

THE PRAISE
OF MUSIC

THE PRAISE OF MUSIC:

Wherein, besides the antiquity, dignity,
delectation and use thereof in civil
matters, is also declared the sober
and lawful use of the same in the
congregation and Church of God.

Jerome in Psal. 64

*Matutinis Vespertinisque hymnis Ecclesiae
delectatur Deus per animam fidelem, quae
relicto inanium superstitionum ritu, eum
devotem laudaveris.*

God is delighted with the morning and
evening hymns of the church in a faithful
soul, which, rejecting the ceremonies of
vain superstition, praises him devoutly.

Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes,
Printer to the University, Anno 1586.

Edited by Ben Byram-Wigfield
London, 2002

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PREFACE TO THE EDITION

THE identity of the author of this work is by no means certain. Almost since its publication, the work has been thought to be by Dr. John Case (*d.* 1599). Indeed, 28 years later, Thomas Ravenscroft was already citing John Case as the author in *A Briefe Discourse of the True Use of Charact'ring the Degrees* (London, 1614). John Case was an eminent writer and fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and had produced a number of works which were printed by Joseph Barnes. Barnes was the Printer to the University, and Case's books were compulsory 'course texts' for students. This cosy arrangement may well be the source of the attribution.

However, doubt is cast upon Case's authorship by a comment in *Athenae Oxonienses*, by Anthony Wood in 1691, a work which lists the achievements of scholars and bishops at Oxford from 1500 to 1690. In the entry for John Case is found the following:

I have on my shelf a book "The Praise of Musicke..." It was written by an Oxford scholar, then lately deceased, but what was his name, I cannot in all my searches find. 'Twas printed and published by the said Joseph Barnes, who, putting a Dedic. Epist. before it to Sir Walter Raleigh, with his name subscribed, he is therefore in several Auction Catalogues said to be the author of it.

This paragraph, in the middle of a list of works published by Case, clearly shows that Case is not the author, as the true author had died shortly before the work's publication in 1586, whereas John Case would live another thirteen years. The printer's exhortation to Sir Walter Raleigh would seem to support this view, by stating that the book is *an orphan of one of Lady Music's children*.

This comment also seems to me to suggest that the author was a musician by trade; and there is certainly more textual evidence to support this. Barnes' remark may seem too florid to be taken literally; and the modest admission of *some skill in music* in the preface might simply be that due to the education of a gentleman; but there can be little doubt when these two facts are added to the following statement from chapter II, (page 92):

So that I thus far agree with the greatest adversaries of our profession that I would not admit any other matter than is contained in the written word of God, or consonable thereunto.

I would therefore suggest that the author is a church musician, connected to Oxford, who died shortly before 1586. The records of the college choirs would be a good place to start in search of likely candidates.

But to speak of the matter itself, this small volume is a wealth of information, beautifully described, detailing the representation of music in classical mythology; the effects of music upon both man and beast; the use of music in the early christian Church; and arguments in favour of retaining music (and music of a high standard) within christian liturgy. The range of knowledge exercised by the author is quite considerable, and it has been displayed with some degree of flair.

The text has been modestly edited into modern English: the spelling and grammar have all been updated, some word order has been transposed, and more commonplace constructions used when appropriate; but the overall style is still that of the author's. Where an obvious modern variant of an archaic word exists, e.g. *dislike* for *mislake*, it has been substituted, and a glossary at the back provides definitions for those strange words and phrases which have been retained for their colour.

There may be those who would prefer to have the text unadulterated; and similarly, there may be those who feel that the editorial practice has not gone far enough. The former will not be hindered in their reading; the latter will at least have been given some assistance in theirs.

Finally, I would hope that those whose eyes are trained more finely than mine would, in making any criticism, duly weigh any offences against the benefit that may come from making this text available to the public again.

BEN BYRAM-WIGFIELD
London, 2002

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KNIGHT

Right worshipful, I am glad that I have any small occasion to revive that study which lay as dead for a time; and I would be as glad to have it continue in good credit and liking after it is once revived. For which cause, I request your worship in all humility to become a patron of this small work, worthy to be taken into your hand when your worship shall have any respite from your weighty affairs, and pleasant to be read, because it is an orphan of one of Lady Music's children. It is commended to me by men of good judgment and learning, and it will be the better commended hereafter if it may go out under your worship's protection, which I request again most humbly, wishing your worship as much happiness as I can conceive, and conceiving as much as your worship can wish.

From Oxford

Your worship's most humble at commandment,

JOSEPH BARNES.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER

TRUE it is, which is reported of poets and musicians, that they are no otherwise affected toward their own devices than parents toward their children. And surely, (gentle reader) I willingly confess to you that I am glad I have some skill in music, which is so sweet, so good, so virtuous, so comely a matron among other arts. Wherefore I shall not justly blame you if you think that love and affection has prevailed much with me in publishing of this pamphlet: for therein you shalt give testimony to me that I have performed the part of a kind and grateful son, in bestowing the best of my ability to the advancing of so gracious a mother.

Neither would I have you so much to stand upon this conceit, as if reason had no place in this action, considering that affection without reason is a blind and unjust judge of any matter. May it therefore please you to judge of my labour no otherwise than the reasons therein alleged shall give you just occasion. And if it happens you come to the view hereof with a prejudice, yet consider that nature has therefore given you two ears, that you should as well apply the one to the defendant as the other to the plaintiff. For as in civil matters, so in this:

*Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Aequum licet statuerit, haud aequus fuit:*
Who so defines a thing he does not know,
Though just his verdict be, he is not so.

