very elegant and graceful, and incredibly soon learns to play on.

Fig 5.118: Harp-lute and Harp-Lyre described together in the same advert.[187]

[186] *The Morning Chronicle* 6th July 1815.
[187] *The Bury and Norwich Post- Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Ely Advertiser* 27th

Fortunately, we can see the Harp-Lyre today as there are a number of surviving instruments, amongst which two are identified with the serial numbers 560 and 579[188] (Fig 5.119). These numbers are important in ascertaining the year of introduction. As explained above, harp-lutes with a serial number greater than 500 were made after 1814, and the numbers found on the two harp-lyres place them in such a grouping. Manufactured during a certain period, the numbering of the harp-lyre seems to have been in sequence with the harp-lute (i.e. made in the same production line, thus no overlapping number with the harp-lute can be found[189]). As it first appeared in a newspaper in 1815, this may suggest that the harp-lutes bearing a serial number of 561 and upwards were most likely made after 1815. So far, this confirms that the harp-lyre was still on sale in 1816.[190]

December 1815.

[188] Serial no. 560 is stored at the RAM [2003.973], and 579 sits in the MMS [M2490].

[189] Though it will be explained later in detail, for the next generation, the 'British Lute Harp' or the 'dital-harp', the serial number was renewed and recounted from 1 upwards. This is different from the numbering system of the harp-lute that did not start from 1. The harp-lyre followed the same sequence as the harp-lute.

[190] The advertisement for harp-lyre appeared in *The Morning Post* 15th February 1816.



Fig 5.119: Two harp-lyres, both identified by the author using their serial number; (left) number 579[191] and (right) number 560.[192]

In terms of construction, Busby's account makes it apparent that, apart from the body shape, they are apparently identical to the harp-lutes manufactured after serial number 547. Evidently, the measurements of the scale lengths are undoubtedly those of the harp-lute: the one in the MMS measures 354mm (first), 376mm (second-fifth), 399mm (sixth-seventh), 563mm (eighth), 586mm (ninth), 614mm (tenth), 633mm (eleventh) and 639mm (twelfth). The harp-lyre was presumably developed from the latest bass-lyre discussed above (PRO [1938.34.611]). However, though both instruments have the same fingerboard with identical scale lengths, their scale lengths differ in the floating bass strings due to the different form of neck; the harp-lyre's neck is similar to

[191] MMS [M2490].
[192] RAM [2003.973]; the pictures were taken from the web page Royal Academy of Music, 'Museum & Collections', <http://apollo.ram.ac.uk/emuweb/pages/ram/display.php?irn=10539>, (Accessed Dec., 2011).

that of the harp-lute (a combination of the lower and the upper neck) while the bass-lyre's is similar to that of the Apollo Lyre.

5.7 GROWTH IN COUNTERFEIT INSTRUMENTS

A growing threat to Light's success, and one of the reasons for the serial numbers, was the increasing number of imitations and counterfeit harp-lutes that appeared and began to spread, not only within London, but also to other parts of England. Light therefore reacted by giving stronger and more severe warnings to the public (Fig 5.120).

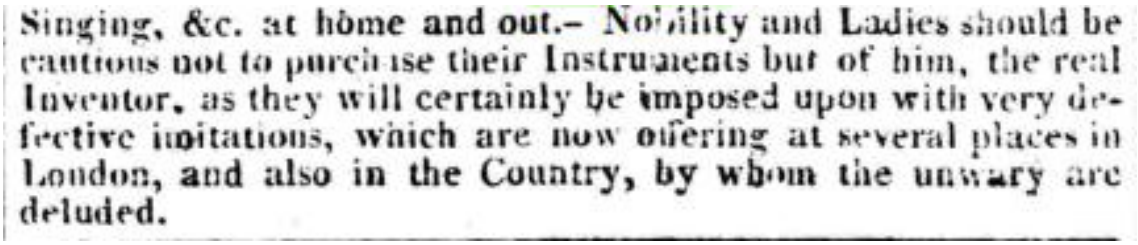

Singing, &c. at home and out.– Nobility and Ladies should be cautious not to purchase their Instruments but of him, the real Inventor, as they will certainly be imposed upon with very defective imitations, which are now offering at several places in London, and also in the Country, by whom the unwary are deluded.

Fig 5.120: Announcement referring to counterfeit instruments.[193]

Despite his efforts in giving precautions to the public, the situation seems not to have improved. Therefore, Light gave more announcements regarding counterfeit instruments throughout the year 1815 (Fig 5.121 and Fig 5.122).

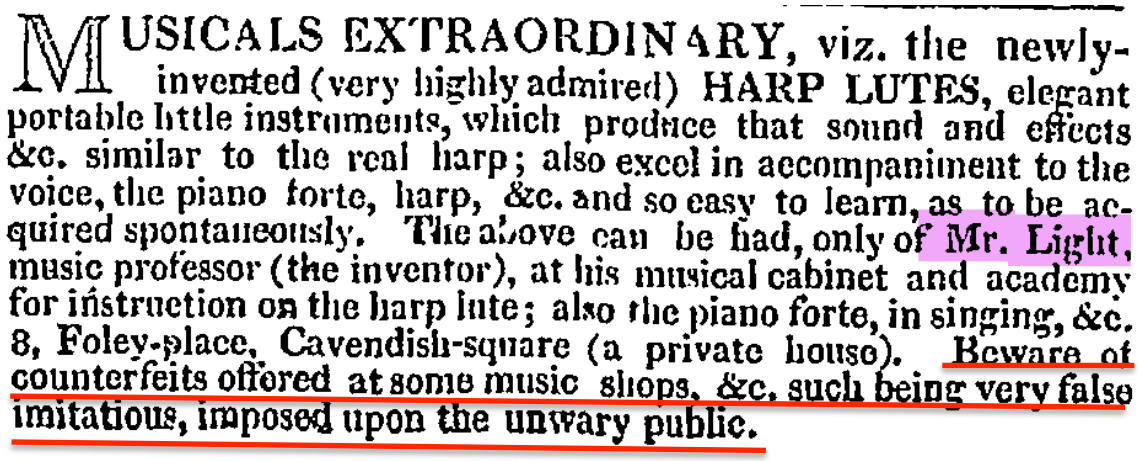
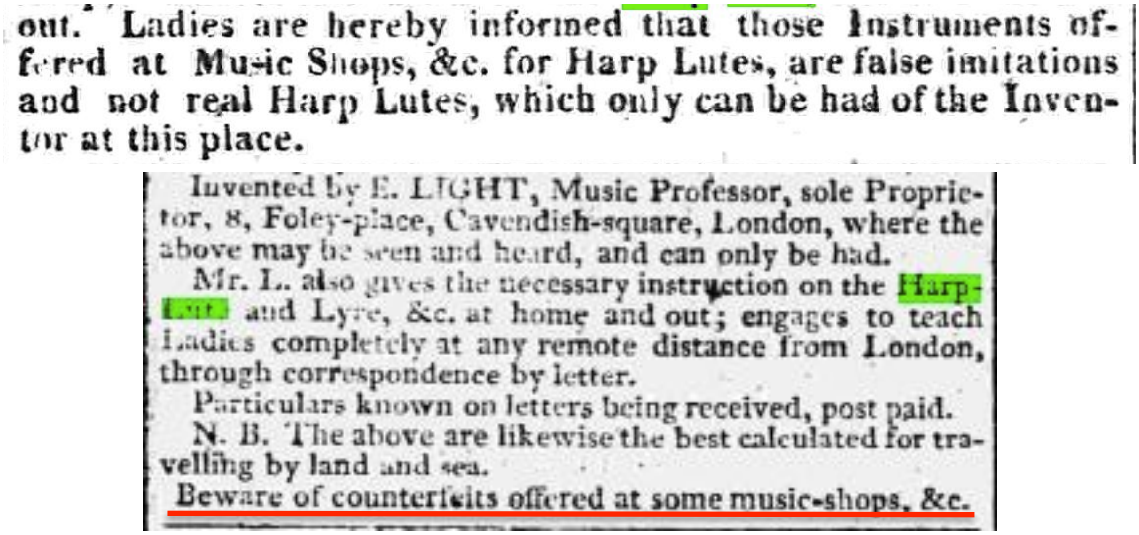

MUSICALS EXTRAORDINARY, viz. the newly-invented (very highly admired) HARP LUTES, elegant portable little instruments, which produce that sound and effects &c. similar to the real harp; also excel in accompaniment to the voice, the piano forte, harp, &c. and so easy to learn, as to be acquired spontaneously. The above can be had, only of Mr. Light, music professor (the inventor), at his musical cabinet and academy for instruction on the harp lute; also the piano forte, in singing, &c. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square (a private house). Beware of counterfeits offered at some music shops, &c. such being very false imitations, imposed upon the unwary public.

Fig 5.121: An advertisement of harp lutes issued on January 1815.[194]

[193] *The Morning Post* 20th October 1814; *The Morning Post* 21st October 1814; *The Morning Chronicle* 28th October 21814.



out. Ladies are hereby informed that those Instruments offered at Music Shops, &c. for Harp Lutes, are false imitations and not real Harp Lutes, which only can be had of the Inventor at this place.

Invented by E. LIGHT, Music Professor, sole Proprietor, 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, London, where the above may be seen and heard, and can only be had.

Mr. L. also gives the necessary instruction on the Harp-Lute and Lyre, &c. at home and out; engages to teach Ladies completely at any remote distance from London, through correspondence by letter.

Particulars known on letters being received, post paid.

N. B. The above are likewise the best calculated for travelling by land and sea.

Beware of counterfeits offered at some music-shops, &c.

Fig 5.122: Other examples of Light's warnings against counterfeit instruments.[195]

Going by these announcements and the oft-repeated sentence seen in newspaper adverts, 'to be had of Mr. Light', Light seems to have been warning against harp lutes sold in music shops; orders for genuine harp lutes were never taken in such places but exclusively from Light's property.[196] Nonetheless, Light's attempts to clamp down on these imitations never worked successfully. More and more people became involved in the harp lute businesses, and new musician-inventors and entrepreneur-manufacturers, creating their own harp lutes, began to emerge.

---

[194] *The Times* 16th January 1815.

[195] (Above) *The Morning Post* 6th December 1815 and (Below) *The Bury and Norwich Post- Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Ely Advertiser* 27th December 1815; the same advertisement can be seen in *the Caledonian Mercury* 30th December 1815.

[196] Exceptionally, it might be possible that the harp-lutes were being sold from certain music shops which Light had supplied after taking orders at his premises.

CHAPTER SIX:

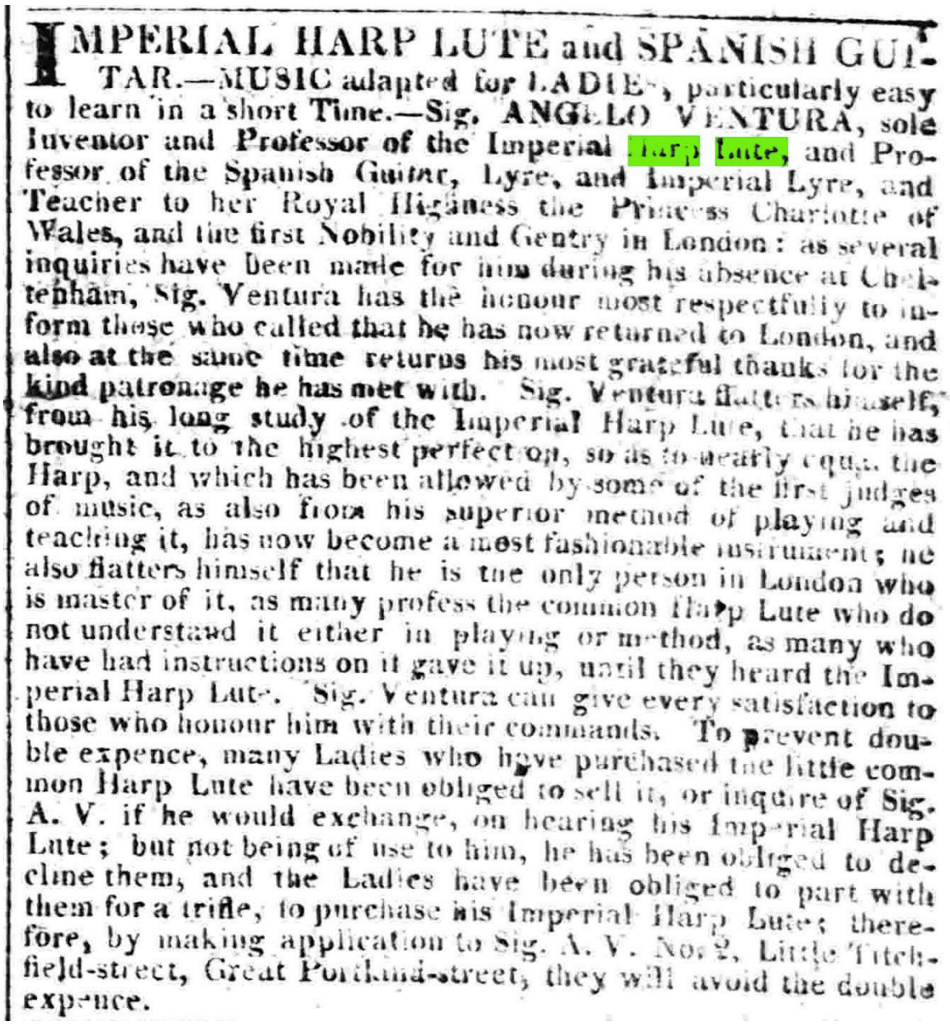
COMPETITORS, PATENT AND DECLINE

6.1 COMPETITION

6.1.1 IMPERIAL HARP LUTE BY VENTURA

In 1814, Angelo Benedetto Ventura's[1] most representative invention of the harp lute, the 'Imperial Harp Lute', was completed and put on general sale (Fig 6.1). From a newspaper account, we know he seems to have been out of London for a while (probably in the year 1813) and returned with his new invention. He complains against conventional harp lutes that were rather forthright and fierce. For instance, he states '[…] as many profess the common Harp Lute who do not understand it either in playing or method, as many who have had instructions on it gave it up […]' or 'To prevent double expense, many Ladies who have purchased the little common Harp Lute have been obliged to sell it, or inquire of Sig A. V. if he would exchange, on hearing his Imperial Harp Lute; but not being of use to him, he has been obliged to decline them, and the Ladies have been obliged to part with them […]'.

[1] (b. 1780-81 – d. 1856), Bonner (1971: 24).



IMPERIAL HARP LUTE and SPANISH GUITAR.—MUSIC adapted for LADIES, particularly easy to learn in a short Time.—Sig. ANGELO VENTURA, sole Inventor and Professor of the Imperial Harp Lute, and Professor of the Spanish Guitar, Lyre, and Imperial Lyre, and Teacher to her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and the first Nobility and Gentry in London: as several inquiries have been made for him during his absence at Cheltenham, Sig. Ventura has the honour most respectfully to inform those who called that he has now returned to London, and also at the same time returns his most grateful thanks for the kind patronage he has met with. Sig. Ventura flatters himself, from his long study of the Imperial Harp Lute, that he has brought it to the highest perfection, so as to nearly equal the Harp, and which has been allowed by some of the first judges of music, as also from his superior method of playing and teaching it, has now become a most fashionable instrument; he also flatters himself that he is the only person in London who is master of it, as many profess the common Harp Lute who do not understand it either in playing or method, as many who have had instructions on it gave it up, until they heard the Imperial Harp Lute. Sig. Ventura can give every satisfaction to those who honour him with their commands. To prevent double expence, many Ladies who have purchased the little common Harp Lute have been obliged to sell it, or inquire of Sig. A. V. if he would exchange, on hearing his Imperial Harp Lute; but not being of use to him, he has been obliged to decline them, and the Ladies have been obliged to part with them for a trifle, to purchase his Imperial Harp Lute; therefore, by making application to Sig. A. V. No. 2, Little Titchfield-street, Great Portland-street, they will avoid the double expence.

Fig 6.1: An advertisement by Ventura in 1814, mentioning the completion of the Imperial Harp Lute.[2]

Of the extant Imperial Harp Lutes, at least two have hitherto been found by the author (Fig 6.2); one is currently in the possession of HMS [C-0038] while the other once appeared in an auction (Sotheby's 25-Nov-2003, Lot: 293).

[2] *The Morning Post* 22nd October 1814.



Fig 6.2: Surviving Imperial Harp Lutes by Ventura.[3]

Although seemingly very similar to those by Light, they differ in some ways and are easily identifiable by pointing out their distinctive parts. To begin with, unmistakably, the Imperial Harp Lutes bear the inscription of Ventura on the groove hollowed on the bass side of the fingerboard, over which pass two[4] or three[5] strings (Fig 6.3). The address shown corresponds to the one appearing in the 1814 advertisement – 'No2, Little Titchfield Street'. The designation of the instrument, 'Imperial Harp Lute', is clearly inscribed. This is rather important in ascertaining the year of manufacture since Ventura's address in 1816 was No.36, Queen Street, Bryanstone-Square,[6] which means the two surviving Imperial Harp Lutes were made between 1814 and 1815.

[3] (left) HMS [C-0038] and (right) Sotheby's 25-Nov-2003 Lot: 293, picture taken from the catalogue, page 98.
[4] HMS [C-0038].
[5] Sotheby's 25-Nov-2003 Lot: 293.
[6] The new address was mentioned in *The Morning Post* 23rd April 1816.

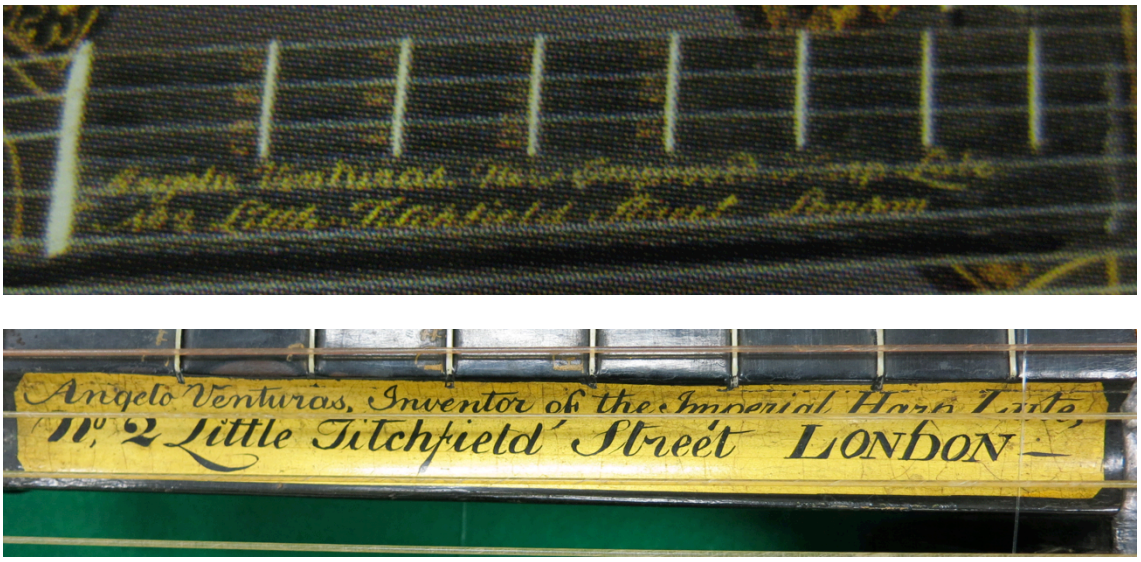


Fig 6.3: The representative inscription of Ventura on his Imperial Harp Lute.[7]

As with Light's harp-lutes, Ventura also inscribed serial numbers on the instrument, but on the top of the pillar (Fig 6.4), something occasionally seen location of inscription on Light's dital-harps.



Fig 6.4: Ventura's serial number (No. 13) on the top of the pillar.[8]

From the seemingly earlier model of the Sotheby's one,[9] due to the introduction of the groove, only three strings (second to fourth) now functioned with frets, and were tuned

[7] (above) Sotheby's 25-Nov-2003, Lot: 293 and (below) HMS [C-0038].
[8] HMS [C-0038].
[9] The one in Sotheby's 25-Nov-2003 Lot: 293 was most likely introduced prior to the HMS [C-0038] since it carries only twelve strings, while the highest string is a floating string; an extra fingerboard has not yet been attached.

c’’-e’’-g’’,[10] exactly in the same manner as those on the harp-lute by Light. The highest string, c’’’, was fixed as a shortened floating string provided with an extra tuning pin on the heel. Therefore, it is a standard twelve strung harp-lute but in a different stringing arrangement. Although the Imperial Harp Lute was undoubtedly an imitation of the harp-lute by Light, Ventura attempted to discriminate it from the original by changing the manner of stringing. He consequently came up with an idea of an additional fingerboard, over which the highest string, c’’’, was placed. Two extra strings for higher notes were added,[11] making fourteen strings in total. Additionally, Ventura narrowed the neck width, allowing more space to be devoted to the tuning pins for the supplementary strings (Fig 6.5).



Fig 6.5: Supplementary tuning pins for the higher strings just above the heel.[12]

In terms of its dimensions, the Imperial Harp Lute[13] shows rather longer scale lengths for the strings passing over the conventional fingerboard (557mm), and of course shorter ones for the top three strings (319mm) compared to Light’s harp-lutes. From this, it can be assumed that the highest three strings sounded much softer and fuller in tone, while the fourth to sixth strings became slightly tighter in timbre.

Furthermore, with eight lower floating strings, the full diatonic scale became playable. Coinciding with this improvement, and similar to ordinary harps, ring stops were

[10] All the notes for the tuning of each string were inscribed on the soundboard, allowing us to know the tuning of the Imperial Harp Lute.
[11] It is hitherto uncertain to what notes the two highest extra strings were tuned.
[12] HMS [C-0038].
[13] HMS [C-0038].

provided for each open string (Fig 6.6), enabling the performer to transpose in all keys.[14]

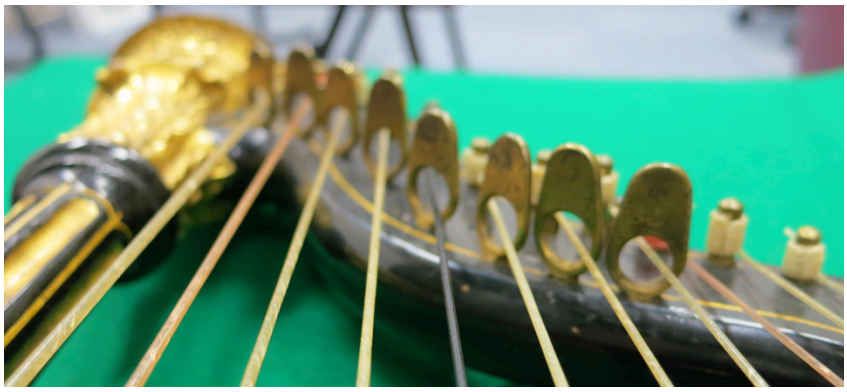


Fig 6.6: Ring stops for the open bass strings (eight in total).[15]

The unique part of Ventura's instruments was probably the key box for maintaining the tuning keys normally installed on the heel (Fig 6.7). This was unmistakably Ventura's invention.

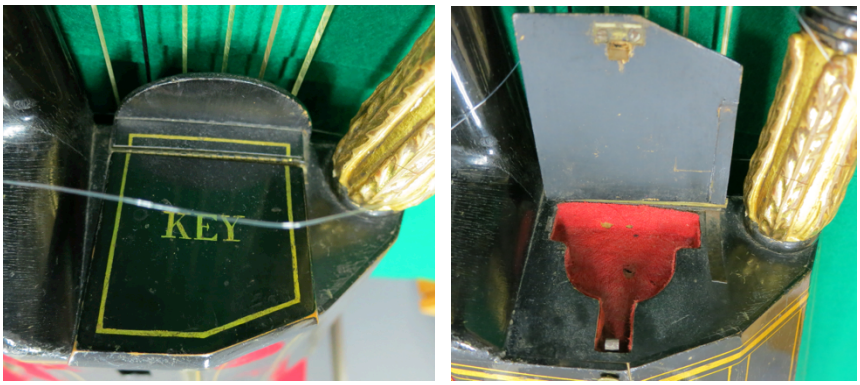


Fig 6.7: Key box for the Imperial Harp Lute by Ventura.[16]

To emphasise his Royal Appointment, also mentioned in his newspaper advertisement 'Teacher to her Royal Highness the princess Charlotte of Wales', the Royal Coat of

[14] The lowest eight strings were tuned g-c'-d'-e'-f'-g'-a'-b'; they all came with ring stops that could change semitone for each string when turned, which now meant that, theoretically, the instrument became playable in any key like the harp.
[15] HMS [C-0038].
[16] HMS [C-0038].

Arms was painted on the foreside of the keybox (Fig 6.8). Interestingly, this was not seen on Light's harp lutes until the British Lute Harp was introduced, though as well as Ventura he had been a lyrist of the Princess of Wales: Caroline of Brunswick.[17]



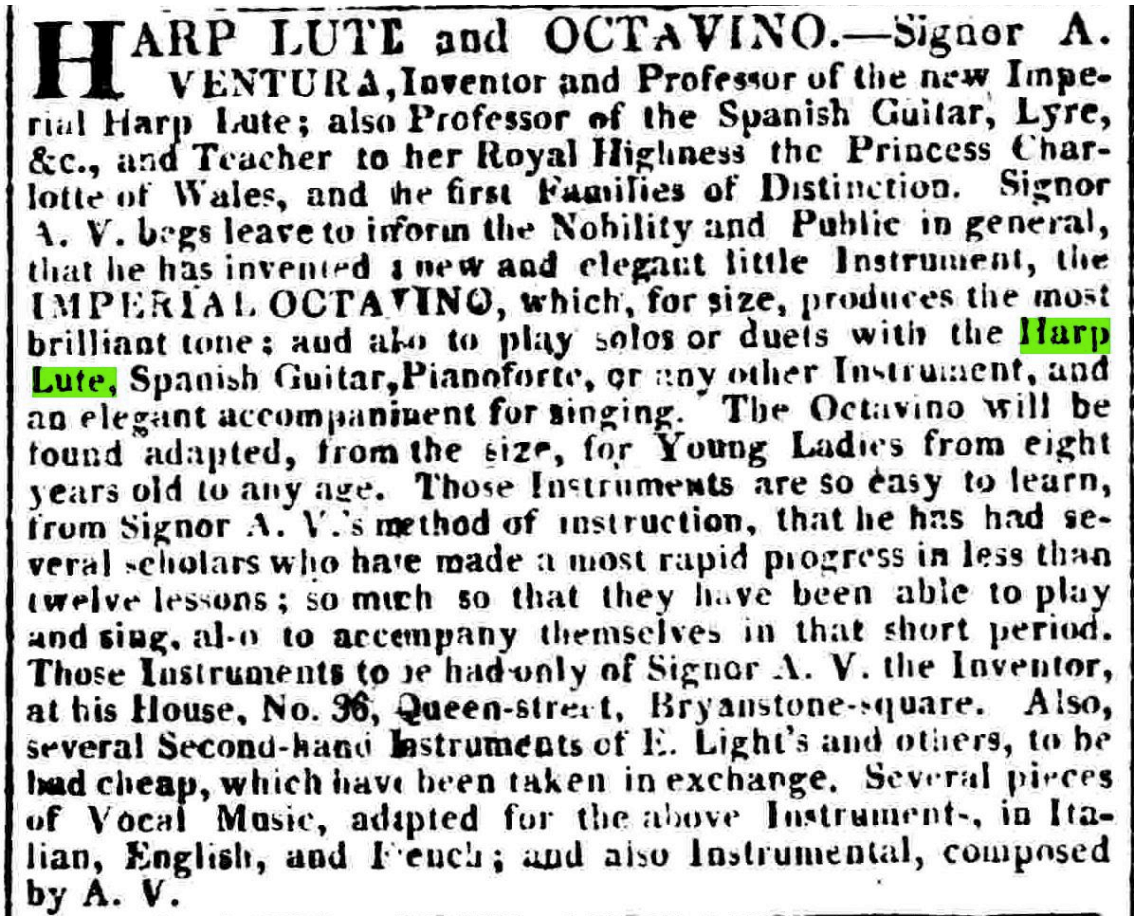
Fig 6.8: Royal Coat of Arms on the key box.