If then I bring not only reason, but testimony also for my assertion, I shall desire the averse reader not to condemn me without grounds, nor with a fantastical prejudice to set light by that which perhaps he will not be able to gainsay. For, as the Poet said in another matter:

*Qui hunc accusant, Naevium, Plautum, Ennium,
Acusant, quos hic noster aviores habet.*

So I answer to them that pass their sentence of condemnation upon me, that they do in no way disgrace me, but *Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen*, and the holy Fathers of the primitive Church, whose authorities are here alleged: men far better

than them, and not worthy to be condemned under a session of their peers. I know a blemish is soonest perceived in a comely body; and the greater the man is that offends, the greater seems his offence. Because one small wart is a stain to a beautiful face; and some little fault committed, that might otherwise seem tolerable in a man of mean estate, is inexcusable in a greater personage: so it fares with music, which, because it is excellent, and for that naturally subject to the envy and malice of many, is therefore ill-spoken of, because it falls out that she is oftentimes blemished with the faults of them that profess to have some knowledge in her.

Hence it comes to pass that the faults of the persons are attributed to the art, and that whatever is amiss in this or that lewd musician is said to proceed from her, which ought by better reason to obscure and overshadow the foulest blots which are incident to men, than she by them should be disgraced. Because the *Pierides*, in pride of their skill, provoked the *Muses*; or *Marsyas* and *Pan*, in opinion of their own excellency, *Apollo*: this general collection is made: that music causes pride and ambition. If there be any such foolish musicians as *Arcabius* was, having that fault of which *Horace* speaks:

*Ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
Iniussi nunquam desistant.*

That being prayed to sing and show their skill
Cannot induced be, say what thou list:
But unrequested, keep a-chanting still,
And from their folly never will desist.

straightway music is wayward and troublesome, cunning men are either dangerous or fantastical, as if to be skilful were a fault, or to be cunning, worthy reprehension.

Great occasion and advantage of inveighing against this art is taken of that saying which King *Philip* of *Macedonia* used to his son, *Alexander*, when he rebuked him that he could sing so well and cunningly: as if we did allow the importunity of *Nero*, which is said, all a long summer's day to have sat in the theatre, playing on his harp; or did not rather think that music is so to be used of noble and gentle men, as *Achilles* did in *Homer*: who, after that bitter contention

between him and *Agamemnon*, taking to him his harp, (whereupon he had learned to play from *Chiron* the centaur, who also taught him feats of arms, with physics and surgery) and playing thereon, sang the martial acts of the princes of *Greece*: as *Hercules*, *Perseus*, *Perithus*, *Theseus*, and his cousin *Jason*, and was therewith assuaged of his fury and reduced into his first estate of reason. And this in him was so commendable that *Alexander* himself, after he had vanquished *Ilion*, being demanded by one if he would see the harp of *Paris*, who ravished *Helen*: thereat gently smiling, answered it was not the thing he most desired, but would rather see the harp of *Achilles*, wherewith he sang not the illecebrous delectation of *Venus*, but the valiant acts and noble affairs of excellent princes.

Some, I doubt not, will exult to draw a reproach of this art from the ancient *Greeks*, with whom it was at the first in greatest estimation. And therefore I will triumph that *Minerva* should have cast away her recorder from her in disdain; not, as some say, because using thereof made her cheeks swell and puffed, but as *Aristotle* rather thought, because the playing of a recorder neither avails the mind, nor helps knowledge anything at all; whereas we ascribe art and knowledge to *Minerva*.

But I would not have any man suppose that my purpose is, in this treatise, otherwise to speak of this science than so that it may seem both worthy of private delectation for a man's proper solace, and also publicly commodious in matters both civil and ecclesiastical, as in the process shall be declared. And therefore I refer the reader, for the decent use hereof in gentlemen, to the book of *Aristotle's Politics*, and the 7th chapter of *Sir Thomas Elliot's* first book of his *Governor*, from whom he shall sufficiently gather what the proper and sober use hereof is, and ought to be.

Touching the other use, (I mean the ecclesiastical) because that is a matter long in controversy, I shall desire the gentle reader so long to suspend his judgment till, having read the treatise, he shall also consider of the strength and firmness of the reasons. And I do not doubt but, as I without bitterness speak of these things, so he peradventure that is most averse shall take some profit and fruit of these my

labours. If you be skilful and learned, I know you will not condemn me at a blush; if unskilful and ignorant, think that I will not so mildly answer as *Stratonicus* answered King *Ptolomy*:

ετερον εσι το σκηπρον και το πληκτρον βασιλευ.

A sceptre, O King, is one thing, and an instrument another.

but rather that which is more agreeable to your person, which the same man also is said to have answered a smith which maliciously reviled him:

Sir, I pray you deal not above your hammer.



THE ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF MUSIC:
FIRST GENERALLY, THEN MORE
PARTICULARLY SET DOWN

CHAPTER I

IT would be but lost labour to write anything of music, being an art of more use than credit, more known than acknowledged, were it not that more indifference is to be looked for of the eye (to whose view and oversight she betakes herself) than has heretofore been shown by the ear, whose itching sense she hardly contented. But fullness perhaps breeds loathing; and the eye, which in a manner has been kept hungry from these things, may by sight and reading hereof both satisfy herself and teach her ungrateful neighbour the ear to think better of so comfortable a treasure. The commendation whereof, as it arises from many heads: namely her parentage, ancientry, dignity, her both pleasant and profitable service, with other as many and no whit meaner arguments of her praise; all which jointly fill up a perfect measure of more than common honour: so her birth and antiquity makes not least to the setting forth of her beauty.

And although it is for poor men to reckon their cattle, because rich men's store grows out of number; and for younglings to account their years, because antiquities wax out of mind (whereupon the *Arcadians*, lest they might come in question of juniority with any other country, would needs be older than the moon) yet the casting of her nativity can in no way prejudice so ancient a science, whose continuance is great but not defined; her birthday ancient but not dated. For Time cannot say that he was before her, or Nature that she wrought without her. To prove this, look upon the frame and workmanship of the whole world, whether there be not above a harmony between the spheres; beneath, a symbolism between the elements. Look upon a man, whom the philosophers termed a little world, whether the parts accord not one to the other by consent and unity. And who can blame Nature in any reason for using her own invention? Does the nightingale record by art or nature? Although the *Roman* taught his crow this one lesson with much ado: *All hail, Caesar*; and the

Carthaginian's birds hardly enough to sing this one plain song: *Hannon is God*; yet it is, I am sure, besides the custom and perhaps the cunning of any man to instruct the nightingale in so pleasant and variable notes, being as cunningly delivered as speedily learnt.

But to leave Nature and come to Art, (which then is at her best when she is nearest this mistress) who can be ignorant that Nature has given her the groundwork whereon she a long time has flourished? As for her infancy, let us bury it in silence, and wrap up as it were in her swathing clothes. For no doubt she was not enquired, talked, or written of till she waxed and grew in years, that is, in perfection and ripeness; at what time, being *iam plenis nubilis annis*, fit to wed men's ears and hearts unto her, she began even with greediness to be received, commended, practised; to exercise their wits, possess their minds, occupy their tongues, fill their books and writings. Forthwith, she was so challenged by this nation and that country, so claimed by this man and that god, that it was doubtful in such variety of judgment to whom she was most beholding for her birthright. Whereof what shall I say else, but that as the contention of seven cities about *Homer*, that famous and renowned poet, and the earnest plea of each of them to be his native soil did imply his excellency: so these many lands and islands, men and women, gods and goddesses, and (if I may so speak) heaven and earth, being at odds and variance about this science, argue her to me no base-born child, but such a one as both commends him that invented her, and honours them which entertain her.

But because she is as pregnant as *Libya*, always breeding some new thing, (for so it pleased *Anaxilas* long ago to make comparison) it will be the harder in such fruitfulness of issue to father every child aright, and to assign to every one his proper and peculiar invention. First, the *Muses* lay challenge unto her for their offspring, as may appear by christening her music, after their own name. If we from hence derive her lineage, what one thing is amiss? *Jupiter*, that is dexterity and quickness of wit, her grandfather; *Memory*, that aged and reverend mistress of all sciences, her grandmother; her mother, many instead of one (for how could ordinary parents have conceived such extraordi-

nary perfection?) and yet but one in many, for all is but *Harmony*. Exception may be taken against these things as fables and fantasies of the poets; yet if we draw the veil aside and look nearer into that which now we do but glimpse at: what else is meant but that music is, and ought to be, accounted *donum & inventorum deorum*: the gift and invention of the gods, and therefore ordained to good use and purpose?

Now, if music can find no favour by alleging these parents, let us search other men's registers, and see if happily she be more gracious for the *Graces'* sake, whose hands, being fast clasped without severing, their faces amiable without frowning, their youth fresh and green without waning, their garments loose without girding, and their chastity perpetual without violating, express in sense and meaning nothing else but concord without breach, mirth without sadness, continuance without end, liberty without constraint, and finally pureness without taint or corruption. And can a graceless fruit come of so gracious a stock? For proof hereof may serve the image of *Apollo*, which stood at *Delos*, bearing in the one hand his bow and arrows, as being the god of the archers; in the other, the three *Graces*, with several instruments as having sovereignty over the musicians.

I would not leave out *Bacchus* out of this catalogue, were it not that his name nowadays is in some disgrace amongst us, and those drunken echoes and howlings together with confuse hammering of timbrels, used in his *Bacchanalian* feasts and somnities, might seem to endanger the credit of this art. Howbeit if we take him not as he is imagined, but as he was indeed, (I mean a heroical person) his finding out of wine and music is, or ought to be, as famous as his victories and triumphs in *India* were glorious.

But because the rainbow, being not of one colour, is therefore more slightly to the eye, so music, being not of one kind, is therefore more welcome to the ear, it shall not be amiss to consider the specialities, and lay by itself each man's help and furtherance in that science. And first to begin, as best besteems, with vocal music, being sounded with a lively instrument, the tongue of man, who will not fly with birds of his own feather, and profess that both the nature of man is beautified

with so excellent a quality, and the quality credited with so excellent a nature. For if we join even with heathen philosophers and masters in this point, and confess with *Pythagoras* that man is a great miracle: with *Mercury* a second god; with *Phavorinus* a mortal god; with *Abdala* the Saracen another *Proteus*, apt to receive any form; with others a little world; and with others *omnia*, all *in altis* taking part with angels, part with flowers, part with brute beasts: it were most injurious to make better account of an instrument framed by art than made by nature, the one being without us, the other living and growing within us. But what need I call the light of the sun in question? Let each of these sorts receive her due commendation; neither let contention about the mastery make to the disgracing of either of them, but rather prove how happy and rich we are, that can find no worse quarrelling matter than to dispute of two good things which is the better.

The antiquity of this kind has more need of deciding than the sovereignty, both because the times are not easily remembered, and the opinions of men hardly reconciled. For some ascribe singing to *Jupiter*, as *Diodorus of Sicily*; some to *Mercury*, as *Heraclides of Pontus*; the rest in whichever of these two verdicts we like:

deus est in utroque parente,

each of their authors was deified by the heathen for principal virtue. Furthermore, as all the *Muses* were reported at the marriage of *Cadmus* and *Hermione* to have sung a ditty of the near alliance between friendship and honesty, so specially amongst the rest, *Calliope* had been miscalled but for the goodness of her voice, and *Melpomene* nicknamed but for setting of songs. But in such cases we canonise for authors as well those that make perfect as those which first invent: not for devising that which was not before, but for bettering that which was worse before. Does no man build but he who lays the foundation? No man paint but he who shadows? No man wade but he who first breaks the ice? If it were so, in what case had all our arts and sciences been? They would be monuments—as one speaks, *adorandae rubiginis*—and nothing else; well might we have revered their ancient rustines, but neither would their faces be

half so well-favoured, neither their knowledge half so much practised.