6.1.2 IMPERIAL OCTAVINO BY VENTURA

In 1816, two years after the invention of the Imperial Harp Lute, Ventura produced an updated version called the 'Imperial Octavino', and moved his address to No.36 Queen Street, Bryanstone-Square,[18] with an announcement of a general sale in a newspaper advertisement (Fig 6.9).

[17] Light sometimes mentioned in his music publications that '*Organist of Trinity Chapel & Lyrist to Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales*. See Appendix iii.

[18] Bonner (1971: 29, 42) mentioned Ventura's first invention was the Imperial Octavino and his first address as being No.36 Queen Street, Bryanstone-Square. However, this was completely inaccurate and unreliable. As mentioned above, according to the newspaper adverts, the Imperial Harp Lute was almost certainly his earliest invention. This error probably occurred because he only saw an extant Imperial Harp Lute with fourteen strings (i.e. HMS [C-0038]) and an Imperial Octaviano with twelve strings, from which he seems to have concluded that the greater number of strings came after, without providing any written evidence. Such errors appear in many parts of the book.



HARP LUTE and OCTAVINO.—Signor A. VENTURA, Inventor and Professor of the new Imperial Harp Lute; also Professor of the Spanish Guitar, Lyre, &c., and Teacher to her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and the first Families of Distinction. Signor A. V. begs leave to inform the Nobility and Public in general, that he has invented a new and elegant little Instrument, the IMPERIAL OCTAVINO, which, for size, produces the most brilliant tone; and also to play solos or duets with the Harp Lute, Spanish Guitar, Pianoforte, or any other Instrument, and an elegant accompaniment for singing. The Octavino will be found adapted, from the size, for Young Ladies from eight years old to any age. Those Instruments are so easy to learn, from Signor A. V.'s method of instruction, that he has had several scholars who have made a most rapid progress in less than twelve lessons; so much so that they have been able to play and sing, also to accompany themselves in that short period. Those Instruments to be had only of Signor A. V. the Inventor, at his House, No. 36, Queen-street, Bryanstone-square. Also, several Second-hand Instruments of E. Light's and others, to be had cheap, which have been taken in exchange. Several pieces of Vocal Music, adapted for the above Instruments, in Italian, English, and French; and also Instrumental, composed by A. V.

Fig 6.9: An advertisement by Ventura for his second invention, the 'Imperial Octatino'.[19]

According to Bonner (1971: 42-43), the Imperial Octavino was very similar to the Imperial Harp Lute, and almost identical to the one in Sotheby's, having twelve strings in total (three running over the fretted fingerboard, eight floating basses, the highest string mounted as an open string terminating at the heel), and the same manner of inscription.[20] Looking at an image (Fig 6.10), it only differs in size in as much as it seems shorter in scale length because the fingerboard had been moved down to the soundboard with the addition of two frets, thus making a total of nine instead of seven, of which the sixth to ninth were placed on the soundboard. Ventura mentions that the instrument was able to play duet with the harp lute, and the improvement was perhaps to make it smaller than the conventional harp-lutes enabling it to play harmoniously

[19] The Morning Post (London, England), Tuesday, April 23, 1816

[20] According to Baines (1971: 42-43), there was an inscription on the groove at the fingerboard, which read '*Angelo Ventura's Imperial Ottavino / no.36 Queens Street, Bryansyone Square*'.

with them in a higher key (i.e. tenor and alto), the same principal as the Terz guitar.[21]

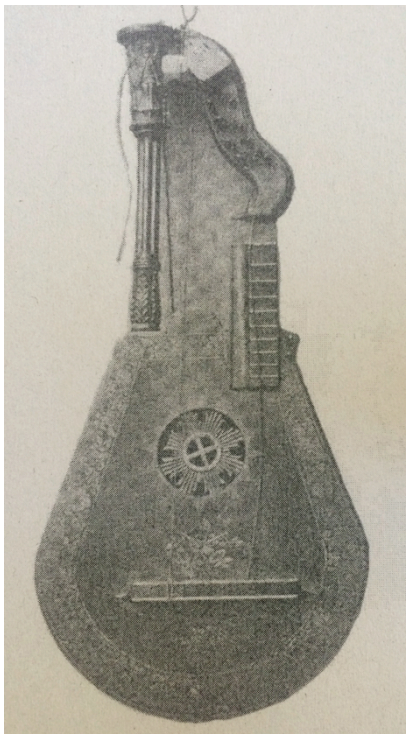


Fig 6.10: Imperial Octavino: an inscription on the groove at fingerboard reads '*Angelo Ventura's Imperial Ottavino* / *no.36 Queens Street, Bryansyone Square*'.[22]

Referring back to the advertisement (Fig 6.9), Ventura mentions 'several Second-hand Instruments of E. Light and others, to be had cheap, which have been taken in exchange'. What he is referring to is that, in 1816, he made a successful business of exchanging conventional harp lutes for his invented instruments (the ones advertised in 1814), and therefore had a plentiful stock of them, including ones by Light. From this account, two things can be deduced: first, Ventura's instruments seem to be selling well with the public, and exchanged stock was being sold at a cheap price; second, as Light's instruments were second-hand, Ventura was almost certainly not an official dealer or the contractor of Light.

[21] A small sized guitar a minor third higher than standard guitar tuning, equivalent to putting a capotasto on the third fret of a standard scaled guitar.

[22] Picture taken from Bonner (1971: plate 12), which seems to have been originally come from Curt Sachs, *Sammulung alter Musikinstrumente bei der staatlichen Hochskule fur Musik zu Berlin*, (Berlin: 1922: 80). The instrument was unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War, so none have survived this century.

In 1817, Ventura continued to advertise his two inventions, 'Imperial Harp Lute and Imperial Octavino', in which he mentioned:

> '[…] The Imperial Harp Lute of A. V. is unquestionably superior to any one even yet offered to the Public, in consequence of the Additional Strings in the Bass, according to his last improvement […]'[23]

His address indicated in the advertisement was 'No. 51, Foley-street, Portland-place', which was most likely the same street where Light's residence was (8 Foley Place).[24] Ventura seems to have known of Light and his as yet unreleased instruments and, as to no indication of their relationship in any surviving documents, he was more likely to have been a competitor of Light rather than a cooperative worker or contractor. The newly improved Imperial Harp Lute with extra bass strings is certainly not the one in HMS, since the inscribed address does not match Ventura's residence in 1817; no extant instrument has so far been identified by the author. Besides, Ventura, as an emerging musician-inventor, seems to have been a careful observer of changing trends in musical instruments for ladies, and at the time was distributing Spanish guitars,[25] something which would prove beneficial to Ventura after the decline of harp lutes.

[23] *The Morning Post* 28th April 1817 and *The Morning Post* 12th May 1817.
[24] There is no such address, so probably typographical error and it was '51 Foley Place, Portland Street'.
[25] In the same advertisement mentioned above, he stated that 'A. V. begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public that he has now on Sale a variety of the most beautiful and fine-toned real Spanish Guitars, with new invented silver keys, which never get out of tune'.

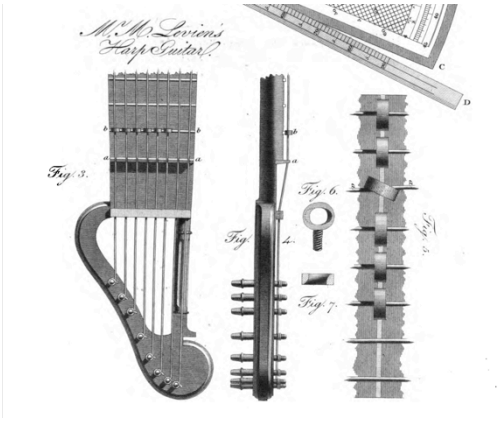
6.1.3 THE HARP LUTES BY LEVIEN



Fig 6.11: Portrait of Mordaunt Levien.[26]

The year 1814 also saw the invention of a harp lute by Mordaunt Levien[27] (Fig 6.11), an eight-string harp-guitar with brass-stops for raising the pitch of the strings, enabling the performer to play in all keys, for which the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce awarded him ten guineas (Fig 6.12).

[26] The image was taken from Bnf (Bibliothèque nationale de France), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8421920s/f1.zoom>, (Accessed Aug., 2014).
[27] (b. ?Norwich, 1784 – d. Fareham 26 April 1854).



TEN GUINEAS *were this Session voted to Mr.* M. LEVIEN, *Pleasant-Row, Pentonville, for his Improvements on the Harp-Guitar, which enable the Performer to play in all the various Keys with Ease, Effect, and Facility. The following Communication was received from him, an explanatory Engraving is annexed, and the Instrument preserved in the Society's Repository.*

Fig 6.12: Levien was awarded ten guineas for his new invention from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.[28]

As with the improvement seen on the Imperial Harp Lute by Ventura, Levien also explained the importance of having an instrument that is playable in every key:

> 'They [harp-guitars] are made some with six, and some with seven strings, and are tuned in C; the music for them is never written but in three different keys, namely, the key of C, which is the most general, having neither flat nor sharp. The key of F, which has one flat, and the key of G, with one sharp; all other keys are so extremely difficult, requiring so much labour and cross-fingering that they are never attempted even by a master. It frequently happens, that ladies meet with songs, &c. which they wish to play upon the guitar, but being written probably for the piano-forte, and in some difficult key they are deprived of that pleasure unless they are transposed into one of the above familiar keys, which must take up time, is troublesome, and the rule of transposition perhaps not understood.'[29]

From this account we are also able to know that the harp-guitars with six or seven strings were the mainstream of their kind in 1814. It can therefore now be concluded that Light's harp-guitar with eight strings was the first model manufactured prior to any

[28] The images were taken from Anonymous, *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; with the Premium offered in the Year 1814*, Vol. XXXII, (London: R. Wilks, 1814), p.117 and Pl.IX. Levien was awarded for his invention in March 29, 1814 and certified in 20 April, 1814.

[29] Anonymous, *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; with the Premium offered in the Year 1814*, Vol. XXXII, (London: R. Wilks, 1814), pp.117-118.

of his other harp lutes, and is the prototype.

So far, three similar harp lutes bearing Levien's inscription have been identified by the author. Two are currently in museums (MMS [M2061] and DMC [CL184]) and the other appeared in an auction (Bonhams, 16-Dec-2002, Lot: 11) (Fig 6.13). Two (MMS [M2061] and the Bonhams) slightly differ in appearance from the illustration while the DMC [CL184] is almost identical to it, meaning Levien introduced some different models.



Fig 6.13: Levien's surviving harp lutes.[30]

Levien mentioned the new invention with an account on its improvement:

> 'I have […] invented brass-stops, which being fixed upon the first fret […] by turning the stops agreeably to the key intended to be played in, the performer will be enabled to execute with as much facility as in the general key of C […] I beg leave to observe, that this is an improvement long wished for, and I feel anxious to give it publicity; and shall

[30] (above left) MMS [M2061], (above right) DMC [CL184] and (bottom) Bonhams, 16-Dec-2002 Lot: 11, image taken from page 5 of the catalogue.

therefore, consider myself highly honoured, and very much obliged by the Society's inspection and decision upon it.'[31]

The brass-stops were his most important invention, and enabled him to discriminate his instrument from others. Of the three surviving instruments, only the two in MMS and DMC employ the type of mechanics described in his proposal (Fig 6.14; these instruments accurately reflect the design for which Levien received support from the Society).

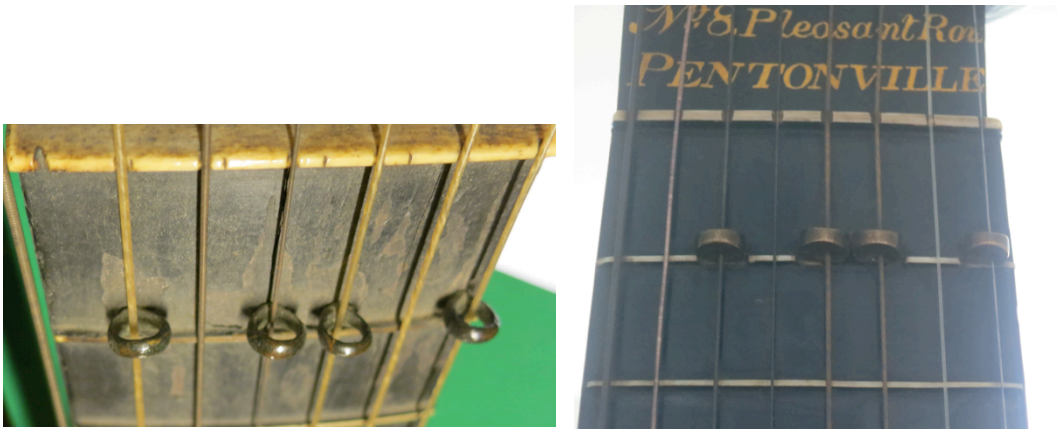
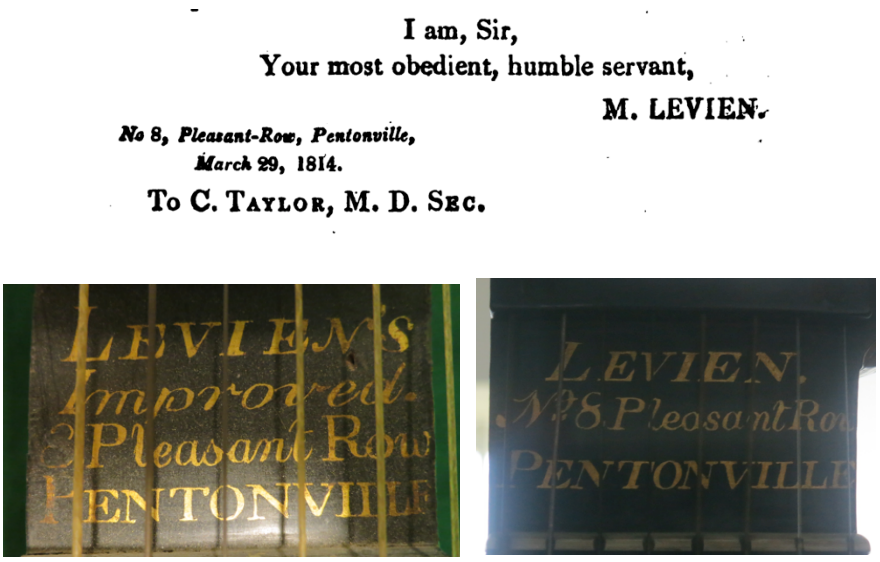


Fig 6.14: Brass-stops on the fingerboard.[32]

Slightly differing from Levien's account, only four stops seem to have been installed for strings C and G[33] rather than all of them. They are fixed above the first fret, as stated in the description. Despite a minor difference from the plan, the instrument preserved in the society's repository[34] was the same model as the one at DMC [CL184] from which the improved version, the one housed at MMS [M2061], was more likely created. The addresses inscribed on the instruments, '8 Pleasant Row, Pentonville' corresponds to the one in the book (Fig 6.15), suggesting they were manufactured around 1814 or later

[31] Anonymous, *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; with the Premium offered in the Year 1814*, Vol. XXXII, (London: R. Wilks, 1814), p.118.
[32] (left) MMS [M2061] and (right) DMC [CL184].
[33] The exact tuning of the instrument is hitherto uncertain, but as it was developed from the harp-guitar, it is possible to assume that the instrument was tuned g-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g''-c'''-e'''-g''' for MMS [M2061] and f-g- c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g'' for DMC [CL184] (the latter being the tuning of the eight-string harp-guitar, whose scale was mentioned in Armstrong) (1908: 28-29).
[34] Please see the Fig 6.12, in which it is mentioned that 'the Instrument preserved in the Society's Repository'.

but no later than 1817.[35] Moreover, as in the illustration, neither carries any diapason strings, despite having a pillar on the bass side or above the nut. This may be regarded as a unique characteristic of Levien's instruments.



I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
M. LEVIEN.

No 8, Pleasant-Row, Pentonville,
March 29, 1814.

To C. Taylor, M. D. Sec.

Fig 6.15: (above) Extract from Levien's account in the society's transaction book[36] and (bottom left and right) inscriptions found above the nut at MMS [M2061] and DMC [CL184] respectively.

Like the Imperial Harp Lute at HMS, the one at MMS [M2061] possesses an extra fingerboard, over which the three top strings pass. This part was not mentioned by Levien in the transaction book, suggesting it was an update on the DMC [CL184]. Supportively, the MMS [M2061] bears what appears to be a serial number, which reads 'No.66',[37] under the inscription of his patronage by the society shown on the upper part of the soundboard, while 'No. 60' appears on the DMC [CL184], this time above the inscription (Fig 6.16).

[35] Before 1817 when he moved to 61 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, mentioned in his newspaper advertisement in The Morning Post (London, England), Friday, April 25, 1817.
[36] p.118.
[37] It is hitherto not totally certain if this was a serial number – more research required.



Fig 6.16: Inscription found on top of soundboard with what appears to be a serial number.[38]

In terms of the scale lengths for the MMS [M2061], the three strings on the extra fingerboard measure 301mm and the rest 475mm. In comparison with similar kinds, the top three strings are slightly shorter than those of the Imperial Harp Lute in HMS, and the strings passing over the conventional fingerboard are relatively similar to those on Light's earlier harp-lutes,[39] particularly the one manufactured by Barry currently in the possession of MMS.[40]

From the analysis shown above, we know that the instrument for which Levien was granted ten guineas from the Society was undoubtedly the DMC [CL184], while the MMS [M2061] was an improved version. Though these two instruments' identities are clear, the Bonhams one is now in question since it neither carries any brass-stops nor bears the same address. Instead, the instrument has an inscription above the nut – 'Levienns improved / No 56, Marchmont St, Russell Square'[41] – and on the soundboard - 'Patronised by the Society of Arts and Sciences'.[42] This induces confusion since Armstrong (1908: 29) mentions that this was Levien's address between 1817 and 1819,[43] while the addresses during the same period shown in newspapers and in Sun Insurances (Fig 6.17) do not correspond, despite the latter two being precisely

[38] (left) MMS [M2061] and (right) DMC [CL184].
[39] Manufactured before the separation of the nut.
[40] [M2052].
[41] This inscription was described in the auction catalogue and therefore the spelling may be erroneous, meaning there is a possibility that Levienns are not spelt with two 'n' and might be 'Levien's' – (') instead of (n).
[42] All information on the inscriptions was shown on page 5 of the catalogue, and the position of the inscriptions can be identified on the picture included.
[43] Armstrong referred to *The Triennial Directory of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Ten Miles Distant, for the Years 1817, 1818, 1819*, and insisted that Levien's address was mentioned as No 56, Marchmont St, Russell Square. As the author did not have access to this, it is difficult to define if the Levien described in the book was the same person discussed in this thesis.

matched.[44]



Fig 6.17: Addresses of Levien from 1817 to 1819 appearing in Sun Insurance documents; (top) 61 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, registered 19th August, 1817; (middle) 26 Lower Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, registered 27th October, 1818; (bottom) 26 Lower Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, registered 21st September 1819.[45]

This probably means that he had two addresses, one as his private residence and the other for his work; it is likely that the latter is inscribed on the instrument, though this is only a supposition. If Armstrong's claim is right, the Bonhams instrument was manufactured after the other two, which may be possible but more research is required. Interestingly, the MMS [M2061] and the Bonhams also seem to have been ten-string

[44] Levien's regular newspaper advertisements and Sun insurance documents registered by him mention his private addresses, and tell us that, at least between 1817 and 1825, he did not live in Marchmont Street. His addresses shown in the newspapers were, chronologically, 61 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square (1817), 26 Lower Charlotte Street, Bedford Square (late of Mortimer Street) (moved on September 1817), 29 Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury (moved in March 1823) – these addresses constantly appeared in newspaper advertisements, which means it is very unlikely that he lived at different address during the period (1817-1823).

[45] (top) LMA [MS 11936/493/997352], (middle) LMA [MS 11936/477/946248], (bottom) LMA [MS 11936/482/958090].

instruments (Fig 6.18), though they were modified to six-course, in the style of guittars.[46]



Fig 6.18: Ten tuning pegs installed on Levien's harp lute.[47]

Additionally, to some extent, Levien seems to have had a connection with Wheatstone since an extant harp-lute bearing Wheatstone's inscription looks very similar to the one in Bonhams (Fig 6.19).

[46] The four top strings were in pairs (course), with the two lowest single.
[47] Bonhams, 16-Dec-2002 Lot: 11, the image was taken from the catalogue, page 5.



Fig 6.19: Wheatstone's harp-lute in HML [M79-1983].

Though different in stringing (seven single for the Wheatstone), the gap between the fingerboard and the pillar looks very narrow due to fewer diapasons compared with the other harp-lutes, especially Light's, which possesses eleven to twelve strings. Furthermore, it is rather interesting that one of the examiners for the Levien's new invention in 1814 was Wheatstone (Fig 6.20), and that Levien's instrument was manufactured and supplied by the Wheatstone's contractors or may have come directly from his manufactory.

*** Mr. FLIGHT, organ-builder, and Messrs. WHETSTONES, who attended the Committee of mechanics, concurred in opinion, that this is a new and decided improvement of the instrument.

Fig 6.20: Extract from the transaction book that mentions Wheatstone attended the Committee.[48]

Yet, the 1814 event was only the beginning of Levien's successful career as a musician-inventor. For a more significant public appearance, he would have to wait until 1817, when the earliest newspaper advertisement featuring his name is found. It

[48] Anonymous, *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; with the Premium offered in the Year 1814*, Vol. XXXII, (London: R. Wilks, 1814), p.118. It reads 'Mr. Flight, organ-builder, and Messrs. Whetstones, who attended the Committee of mechanics, concurred in opinion, that this is a new and decided improvement of the instrument'.

was issued on 16th January, 1817, announcing Levien's concert at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, in which he played 'a solo on his improved Harp Guitar'.[49] This instrument was probably a similar model to the one in MMS, but may have been an improved version. From around this time onwards, Levien appears in newspapers, advertising concerts and lessons, and calling himself 'dancing master',[50] but not as many announcements were made for his instruments as those by Light. He seems to have preferred to be involved in teaching music rather than inventing, improving and retailing harp lutes.

6.1.4 J. S. RICHARDSON

At the beginning of 1816, another competitor of Light, J. S. Richardson, who was possibly a musician-inventor worked in Bath and London, began to appear in newspapers with publicity for his newly improved harp lute (Fig 6.21).

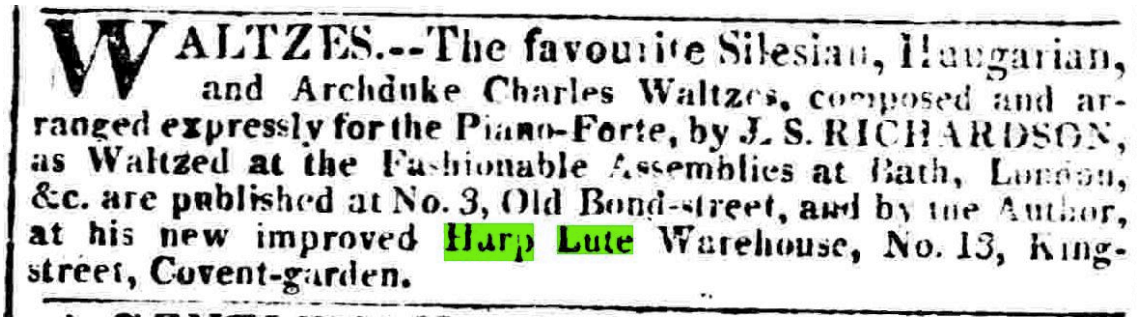

WALTZES.--The favourite Silesian, Hungarian, and Archduke Charles Waltzes, composed and arranged expressly for the Piano-Forte, by J. S. RICHARDSON, as Waltzed at the Fashionable Assemblies at Bath, London, &c. are published at No. 3, Old Bond-street, and by the Author, at his new improved Harp Lute Warehouse, No. 13, King-street, Covent-garden.

Fig 6.21: Earliest newspaper advertisement by Richardson yet found.[51]

He seems rather aggressive in selling his instrument, clearly mentioning that he would exchange them for harp lutes by Light and even other makers (Fig 6.22). This seems to have been a genuine challenge to Light, and most likely Richardson's harp lutes were what Light was referring to when he warned against counterfeit instruments. Moreover, similar to Light, Richardson became greatly involved in musical instrument dealing, selling all kinds from his repository, including not just one, but a great variety of harp

[49] The concert was announced in advance in *The Times* 6th January 1817.
[50] From 1817, Levien regularly placed advertisements in public newspapers, in which he described himself as 'dancing master'.
[51] *The Morning Post* 2nd January 1816 and also the same advertisement was found on *The Morning Post* 9th January 1816.

lutes.[52]

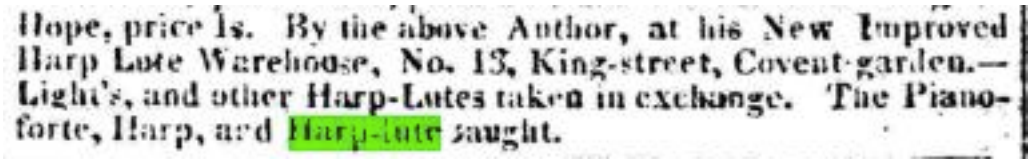

Hope, price 1s. By the above Author, at his New Improved Harp Lute Warehouse, No. 13, King-street, Covent-garden.—Light's, and other Harp-Lutes taken in exchange. The Pianoforte, Harp, and Harp-lute taught.

Fig 6.22: An advertisement by Richardson mentioning Light's name.[53]

Here Richardson described his harp lutes in slightly more detail, again very similar in Light's sales technique (Richardson also offered to teach the instruments by himself) in his advertisements:

> 'J. RICHARDSON'S NEW IMPROVED HARP-LUTES Of all portable instruments best adapted for Ladies. RICHARDSON'S HARP-LUTES claim the superiority, having every improvement necessary for facility of playing. Any person having a knowledge of music, may, in a few lessons, accompany themselves. At his Harp-lute Warehouse, No.13, King-street, Covent-garden. The Harp-lute, harp and pianoforte, taught by him at home and aboard […]'[54]

6.1.5 REGENCY HARP LUTE BY WHEATSTONE

It was not just emerging musician-inventors that made up Light's competitors, but also entrepreneurs such as Wheatstone, who introduced a kind of harp lute designated as the Regency Harp Lute. The first appearance of this instrument in a newspaper so far found was in February, 1816 (Fig 6.23). The advert mentions 'with additional strings' which probably means the instrument carried more than twelve strings (i.e. more than Light's harp-lute), otherwise it would not have been worth stating.

---

[52] Mentioned in a newspaper advertisement in which sales of single action harp by Erard (£36) with warranty and Cremona Violin (40 guineas) with warranty are also mentioned, with 'Harp Lutes in the greatest variety' added at the very bottom. *The Morning Post* 8th April 1816.
[53] *The Morning Post* 24th January 1816 and *The Morning Post* 26th January 1816.
[54] *The Morning Post* 15th April 1816 and *The Morning Post* 19th April 1816.