Now then, by this account *Osiris* must be remembered for one whom the *Muses* were said to attend upon. To signify that he was his craft's master, having the art at will, and thoroughly stored with all the gifts of so notable a knowledge, *Nert Tisias*, otherwise *Stesichorus*, commended him even from his cradle to this science, by the ominous sitting of a nightingale upon his tender lips. Besides these, *Chrysogonus*, who made a perfect consort between his own voice and mariners' oars, observing a delectable tune in the one and a proportionable time in the other. What shall I speak of *Simon* and *Lysias*, who, being offended with old music as too, too harsh for their smooth and delicate ears, cast it once and again as it were in a new mould, neither suffered so much as the former name to remain unchanged?

These, and many the like whose memory is fresh in histories, though passed by once in silence, either for setting us on work by their examples, or for instructing us by their precepts, or for polishing other men's rough hewn work by their skilfulness, can deserve no less at our hands than to be held and reputed for authors. But why do I please for their privilege and authorization, who have found no age hitherto so ungrateful as not to offer it? He that will not give seconds and thirds a first place in these matters thinks it easy perhaps to build *Rome* in one day, and possible enough to make a science perfect even at one instant. Albeit we know that even *Mercury* himself, called amongst the *Egyptians* by a name of prerogative, *Ter Maximus*, being in three special things special and chiefest, could not acquit himself so handsomely in this science as not to have need of bettering in succeeding ages. His music of three parts, set and proportioned to the three times of the year: the bass to winter; the treble to summer; the meane to the spring. [And autumn,] being a middle season between summer and winter, was bare and naked till other parts came in to help and supply it.

So that as a question is made of whether *Theseus'* ship, being kept among the *Athenians* for a monument, and by continual reparation,

even from the hatches to the keel quite altered, be now *Theseus'* ship or not; so it might be disputed, were it not injurious to the good deservings of our predecessors, whether this our music, after the new fashioning and working of so many men in so many ages, be the same music which was retained in former times? For string has been added to string, part unto part, precept unto precept, one thing to another so long till at length no one thing so much as variety has made music a perfect and uniform body.

Now besides all this, who knows not that as generally so many men, so many minds? So, specially, sundry musicians drive sundry crotchets; and a diversity of masters makes a diversity of methods. *Timotheus*, (one for all, though one swallow be no sufficient warrant of the spring, yet standing in force of many witnesses, as being born out by common sense and practice of our days) required a double fee of other men's scholars: one to make them forget what they had taught them; another to make them learn what he himself would teach them. So then, if both the matter taught and the manner of teaching have seen as many alterations as almost ages, who can imagine that so great a dissent of the kinds can stand without as great diversity of the authors?

But to come nearer home, and to speak of the other sort of music, which has a while been prevented by this needless digression: although we are nowadays fallen into a kind of intemperance and wantonness, especially in the framing of instruments, in so much that the devising of them is not so great a trouble as their naming; yet antiquity, the mother of simplicity and singleness in the greatest part of artificial things, both contented herself with meaner choice and encumbered herself with smaller business. In those times, three colours did serve for painting, and three instruments for playing. Now, the painters' shop may vie with the rainbow for colours, and art has almost gone beyond itself for instruments. But to leave both the greater and the latter number of them, which are made to the imitation of the former, there is no question but as the dignity of these three above the rest is to be maintained, so their order amongst themselves is not to be neglected. For by the judgment of *Alcibiades*,

the harp is to be preferred before the whistling pipe or shawms, because it leaves room for the voice, whereas the others, possessing the whole wind and breath of man, dispossess him of that service.

Touching the original hereof, it is reported that, when the *Nile* had over-washed the country of *Egypt* and afterwards drank in his waters again into his seven mouths, being so many streams or channels, amongst many other fishes which perished on the dry land, being in a sort betrayed by that element wherein their nature is preserved, the tortoise also came short. *Mercury*, coasting along that way, took up one of them, and, finding nothing thereon but a few parched or withered sinews, tied them with his fingers, wherewith they made some offer of a musical noise. The experiment is well-known, *lippis & tonsoribus*, to the meanest and simplest person amongst us. For every child, holding a thread or hair in his mouth and striking it with his finger, shall find the like, partly by the motion of his finger wherethrough the sound is caused, and partly by the hollowness of the mouth whereby it is tuned. *Mercury*, having got this hold, took occasion to set abroach his cunning. For he fashioned a piece of wood, proportionable to the shell a fifth, and put thereon three strings distinct in sounds, answerable to the three seasons.

After this first onset, which for the most part carries both the greatest danger and the greatest credit, *Terpander* made up seven strings, in honour of the seven *Atlantides*, which go under the name of our seven stars; *Simonides* and *Timotheus* brought them to nine, in reverence of the nine *Muses*. Thus, *Mercury's* handsel set the market in a good and happy forwardness. This instrument, being as well for the novelty as excellency strange, was presented by report of some to *Apollo*; in lieu whereof he recompensed *Mercury* with his herald's rod, called *Caduceus*:

Hoc animas ille evocat orce

Pallentes, alias sub stristia Tartara mittit.

Herewith he calls some souls from Hell

And sends down others there to dwell.

By witness of others, it was given to *Orpheus*, wherewith he brought even senseless things to a sense and feeling of his sweetness,

and lifeless creatures to a lively stirring and motion of their unarticulate bodies. And when *Orpheus* was torn in pieces by the drunken *Bacchides*, his head and harp swam down the river *Hebrus* and were taken up at *Lesbos*, where they buried the one and hung up the other in the temple to their gods. Thus the harp lived after *Orpheus* was dead, and made a manifest proof of how highly it disdained to be handled by unskilful and profane fingers, revenging even unto the death a presumptuous act committed by *Naearchus*. This young man, being the King of *Mitelus*' son, bargained with the priests of the temple for *Orpheus*' harp because, as the practice of music was commendable amongst them, so the greater every man's skill was, the better was his recompense. Now *Naearchus*, having a mind to the best game, and putting more affiance in the virtue of the harp than his own cunning, got by night into the suburbs, and there jangled the strings so long, till at length he was rent asunder by dogs. Thus was his music unsavoury; thus was his death untimely.

But to proceed, the first that ever sang to the harp, which is either the only or chief reason why it is preferred before wind instruments, was *Linus*, whose ungracious scholar, *Hercules*, being controlled by him for his rawness, made such untoward music between his master's harp and his head, that he beat out the sides of the one and the brains of the other, although some displace him from the honour of this invention, and ascribe it rather to *Amphion*.

Now among the wind instruments, the shawm was devised either by *Euterpe*, one of the nine *Muses*, or else by *Ardalus*, *Vulcan*'s son, made at the first of the shank bones of cranes, and therefore called *tibia* by the *Latins*. Although afterwards, it was framed of the baytree in *Libya*; of box in *Phrygia*; of the bones of hinds in *Thebes*; in *Scythia*, of ravens and eagles; in *Egypt*, of barley stalks; and so accordingly at other times and in other places of other matters. But the most voices run upon *Minerva*, the daughter of *Jupiter*, and one who for her wisdom is said to be born of *Jupiter*'s brain. And because every artificer loves his own work, *Minerva* was delighted with her pipe, and used, even in the assembly of the gods, very much to wind it, till such time that they drew her both from her music and their presence by

laughing at her blown cheeks. She, to make trial of the matter, went down to a riverside, and beholding her swelling face in *Neptune's* glass, bid her pipe farewell in a great choler, loathing and disgracing the same as much as it disfigured her.

This pipe left not so good a mistress, but it lighted on as bad a master, *Marsyas* by name, whom it caused so to swell, not in face but in heart, that he challenged and provoked *Apollo* to a musical combat; and, being overcome, lost the best and nearest coat to his back, having his skin plucked over his ears for attempting so bold an enterprise. The use and effect of this as also other instruments, I refer to their places. In the meanwhile will I follow my purpose.

Touching the whistling pipes, which were made for the most part of reed, though some assign them to *Silenus*, the foster father of *Bacchus*, on whom he always attended, riding upon an ass; yet the greatest part agree in *Pan*, the god of shepherds. The occasion was this: it chanced that he fell in love with *Syrinx*, a nymph of *Arcadia*, who would neither give her head, as they say, for the washing, nor her virginity for the asking. And therefore when he first came to commence his suit, she took her course from him, towards the river *Ladon*, where, her journey being at an end, upon request made unto the nymphs, she was delivered by them from that rustic paramour by transforming her into water reeds. Those he took, for love of her, and made them instruments to utter forth his complaints. Howsoever other things in this history be feigned, sure it is that it carries with it another drift than to prove *Pan* the author of that instrument. And if it be so, how could so grounded a workman, being made as they say to the imitation of nature, and expressing by his horns the sunbeams; by his red face the colour of the skies; by his rough and hairy thigh, the trees and herbs upon the face of the earth; by his goat's feet, the solidity and steadfastness of the same; be the master of a vain and fruitless work?

What shall I speak of the lute, cittern, viol, rebec, chitarone, pandoura, dulcimer, organ, virginal, flute, fife, recorder; of the trumpet, cornet, sackbut, and infinite other sorts so excellent and pleasant in their sundry kinds that if art be any way faulty for them, it is for

being too, too riotous and superfluous. For having, as it were wearied and overgone herself in choice of new sorts, she has devised a kind of newness even out of the old, by joining and compacting many into one, which in these latter times may by rights challenge for their invention. But to leave all other historiographers, dissenting some of them far in opinions; that history which indeed is the witness of times and light of the truth, written by the finger of God, sets down *Jubal*, son of *Lamech* and *Ada*, to be the father of all such as handle harps and instruments.



THE DIGNITY OF MUSIC:
PROVED BOTH BY THE REWARDS AND PRACTICE
OF MANY AND MOST EXCELLENT MEN

CHAPTER 2

THUS having stood upon the antiquity and original of music, being so nearly linked together that they could not well be severed, it follows by order that I speak somewhat of her honour. A needless treatise, were it not for the affectionate judgments of some men, who, making more reckoning of the shadow than the body, account neither virtues nor sciences worthy the taking up for their own fair faces, unless they come furnished with good and sufficient dowries.

*Ipse licet venias Musis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.*

Come, Homer, if thou list and bring the Muses crue
Yet, Homer, if thou bring naught else but them, adieu.

Notwithstanding to satisfy those which like indifferently well of this science, not so much for her own laudable nature as her profitable accidents: let them know that her professors and practisers were not rewarded heretofore (as they speak in reproach) with meat, drink, and money, which they call fiddlers' wages, but admitted into the presence and familiarity of kings, sought unto by whole cities and countries, and dismissed with rich and honourable rewards.

I am sorry that I am forced to seek those kind of arguments, being fitter to quieten the common people than the learned and wise, who, looking into the things themselves, weigh them by themselves, valuing at a higher price the goodness wherewith they are endowed than the goods and commodities wherewith they are enriched. But to approve music unto both those sorts of men, to the upright and well-minded for her own sake, to the others for the things which they do most estimate, I intend both by variety and truth of history to make manifest declaration in every respect of her dignity. Who was more accepted of *Periander*, King of *Corinth*, than *Arion*? Of *Hieron*, King of *Sicily*, than *Simonides*? Of *Perdicchas* than *Menalippides*? Of *Alexander the Great* than *Timotheus* & *Zenophontus*, who could make him both

give an alarm and sound retreat at their pleasures? Who in better favour with *Agamemnon* than *Demodochus*, to whom he committed his wife, *Clytemnestra*, for the time of his long and unfortunate voyage? With *Themistocles* than *Exicles*, whom he made his daily and household guest? With *M. Antonius* than *Anaxenor*, to whom he gave the tribute of four cities? With *Julius Caesar* than *Hermogenes*? With *Nero* than *Ferionus*? With *Vespasian* than *Diodorus*? With *Galba* than *Canus*? Who better tendered of *Aristratus*, King of *Sycion* than *Thelestus*, whom he countenanced being alive with all kind of preferment, and honoured, being dead, with a costly monument.