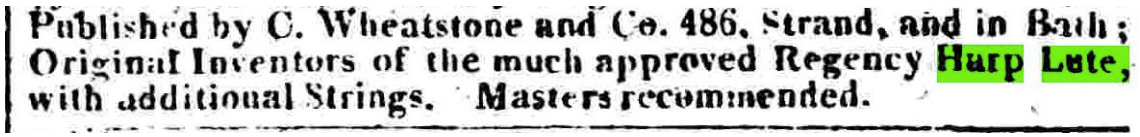

Published by C. Wheatstone and Co. 486, Strand, and in Bath;
Original Inventors of the much approved Regency Harp Lute,
with additional Strings. Masters recommended.

Fig 6.23: Earliest advert for the Regency Harp Lute so far found in a public newspaper.[55]

Sales seem to have continued, and more details of an improved construction are described in an advertisement issued in 1821, which states 'the much admired Regency Harp Lute, having additional strings, keys for the half notes […] It approximates the nearest to the real Harp of any instrument extant, but is much easier learnt'.[56] From this we can conclude that the additional keys principally functioned in the same way as the stops used by Light on his Regency Harp Lute. From this point of view, some harp lutes, which were neither Light's nor the work of other musician-inventors such as Ventura and Levien, may be attributed to Wheatstone, e.g. the one marked as anonymous at the V&A [252-1882] and the other with an inscription 'G Packer / Bath' and an iron mark 'J. Hoyland / Sheffield' at the RCM [RCM126] (Fig 6.24).

[55] *The Morning Post* 12th February 1816.
[56] *The Morning Post* 5th April 1821.



Fig 6.24: Regency Harp Lute attributed to Wheatstone: (left) V&A [252-1882] and (right) RCM [RCM126].

It is important to note that G. Packer was a music seller having his shop in Bath and though the inscription bears 'Maker', he surely was not a harp lute maker (Fig 6.25).

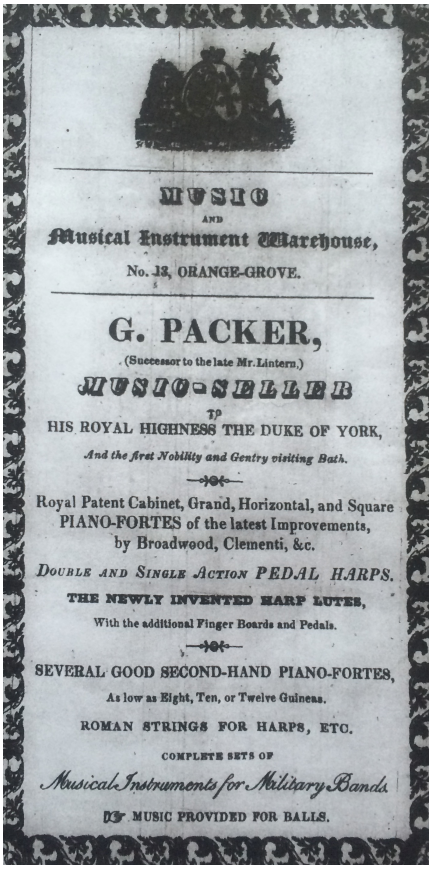


Fig 6.25: G. Packer's advertisement, c. 1824.[57]

The fourteen and sixteen strings (V&A [252-1882] and RCM [RCM126] respectively), are greater in number than those of Light's harp-lute, and may correspond to Wheatstone's description of 'additional strings'. Additionally, both instruments use a combination of conventional stops and additional keys to change the pitch of strings, which may be operated by being pressed, pushing the string up (Fig 6.26 and Fig 6.27).

[57] The advertisement was kindly given to the author by Matthew Spring during the Galpin Society/CIMCIM Conference in Oxford in 2013 (25th to 29th July).



Fig 6.26: Ring stops and 'Keys' on the harp lute at the V&A [252-1882].



Fig 6.27: Ring stops and 'Keys' on the harp lute at the RCM [RCM126].

As these two instruments have all the characteristics of the Regency Harp Lute, they can be attributed in their manufacture to Wheatstone. As they have a greater number of keys (two for the V&A [252-1882] and six for the RCM [RCM126]), it may be assumed that Packer's was manufactured prior to the one marked anonymous, meaning they were made around 1816 and 1821 respectively. Adapted to the Victorian fashions,[58] the instrument later became much simpler in ornamentation, but in the French style. Two good examples attributed to Wheatstone, probably improved models of Regency Harp Lute maintaining the number of keys with fourteen strings and most likely built in the 1830s or afterwards, are currently in the possession of The Concertina Museum in Derby, England and MIMEd [1107] (Fig 6.28).

[58] The taste of the Victorian public, particularly when it came to guitars, was for much simpler ornamentation (e.g. the Spanish guitars manufactured in Panormo's workshop).



Fig 6.28: Later model of Regency Harp Lute attributed to Wheatstone.[59]

Wheatstone's Regency Harp Lute was probably being manufactured continuously, with some changes. One similar to the British Lute Harp was introduced, with eighteen strings and a brass plaque engraved 'WHEATSTONE &Co. / 20 Conduit St. Regent St. / London' (Fig 6.29).

[59] (left) The instrument was kindly brought to the Galpin Society conference, Oxford in 2013 by Neil Wayne, who generously allowed the author to take photographs and (right) MIMEd [1107].



Fig 6.29: Improved version of what seems to be a Regency Harp Lute with eighteen strings by Wheatstone.[60]

Additionally, as far as the author knows there is no harp-lute by Light with two fingerboards. Such instruments, particularly if marked anonymous, are either by an unknown maker or Regency Harp Lutes if they have the 'key(s)'. In addition, it is rather interesting that most of the paintings involving harp-lutes as a motif used the one with two fingerboards similar to the Regency Harp Lute. No painting of Light's harp-lutes was found in the author's research (see the paintings found so far). The flowing is the paintings so far found by the author.

[60] HML [15.10.48/41].



Fig 6.30: ***The Property Room*****, Arthur Foord Hughes (1832-1915).**

Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1800-1850-15.html>, (Accessed, 2011).



Fig 6.31: ***A Musical Party*****, 1861-64, Arthur Foord Hughes (1832-1915); Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight. Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1800-1850-15.html>, (Accessed, 2011).**



Fig 6.32: ***The King's Orchard,*** **ca. 1858, Arthur Foord Hughes (1832-1915).**

Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1800-1850-15.html>, (Accessed, 2011).



Fig 6.33: ***The Rift within the Lute,*** **1861-62, Arthur Foord Hughes (1832-1915), Tullie House, City Museum. Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1800-1850-15.html>, (Accessed, 2011).**



Fig 6.34: ***A romantic scene with girl playing lute*****, 1850, Frederick Richard Pickersgill (1820-1900).**

Source: <http://www.klassiskgitar.net/1800-1850-27.html>, (Accessed, 2011).

This probably suggests that to a certain extant the Regency Harp Lute was in demand and popular amongst ladies. One of the reasons was probably that Catherine Stevens, Countess of Essex (1794-1882), an English opera singer and actress,[61] plays on a Regency Harp Lute in her portrait (Fig 6.35). A combination of capotasto and double fingerboards has not been found in any surviving instruments. The reason is not known.

[61] For more information please see Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26378?docPos=2>, (Accessed Aug., 2014).

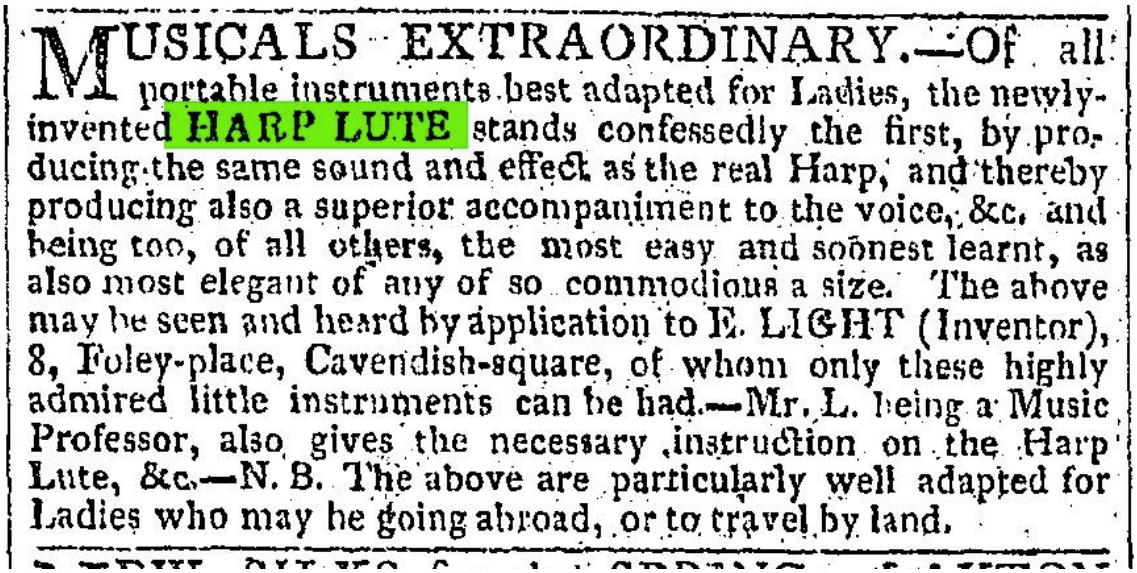


Fig 6.35: ***Portrait of Catherine Stephens*****, George Henry Harlow (1787-1819).**

Source: Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catherine_Stephens,_Countess_of_Essex>, (Accessed July, 2013). N.B. The painting was once sold in Sotheby's.

6.2 PATENT: BRITISH LUTE HARP

Reacting to the appearance of competitors and imitators, Light increasingly began to promote his harp-lute as his mainstream instrument, with conventional descriptions including the exclusive sales of his instruments at 8 Foley Place (Fig 6.36). Despite his efforts, the increasing popularity of harp lutes pushed more makers to enter the market, and it became almost impossible for Light to protect his instruments from being copied.



MUSICALS EXTRAORDINARY.—Of all portable instruments best adapted for Ladies, the newly-invented HARP LUTE stands confessedly the first, by producing the same sound and effect as the real Harp, and thereby producing also a superior accompaniment to the voice, &c. and being too, of all others, the most easy and soonest learnt, as also most elegant of any of so commodious a size. The above may be seen and heard by application to E. LIGHT (Inventor), 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, of whom only these highly admired little instruments can be had.—Mr. L. being a Music Professor, also gives the necessary instruction on the Harp Lute, &c.—N. B. The above are particularly well adapted for Ladies who may be going abroad, or to travel by land.

Fig 6.36: Conventional advertisement by Light issued on March, 1816.[62]

To address the issue, Light finally applied for an official patent (No. 4041) for his new instrument, the 'British Lute Harp', on 18th June, 1816, with a concise drawing of the instrument (Fig 6.37).[63]

[62] *The Morning Chronicle* 23rd March 1816.
[63] The drawing only shows a front image, with parts of newly invented mechanisms in detail.

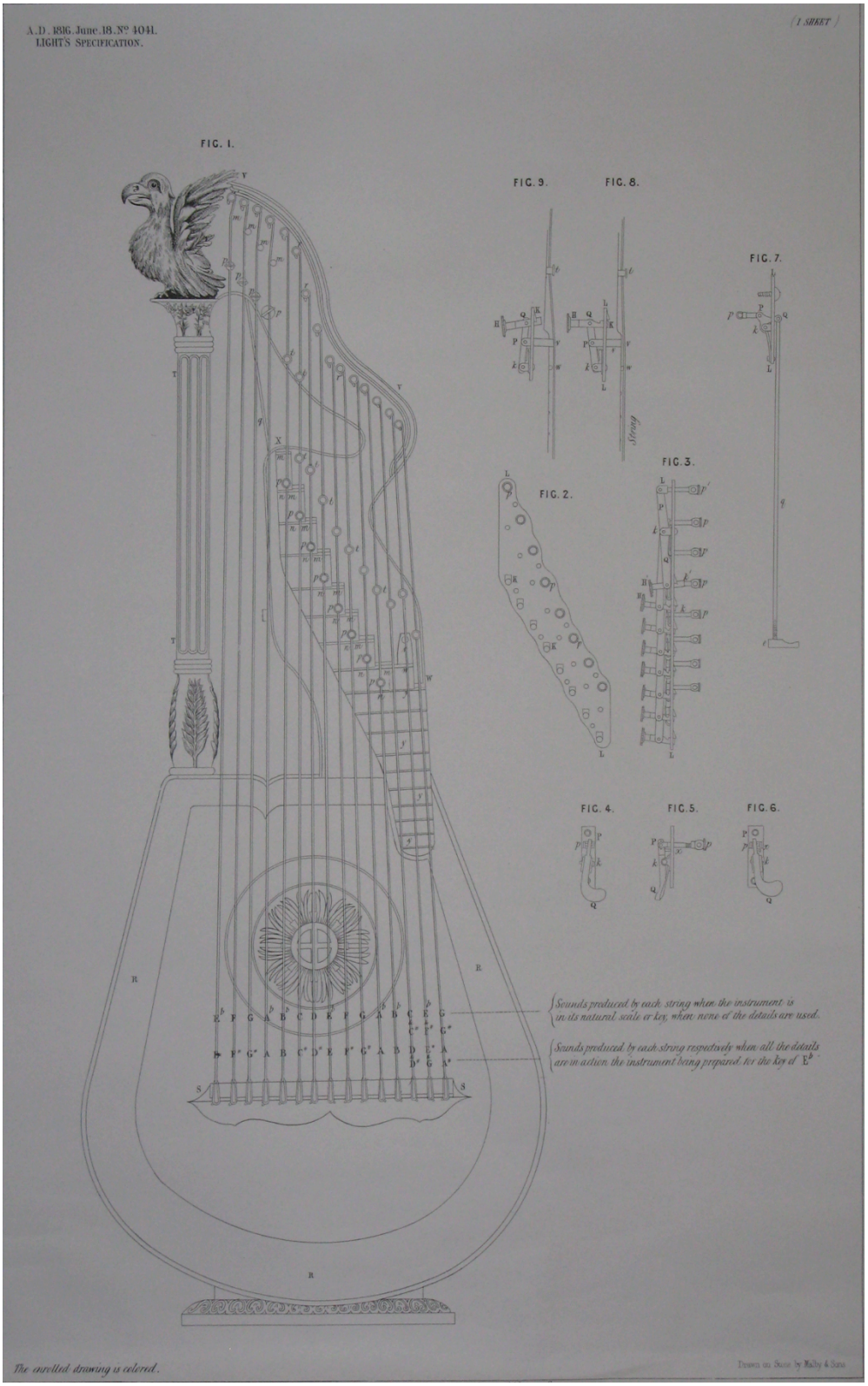


Fig 6.37: Drawing of patented British Lute Harp by Light.[64]

[64] The copies of the account and the drawing on the patent [No. 4041] were purchased by the author from the Intellectual Property Office (IPO) in 2011.

6.2.1 GENERAL SALES OF THE BRITISH LUTE HARP

Before long the patent was registered, and as early as November 1816 Light announced the sale of the British Lute Harp to the general public, clearly mentioning that the instrument was officially patented, which meant no one was able to copy it:

> '[…] By his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent. – The BRITISH LUTE HARP E LIGHT, Music Professor, Original Inventor of the much-admired HARP LUTE, has the honour to inform the Nobility and polite Musical World, that he has made very great and essential improvements upon the above mentioned, whereby the (now) British Lute Harp is rendered perfect as the real harp, although not a quarter the size. – May be seen and heard at his house, No. 8 Foley Place, Cavendish-square […]'[65]

At the beginning of 1817, replacing the harp-lute, Light put British Lute Harp as his first instrument, but continued with the descriptions of its best features as he had done since his first invention: resemblance to the harp, suitability for accompanying voice, moderate price and ease of learning:

> 'MUSIC – (By the King's Royal Patent) – The British Lute Harp […] his recent grand Improvements upon his former much-admired little instrument (called the Harp-Lute) is completed, and now possesses all the properties of the real harp, In addition all its other very desirable advantages, viz.: portable convenience, elegant, fine accompaniment to the voice, its very moderate price, being soon learnt, &c., may now be seen and heard, engaged for, at his house, No.8 Foley Place, Cavendish Square; where also his well-known Improved Lyre of twelve strings, a very elegant and superior fine sonorous toned Instrument, greatly admired, is to be had […]'[66]

This, however, did not mean that he had stopped selling other harp lutes. The advert mentions 'his elegant improved 12 stringed Lyre and original Harp Lute may be had'.[67] These two instruments were included in the publicity for the British Lute Harp, as Light

---

[65] *The Morning Post* 23rd November 1816.
[66] *The Morning Post* 1st February 1817.
[67] *The Morning Chronicle* 17th February 1817 and *The Morning Post* 17th February 1817.

probably needed to dispose of his stock of harp-lutes and harp-lyres.[68] Light's promotion of the British Lute Harp can be found in later newspapers with similar advertisements but often excluded sales of its precursors. Probably because of the pre-summer season in May, Light put out an advertisement emphasising its portability and superiority over the emerging Spanish guitar, while altering the designation:

> '[…] A new-invented Patent Portable Instrument […] called the BRITISH TRAVELLING HARP; they are exceedingly convenient for Ladies who travel abroad, also to take to their country retreats, being not bigger than Spanish Guitar […]'[69]

Perhaps to increase the number of users and players of the British Lute Harp, Light began renting the instrument.[70] At the beginning of 1818, as seen in the 1811 publicity, Light continued to supply his new instrument to professionals and dealers on liberal terms.[71] Although the British Lute Harp had become Light's main instrument, the previously invented harp-lyre and harp-lute were still on sale with it. Light described their superior qualities in the same terms as he used for his new invention:

> '[…] BRITISH TRAVELING HARP […] There are none such besides in the whole United Kingdom; nor as Light's modern improved 12-stringed LYRES and HARP LUTES, which are also elegant, highly admired, and very fashionable little Instruments and of very moderate prices […]'[72]

---

[68] The harp-lyre is the 12 stringed instrument in the shape of the lyre amongst Light's inventions manufactured around that time.

[69] *The Morning Post* 27th May 1817. Similar advertisements emphasising its portability and superiority can also be found in later newspapers issued in June, e.g. *The Morning Post* 9th June 1817 and *The Morning Post* 12th June 1817. In an advertisement in *The Times* 17th November 1818, Light also used the term 'British Traveling Harp' in a description emphasising portability. For customers travelling abroad, he describes it as 'particularly adopted for Ladies or Gentlemen who may be going abroad to the Indies, &c., being well seasoned to stand the climate' – *The Morning Post* 20th November 1819 and *The Morning Chronicle* 20th November 1819.

[70] In an advertisement in *The Morning Post* 24th June 1817, he mentioned 'The above [British Lute Harp] (if required) may be had on Hire'.

[71] He mentioned this not only in a newspaper but in later advertisements, for instance *The Morning Post* 10th January 1818.

[72] *The Morning Chronicle* 26th November 1818.

6.2.2 EARLIER PRODUCTION AND PRICE

The earliest model among the surviving British Lute Harps so far found by the author is probably the one in the MMS [M2051], very similar in appearance to the 1816-patent drawing (Fig 6.38).



Fig 6.38: Earliest surviving British Lute Harp, MMS [M2051].

Light continued inscribing his identification and serial numbers, but on the soundboard rather than above the nut. From this, the author has determined that the MMS [M2051], bearing 'No. 7', as the earliest model (Fig 6.39). When introducing this new model, he probably started serial number progression from 1. His name and address are usually shown above the soundhole, while the serial number is under the bridge. Perhaps to add to the official quality of the patented, Light began to paint the Royal coat of arms, proof of Royal appointment, something that had not been seen in any of his surviving instruments manufactured prior to this.



Fig 6.39: Inscriptions on instruments at the MMS [M2051]; (left) Light's address inscribed above the soundhole and (right) serial number with Royal coat of arms found under the bridge.

The most significant improvement of the British Lute Harp was without doubt the installation of mechanically operated ditals[73] (Fig 6.40) mounted to the lower neck by extending the neck inwards. This was the feature with which Light's distinctiveness in design was firmly secured. Simultaneously, ivory pins called 'studs' were attached to replace string guides; each has a hole through which every string passes so as to keep them in place[74] (Fig 6.40).

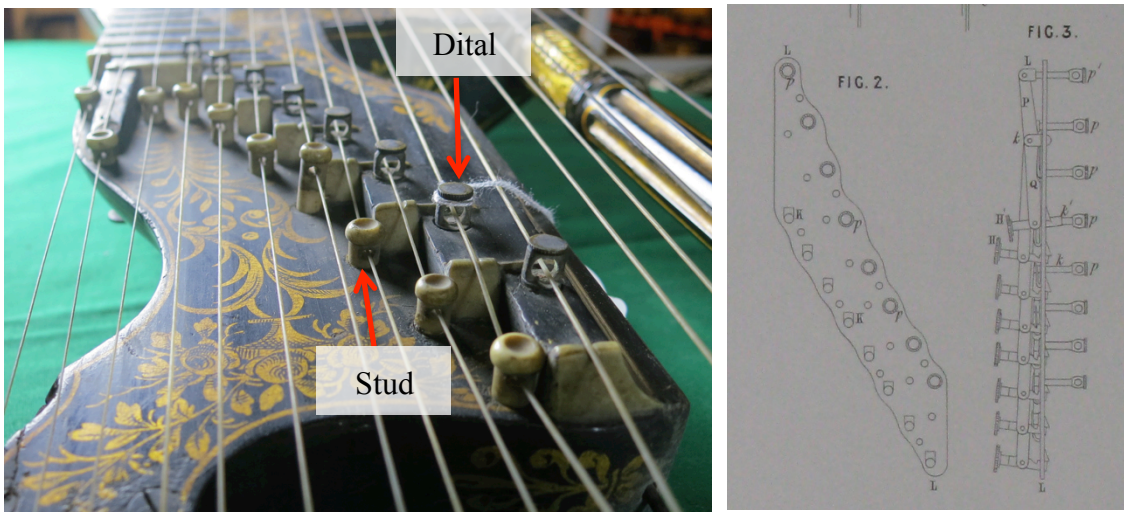


Fig 6.40: Ditals and studs.

[73] He declared in the patent document (p.2) that 'To the harp lute at present in use I apply certain pieces of mechanism, which I call ditals or thumb keys, each of which when pressed upon by the thumb or fingers will produce the depression of a stop ring or eye, which draws the string of the harp lute down upon a fret, and retains the string with a gentle pressure upon the fret, so as to shorten the effective length of the string, or that part hereof which vibrates, and thus to sharpen or render the sound produced by the string more accurate'.

[74] Light described these in the patent document (p.2).

The upper parts are accurate reproductions of the drawing, with exactly the same number of frets (seventeen) and ditals (eight + one extra) placed in the positions shown in the drawing. Surprisingly, the eagle sculpture on the pillar is literally identical (Fig 6.41), while the plinth and rose on the soundhole (precisely the same design as that shown in the drawing) are noteworthy.

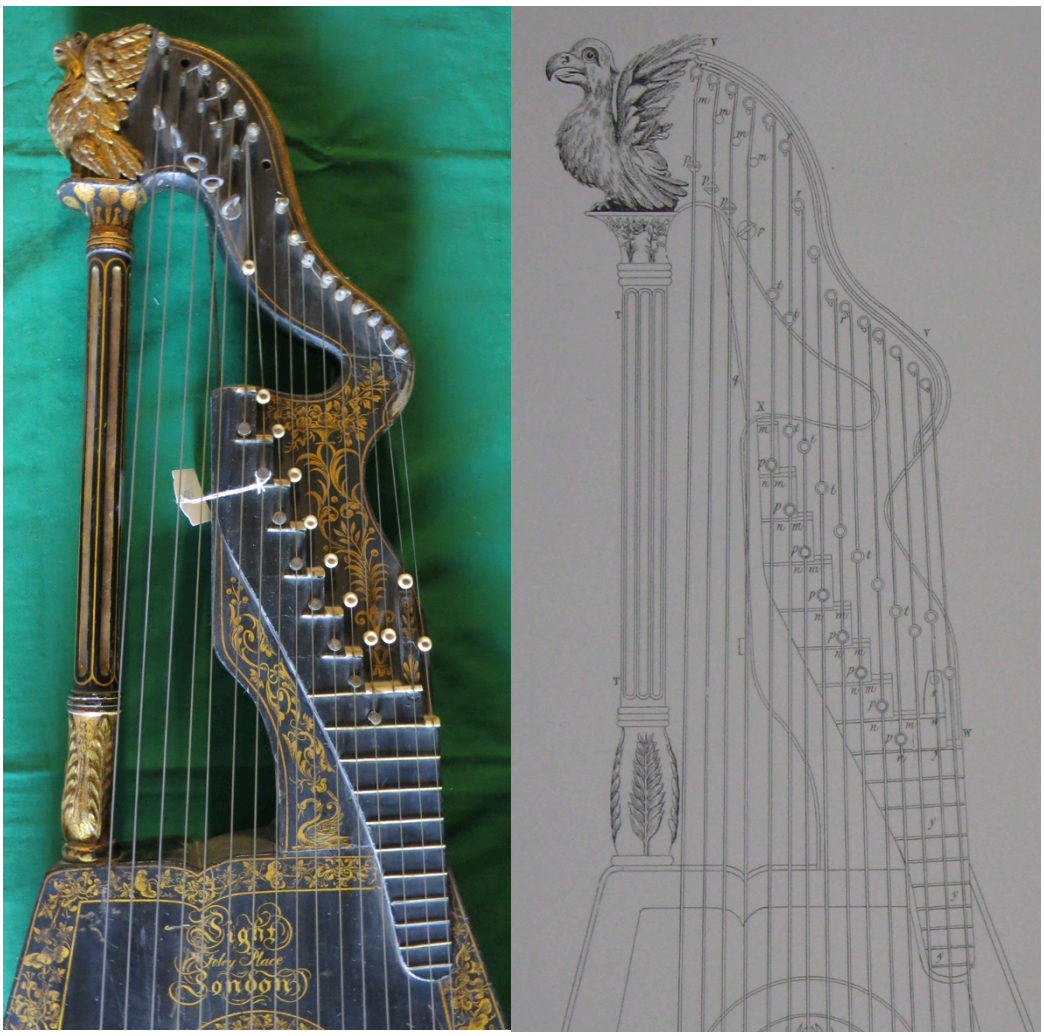


Fig 6.41: Comparison of the upper parts between the instrument and the drawing.[75]

In more detail, a hidden mechanical device for the second string is also authentically reproduced in the MMS [M2051], in which the pitch of string may be altered if the lever on the neck is pressed. The only difference is whether a button or key is pushed[76] (Fig

[75] The instrument on the left is at the MMS [M2051].
[76] Light explained more precisely the patent document (p.4); 'Figs. 4, 5, and 6 explain another of my

6.42).

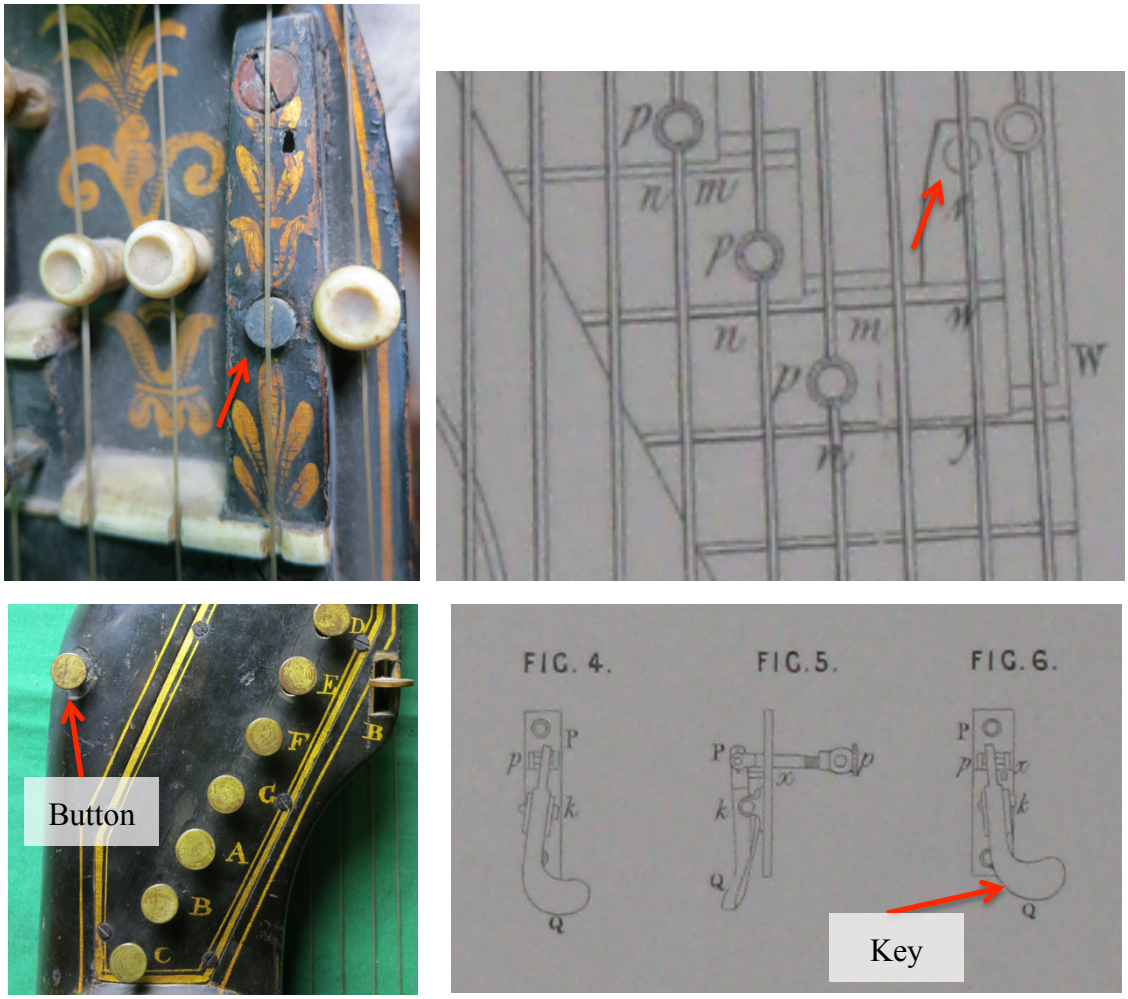


Fig 6.42: A mechanical device for the second string.

To make the construction economical, a major part of Light's previous invention remained. Light recognised that the price of instrument would increase if ditals were applied to all strings. He therefore retained the key operated stop, along with the manuals that had been used for his harp-lute[77] (Fig 6.43).

---

improvements, which may be substituted for or applied in place of the levers or keys, shewn in Figs. 2 and 3 [drawings of mechanical devise for other ditals], and it will produce the same effect', and continued 'but instead of applying the finger to a button, it is to be pressed on the end or tail of a key, and to hook or detain it the key is to be pressed sideways after it pressed down', the device on the MMS [M2051] works exactly as explained except only a minor difference, that instead of having a 'key' a 'button' was applied.

[77] He clearly mentions in the patent description: 'It may be observed, that the instrument in Figure 1 [front view of the instrument] is only provided with the movement presented in Figure 7 [a mechanical part with which a string may be twisted raising a semitone] for one of the brass stings, vizt, the fourth from the lowest strings in the same manner as in the common harp lute. This is for economy in the

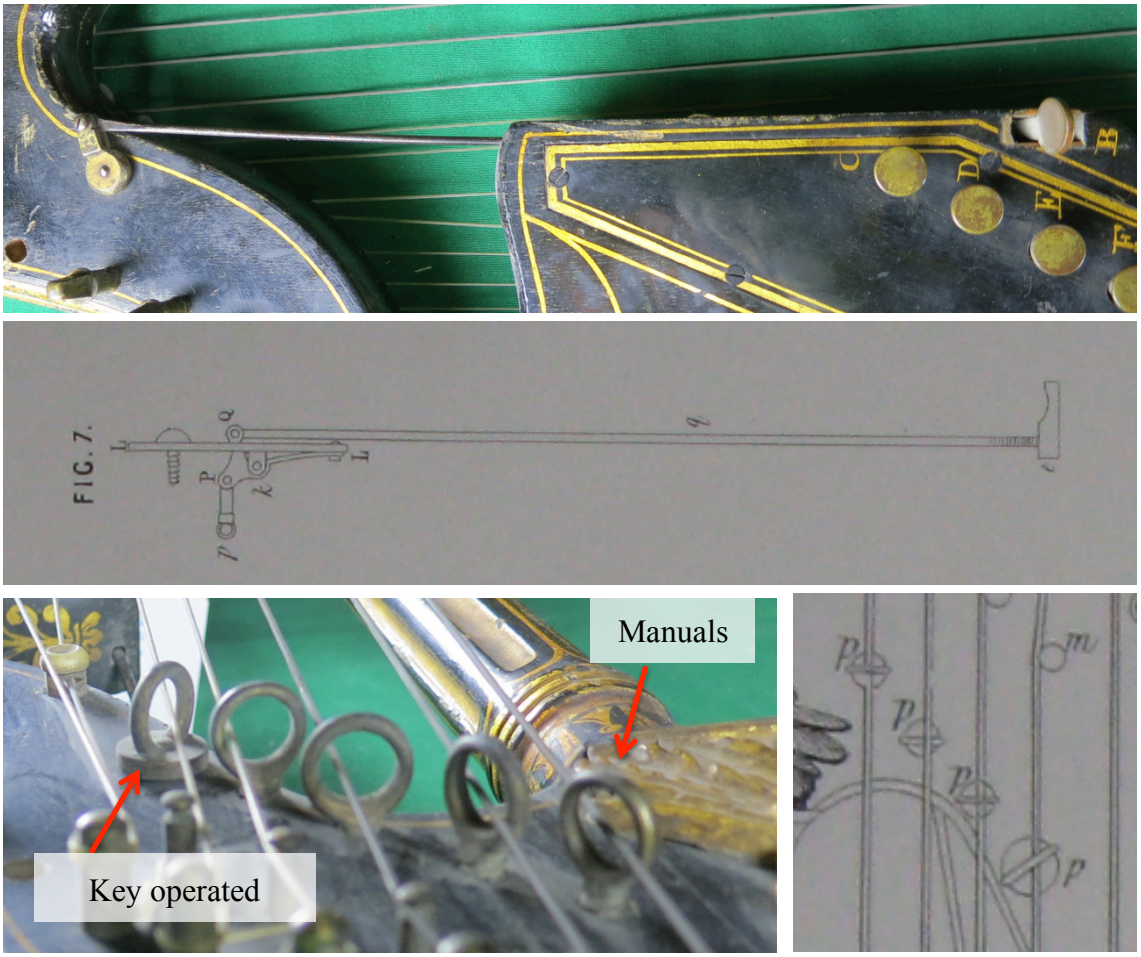


Fig 6.43: Key operated ring stop and manuals retained from the harp-lute.

To support this, the installation of mechanical parts in 1818 meant that the price range of the instrument increased to fifteen to eighteen guineas. This was significant compared to that of the harp-lute and Apollo Lyre in 1809 (nine to twelve guineas). It can, however, be inferred from his confidently written claim, 'price of them [British Lute Harp] only from 15 to 18 guineas handsome case included',[78] that the British Lute Harp was still far cheaper than real harps.

construction, but the British lute harp will be more complete if my said improvement Figure 7 is applied to all the four bass strings, the manner of doing which is evident from the description here given', pp.6-7.

[78] *The Morning Post* 2nd February 1818.

6.2.3 CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENTS

A similar extant British Lute Harp, with all the above mentioned features, has so far been confirmed, and is currently stored in RNCM, inventory number [S9] (Fig 6.44). Inscribed with serial number '9' with sixteen strings, we know it was made around the same time as the MMS [M2051],[79] the first model.



Fig 6.44: Another early model of British Lute Harp, serial number '9', in the same style as MMS [M2051].

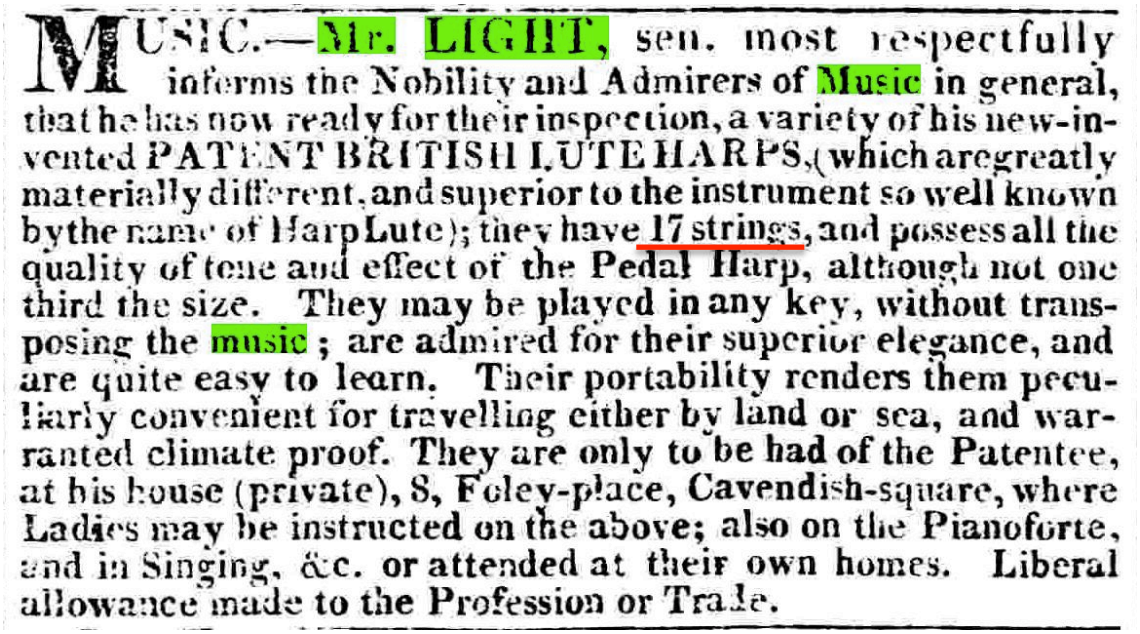
[79] Regarding the serial number, it is only two numbers higher than the MMS, so was most likely manufactured around the same time.

The earliest British Lute Harps, at least up to number 9, were constructed faithfully according to the drawing, though there can, however, be witnessed minor differences. For instance, the tie-bridge was replaced by a pin-bridge, and the bud-shaped pedestal was carved inwards most likely for playability. In later instruments it was carved to look more shapely (Fig 6.45).



Fig 6.45: The pedestal for the MMS [M2051], curved inwards compared with the drawing.

The number of strings changed from fifteen to sixteen (the drawing and the MMS [M2051] respectively) and from the different quantity of ring stops (four and five respectively) we know of that a lowest string was added, which probably tells us that the latter was an improved model. The improvement continued, and an advertisement issued in 1818 suggests the British Lute Harp carried seventeen strings (Fig 6.46).



MUSIC.—Mr. LIGHT, sen. most respectfully informs the Nobility and Admirers of Music in general, that he has now ready for their inspection, a variety of his new-invented PATENT BRITISH LUTE HARPS, (which are greatly materially different, and superior to the instrument so well known by the name of Harp Lute); they have 17 strings, and possess all the quality of tone and effect of the Pedal Harp, although not one third the size. They may be played in any key, without transposing the music; are admired for their superior elegance, and are quite easy to learn. Their portability renders them peculiarly convenient for travelling either by land or sea, and warranted climate proof. They are only to be had of the Patentee, at his house (private), 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where Ladies may be instructed on the above; also on the Pianoforte, and in Singing, &c. or attended at their own homes. Liberal allowance made to the Profession or Trade.

Fig 6.46: Description of British Lute Harp in a newspaper advertisement issued in 1818.[80]

There is a good specimen amongst surviving British Lute Harps that carries seventeen strings. It is currently in the possession of HMS, inventory number [C0026] (Fig 6.47). As it has serial number '14' and is similar in form to the others, we know it was produced in or around 1818.

[80] *The Morning Post* 2nd January 1818.



Fig 6.47: A British Lute Harp with seventeen strings, serial number '14', HMS [C0026].

Interestingly, Light added a highest string instead of expanding the bass range. He removed the single dital for the second string, and instead a tuning pin for the additional first string was installed.[81] The second nut (on which the second to fourth strings had rested) was split in two, shortening the scale length – 297mm for the first string on the MMS [M2051] and the HMS [C0026] became 275mm for the first and the second strings, and 310-314mm of the earlier's second to fourth strings were shortened to

[81] This means that only eight strings are operated with ditals to change their pitch, a reduction of one dital.

292mm for the third and fourth of the new instrument (Fig 6.48).

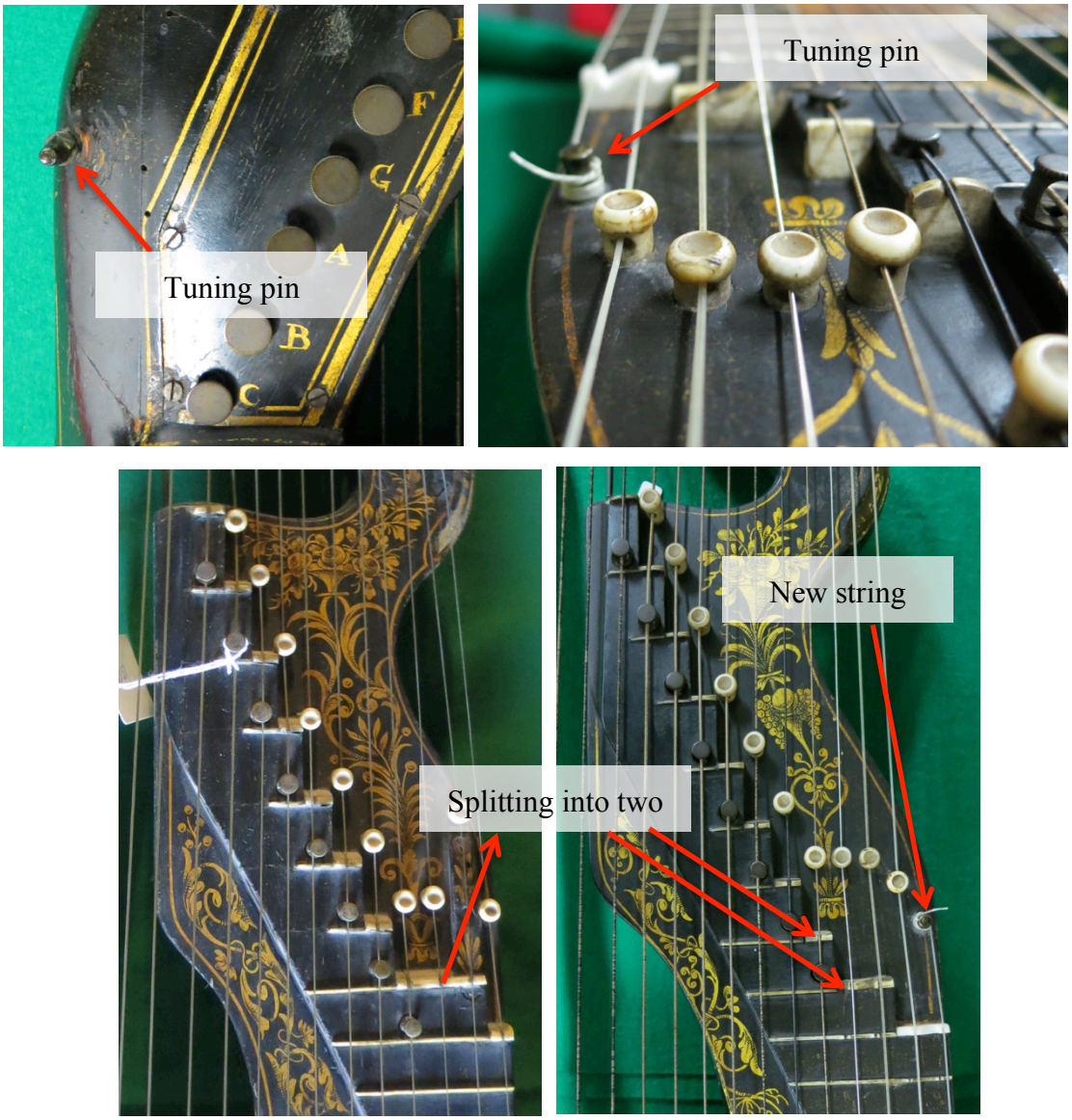


Fig 6.48: (above two) New tuning pin of HMS [C0026] replacing the individual mechanical dital; (bottom left) fingerboard of former model, MMS [M2051]; (bottom right) new arrangement of nut, HMS [C0026].

As discussed, the pedestal was carved more sharply which is now easily recognisable by eyes (Fig 6.49).

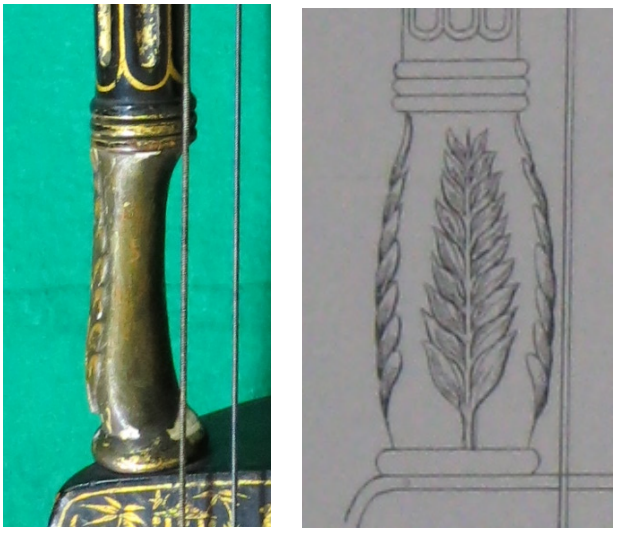


Fig 6.49: More sharply carved pedestal on the HMS [C0026].

Before long, an extra string was added to make an eighteen-string instrument. The earliest specimen, as far as the author knows, is the one in RCM [RCM284] with serial number '17', only three up from the HMS [C0026] (Fig 6.50). This means the British Lute Harps carrying serial numbers lower than '17' and in similar form to it were probably produced before 1818.



Fig 6.50: Specimen carrying eighteen strings and carrying serial number '17'.[82]

Again he added a top string (Fig 6.51), providing single nuts to all individual strings (one for each) perhaps in order to more precisely apply appropriate scale lengths, particularly to the trebles, which required a much shorter scale. This enabled him to use thinner strings that were more suitable for higher registers. In support of this, the measurements show a relatively short scale – from the first to the fourth, 228-240-255-270mm. The fourth string is almost identical to the first string on the previous model, HMS [C0026]. In addition, it is worth noting that since the model was

[82] RCM [RCM 284].

introduced, the width of the fingerboard became narrower and narrower.[83]



Fig 6.51: Addition of top string and application of nuts (one for each string).

Another significant change is that of the bridge. Here Light introduced a triangular saddle, replacing the use of the front edge of the groove in which pins had been placed (Fig 6.52). This meant that the tension of strings, especially on the down-force, was very much improved, providing a greater and richer tone.

[83] This was a gradual change and does not mean the fingerboard became narrower and narrower all the time – it sometimes became slightly wider. But ultimately, it became so thin that it almost did not function at all.

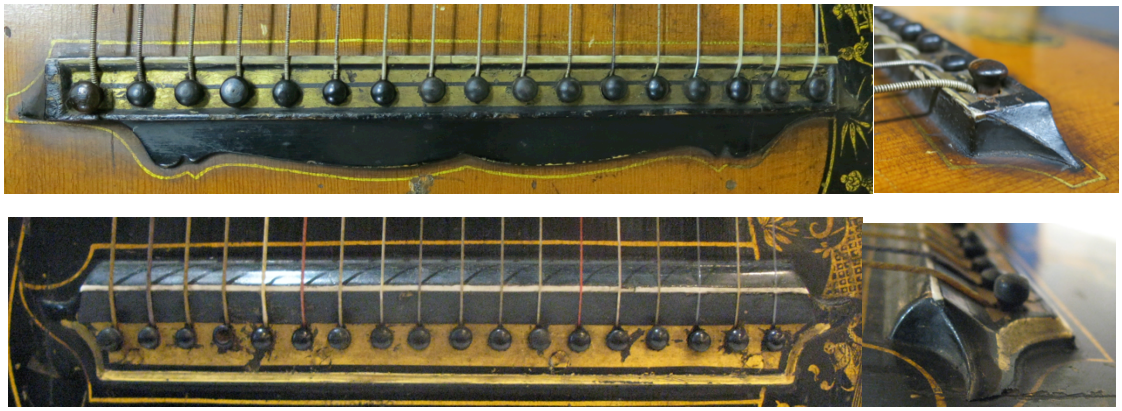


Fig 6.52: (above) Bridge on HMS [C0026] (use of edges of the groove as a saddle) and (bottom) on RCM [RCM284] (newly introduced triangular saddle).

An extant eighteen-string British Lute Harp in HML [MT536-1998] (Fig 6.53), seemingly of the next generation, is one on which noticeable changes from previous models can be seen.



Fig 6.53: Improved eighteen-string British Lute Harp, HML [MT536-1998].

The most significant change was the alteration of the neck. Both the lower and the upper necks are more integrated, blurring the borderline between them, which physically created more space for extra ditals; two were added making ten in total (Fig 6.54). Along with this improvement, two ring stops (one operated manually and the other mechanically) were removed, while the three for the lowest strings remained where they were. Apart from these new features, the HML [MT536-1998] is more or less identical in appearance and construction to the others.[84]

[84] The bridge is not original since there are some pinhole marks underneath the soundboard, meaning it would have employed a pin-bridge similar to that on HMS [C0026] or RCM [RCM284], most likely the

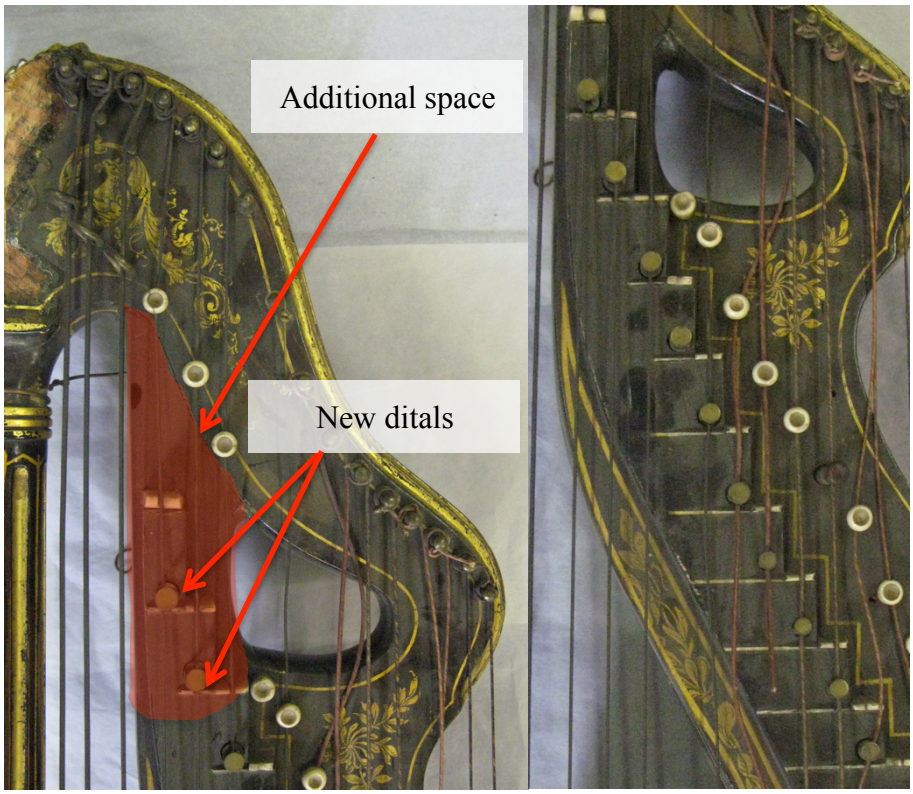


Fig 6.54: Integration of upper and lower neck providing more space for the extra two ditals.

However, the inscription at the top of the soundboard is a lower serial number, '4', leading to confusion in the chronology of the instruments. Although no clues have so far been discovered as to why this is, in the author's opinion, Light began renumbering from '1' since this new model (HML [MT536-1998]) was introduced. In addition, and as seen on the HML [MT536-1998], from around this time Light began occasionally producing instruments without a plinth (Fig 6.55), though the majority manufactured for him employed one.

latter's.



Fig 6.55: Model without a plinth at the bottom.[85]

6.3 NEW INVENTION: DITAL-HARP

It is remarkably difficult to arrange the instruments precisely in chronological order merely by examining the construction, since Light's consecutive changes seem to have often gone forwards (new additions) and backwards (returning to the conventional styles), particularly for instruments produced around this time. For instance, there were seventeen- and eighteen-string instruments made with attachments of new and old types of bridge. Despite such confusion, Light seems to have put his serial numbers relatively in sequence, so in this thesis the instruments are aligned by number, especially those believed to be manufactured after 1818.

6.3.1 EARLIER DESIGN OF THE DITAL-HARP

So far, the confirmed extant instruments bearing lower numbers than the HML [MT536-1998] and worthy of being shown are numbers '58' and '76' (V&A [W.33-1925] and HML [1976.310] respectively) (Fig 6.56).

[85] HML [MT536-1998].



Fig 6.56: The instruments comprised of old and new parts.[86]

Though these two instruments are comprised of old and new parts (the bridge and nut arrangements),[87] as a whole they are relatively similar and carry some new designs. While both have newly introduced integrated-necks with seventeen strings, inscriptions are found on the heel rather than soundboard, and surprisingly the gilded composition adornments have been eliminated, replaced by gold paint (Fig 6.57). This was perhaps to simplify the construction and reduce expenses, and this method continued with later instruments. However, some high-priced models retained the gilded composition adornments. Light mentioned in 1819 that 'a variety of them is just finished, variously ornamented'.[88] With a plinth at the bottom of the instruments, they became something that could be appreciated by visitors as an object of visual interest. In support of this,

[86] (left) V&A [W.33-1925] and (right) HML [1976.310].
[87] It should be noted that the V&A instrument employs nine ditals while HML carries ten; this is probably more evidence of instability in form and construction.
[88] *The Times* 25th May 1819.

Light also described them as 'very ornamental in the drawing room'.[89] Once the pedestal went back to the conventional conical bud-shape (as seen in earlier models), the oblong-plinth continued to be attached to the bottom. Thereafter, the substantial form seems to have remained unchanged for a while despite minor disparities.