Nay, the cunning of some has so far rebated the edge of most cruel and hard-hearted tyrants, that they have been willing, as they say, perforce to put up injuries and wrongs at their hands. *Pyttachus* of *Mytilene* let go scot-free *Alcaeus*, his sworn enemy; notwithstanding he had both disgraced him and taken arms against him. The like did *Phalaris* the *Agrigentine* by *Tisias*, his mortal foe; albeit he took as much pleasure in murdering as in banqueting, and had often even with greediness dislodged the souls of many innocents from their harmless bodies. Thus music led him farther than ever humanity could draw him. What need I add water to the sea, and after all these speak of *Terpander* in a dangerous tumult of the *Lacedaemonians*, appointed by the Oracle and required by the country to appease their uproars? A precedent so much the more to be heeded by how much the judgment of a whole country than of any private person is the rather esteemed. And is *Lacedaemon* singular in this case? Have not *Rome* and *Greece* joined hands with her, the former instituting a college of minstrels, the latter by ordaining that the same men should be their sages, prophets and musicians?

Plenty makes me scant, both by restraining me to choice, and by withdrawing me from tediousness: for how easy a thing were it in such abundance to tire and weary even the most patient ears? Notwithstanding because I am to convince these judgments which look no farther than the outside, and harken rather to the honour conferred otherwise than the honesty and goodness incident to the things themselves; let them add to the favour and acceptance of

those royal persons' above-named practice and industry, which they have exercised. I omit the *Muses*, *Graces*, gods and goddesses before mentioned. Coleworts twice sod are harmful; and tales twice told ungrateful.

This next pageant shall be filled with emperors, kings and captains: men of both courage and experience, not content to go by hearsay and testimony of others, but adjoining them unto their own use and practice. *Nero*, Emperor of *Rome*, won and wore the garland, to the great admiration and shouting of the people, for victory over the harpers. *Alexander* the Great made a great jewel of *Achilles'* harp. *Choraebus*, the *Lydian* prince, was as sovereign in music as in authority. *Cimon* of *Athens* and *Epaminondas* of *Thebes*: no worse musicians than captains; *Gregory* the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, ended his life and music together, and the choir at this day is a witness to his pains. *Yea*, *Socrates* himself, as great a king in wisdom as they in jurisdiction, whose stay and moderation of life let *Xantippe*, his wife and scourge, witness; and let envy itself judge of his other qualities, being far stricken in years, and having in a manner one foot in the grave; yet of an old master became a young scholar unto *Conus*, for the attaining of this science. And being charged therewith, as a wanton toy unfitting to his grey hairs, made this apology:

It is more shameful in the wane and decrease of our life to be ignorant of any good and commendable property.

Thus he put on music as the list and uppermost garment, wherewith his wisdom, gravity and age might be adorned, and even the whole race of his life perfitted; a garment no doubt that is well worn and of seemly personages, better worth the wearing than the softest raiment in king's houses. You may clothe an ape in gold, and an infant in *Hercules'* armour: does an infant therefore change his age, or an ape forego his nature? Or is there less price in the gold; or viler estimation of the armour? This is to misuse the right use of things, neither fitting the persons, and far unfitting the garments. The deepest dye may be stained, and the best gift abused. The tuning of the voice and strings may turn to the jar and discord of manners, as well as Rhetoric may plead untruths, and Logic prove impossibilities. So

that I marvel the less if *Diogenes*, the cynic philosopher, amongst other of his dog tricks, put up a formal bill of indictment against the musicians in open and ordinary court, for showing greater skill in concords and unisons of their notes than unity and consent of manners; whose suit or action, being in all cases and with all persons a resolute and peremptory man, and little caring where or how he fastened his teeth so long as he fastened them, may seem approvable in respect of those unjust and ever-repining plaintiffs which attemper everything to their distemperate humour, and in their proceeding make not reason their advocate, but either the weakness, strangeness, or indiscreetness of their own nature.

Now if a bleary-eyed man should give sentence of the sunbeams, no doubt he would judge them to be shut up into everlasting clouds, lest at any time they might be offensive to his sore eyes. If a feversick palate should be judge of tastes and relishes, what unmerciful doom would it award to the most wholesome restorative? Ask the *Satyr* what shall become of the fire for swealing his beard, being over-saucy in embracing it: I warrant you he will curse *Prometheus* for ever troubling the earth with it. A melancholic man, and one that is more fit to live in *Trophonios*' den than in civil society, will frown upon music, if for no other cause but at the least to show himself serviceable to his melancholy. Thus we shall have the brightest eye of the world, even the sun, plucked out of heaven, the best meat out of our mouths, and the most necessary element out of the nature of things; yea, all virtues and sciences utterly erased out, as the occasions sometimes (though never the causes) of some inconvenience, if every brainsick, hareblind and froward man may judge and determine in those cases.

Now then, as oft as we shall hear *Archidamus*, or any the like sectary of his, make better account of a cater than a singer (*nihil bonus cantor, bonus cupediarius*) what shall we say of him but that *animus erat in patinis*: his belly was his idol; and the belly, having no ears, is unfit to meddle with sounds.

If *Anteus* the *Scythian*, at the singing of *Ismenias* the *Theban*, for want of better gods, swear by the wind and his falchion that he had rather hear the naying of an horse than the singing of *Ismenias*, let his

words, as they are indeed so, go but for wind. And if his sword be the best argument that he has to avouch it, let us wound him again, but with this only blow: *quis tumidum guttur miretur in alpbibus*: who can look for a white skin in *Ethiopia*, or an upright judgment in *Scythia*? Albeit, besides the uncivility and brutishness of his country, he was no doubt fitter to handle a currycomb than judge of singing, who in the midst of his royalty made boast that he used to rub horses' heels. But if *Antisthenes* shall go a note above *Anteas*, and give this or the like uncharitable censure of *Ismenias*, as indeed he is reported to have done:

He is a naughty man: if he were honest,
he would never be a musician.

we may say with some indifferent reverence of his philosopher's beard and gown that, as he was generally reputed to be *avitus magis quam eruditus* — his wit being too headstrong for his wisdom; so particularly in this matter he had not sufficiently learned how to define honesty.