Fig 6.57: Gilded composition adornments were eliminated, gold paint being used instead.[90]

6.3.2 DEFINITION OF THE DITAL-HARP

Here, it is worth discussing the terminologies of the instruments in order to name the extant instruments using written evidence. Confusingly, Light often changed the names depending on what he wanted to emphasise, such as 'British Traveling Harp' or 'Patent Small Harp'.[91] In 1819, however, this muddle of indeterminate designations eventually came to an end with the emergence of the name we commonly use, 'Dital-Harp'. So far the first use can be found as early as September that year: 'The NEW PATENT DITAL HARP' appeared in a newspaper advertisement,[92] and thereafter it was used consistently.[93] The problem is the uncertainty of model to which the name was applied:

[89] *The Morning Post* 1st January 1827.
[90] (left) V&A [W.33-1925] and (right) HML [1976.310].
[91] *The Times* 25th May 1819 and *The Times* 24th July 1819.
[92] *The Morning Post* 9th September 1819. It became the preferred name in later advertisements, e.g. in *The Times* 13th September 1819 and *The Morning Post* 13th September 1819.
[93] The term 'dital-harp' preferred by Light and used consistently in the succeeding advertisements. Consequently, the designation 'British Lute Harp' completely disappeared, with the term 'Portable Harp'

one of the reasons for this can perhaps be seen in explanations that appeared in newspaper advertisements. The dital-harp is described in an advert as 'constructed upon quite a new principle of action'.[94] This probably indicated the additional ditals that replaced the key operated ring stop. To support this, Light has given a more precise account in the later advertisements, in which he said, 'an instrument constructed upon quite a new principle of action, by simple Machinery, which together with its peculiar form, produces all the brilliancy, sweetness of tone, and general effect of the Pedal Harp'.[95]

More decisively, an engraving published in February 1819 shows the first model to which the term 'dital-harp' was applied. Here Light clearly shows, in precise illustrations, an instrument with seventeen strings almost identical in form to that of the V&A [W.33-1925] and the HML [1976.310] (Fig 6.58).

similar being used instead (named after its small size and resemblance to the harp).

[94] *The Morning Post* 13th September 1819.

[95] *The Morning Chronicle* 23rd September 1819, *The Morning Post* 2nd November 1819 and *The Times* 9th November 1819.

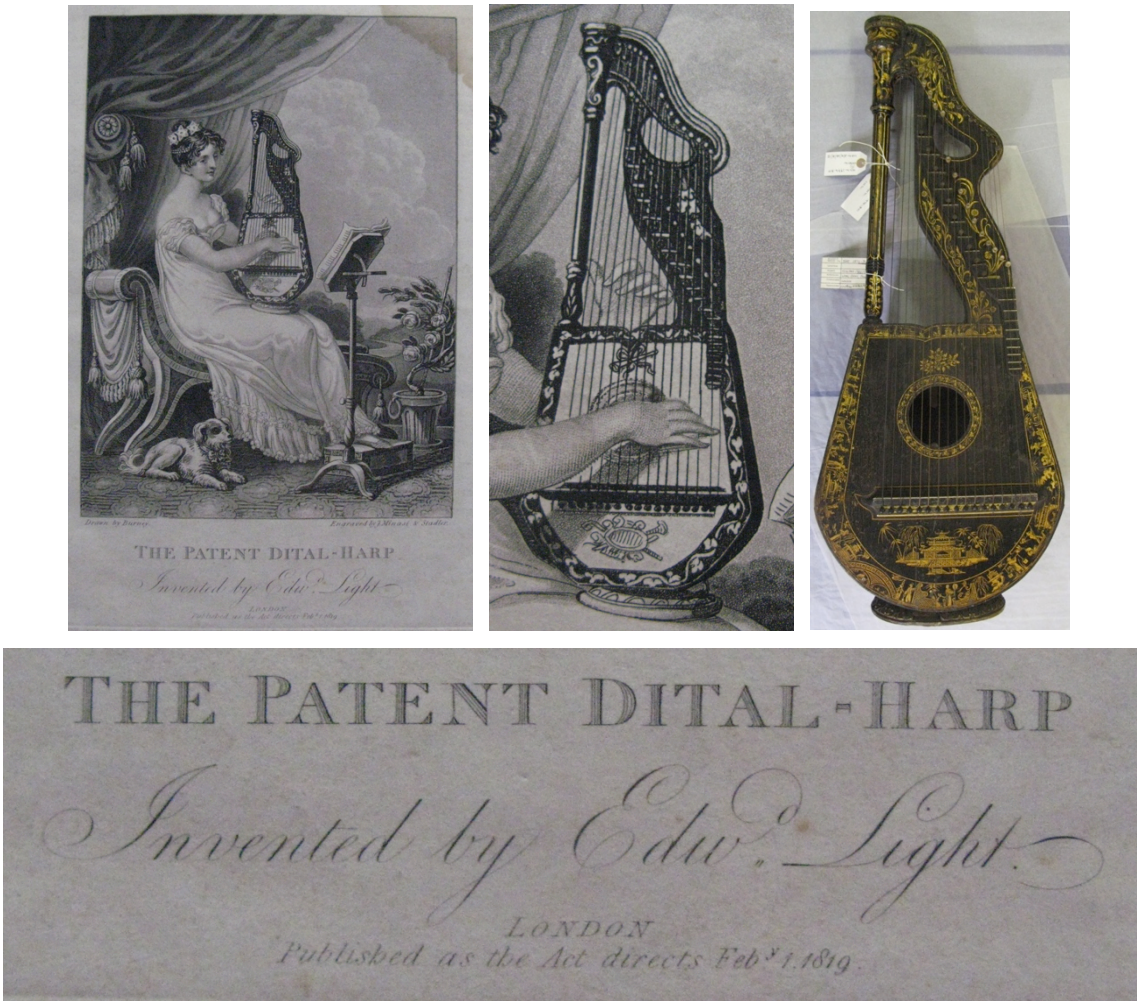


Fig 6.58: Engraving published in 1819, including an illustration of the 'dital-harp', and the HML [1976.310] instrument (above, far right) for comparison.[96]

This means that the two specimens (V&A [W.33-1925] and the HML [1976.310]) were manufactured around 1819 and given the new name of 'dital-harp'. Regardless of the total number of strings, **a 'dital-harp' can be defined as one of the instruments produced after the integration of the neck, with an inscription on the heel.** This decisively differentiates the dital-harp from the British Lute Harp.[97] If we attempt to

[96] The engraving was included in a set of instructions by Edward Light, *A New and Complete Directory, to the Art of Playing on the Patent Dital-Harp, with Suitable Lessons & c. Composed, Arranged and Fingered by Edwd. Light (Professor of Music) Inventor and Patentee of the Above Instrument*, (London: Printed for the Author, 43 Gt. Marylebone Street, Corner of Welbeck Street). These instructions are currently in the possession of RCM. Though the publication was printed after 1825 (it refers to Light's address in Gt. Marylebone Street), the engraving was published in 1819 since this is mentioned under the illustration.

[97] In a published instruction for British Lute Harp, Light named exactly the same instrument shown in the same engraving 'British Lute Harp': Edward Light, *A New and Complete DIRECTORY to the Art of*

use correct terminology, the HML's [MT536-1998] designation is ambiguous since it has an inscription on the soundboard. Therefore, in this thesis it is described as an instrument manufactured in the transitional period between the two (dital-harp and British Lute Harp), thus falling under both terms. Additionally a similar engraving was accidentally found in MMS while the author was examining their harp lute collections in 2012 (Fig 6.59).



Fig 6.59: Engraving a lady is playing on the dital-harp.[98]

6.3.3 HIGHER PRICE OF THE DITAL-HARP

With this change, in 1819, the prices of the instrument were raised, becoming sixteen to

---

Playing on the Patent BRITISH LUTE-HARP, with suitable lessons, &c Composed, Arranged and Fingered by EDW^{D}*. LIGHT. (Professor of Music.) Inventor and Patentee of the Above Instrument*, (London: printed for the author, c.1819), MS., BLL [h.998]. Please see Appendix viii. But to avoid further confusion, the present author, as Light called the instrument 'dital-harp' and he most likely began to use the designation around the time the model shown in the engraving was introduced, decided to call the instrument regarding the latest name given by the inventor, thus the 'dital-harp'.

[98] It was discovered by Dan Johansson (curator) and was kindly scanned and sent to the author by him.

twenty guineas depending on size and ornaments, including a wooden case (Fig 6.60).

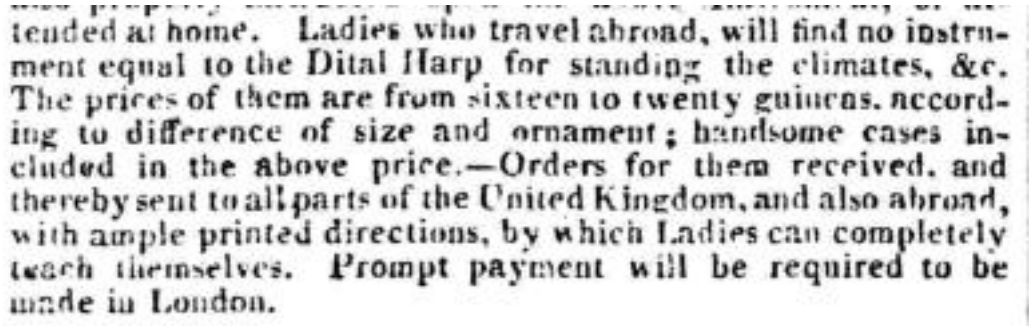

tended at home. Ladies who travel abroad, will find no instrument equal to the Dital Harp for standing the climates, &c. The prices of them are from sixteen to twenty guineas, according to difference of size and ornament; handsome cases included in the above price.—Orders for them received, and thereby sent to all parts of the United Kingdom, and also abroad, with ample printed directions, by which Ladies can completely teach themselves. Prompt payment will be required to be made in London.

Fig 6.60: The price of dital-harp increased in 1819.[99]

Though the price dropped as low as fifteen guineas in July, 1821,[100] it soon went back to sixteen, as seen in this account: 'the small price of these Dital Harps, being only about Sixteen Guineas each, or a little more when very richly ornamented, all with handsome Case included in the above price'.[101] This was probably to get rid of the expensive image, since the prices had almost reached those of pianofortes[102] despite the smaller size and narrower range. The name seems to have finally been fixed at this stage and never changed until the decline of Light's harp lute productions in 1829.

6.3.4 DISPOSAL OF OLD STOCK

At the end of 1819, to focus on the dital-harp as the main area of production and manufacturing, Light put out an advertisement for the disposal of his old stock, including the harp-lyre and the harp-lute:

> 'Mr. Light respectfully informs LADIES, that he has at present several excellent, fashionable, improved LYRES and HARP LUTES, which he has recently taken in

[99] *The Morning Post* 21st December 1819 and *The Morning Post* 28th December 1819. A similar advertisement was also in *The Morning Chronicle* 24th December 1819. The price in 1820 is confirmed through an advertisement, which mentions sixteen to twenty guineas, in *The Morning Post* 16th February 1820.

[100] Mentioned in an advertisement in *The Morning Chronicle* 7th July 1821, which clearly states 'the prices of them [dital-harps] are extremely moderate, being only fifteen to twenty guineas, handsome case included'.

[101] *The Morning Post* 6th October 1821.

[102] The price rise was significant since it became as high as that of ordinary square pianos (not made by the prestigious makers). This was described in one of Wheatstone's newspaper advertisements in which prices were sixteen to twenty-eight guineas. The price of prestigious makers was much higher. For instance, the ones by Wornum were sold at forty-five guineas - *The Morning Post* 5th April 1821.

> exchange for his new-invented PATENT DITAL HARPS, and which will be disposed of for half their original price […]'[103]

This probably meant that production of the two instruments had been stopped in order to promote and replace them with the improved dital-harp. If they had remained on the production line, strict control would have been required to avoid the overproduction of any particular model,[104] so this was a way of simplifying the product line-up.

6.3.5 CONSISTENT SALES METHODS

Regarding the advertisement (Fig 6.60), just as he had done in earlier publicity, Light took orders from and shipped the instruments to a variety of places in Britain, and also sent them overseas with simple instructions for self-teaching. Interestingly, although the exclusiveness of Light's instrument ('to be only had of Mr. Light') did not change a great deal, customers living outside of London were able to purchase instructions for the instrument without visiting Light's house. Such consistent methods of promotion seem to emphasise Light's talent for marketing, and the fact that he has adapted well to consumer demand in Georgian Britain. In his choice of words for attracting the customers' attention, Light's commercial acumen may be further observed. For instance, in an advertisement he mentioned not only how easy it was to learn, but also its reputation in the country and abroad as being able to withstand different climates (Fig 6.61), or similarly, 'They [dital-harps] are already in high estimation in families of the first distinction'[105] and 'The Portable Harps [dital-harps] are so highly approved, that very many Ladies of Fashion and Musical taste, have already engaged them'.[106] Such remarks must have been attracted contemporary ladies, who pursued the latest fashions

---

[103] *The Morning Post* 20th November 1819 and *The Morning Chronicle* 20th November 1819.

[104] If the two instruments had been in production along with the promotion of dital-harp, their improved model, they would all have had to be equally publicised, with descriptions of character, unique qualities, superiority and advantages. Sales themselves would be vulnerable to loss of stock for one instrument, or overstocking of another. Therefore, it was easier for Light to confine sales to one model, which he could promote as his most advanced model. This method seems to have been helpful for customers, as they only needed to choose the ornaments rather than discriminate between different models. It was also attractive to ladies, who were rather fond of novelty goods and fashions.

[105] *The Morning Post* 28th December 1819.

[106] *The Morning Post* 29th July 1822.

and novelty goods, particularly those who belonged to middle class.[107]

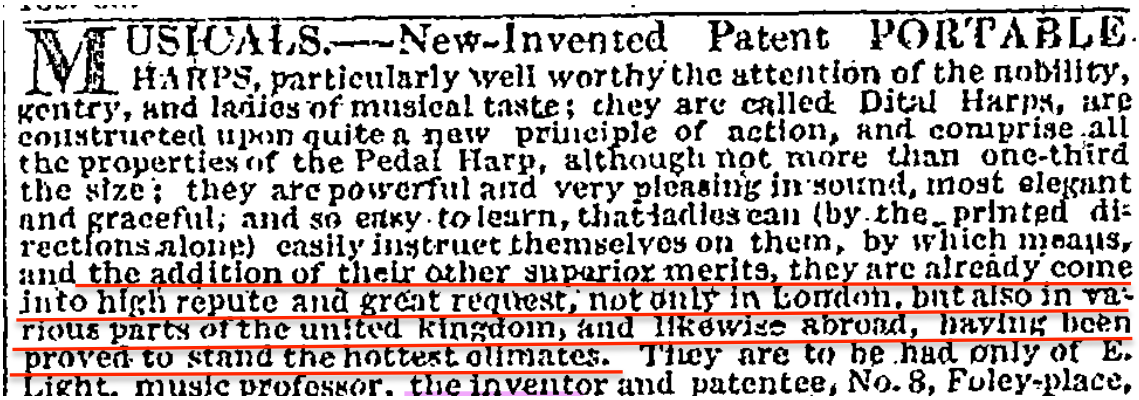

MUSICALS.—New-Invented Patent PORTABLE HARPS, particularly well worthy the attention of the nobility, gentry, and ladies of musical taste; they are called Dital Harps, are constructed upon quite a new principle of action, and comprise all the properties of the Pedal Harp, although not more than one-third the size; they are powerful and very pleasing in sound, most elegant and graceful; and so easy to learn, that ladies can (by the printed directions alone) easily instruct themselves on them, by which means, and the addition of their other superior merits, they are already come into high repute and great request, not only in London, but also in various parts of the united kingdom, and likewise abroad, having been proved to stand the hottest climates. They are to be had only of E. Light, music professor, the inventor and patentee, No. 8, Foley-place,

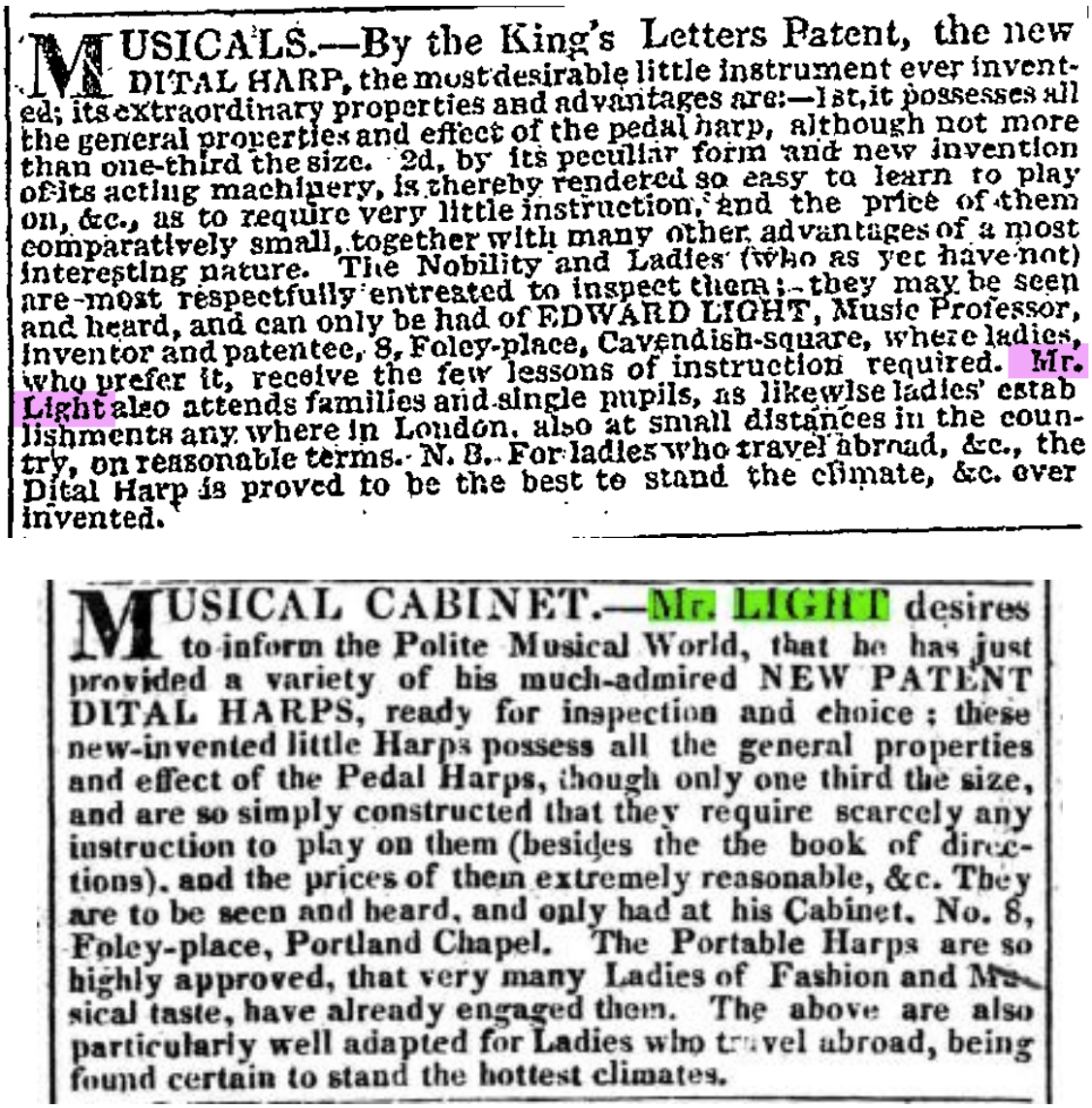
Fig 6.61: Advertisement mentioning the reputation of dital-harp.[108]

In this advert for his newly invented instrument, perhaps to address any confusion customers felt over whether the address shown was that of a music shop, Light informs the public, by way of a similar announcement to those of his previous harp lute publicity, that 'This is also an Academy for giving instructions in Music, and for playing on various Instruments: also in Singing […] Not a Music Shop'.[109] This was done not only to prevent any confusion, but also because Light intended to open the residence as a musical cabinet saloon.[110] Here he states, 'This establishment [teaching music for eminent boarding school establishments] will in future be entitled the Musical Cabinet Saloon to distinguish it from a Music Warehouse, for which it has been wrongly taken'.[111] In line with this plan, the heading of a later advertisement was 'Musical Cabinet',[112] in which the sales of dital-harps and other musical instruments such as pianoforte were promoted. This method of selling continued in the heading of subsequent advertisements, e.g. 'Musical Cabinet for the first PORTABLE

[107] Although Jenny Nex suggests the wording in Light's adverts is pretty standard for the time, the author believes that the wording shows his commercial acumen since Light's adaptation to the time and the trends of the day were significant.
[108] *The Times* 27th April 1820.
[109] *The Morning Post* 28th October 1820.
[110] This probably meant a small chamber or private room in which space was devoted to music lessons while musical goods, including music sheets and musical instruments, were on display. It would not, however, have been as large a space as found in music shops or warehouses.
[111] *The Morning Post* 9th December 1820.
[112] *The Morning Post* 23rd December 1820, and *The Times* 29th December 1820.

INSTRUMENTS of the HARP kind in the World'.[113]

Similar descriptions constantly began appearing in newspaper advertisements, highlighting the points discussed above (Fig 6.62):



MUSICALS.—By the King's Letters Patent, the new DITAL HARP, the most desirable little instrument ever invented; its extraordinary properties and advantages are:—1st, it possesses all the general properties and effect of the pedal harp, although not more than one-third the size. 2d, by its peculiar form and new invention of its acting machinery, is thereby rendered so easy to learn to play on, &c., as to require very little instruction, and the price of them comparatively small, together with many other advantages of a most interesting nature. The Nobility and Ladies (who as yet have not) are most respectfully entreated to inspect them; they may be seen and heard, and can only be had of EDWARD LIGHT, Music Professor, inventor and patentee, 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where ladies, who prefer it, receive the few lessons of instruction required. Mr. Light also attends families and single pupils, as likewise ladies' establishments any where in London, also at small distances in the country, on reasonable terms. N. B. For ladies who travel abroad, &c., the Dital Harp is proved to be the best to stand the climate, &c. ever invented.

MUSICAL CABINET.—Mr. LIGHT desires to inform the Polite Musical World, that he has just provided a variety of his much-admired NEW PATENT DITAL HARPS, ready for inspection and choice; these new-invented little Harps possess all the general properties and effect of the Pedal Harps, though only one third the size, and are so simply constructed that they require scarcely any instruction to play on them (besides the the book of directions), and the prices of them extremely reasonable, &c. They are to be seen and heard, and only had at his Cabinet, No. 8, Foley-place, Portland Chapel. The Portable Harps are so highly approved, that very many Ladies of Fashion and Musical taste, have already engaged them. The above are also particularly well adapted for Ladies who travel abroad, being found certain to stand the hottest climates.

Fig 6.62: Typical advertisements by Light promoting the dital-harp.[114]

[113] *The Morning Post* 30th August 1822. The term 'Musical Cabinet' was used to describe Light's house not only in this advertisement but in other later ones, too many to be listed in a footnote.
[114] (above) *The Times*, 12th January 1822 and (below) *The Morning Post* 29th July 1822.

6.3.6 CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENTS TO THE DITAL-HARP

Returning to the constructional and chronological matters, with regards to the number of strings, having announced the new term 'dital-harp', Light's next improvement was to add another string. The earliest instrument found so far that possesses nineteen strings is number '81', which was once sold at Christies.[115] It is similar in form and appearance to the HML [1976.310]. Despite the introduction of nineteen-string dital-harp, an eighteen-string model was manufactured concurrently; number '120'[116] is another example, while '152', stored at RCM [RCM911] (Fig 6.63), is very much identical to the Christies instrument, possessing nineteen strings. From examining the RCM [RCM911], it can be concluded that it was shorter in scale (214mm) than that of the eighteen-string models such as the RCM [RCM284] and the HML [MT536-1998] (228mm).



Fig 6.63: Nineteen-string model of British Lute Harp, serial number 152.[117]

[115] Christies London, Lot 120 (18-19 September, 2013). The images and descriptions were on the web page:
<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/musical-instruments/a-regency-ivory-mounted-parcel-gilt-by-edward-light-5714680-details.aspx?pos=121&intObjectID=5714680&sid=#top>, (Accessed 17 Sep., 2013).
[116] Images of this instrument appear in a webpage' Bernunzio Uptown Music',
<http://bernunzio.com/product/edward-light-ditar-harp-17426/>, (Accessed 30 Sep., 2013).
[117] RCM [RCM911].

The crucial improvements and upgrade of the instrument took place around the time serial number '167' was introduced (Fig 6.64).



Fig 6.64: Newly introduced model of British Lute Harp, bearing serial number '167'.[118]

The most significant change was the extension of the neck towards the pillar providing more space for extra ditals. Three were added making thirteen in total, with which the remaining three ring stops were finally replaced (Fig 6.65). This had been Light's aim since its invention. Interestingly, perhaps because of the newly introduced model, the instrument comprises gilded composition ornamentations, which had, in most cases, been eliminated. In addition, the fingerboard became much narrower, remaining only to show a vestige of one while losing its function. In addition, with the introduction of this model, Light somehow managed to put the longer scale of the first string back to that of the eighteen-string model (288mm), instead making the lowest sting (nineteenth) rather longer (654mm).[119]

[118] MFA [2007.327].
[119] The nineteenth string on the RCM [RCM911] is 630mm, about 20mm shorter than that of the one at MFA [2007.327].



Fig 6.65: Extension of the neck with the addition of three ditals for the lowest three strings, making thirteen in total.[120]

Regardless of the extent of ornamentations, substantially the same style with nineteen strings continued being manufactured at least until the production of the instrument bearing serial number 179, and currently in possession of the MMS [F451] (Fig 6.66).

[120] MFA [2007.327].



Fig 6.66: British Lute Harp, serial number 179.[121]

The subsequent change was applied to the bridge, and the earliest specimens so far confirmed have serial numbers '200' and '225'. These are currently in MIMEd [1110] (Fig 6.67) and HML [15.10.48/43] (Fig 6.68), respectively.

[121] The inscription shows the number '1791', but it is written outside the enclosing curve-lines. The '1' at the far right was someone's later addition, so the original number is '179'.



Fig 6.67: One of the earliest specimens found so far, with slanted bridge, serial number 200.[122]



Fig 6.68: Another of the earliest specimens found so far, with slanted bridge, serial number 225.[123]

[122] MIMEd [1110].
[123] HML [15.10.48/43]. The soundboard is seemingly a replacement but was only repainted after the

While most parts remained similar to the previous design, the significant change was provided by the bridge, which was attached obliquely instead of being placed parallel to the nuts. This alteration effectively shortened the scale length of the treble strings (e.g. 195mm for the first string) while extending that of the lowest (708mm).[124] This allowed for a better quality of strings (length- and weight-wise),[125] making the instrument as physically effective as a real harp; it sounded only with floating strings (no fingerboard in use), and its sound quality was achieved solely by the scale lengths[126] and weight of strings.

Around the time the serial number '252'[127] was manufactured, the upper neck was finally integrated completely with the lower neck; the '253', is currently in possession of DCK [MI/A15] (Fig 6.69) is similar.

---

decoration was ripped off, as proven by the remaining marks of decoration on the soundboard after careful inspection. Moreover, there is no hole mark from the pin-bridge that had been attached parallel to the nuts, meaning the position of bridge is probably original.

[124] Both measurements are of the HML [15.10.48/43].

[125] Selection of the appropriate string is important for proper vibration or, theoretically, achieving the best tone (stretched as near to breaking point as possible). In order to do so the relation between length and weight becomes very important; 'By the theory of stretched strings the frequency of a note varies inversely as the length of the strings; hence each octave below c^2 should, theoretically, be doubled in length, and each octave above should be halved. In the treble this is done, but lower registers…from g or so the length of strings in relation to the proper scale falls off, but is compensated by strings of greater diameter, sometimes over-spun, to slow down the vibrations by weight', Russell (1959: 19).

[126] This means, theoretically, the length of an octave higher string should be halved, while an octave lower should, ideally, be doubled.

[127] Images of this instrument appear in a webpage, 'Bernuzio Uptown Music', <http://bernunzio.com/product/edward-light-ditar-harp-17428/>, (Accessed Sep., 2013). The images included the inscription at the heel which reads 'Light/ Foley Place/ London, Patent No.252'.

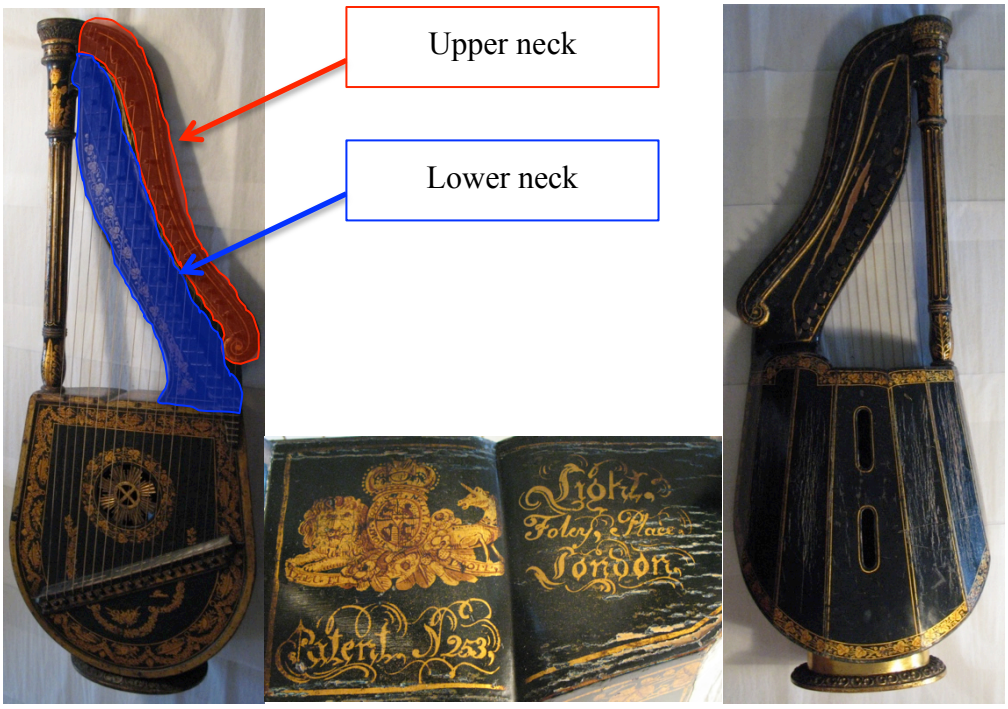


Fig 6.69: Serial number 253; the upper and lower necks are completely integrated.[128]

Another noteworthy change in instruments with serial numbers in the 250s is the soundbox; the outer staves became gradually rounded, eliminating the gold lines that were drawn at the joint of staves, though the soundbox still consisted of the seven pieces (Fig 6.70).



Fig 6.70: Change of soundbox - more rounded shape; from left to right, serial numbers 253, 252 and 255.[129]

[128] DCK [MI/A15].
[129] (left) DCK [MI/A15], (middle) image taken from 'Bernuzio Uptown Music',

As with the previous transition, there were some attempts to determine the final design; the upper neck attached to number 255 was once again disconnected, creating a much larger aperture (Fig 6.71).



Fig 6.71: New design introduced in the transitional process.[130]

The newly introduced design was not, however, a commercial success, and the previous model (i.e. serial number 252) was instead selected for continuing production, at least up to serial number 270.[131]

6.3.7 INSCRIPTION ON 'DITAL-HARP'

As discussed, if we only look for the term 'dital-harp' in written evidence, the first model given the name was no doubt the one with **the partially integrated necks and inscription on the heel.** The earliest appearance of 'dital-harp' so far confirmed on an

---

http://bernunzio.com/product/edward-light-ditar-harp-17428/, Access (Sept, 2013), (right) image taken from 'Vintage Instrument.com', <http://www.vintage-instruments.com/navigate/catidx6.htm>, (Accessed Oct., 2011).

[130] Images taken from 'Vintage Instrument.com', <http://www.vintage-instruments.com/navigate/catidx6.htm>, (Accessed Oct., 2011).

[131] The description of the instrument with a front image was kindly given by Rosemary Cook and Darcy Kuronen via email correspondence in 2013. It is currently the property of Snowshill Manor and Garden.

instrument's inscription is in slightly later products (Fig 6.72). One specimen's inscription reads 'Ed Light/Foley Place/London, Patent Dital Harp' along with, interestingly, serial number '7' even though it appears to be in the same style as the '252' and the '253' – with completely integrated-necks. This may be explained by renumbering due to the introduction of a new model.

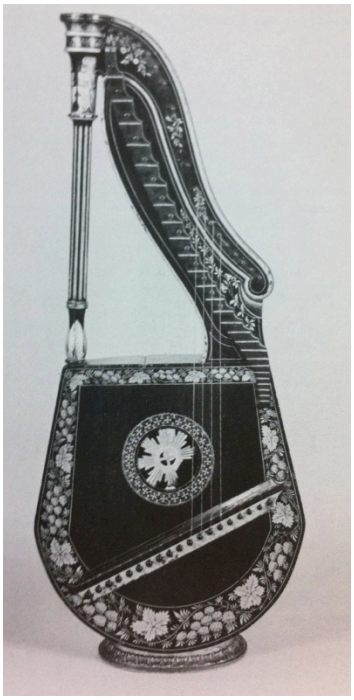


Fig 6.72: Earliest instrument found bearing the inscription 'dital-harp'.[132]

To support this, there is also an extant instrument in the same style bearing serial number '16' with the inscription 'dital-harp' (Fig 6.73).

[132] Image taken from Anonymous (1986: *Made for Music: An Exhibition to mark the 40th Anniversary of the Galpin Society for the study of Musical Instruments,* Lot 35).



Fig 6.73: Instrument with the inscription 'dital-harp', serial number '16'.[133]

This evidence suggests that the term 'dital-harp' began to be inscribed on instruments after the manufacture of the new serial number, '7', with the numbering restarting from '1'. In addition, the most important change, decisively differentiating the new type from the previous model, was in the construction of the soundbox, which became made up of three staves, the outer two of which were curved (Fig 6.74).

[133] Image taken from Tony Bingham's 'Old Musical Instruments', <http://www.oldmusicalinstruments.co.uk/instruments/instrument_detail.php?id=24&cat=PS>, (Accessed June, 2011).



Fig 6.74: (left) Old style with seven staves and (right) new style with three staves, the outer two of which are curved.[134]

This is also the earliest extant instrument with a closed soundhole, painted in gold (Fig 6.75); this became the preferred design for later products.



Fig 6.75: Newly introduced design of painted soundhole.[135]

The new numbering system continued until an instrument with serial number '20' was

[134] (left) DCK [MI/A15] and (right) HML [15.10.48/45].
[135] RNCM [S11].

introduced, with 'dital harp' clearly inscribed on the heel[136] (Fig 6.76).



Fig 6.76: New dital-harp, serial number '20'.[137]

An interesting account is found in an 1822 advertisement saying that 'he [Light] has just received from his manufactory, several exquisitely fine-toned little HARPS, ready for inspection and choice',[138] from which we can assume two things: first, the dital-harp was not made by Light but by his manufacturer (possibly Barry); second, he did not always have a stock of the instruments in his house. The account further continued: 'The instruments of the several new inventions and various improvements, produced at this Cabinet, are all such that each of their kind may be completely learnt in one month'[139]. This was probably an indication of variety of form due to the consecutive improvements discussed above rather than any continuing sales and manufacture of precursors such as the harp-lute and the harp-lyre.

[136] This slightly differed from the one with number '16'; all inscriptions appear on the heel.
[137] MIMEd [1109].
[138] *The Morning Post* 21st November 1822.
[139] *The Morning Post* 21st November 1822.

6.3.8 PRODUCTION OF THREE-HUNDRED INSTRUMENTS

An important account regarding serial numbers was found in an 1823 advertisement, in which Light mentions that about 300 'little Harps' have been sold (Fig 6.77).

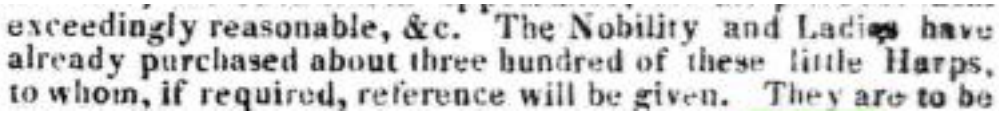

exceedingly reasonable, &c. The Nobility and Ladies have already purchased about three hundred of these little Harps, to whom, if required, reference will be given. They are to be

Fig 6.77: 1823 advertisement mentioning the sale of about 300 'little harps' [dital-harps].[140]

This almost certainly indicates sales of dital-harps, excluding previous models such as the harp-lute and the harp-lyre, whose so far identified highest number sold is 688, considerably exceeding the above production figure (300). Moreover, the highest serial number of extant dital-harp hitherto found is 358, which seems to correspond to the above description. However, the description concurrently indicates that the number sold has not yet reached three hundred in 1823, otherwise Light would have used the word 'more than' (as he did for sales of the harp-lute in 1814)[141] instead of 'about'. The following month, he restated: 'Several hundred Ladies have already engaged with them',[142] from which we can infer that the production number, at the time, no doubt exceeded two hundred but had not reached the three hundreds. In addition, later that year Light moved out of 8 Foley Place, and the last dital-harps with that address so far found are ones bearing new serial numbers '20' and '270' (belonging to the preceding model). 1823 was most likely the year in which the new model, along with the renumbering, was introduced. This interpretation is borne out if we consider that Light may have combined the two (i.e. 20 + 270 = 290), which comes to just under the '300' of the advertisement.

[140] *The Morning Post* 15th January 1823. Light states: 'The Nobility and Ladies have already purchased about three hundred of these little Harps'.
[141] In 1814 he described the number of harp-lutes sold in the following account: 'more than five hundred persons of dignity'. Please read Chapter 5.
[142] *The Morning Post* 14th February 1823.

6.4 THE BRITISH LUTE

Interestingly, Light's series of inventions had not yet been completed, and at the beginning of 1823 he announced sales of the 'Mandola Lute' through a newspaper advertisement (Fig 6.78).

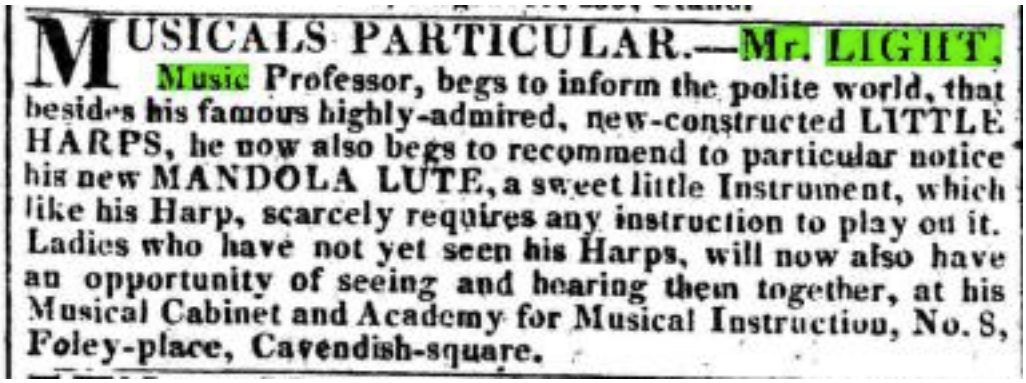

MUSICALS PARTICULAR.—Mr. LIGHT, Music Professor, begs to inform the polite world, that besides his famous highly-admired, new-constructed LITTLE HARPS, he now also begs to recommend to particular notice his new MANDOLA LUTE, a sweet little Instrument, which like his Harp, scarcely requires any instruction to play on it. Ladies who have not yet seen his Harps, will now also have an opportunity of seeing and hearing them together, at his Musical Cabinet and Academy for Musical Instruction, No. 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square.

Fig 6.78: Advertisement in 1823 mentioning a new instrument called 'Mandola Lute'.[143]

Headings such as 'New invented small Portable HARPS and LUTES'[144] and 'NEW INVENTED PATENT very PORTABLE HARPS, also LUTES'[145] are found on later advertisements, indicating that the Mandola Lute (lutes) was apparently a new instrument, different from the dital-harp (harps).[146] There are also similar accounts that may cause some confusion, for instance:

> 'MUSICAL, novel and peculiarly interesting to the Polite Musical World universally, Mr. LIGHT, Senior's new Establishment for his new invented INSTRUMENTS, and also for INSTRUCTION in MUSIC, and the art of playing on the following Instruments in particular…On his highly admired new invented Patent, very portable Dital Harps; also on his various kinds of new invented and improved Lutes […]'[147]

---

143 *The Morning Post* 31st January 1823.
144 *The Morning Post* 5th April 1823.
145 *The Morning Post* 14th July 1823. Similar headings can be found in Light's subsequent advertisements. For instance, 'very highly admired, Patent, new-constructed small HARPS; also new kind of Lutes', (*The Morning Post* 9th October 1823).
146 He often described the dital-harp using the alternative term 'portable harp'; it is therefore extremely likely that the 'HARPS' shown in this advert refer to dital-harps.
147 *The Morning Post* 24th October 1823.

The word ‘lutes’ indicated in this account most likely included Light’s past inventions such as the harp-lute-guitar, the harp-lute and the harp-lyre. However, this does not necessarily mean they were still in production, since the advertisement was also for the promotion of his music lessons on these instruments, not their sale. Although this advert is very similar to the one for the Mandora Lute, the two need to be carefully examined as to whether they are chiefly for teaching or musical instrument retailing.

It is noteworthy that there seems to have been a tendency of Light from around the beginning of 1823 to favour the term ‘Portable Harp’ over ‘dital-harp’.[148] In October that same year, Light moved out of his long-term address of 8 Foley Place to 38 Berners-street, Oxford-street (Fig 6.79).

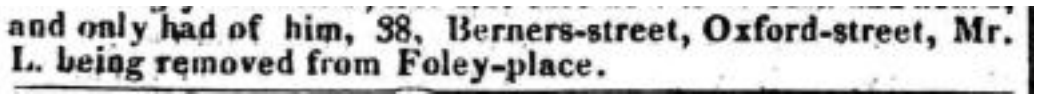
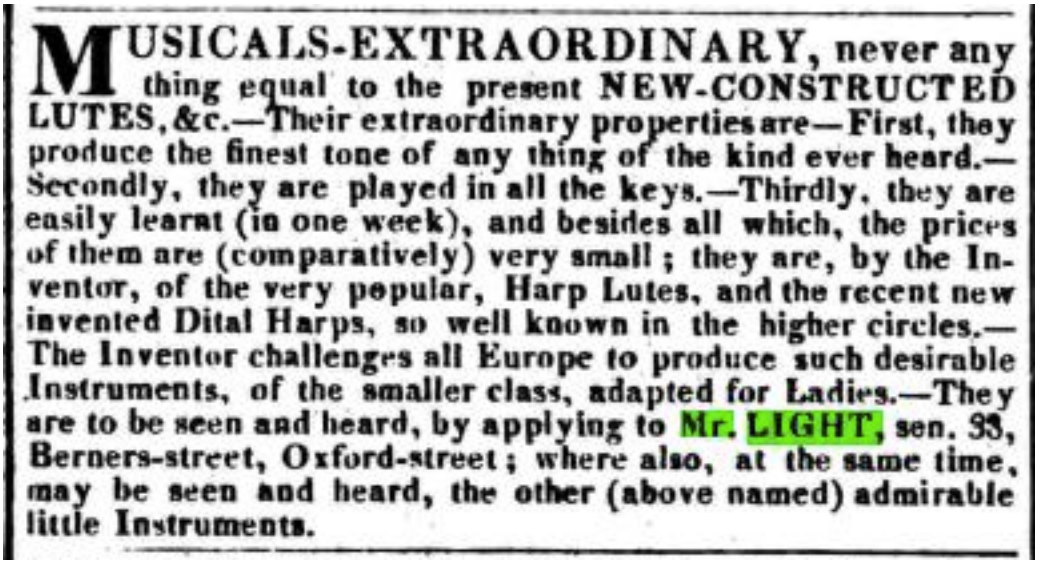

and only had of him, 38, Berners-street, Oxford-street, Mr. L. being removed from Foley-place.

Fig 6.79: Advertisement issued on 9 October, 1823, mentioning Light’s change of address.[149]

Perhaps it was the same instrument that he used to refer to as the ‘Mandola Harp’. After his change of address, Light announced a model of the harp lute, describing it as ‘new constructed lutes’ and stating that ‘they are played in all the keys’ (Fig 6.80).

[148] This does not means the term ‘dital-harp’ had completely disappeared from his advertisements. For instance, he refers to a ‘dital-harp’ in an advert in The Morning Post (London, England), Monday, April 14, 1823.
[149] *The Morning Post* 9th October 1823.



MUSICALS-EXTRAORDINARY, never any thing equal to the present NEW-CONSTRUCTED LUTES, &c.—Their extraordinary properties are—First, they produce the finest tone of any thing of the kind ever heard.—Secondly, they are played in all the keys.—Thirdly, they are easily learnt (in one week), and besides all which, the prices of them are (comparatively) very small; they are, by the Inventor, of the very popular, Harp Lutes, and the recent new invented Dital Harps, so well known in the higher circles.—The Inventor challenges all Europe to produce such desirable Instruments, of the smaller class, adapted for Ladies.—They are to be seen and heard, by applying to Mr. LIGHT, sen. 33, Berners-street, Oxford-street; where also, at the same time, may be seen and heard, the other (above named) admirable little Instruments.

Fig 6.80: Advertisement by Light issued at the end of 1823.[150]

This also shows how Light viewed expanding his market into Europe as his next challenge (Fig 6.80), while at the same time implicitly indicating the gradual decline of his instruments in the British Isles rather than any ongoing success. Regardless of such circumstances, he continued publicising these two instruments[151] throughout the following year.[152] Subsequently, as early as March 1825, the instrument called 'Lutes' was finally designated as 'British Lute' in a public newspaper, while Light changed address again, this time to 43 Great Marylebone-street, corner of Welbeck-street (Fig 6.81).



MUSICALS.—REMOVAL.—E. LIGHT, Sen. Music Professor, and Inventer of the newly-constructed PATENT PORTABLE HARPS and BRITISH LUTES, begs to inform his Friends and the Polite Musical World in general, that he is REMOVED from Berners-street, to 43, Great Marylebone-street, corner of Welbeck-street, where his highly admired fashionable little Harps and Lutes are continued to be had.

Fig 6.81: Announcement of Light's move to 43 Great Marylebone-street, corner of Welbeck-street.[153]

[150] *The Morning Post* 23rd December 1823.
[151] Dital-harp and Mandola Harp (new-constructed lute).
[152] Two advertisements concerning the two instruments have so far been identified: *The Morning Post* 14th January 1824 and *The Morning Post* 20th August 1824.
[153] *The Times* 22nd March 1825.

So far, amongst surviving instruments, only one example bearing the inscription 'British Lute', and slightly differing from the dital-harp, has been found (Fig 6.82).

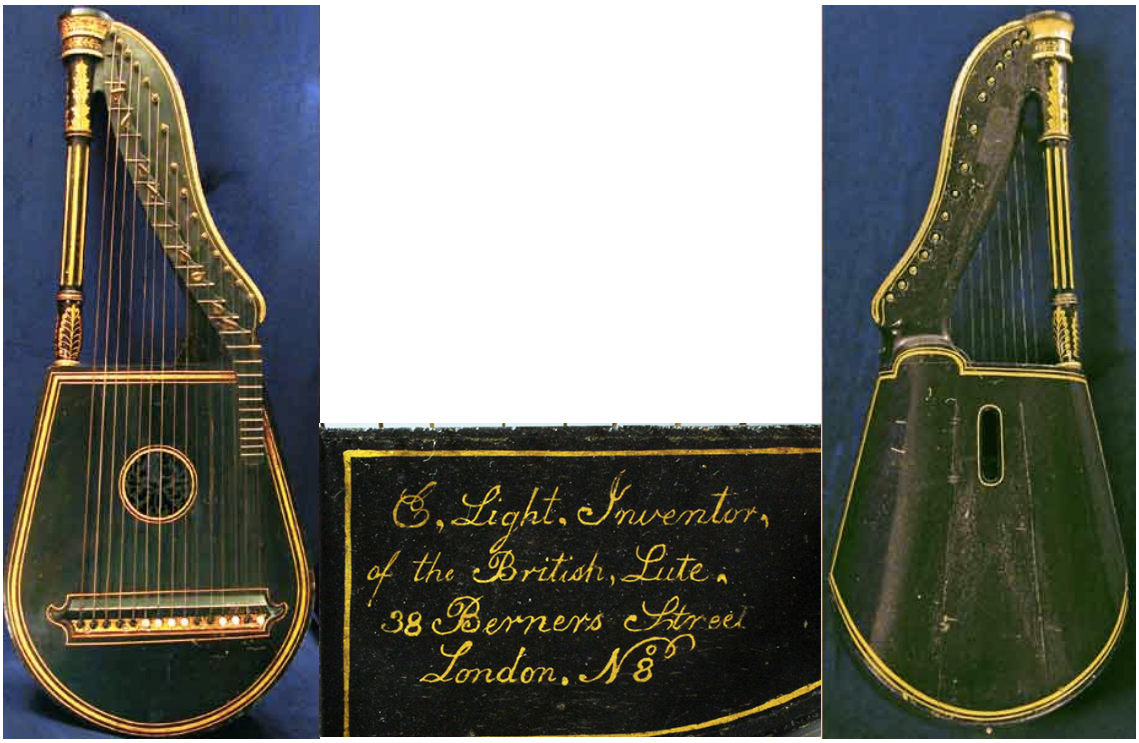


Fig 6.82: An extant British Lute.[154]

From the address inscribed on it, '38 Berners Street', we know it was made between October 1823 and March 1825. Despite the subsequent production of the dital-harp, this instrument consists of completely integrated-necks with an outer-curved-soundbox, and has fewer strings (fifteen in total) and the bridge is attached parallel to the nuts. Additionally, the plinth has been eliminated and instead, like the harp-lute, an endpin has been attached. The most significant part worth mentioning is its lack of ditals; though Light stated that 'they are played in all the keys', the pitch of each string has to be changed manually by replacing it using the differently placed nuts. Although the extant instrument employs some brass stops, we can see that each nut has two slots[155] for changing the pitch manually (Fig 6.83), suggesting the brass stops are most likely a later addition and not original.

[154] Image taken from The Twelfth Shop, <http://www.12fret.com/content/2011/09/30/british-lute-by-edgar-light-circa-1790/>, (Accessed Sep., 2013).
[155] Similar to the system, particularly for the treble strings, seen on earlier models of dital harps.

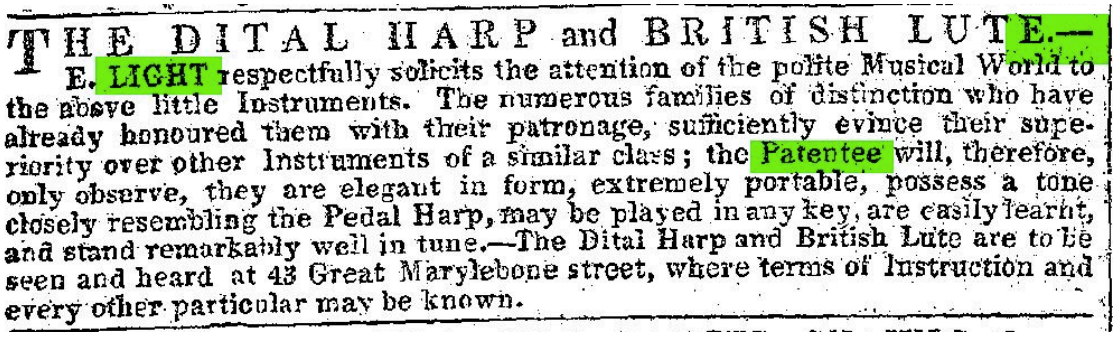


Fig 6.83: Two slots on each nut for changing the pitch manually, suggesting the brass stops are not original.[156]

Furthermore, the serial number is rather low, which probably means Light has renumbered the British Lute from '1' differentiating it from the dital-harp.

The term 'British Lute' gradually became used as the accepted name. A second advertisement identified by the author involves the term. This was issued in 1826, in which Light mentions 'his highly-popular New British Lutes', distinguishing them from the Patent small Harp [dital-harp].[157] In 1827, the two terms appear in newspaper advertisements with clear distinctions drawn between them (Fig 6.84); it is now obvious that dital-harp and the British Lute were indeed different instruments.

[156] Image taken from The Twelfth Shop, <http://www.12fret.com/content/2011/09/30/british-lute-by-edgar-light-circa-1790/>, (Accessed Sep., 2013).
[157] *The Morning Post* 27th April 1826.



THE DITAL HARP and BRITISH LUTE.—E. LIGHT respectfully solicits the attention of the polite Musical World to the above little Instruments. The numerous families of distinction who have already honoured them with their patronage, sufficiently evince their superiority over other Instruments of a similar class; the Patentee will, therefore, only observe, they are elegant in form, extremely portable, possess a tone closely resembling the Pedal Harp, may be played in any key, are easily learnt, and stand remarkably well in tune.—The Dital Harp and British Lute are to be seen and heard at 43 Great Marylebone street, where terms of Instruction and every other particular may be known.

Fig 6.84: Newspaper advertisement in which Light mentions two distinct terms: 'dital-harp' and 'British Lute'.[158]

6.5 THE BRITISH HARP

Interestingly, there are some extant harp lutes that are similar in style to the British Lute, perhaps successors to it, but more closely resemble the dital-harp (i.e. closed soundhole and curved soundbox) only differing in whether ditals are installed. For a more precise examination, there are some good specimens, one with seventeen strings and another with nineteen (Fig 6.85). They seem to have been manufactured to sell as cheaper models of dital-harp, so come with no mechanical device.

[158] *The Examiner* 29th April 1827.



Fig 6.85: Seemingly cheaper models of dital-harp, sold without mechanical devices (ditals), (left) with seventeen strings MMS [M2362][159] and (right) with nineteen strings HML [15.10.48/45].

As with the British Lute, the player has to change the pitch manually by moving the position of strings on different levels of nuts (Fig 6.86). This may suggest that the price of the dital-harp was too expensive for some customers who had been using harp-lutes since the cost of the instrument would have almost doubled. Moreover, these cheap products have slanted bridges, completely integrated-necks and curved outer-staves on the soundbox, so neither would have been introduced before the introduction of mechanical devices, nor would they have been precursors of the dital-harp with the serial number '7', and certainly not British Lute Harps.

[159] The plinth is missing; the author confirmed after gaining access to the instrument that there are two holes that were almost certainly for a plinth to be held in place.

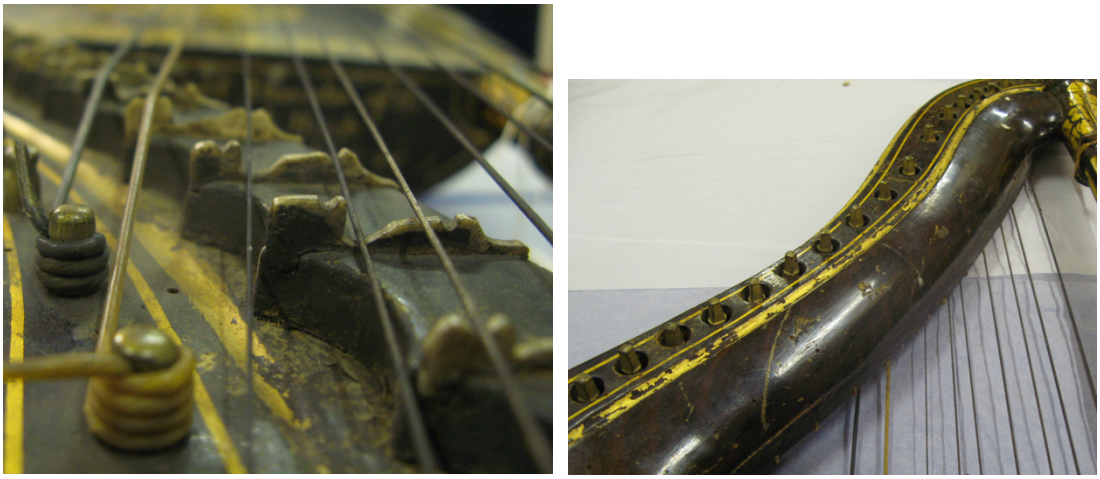


Fig 6.86: No dital is installed. Instead the pitch has to be changed manually by changing the position of strings on different levels of nuts.[160]

It is rather interesting if we focus on the inscriptions, which are unique and very distinctive. As well as being the new type of dital-harp bearing number '16', the HML [15.10.48/45] carries an inscription on the heel and on top of the pillar (Fig 6.87), which says 'E. Light Inventor of the / British Harp / No.5 Great Welbeck street / New Row' and 'No. 3(?)'.