For although many good musicians be as many bad men, yet so far is it off that music should be blamed as the cause of such an effect; that rather, if they be otherwise bad men, she weans and withdraws them from their corruption. For warrant hereof, the necessity of the art to be set down in a later treatise may yield sufficient argument; meanwhile thus much I say: that a precious stone may be set in lead, and a good quality placed in an evil subject. In which cases we have more cause to pity their unfortunate houserom than accuse their unseemly demeanour. But to loose the bit a little farther and to give them even their own as king: music, as many other good blessings, has been made the instrument of many disorders. What need I recite them? Others are eagle-eyed and quick-sighted enough to espy them. I confess this to be true, but in such sort as glory becomes the fuel and occasion unto envy, peace to security, beauty to pride, learning to insolence, good laws to enormity, meats and drinks to surfeiting, and finally the fairest gifts an edge and enticement to the foulest faults; where notwithstanding the well-natured things themselves are not chargeable with those crimes, but the evil-disposed persons.

If you cannot moderate and school yourself in beholding, pluck out your eyes as *Democritus* did; if not in hearing, stop your ears with wax, as *Ulysses'* companions did; if not in eating, lay your teeth aside, as those *Graeae of Scythia* did; if not in speaking, bite off your tongue, as *Zeno Eleates* did. For by as good reason may you do the one as the other, seeing the disliking of these and the like good things stands in the immoderation and intemperance of these men which abuse them. Now if it be uncivil to live without virtue and knowledge; if unnatural without meat and drink; if unreasonable without eyes, teeth and tongue, although perhaps they have many insufferable consequences, then blame not the hatchet for the carpenter's fault, but esteem worthily of good things for their own natures, and favourably deal with them for other men's offences.

Now besides this, they, that cannot espy a hole in the musician's coat for their looseness and effeminateness of manners, seek to bring music in contempt by reason of their unskilfulness. As if the husbandman's reasoning *a baculo ad angulum* should condemn logic, or Tomfool's telling his geese arithmetic. There are infants in all arts, and I grant none so very a babe in music as was *Babys. Minerva*, to beg his pardon for offending therein, used this friendly intercession to *Apollo*:

abietior est & infalicius faelicius canit quam ut dignus sit supplicio.

Cast not away chastisement upon so base and unexpert a person.

And sure he was worth nothing (say I) if he were not worth the punishing. *Diogenes* was troubled with the like moon calf, who, as often as he met him, welcomed with this salutation: *salve galle*: Godspeed, cock. The other, demanding him why he mistermed him, *quia cantu tuo excitas omnes*: "thou diseasest, quoth he, every man with your unreasonable crowing". And *Demosthenes* was plain on the other side with a harper of the same stamp, with whom he ever conditioned to tie up his pipes before he would once set foot within his doors. There are a great many cocks and, to use a domestical proverb, a great many asses at the harp who, because they have employed themselves at their trade *diis iratis, genioque sinistro*: against the hair, as

they commonly speak, and even inspite of *Apollo* and nature, have made themselves a by-word and scorn in all places.

Alehouse, vagabond and begging minstrelsy I defend not: liberal sciences are for liberal men, whose dexterity and aptness of nature has forwarded their art, and both these being conjoined have made the men commendable and of good report. For then is the medley good when art and nature have met with each other. But I leave this reason to be refuted by the weakness and simplicity of itself.

I now come to another vein which has need of a little opening, lest the neglecting of it make it in time somewhat more troublesome. I mean those men who, as if they came of some finer mould, like well-enough of music in others, but cannot away with it themselves. They are delighted for example's sake with the well-proportioned pictures of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Venus*, but yet would not be *Phidias*, *Policletius*, or *Praxiteles*. Examine their reasons: they are as rare as black swans, unless perchance they answer as children and fools are wont. They will not, for their mind's sake. And why not they as well as other men? They are belike of a better brood. Be it so: let them plead their privilege, but so far forth as they seek not to dishonour things as honourable as themselves. In mechanical arts, I bear with them. *Tractent fabrilia fabri*. Courser meats may serve finer mouths. What cards can they show to discard literal sciences? If every man's will were a rule in such cases, there is no doubt but that some *ενκυκλοπαιδεια*, the whole corpse and body of sciences, would quite be extinguished. For even amongst the nobler sort, which stand upon their gentry, and in consideration only of their better fortune condemn better natures than their own, there are many *aurea pecudes*: golden sheep, such as *Junius Brutus*, who was better clad than taught, which cannot conceive the excellency of good faculties; many *monstra hominum*: strange-natured men, such as *Licinius*, the emperor was: not so princely born as pestilently-minded, which call learning the poison and plague of a commonwealth. Howbeit some there are, better inclined than these, who do it not so much as of daintiness, for they are well enough content to take all the pleasure they can by it, and yet take as great pleasure to discontent those that afford it.

In whose favour notwithstanding I will speak thus much, and my speech is abetted by good authors, that both a choice of music is to be made, and a moderation therein retained. *Minerva*, as before, cast away her shawm, *θια των αχημοσυνην*, for very shame. And amongst us, every one will not blow a bagpipe that will finger the lute or virginals. And as in one banquet, all viands, though all be very good, please not alike every man's diet, so in music, there are sundry and delectable sorts, which, unless they be ordered with good discretion, will not suit all times and persons. The which two things and persons serve principally to make limitation of that measure which I mentioned before. There is a time of breathing and a time of business; a time of mirth and a time of sadness. If you be remiss or merry, use for your recreation some kind of melody. Albeit indeed with music, no times are amiss. For we know that life is, as it were, put into the deadest sorrows by inflection and modulation of the voice. And they whose hearts even yearn for very grief sometimes fall on singing, not to seek comfort therein (for the best seeming comfort in such cases is to be comfortless) but rather to set the more on float that pensiveness wherewith they are perplexed. *Similitudo parit amicitiam*, says *Boethius*, and sorrow finds something in music worthy his acquaintance. If not, how chance they have specified three origins or causes of music? The first, pleasure: of which there is no question; the next, grief; and the last, enthusiasm, some divine and heavenly inspiration. Surely affections dance after pipes, and, being themselves but motions, do by a natural kind of propension apply themselves to music, whose efficacy stands wholly upon motions.