Fig 6.87: Inscriptions on the HML [15.10.48/45]

As the address 'No.5 Great Welbeck Street, New Row' is described corner of Great Marylebone Street in Light's adverts, before moving to Marylebone street, Light seems to have temporarily resided there or it was the address where he had planned to move.[161] The instrument was most likely manufactured around the time of Light's move, thus

[160] HML [15.10.48/45].
[161] He may not have lived at the address but had planned to move, and so asked the inscriber to write the address 'No.5 Great Webeck Street'.

dating from around 1825.

Similarly, the MMS [M2362]'s inscription on the heel reads 'E. Light Inventor / of the British Harp / No. 32' (Fig 6.88) and another with no ditals also bears an identical inscription: 'E. Light, Inventor / of the British Harp / No. 33' (SMF [IKN068]).

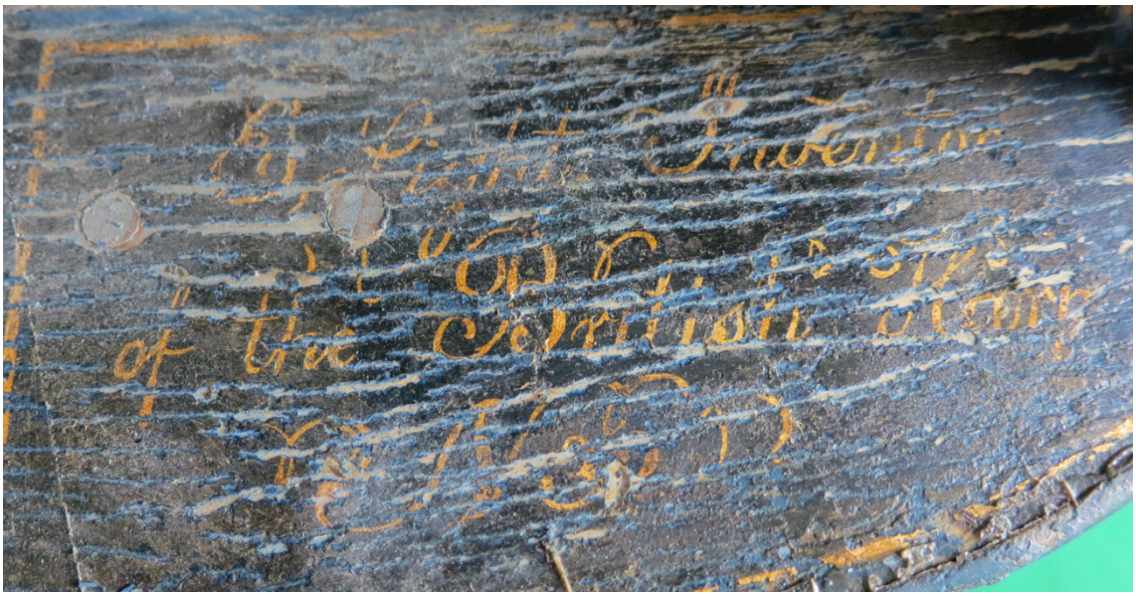


Fig 6.88: Inscription on the MMS [M2362].

Though slightly different in position of inscription, the three instruments are similar to the 'British Lute' and the instruments with serial numbers in the 30s. Interestingly, the instrument bearing serial number '36', currently in possession of MMP [E.2103], has an inscription 'dital-harp' and ditals were installed (Fig 6.89). From this point of view, Light seems to have called the instruments without ditals 'British Harp'.



Fig 6.89: Dital-harp bearing serial number '36' with ditals installed.[162]

6.6 FINAL PHASE OF PRODUCTION

The first appearance of the address '43 Great Marylebone-street' so far confirmed is on the instrument with serial number '39', currently in possession of LML [1967.161.44] (Fig 6.90).

[162] MMP [E.2103].

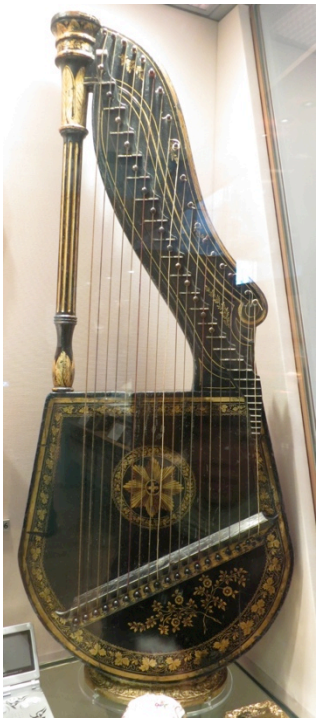




Fig 6.90: Earliest example bearing the address '43 Great Marylebone-street': serial number '39'.[163]

Then, amongst so far found extant instruments, the number suddenly jumps to '294', inscribed on the one stored at the V&A [99-1899] (Fig 6.91). This is most likely to have been because Light re-counted it from the last number inscribed on the preceding model (i.e. the number '270', so far identified as the highest number belonging to the previous model of dital-harp without having the inscription 'dital-harp' on the instrument).

[163] LML [1967.161.44].



Fig 6.91: Dital-harp with serial number '294', produced after 1825.[164]

Due to the seven-stave soundbox and proper soundhole, the instrument looks like the previous model. However, the address proves that it was unquestionably made after 1825. Additionally, under the plinth is attached a handwritten paper label that can be read 'J. B. Buchinger' (Fig 6.92), which may suggest that the instrument was sold from his music shop; Buchinger having long been a contractor of Light.



Fig 6.92: Handwritten label of J. B. Buchinger.[165]

[164] V&A [99-1899].
[165] V&A [99-1899].

Nonetheless, a noteworthy change is the concave soundboard, where the edges were raised so that the level of the soundboard would become lower (Fig 6.93).



Fig 6.93: Newly introduced concave soundboard, with raised edges.[166]

This design was applied up to at least serial number '309' (Fig 6.94).



Fig 6.94: Serial number 309 with concave soundboard.[167]

[166] (Left) V&A [99-1899] and (Right) RNCM [S11]
[167] RNCM [S11].

The soundboard was, at a certain point, back to flat while remaining of the same design and form. It can therefore be said that the instrument bearing number '309' is clearly the latest form of all harp lutes, which was manufactured until the decline of Light's business.

In addition, this does not mean that Light completely stopped manufacturing other dital-harp designs previously introduced. Perhaps in response to customers' special requests, after 1825,[168] some old or even specialised models were manufactured (in this case, no serial number was inscribed on the instrument) (Fig 6.95).

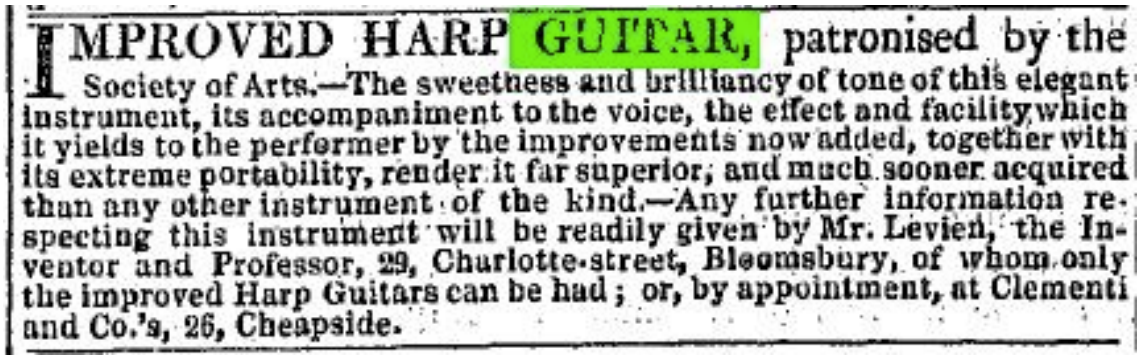


Fig 6.95: Special models of dital-harps, produced after 1825.[169]

[168] These models bear the address of 43 Great Marylebone-street, so were produced after 1825.
[169] (left) MMP [E.657] and (right) the images taken from Musurgia, <http://www.musurgia.com/Products.asp?ProductID=3220>, (Accessed Sep., 2013).

6.7 *GUITARE HARPE* BY LEVIEN

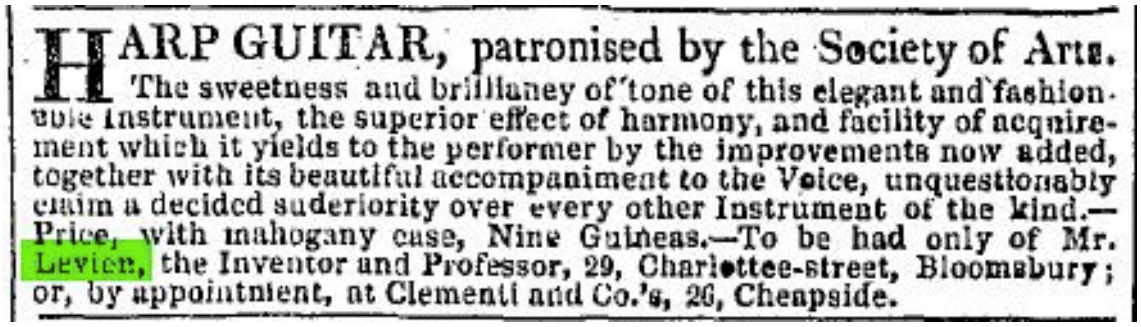
Around the time Light introduced the Mandola Lute (British Lute), as early as 1823, Levien put out an advertisement for his improved harp guitar, emphasising his patronage by the Society of Arts (Fig 6.96). Though it is uncertain whether the instrument shown in the advert was similar to the ones introduced around 1814, this is unlikely as this was one year before the registration of the patent for his new invention.



IMPROVED HARP GUITAR, patronised by the Society of Arts.—The sweetness and brilliancy of tone of this elegant instrument, its accompaniment to the voice, the effect and facility which it yields to the performer by the improvements now added, together with its extreme portability, render it far superior, and much sooner acquired than any other instrument of the kind.—Any further information respecting this instrument will be readily given by Mr. Levien, the Inventor and Professor, 29, Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, of whom only the improved Harp Guitars can be had; or, by appointment, at Clementi and Co.'s, 26, Cheapside.

Fig 6.96: Advertisement for Levien's harp guitar (1823).[170]

In the following year, the harp guitar continued to be advertised (Fig 6.97).



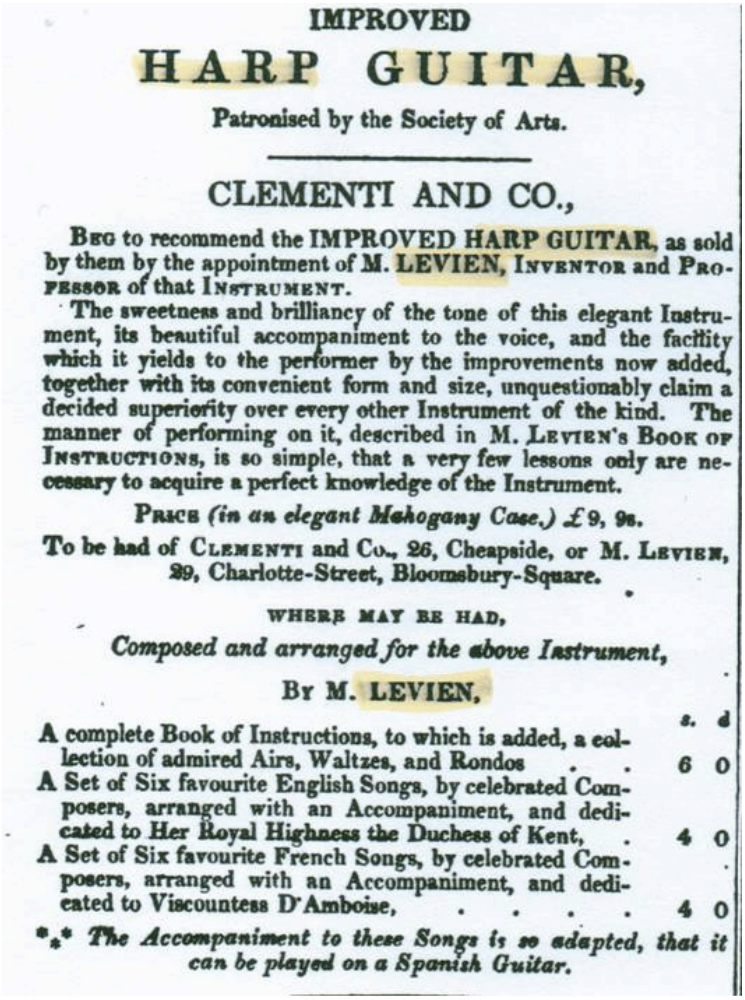
HARP GUITAR, patronised by the Society of Arts. The sweetness and brilliancy of tone of this elegant and fashionable instrument, the superior effect of harmony, and facility of acquirement which it yields to the performer by the improvements now added, together with its beautiful accompaniment to the Voice, unquestionably claim a decided superiority over every other Instrument of the kind.—Price, with mahogany case, Nine Guineas.—To be had only of Mr. Levien, the Inventor and Professor, 29, Charlottee-street, Bloomsbury; or, by appointment, at Clementi and Co.'s, 26, Cheapside.

Fig 6.97: Advertisement for Levien's harp guitar (1824).[171]

A similar advertisement issued by Clementi and Co. was found during the research, in which virtually the same descriptions appear, along with an address (Fig 6.98).

---

[170] *The Morning Chronicle* 22nd November 1823.
[171] *The Morning Chronicle* 2nd April 1824.



IMPROVED

HARP GUITAR,

Patronised by the Society of Arts.

CLEMENTI AND CO.,

BEG to recommend the IMPROVED HARP GUITAR, as sold by them by the appointment of M. LEVIEN, INVENTOR and PROFESSOR of that INSTRUMENT.

The sweetness and brilliancy of the tone of this elegant Instrument, its beautiful accompaniment to the voice, and the facility which it yields to the performer by the improvements now added, together with its convenient form and size, unquestionably claim a decided superiority over every other Instrument of the kind. The manner of performing on it, described in M. LEVIEN'S BOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS, is so simple, that a very few lessons only are necessary to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Instrument.

PRICE *(in an elegant Mahogany Case.)* £9, 9s.

To be had of CLEMENTI and Co., 26, Cheapside, or M. LEVIEN, 29, Charlotte-Street, Bloomsbury-Square.

WHERE MAY BE HAD,

Composed and arranged for the above Instrument,

BY M. LEVIEN.

	s.	d
A complete Book of Instructions, to which is added, a collection of admired Airs, Waltzes, and Rondos . .	6	0
A Set of Six favourite English Songs, by celebrated Composers, arranged with an Accompaniment, and dedicated to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, .	4	0
A Set of Six favourite French Songs, by celebrated Composers, arranged with an Accompaniment, and dedicated to Viscountess D'Amboise, ...	4	0

*** *The Accompaniment to these Songs is so adapted, that it can be played on a Spanish Guitar.*

Fig 6.98: Advertisement by Levien, possibly issued in 1824.[172]

From these accounts, we know that Clementi and Co. were Levien's exclusive distributor and that the price of the instrument was nine guineas (£9 9s), equivalent to the cheapest harp-lute sold by Light in 1809, which must have been seen as a bargain for customers. It has a much simpler construction compared with Light's harp-lutes, and is therefore not similar to the models Levien introduced around 1814. Interestingly, he mentioned that 'facility of acquirement which it yields to the performer by the improvement now added', which seems to indicate the brass stops installed on the fingerboard of his forthcoming patented instrument. At the same time as this instrument came out, Levien became guitarist to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester (Fig 6.99).

[172] This was kindly given by Gregg Minor through email correspondence (2012); it seems to have originally belonged to James Westbrook.

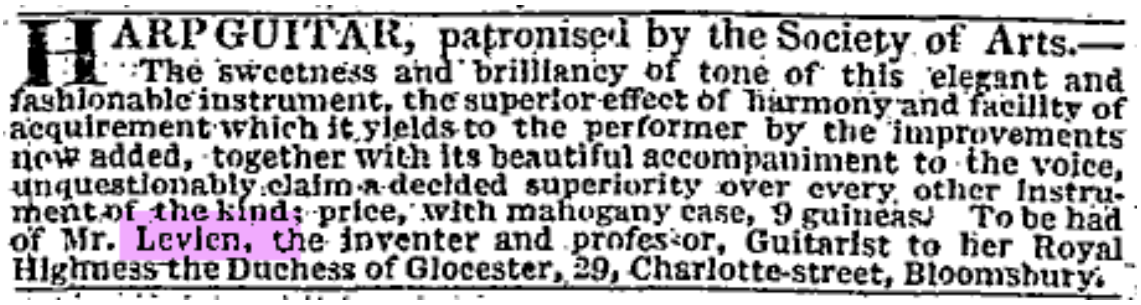

HARP GUITAR, patronised by the Society of Arts.—The sweetness and brilliancy of tone of this elegant and fashionable instrument, the superior effect of harmony and facility of acquirement which it yields to the performer by the improvements now added, together with its beautiful accompaniment to the voice, unquestionably claim a decided superiority over every other instrument of the kind; price, with mahogany case, 9 guineas. To be had of Mr. Levien, the inventer and professor, Guitarist to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Glocester, 29, Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury.

Fig 6.99: Advertisement mentioning Levien's appointment with the Duchess of Gloucester.[173]

On 6th October, 1825, Levien finally took out a patent for his new invention (No. 2739), named the '*guitare harpe*'. It was somehow registered in Paris, even though Levien was resident at his address at Charlotte Street in London while giving his temporary address as Sr. Charles Albert's residence in Paris (Rue St. Augustin 96°. 28).[174] Why he was granted the patent in Paris is hitherto uncertain. The documents included a beautiful watercolour with three dimensional elements (front, side and back), which was a more precise description of the instrument than Light's illustrations were of his (only the front image was drawn in Light's) (Fig 6.100).

[173] *The Times* 5th June 1824.

[174] Addresses mentioned in the original document currently in possession of INPI. In the documents, an account is found that 'Mordaunt Levien, Professeur de Musique, demeurant ordinairement, Rue Charlotte à Londres, de présent à Paris, où il fait élection de domicile chez le Sr. Charles Albert, y demeurant Rue St. Augustin 96°. 28'.

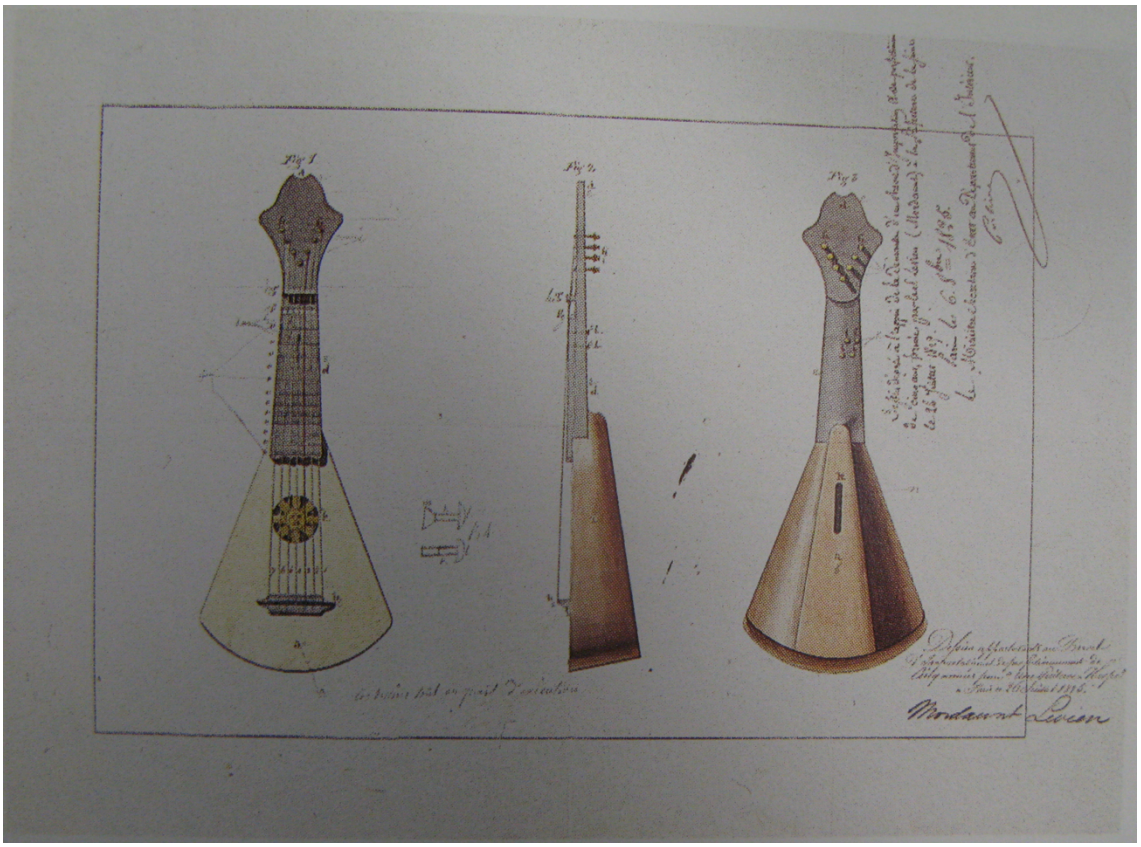


Fig 6.100: Technical Drawing of the '*guitare harpe*' included in the patent documents.[175]

There is vast number of extant *guitare harpes* in collections worldwide. Each was highly standardized, with the construction and shape corresponding to the 1825 patent (Fig 6.101).

[175] The patent document is currently stored in Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle in Paris [1BA2261]. The image was taken from Gétreau (1988: 155).



Fig 6.101: Examples of extant *guitare harpe* in excellent condition.[176]

Although the form is very similar to Light's harp-guitar, Levien's has a pin bridge of the French type and a longer scale length (470-575mm).[177] The instrument is tuned, from seventh to first string, g-c'-e'-g'-c''-e''-g''.[178] The fingerboard typically has three capotasto holes behind the second, third and fourth frets and three brass stops, which can be pushed through the neck in order to raise the pitch of individual strings; one is usually placed under the fifth string behind the first fret and the other two under the fourth and sixth strings behind the second fret (Fig 6.102).

[176] (left) HMS [C0022] and (left) MFA [2000.632].
[177] Seven *guitare harpes* including one by anonymous were examined. Light's harp-guitars measure about 445mm.
[178] Mentioned in Armstrong (1908: 41).



Fig 6.102: Three capotasto holes and brass stops on the fingerboard.[179]

Also noteworthy is that, as with the Light's harp-lute, a string guide attached above the nut presses down on the highest six strings and carries the longer seventh bass string that instead passes through a ring that is forced down. The head has a distinctive diamond shape with a carved gilded face of Apollo in a sunburst that corresponds to the soundhole rosette (Fig 6.103).

[179] HMS [C0022].



Fig 6.103: (top) string guide and head with carved, gilded face of Apollo in a sunburst;[180] (bottom) sunburst around a cross[181] and a crest.[182]

Levien seems to have produced two models of his patented instrument: one in the French style with black-and-white edging similar to that on many French guitars, and the other in English style with more ornate decoration (Fig 6.104); the latter model is quite rare and possibly the one advertised in 1824.

[180] HMS [C0022].
[181] MET [89.4.1515].
[182] HMS [C0022].



Fig 6.104: (left) Anonymous *guitare harpe*, attributed to Levien, in the English style[183] and (right) *guitare harpe* in the English style with Levien's inscription behind the nut.[184]

Levien's French-style instruments are typically inscribed 'LEVIEN / Inventeur & Breveté'[185] on a mother-of-pearl plaque between the nut and the string guide, while those in the English style bear a direct handwritten gilded inscription (Fig 6.105).

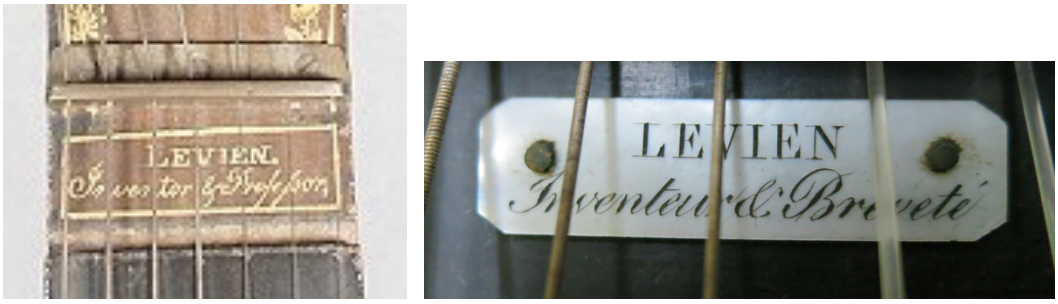
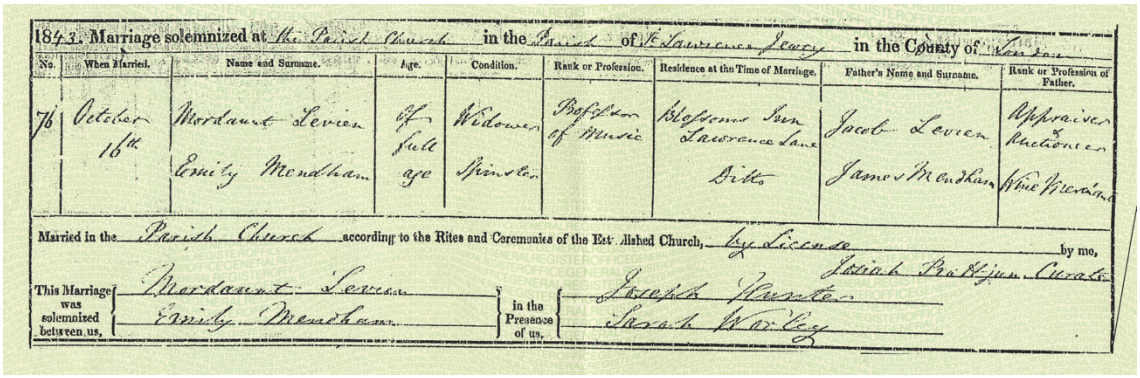


Fig 6.105: Inscriptions on guitare harpe: (left) English style and (right) French style.[186]

[183] RCM [RCM166].
[184] Image taken from Vintage Instruments, <http://www.vintage-instruments.com/navigate/catidx6.htm>, (Accessed Oct., 2011).
[185] There seems to have been irregular inscriptions but quite rarely; for instance, a *guitare harpe* attributed to Levien in HML [364/3941] has a mother-of-pearl plaque inscribed 'Harpe-Luth'.
[186] (left) Vintage Instrument, <http://www.vintage-instruments.com/navigate/catidx6.htm>, (Accessed Oct., 2011) and (right) HMS [C0022].

Soon after the registration of the patent, Levien suddenly disappeared from the public newspapers. He seems to have changed his target business market to Paris. However, on 16 October 1843, Levien, who had been a widower, married Emily Mendham, the daughter of a wine merchant. In this marriage certificate (Fig 6.106), he is described as a 'Professor of Music' and his death certificate (Fig 6.107), registered in England, Fareham, dated 26 Apr 1854, showing he died at the age of seventy, describes him as 'Professor of Guitar'. Considering these facts, he was most likely back in Britain before 1843 and was then teaching music.



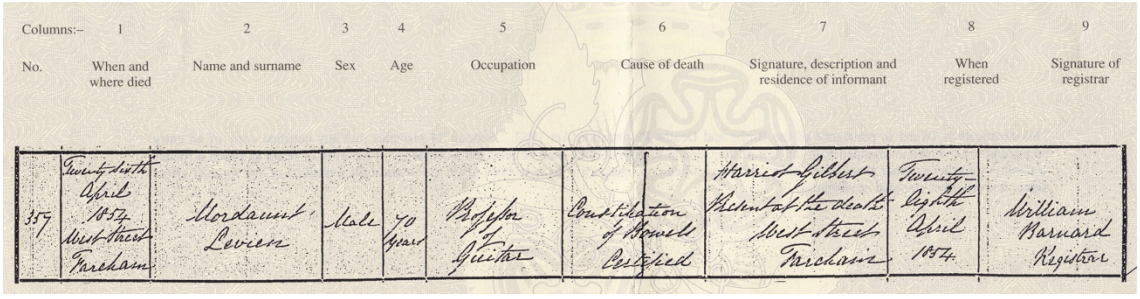
1843. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of St Lawrence Jewry in the County of London

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
76	October 16th	Mordaunt Levien Emily Mendham	Of full age	Widower Spinster	Professor of Music	Blossoms Inn Lawrence Lane Ditto	Jacob Levien James Mendham	Appraiser & Auctioneer Wine Merchant

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, by License by me, Josiah Prattjun Curate

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Mordaunt Levien, Emily Mendham in the Presence of us, Joseph Hunter, Sarah Worley

Fig 6.106: Marriage certificate of Mordaunt Levien in 1843.[187]



Columns:– No.	1 When and where died	2 Name and surname	3 Sex	4 Age	5 Occupation	6 Cause of death	7 Signature, description and residence of informant	8 When registered	9 Signature of registrar
357	Twenty sixth April 1854 West Street Fareham	Mordaunt Levien	Male	70 years	Professor of Guitar	Constipation of Bowels Certified	Harriot Gilbert Present at the death West Street Fareham	Twenty-eighth April 1854	William Barnard Registrar

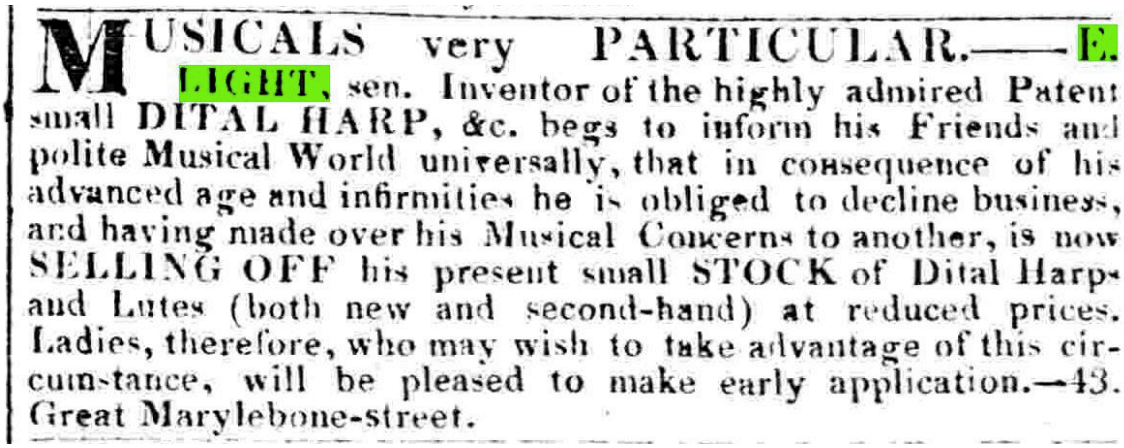
Fig 6.107: Death certificate of Mordaunt Levien in 1854.[188]

[187] The copy of Levien's marriage certificate was purchased by the author from Home Office, Identity & Passport Service, General Register Office.

[188] The copy of Levien's death certificate was purchased by the author from Home Office, Identity & Passport Service, General Register Office.

6.8 DECLINE OF LIGHT'S BUSINESS

Despite Light's enormous labours and contribution to the development of harp lutes, his success seems to have come to an end, and at the beginning of 1827, he announced that he was declining business due to age and infirmity, and that he would be disposing of his stock at reduced prices (Fig 6.108).



MUSICALS very PARTICULAR.—E. LIGHT, sen. Inventor of the highly admired Patent small DITAL HARP, &c. begs to inform his Friends and polite Musical World universally, that in consequence of his advanced age and infirmities he is obliged to decline business, and having made over his Musical Concerns to another, is now SELLING OFF his present small STOCK of Dital Harps and Lutes (both new and second-hand) at reduced prices. Ladies, therefore, who may wish to take advantage of this circumstance, will be pleased to make early application.—43. Great Marylebone-street.

Fig 6.108: Advertisement by Light in which he announces he is obliged to decline business.[189]

However, he seems later to have rallied his spirits, and continued to advertise sales of his instruments (dital-harp and British Lute), but does not seem to have been offering music lessons. As none of the succeeding advertisements involves lessons either, this probably means that Light retired from teaching in 1827. This later publicity does still seem to suggest a decline in Light's business; phrases such as 'Are continued to be seen' or 'a fair trial' had not been a feature of his preceding advertisements:

> '[…] The Patent new constructed small DITAL HARP; also new CONCERT LUTE […] Are continued to be seen, heard, and had only of E. LIGHT […] the above very highly admired instruments not being as yet become universally known, Ladies (strange to them), therefore, if required, are allowed a fair trial before purchase […]'[190]

We can also observe an increase in conservative phrases such as 'Ladies (strange to

[189] *The Morning Post* 29th January 1827.
[190] *The Morning Post* 22nd June 1827.

them)' found in the above advert, or rather meek proposals such as 'If required, one month's trial allowed'.[191] These types of phrases were not couched in the same manner as his previous advertisements, and they suggest that harp lutes seem to have become more and more strange or peculiar to emerging customers. This probably meant they were going out of fashion. Nonetheless, such anxiety or negativity soon disappeared and, as of old, Light began to vigorously and confidently advertise his instruments, emphasising their advantages and up-to-the-minute fashion throughout 1827-1828.[192] As mentioned above, however, these did not offer any lessons. In March 1828, the available instruments in Light's small saloon were Dital Harp, Lyre Harp (harp-lyre), Harp Lute (harp-lute) and Mandola Lute (British Lute),[193] which means he had stocks of these instruments, though most likely some had already gone out of production. In his announcement for the disposal of his stocks, there is an especially noteworthy phrase appearing in an advert for the 1828 Christmas season: 'The above [dital-harps] are adapted every general musical intention and convenience, and would also be delightful little Christmas and New-year Forget Me Not Presents'.[194] As such phrases had not been seen in any of his past advertisements, it may be said that he finally felt relieved from the strains caused by doing business in competitive markets. At the same time, the closure of Light's business seems rather implicit.

The highest confirmed serial number on a dital-harp found thus far is '358' on an instrument that is currently in a private collection in Japan[195] (Fig 6.109).

[191] *The Morning Post* 19th October 1827. Although Jenny Nex suggests that the advert of trials for a month before purchase was just another way of attracting customer, the author interprets this in a slightly different view since such a phrase had not been seen in Light's previous advertisements: there must have been something in that context.
[192] Almost as many advertisements from 1827-1828 have been found as those issued in the previous decade, showing no decline in the number of Light's advertisements.
[193] These instruments were mentioned in an advertisement in *The Morning Post* 20th March 1828.
[194] *The Morning Post* 9th December 1828.
[195] MG Company (Nagoya, Japan).



Fig 6.109: The highest number of dital-harp found to date, '358'.[196]

The form has not changed much from the ones bearing serial number 300,[197] and neither has the style of inscription, which probably means that Light stopped his work as an inventor or improver of the instrument in 1827, after he first announced he was declining business.

In March 1829, due to his advanced age and increasing infirmities, Light finally announced he was stopping any further instrument manufacture, inviting ladies to apply for the final sales (Fig 6.110).

[196] MG Company (Nagoya, Japan).
[197] The instruments numbered '309' (RNCM [S11]) and '358' have the same whole length (890mm) and similar measurements for body width (370mm and 364mm respectively). Though there was a minor change in which the top three strings became unchangeable in pitch after their nut was replaced with a different one (the old one had remained until at least number '343', MIMEd [1581] except for the first string), the remaining strings are almost identical in length (ex. 245mm and 244mm for fourth strings and 342 for the eighth strings).

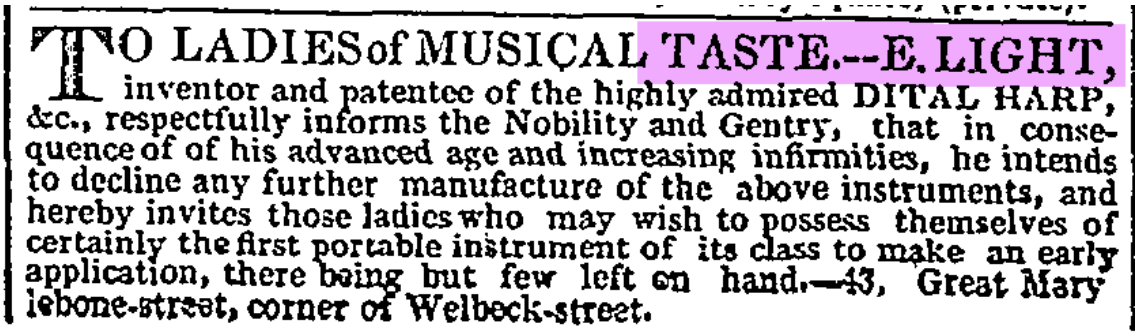

TO LADIES of MUSICAL TASTE.--E. LIGHT, inventor and patentee of the highly admired DITAL HARP, &c., respectfully informs the Nobility and Gentry, that in consequence of of his advanced age and increasing infirmities, he intends to decline any further manufacture of the above instruments, and hereby invites those ladies who may wish to possess themselves of certainly the first portable instrument of its class to make an early application, there being but few left on hand.—43, Great Marylebone-street, corner of Welbeck-street.

Fig 6.110: Light's announcement that he was stopping the manufacture of instruments.[198]

A month later he advertised sales of his stocks, giving notice of his retirement in the near future.[199] This advert, from April 1829, is the last appearance of Light found so far in a public advertisement (Fig 6.111).

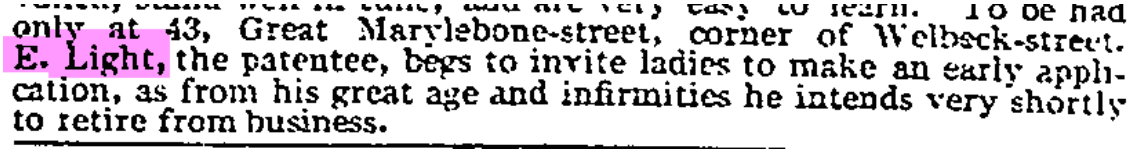

only at 43, Great Marylebone-street, corner of Welbeck-street. E. Light, the patentee, begs to invite ladies to make an early application, as from his great age and infirmities he intends very shortly to retire from business.

Fig 6.111: Announcement by Light stating 'he intends very shortly to retire from business.[200]

This also marked the end of Light's career as a musician-inventor, and as no successor to him has hitherto been found, it can be concluded that Light's harp lute manufacturing and business can be dated as beginning in 1800 and coming to a complete close in 1829.

[198] *The Times* 5th March 1829.
[199] *The Morning Post* 16th March 1829.
[200] *The Times* 2nd April 1829.

6.9 EPILOGUE TO THE HARP LUTES – THE HARP VENTURA

After Edward Light's retirement, harp lutes, originally invented by him, were further developed by competitors such as Ventura. Having suffered from his trial for bigamy that lasted from December 1824 into 1825,[201] he was finally granted an official patent for his newly invented instrument, the 'Harp Ventura'[202] on 21st February, 1828 (No. 5618) (Fig 6.112), together with an improved Spanish guitar called 'The Ventura Guitar'.

[201] To the author's knowledge, news of this first appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* 15th December 1824. The case can be followed by reading accounts in the contemporary newspapers that continued until the beginning of 1825. On 17th January, a verdict of 'not guilty' was returned on Ventura (*Jackson's Oxford Journal* 22nd January 1825). He seems to have still had to go through a post-trial process due to his ex-wife's actions, which probably finished by the end of 1825.

[202] For more details please see Appendix i.

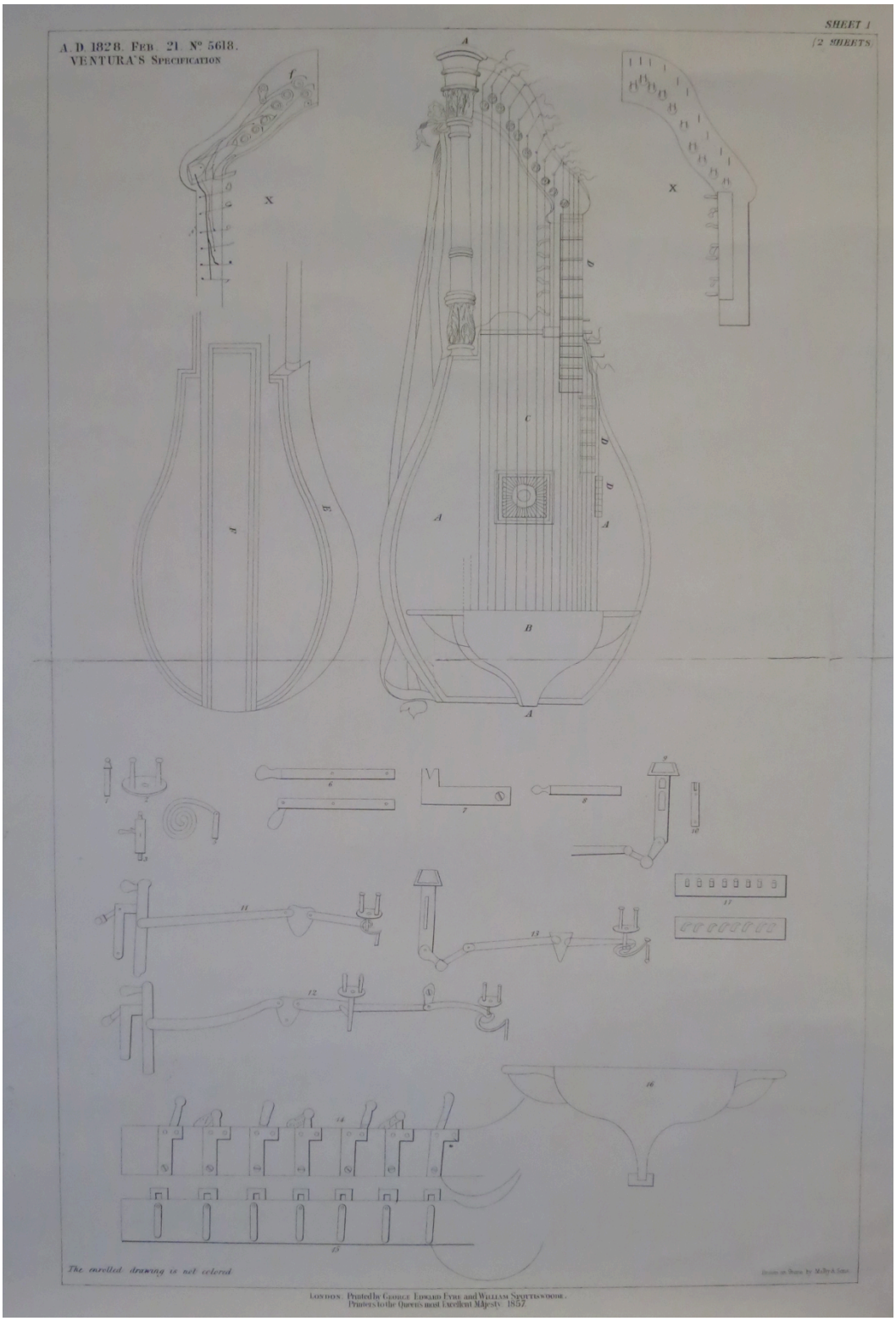
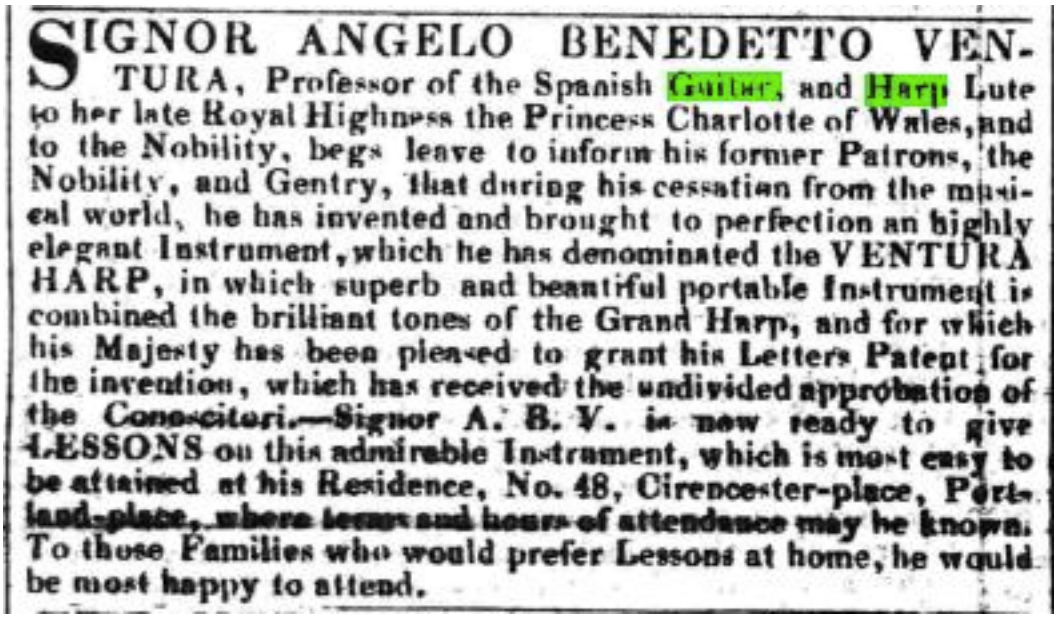


Fig 6.112: Patent drawing of the Harp Ventura.[203]

[203] Copies of the account and the drawing on the patent [No. 5618] were purchased by the author from Intellectual Property Office (IPO) in 2011.

Simultaneously, Ventura advertised the instrument in public newspapers, where he described its substitutability for the harp along with its official patent (Fig 6.113).



SIGNOR ANGELO BENEDETTO VENTURA, Professor of the Spanish Guitar, and Harp Lute to her late Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and to the Nobility, begs leave to inform his former Patrons, the Nobility, and Gentry, that during his cessation from the musical world, he has invented and brought to perfection an highly elegant Instrument, which he has denominated the VENTURA HARP, in which superb and beautiful portable Instrument is combined the brilliant tones of the Grand Harp, and for which his Majesty has been pleased to grant his Letters Patent; for the invention, which has received the undivided approbation of the Conoscitori.—Signor A. B. V. is now ready to give LESSONS on this admirable Instrument, which is most easy to be attained at his Residence, No. 48, Cirencester-place, Portland-place, where terms and hours of attendance may be known. To those Families who would prefer Lessons at home, he would be most happy to attend.

Fig 6.113: Ventura's advertisement for the Harp Ventura (1828).[204]

So far, two surviving instruments have been identified by the author: one at the V&A [248-1882] and another at the MMS [2062] (Fig 6.114). They are very similar overall but differ in the mechanism of the device installed in the lower and upper neck and also in the year of manufacture.

[204] *The Morning Post* 15th March 1828. The same advertisement appeared in *The Morning Post* 3rd March 1828.



Fig 6.114: Extant Harp Venturas: (left) V&A [248-1882] and (right) MMS [2062].

The instrument's name does not seem to have been very consistent either, having been called 'Harp Ventura' (V&A [248-1882]) or 'Ventura Harp' (MMS [2062]) (Fig 6.115).



Fig 6.115: Different terms inscribed on the instrument: (left) 'Harp Ventura' (V&A [248-1882]) and (right) 'Ventura Harp' MMS [2062].

Considering the address shown on the MMS [2062] (Fig 6.116), which is concurrent with the 1828 advertisement, we know that the instrument was an earlier production, probably just after the patent was granted, and no doubt built prior to the one in the V&A.



Fig 6.116: Address shown on the MMS [2062], No. 48 Portland Place, Cirencester Place.

He gave a concert playing on the Harp Ventura,[205] accompanied by an Italian musician named Aspa at the Prime Conversazioni o Grandi Societa di Londona on May 1830.[206] In 1834, he appears to have moved temporarily to Southampton, lodging at No.3 Westgate Street. There he attended evening parties, concerts and conversaziones.[207] The following year, Ventura was back in at 43 Great Marylebone Street, Portland Place, London, from where he continued to give lessons while attending parties, conversaziones and evening amusements.[208] As the written address on V&A [248-1882] (Fig 6.117) corresponds to the one indicated in 1835, we know the

[205] As discussed, although he officially took out a patent for the 'Harp Ventura', he often reversed the word and called the instrument the 'Ventura Harp; in newspapers he also inscribed the instrument with the inverted term.
[206] The announcement of the concert was included in Ventura's advertisement in *The Morning Post* 14th May 1830.
[207] This appeared in *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian Royal Yacht Club Gazette, Southampton Town and County Herald, Isle of Wight Journal, Winchester Chronicle, and General Reporter* 19th July 1834; the same content is also found in the succeeding newspaper advertisement issued Saturday 26th July 1834.
[208] *The Morning Post* 30th May 1835.

instrument was manufactured after that but before 1844, when Ventura moved to a new address (confirmed by the author).



Fig 6.117: Address inscribed on the V&A [248-1882]: No. 43 Great Marylebone Street.

He seems to have regularly played on his invented instruments in concerts (Fig 6.118).

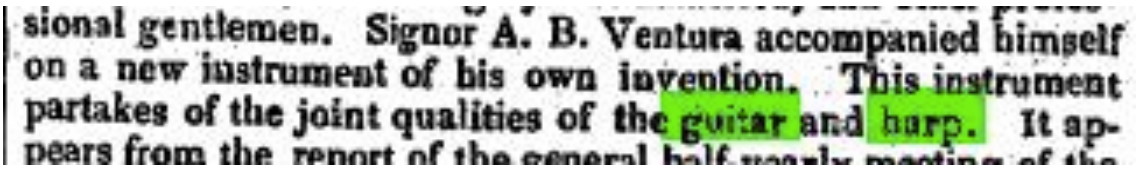

sional gentlemen. Signor A. B. Ventura accompanied himself on a new instrument of his own invention. This instrument partakes of the joint qualities of the guitar and harp. It appears from the report of the general half-yearly meeting of the

Fig 6.118: Review of the concert involving Ventura's performance on his invention, mentioning the 'joint quality of the guitar and harp', namely the Harp Ventura.[209]

Although Ventura claimed that 'The Harp Ventura is so light and portable that it forms an agreeable travelling companion, in a carriage or on board ship',[210] the two examined extant Harp Venturas (by the author), due to the installed mechanical devices, are extremely heavy, far more so than the other harp lutes, and it is doubtful whether ladies would have played it. Nevertheless, promotions for the Ventura Harp continued appearing in newspaper advertisements,[211] together with lessons for the Spanish guitar, harp-lute and harp-guitar (Fig 6.119).

[209] *The London Dispatch and People's Political and Social Reformer* 17th September 1836.
[210] *The Morning Post* 30th May 1835.
[211] The Harp Ventura was still being advertised in 1839, (*The Morning Post* 5th August 1839).

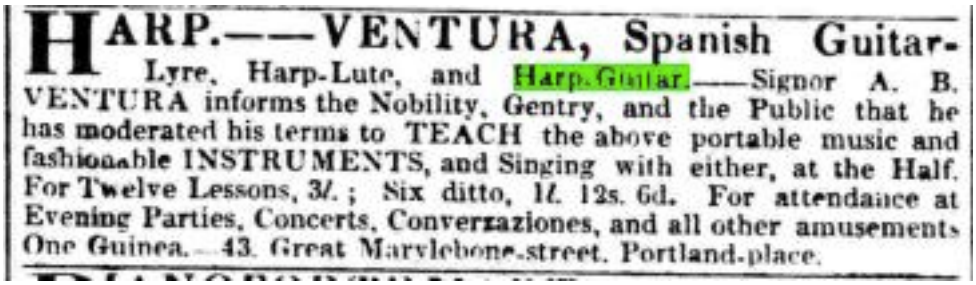

HARP.——VENTURA, Spanish Guitar-Lyre, Harp-Lute, and Harp-Guitar.——Signor A. B. VENTURA informs the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public that he has moderated his terms to TEACH the above portable music and fashionable INSTRUMENTS, and Singing with either, at the Half. For Twelve Lessons, 3*l.*; Six ditto, 1*l.* 12s. 6d. For attendance at Evening Parties, Concerts, Converzaziones, and all other amusements One Guinea.—43, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place.

Fig 6.119: Newspaper advertisement by Ventura (1836).

In 1844, having moved to 39 Goodge Street, Fitzroy Square, Ventura continued to distribute his instruments to the public by attempting to 'place one of his pupils, who plays the Harp-Lute and Spanish Guitar in a superior style, in a Family where there are one or two Young Ladies to instruct on those fashionable instruments,[212] and to make her self useful'.[213] Subsequently, along with the other Ventura inventions, the Harp Ventura was exhibited in the 1851 Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London (Fig 6.120).

[212] Harp Ventura, Spanish guitar, harp-lute and lyre.
[213] *The Morning Post* 4th June 1844.



Fig 6.120: Line-up of Ventura's instruments exhibited in the 1851 Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace.[214]

In the illustration, the description says that Ventura had moved from 47 Rothbone Place to 17 Charles Street, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, calling himself inventor and professor of the British Ventura and Ventura's English Cetra. He did not mention the Ventura Harp, which was probably exhibited only for its distinctiveness, novelty in form, and mechanism, since such features corresponded well to the theme of the exhibition. Nonetheless, he explained the Ventura Harp more precisely in the section describing his exhibited instruments:

> '[…] a fine noble and melodious instrument 32 inches in length, and 12 inches in breadth, possessing 19 strings. The instrument is played in the manner of the guitar […] most beautiful accompaniment for the voice, piano-forte, harp, guitar and other instruments. It is so soon learned, that any lady having a knowledge of music will be able to play in three or four lessons.'[215]

[214] Image taken from Mactaggart (1986: Plate 15).
[215] Mactaggart (1986: 79).

Interestingly, the price of the Harp Ventura is also mentioned (£15 to £21),[216] almost equal to that of the dital-harp in 1821, which seems rather expensive for this type of instrument.[217] However, there are some facts to consider: the form in the illustration seems not to have changed from the 1830s onwards, not many of them survived despite the instrument's elegance, and the address shown does not correspond to that of any of the surviving instruments. The Harp Ventura in the exhibition is therefore most likely to have been made between 1830 and 1840, so perhaps by 1851 it was not even being manufactured. In addition, as the instruments exhibited appear similar in form to the Spanish guitar, harp lutes had probably been out of fashion and already on the decline. It can therefore be concluded that the development of harp lutes had come to an end by 1851, which is where this thesis terminates.

[216] Mactaggart (1986: 79).
[217] In the 1850s, the Spanish guitar was much more popular than in the 1820s. From this point of view, the price was rather high for fashionable ladies who had already been or had begun to be attracted to Spanish guitars.