But I return to my purpose. The chief end of music is to delight; howsoever, sorrow uses it sometimes for an advantage, as knowing how forcible and effectual it is to help forward all purposes. Therefore in time of vacancy and remission, when there is a mutiny of wars and a calm of other the like troublesome affairs: the place being not molested, the people being not disquieted, then has music evermore had the best audience. For otherwise if you light upon *Pirrhus* and ask him which is the better psalmist, *Python* or *Charisius*, he will answer you *Polysperches*. And why? *In promptu causa est*. A blind man may hit

his staff at this mark; his mind forsooth ran upon captains and not musicians. Bring a harp or other good instrument to *Lacedaemon*: they will cry away with it. *Non est laconicum nugari*: trifling is not our vocation. And do we marvel at them? *Pirrhus*, as if he had hunger-starved and stifled in his poor kingdom of *Epirus*, had laid a platform in his head of usurping the whole world. The *Lacedaemonians*, (to speak without exception of sex, age, or condition) as hard-hearted as if they had been born of *Adamant*, or nursed up with lion's milk: I help them not; their stoical apothegms and resolute exploits delivered unto us by faithful authority are plentiful witnesses hereof.

But to end this point, the dignity of music is great if we do not partially and unequally burden her with those faults whereof she is guiltless: the artificer may offend, men's affections are corrupt, times unseasonable, places inconvenient; the art itself, notwithstanding in her own proper and lawful use, innocent and harmless.



THE SUAIVITY OF MUSIC

CHAPTER 3

ALTHOUGH both the authors of this most divine science, and the antiquity thereof, and estimation which it has had in times past may sufficiently credit the same; yet I do not desire any man hardly affectioned in this point to be moved by this treatise, unless both the sweetness and necessity, and the operation of it be declared to be such as neither ought carelessly, or can worthily, be neglected.

For, as in those things which are both pleasant and profitable, that which is profitable ought most earnestly to be followed: so the pleasure which is joined with the commodity is not to be condemned. Wherefore seeing that poetry, which is but a part of music, as *Plutarch* testifies, has this commendation of *Horace*:

*Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare Poetae
Aut simul & iucunda, & idonea dicere vitae.*
Poets of pleasure or of profit great,
Or else of both most decently entreat.

we may safely pronounce of the whole that it has both delectation to allure, and profit to persuade men to those things wherewith man's life is beautified and adorned. I will first therefore speak of the sweetness and delectation of music; and afterwards, of the use and necessity thereof. Concerning the pleasure and delight, I will first show it by that affinity and congruity which music has with the nature of living creatures; secondly, by the effects and operation which it works in the hearers.

Touching the first: as the testimony of *Musaeus* in *Aristotle*:

Res suavisima cantus est mortalibus: singing is a most pleasant thing to men, and daily experience proves unto us that not only men but all other living creatures are delighted with the sweet harmony and concent of music.

So if there were no other thing else, yet that proper fiction of the grammarians might fully satisfy any man in this point. *Sonus*, say they, the king of *Harmony*, had two sons. The one of them was called

Concentus, the other *Accentus*. Of *Grammatica* he begat *Accentus*, but *Concentus* was born unto him of the nymph *Musica*. Wherein when their father perceived them to be both equal in the gifts of the mind, and that neither was inferior to other in any kind of knowledge, and himself now well-stricken in years to wax every day nearer and nearer to his death; he fell into a serious cogitation with himself, which of the two he should leave his successor in his kingdom. And therefore he began more narrowly to mark the manners and behaviours of them both. Now *Accentus* was the elder of the two, and he was grave and eloquent, but austere, and therefore less beloved of the people. But *Concentus* was very merry, pleasant, amiable, lovely, courteous, acceptable unto all men, and clean contrary to the dispositions of his brother, thinking it more glorious to be beloved than feared. Whereby he did not only get the love and liking of all his subjects, but also put his father into a greater doubt which of them he should institute inheritor of his sceptre.

Therefore, appointing a solemn meeting, he asked the counsel of nobles and princes of his land, as musicians, poets, orators, philosophers and divines; and in conclusion their consultation had this issue, that neither should be preferred before other, but both should equally inherit their father's sceptre and dominions. Whereof I gather (omitting all other circumstances) that as *Accentus*, which is grammar, ought not to be disinherited, because of the necessity thereof in speech; so *Concentus*, which is music, could not but be esteemed as worthy of pre-eminence for his pleasure and delectation. And for as much as that was the judgment and determination both of musicians, poets, orators, philosophers, both moral and natural, and divines, so much the more is to be ascribed to the sweetness of music, as these professors are of better judgment than other men.

But I will not ground the commendation of that on fictions and conceits which neither in itself needs the colour and shadows of imaginations, being above all conceits; nor in the pleasure thereof any external ornament, being sweeter than can be counterfeited by fictions or expressed by fantasies. Wherefore leaving these, I will as nearly as I can declare the reason of that delight which music yields.

And this first is evident: that music, (whether it be in the voice only as *Socrates* thought, or both in the voice and motion of the body, as *Aristoxenus* supposed, or, as *Theophrastus* was of opinion, not only in the voice and motion of the body, but also in the agitation of the mind) has a certain divine influence into the souls of men, whereby our cogitations and thoughts (say *Epicurus* what he will) are brought into a celestial acknowledging of their natures. For as the *Platonics* and *Pythagoreans* think all souls of men are at the recordation of the celestial music, whereof they were partakers in heaven before they entered into their bodies, so wonderfully delighted that no man can be found so hard which is not exceedingly allured with the sweetness thereof. And therefore some of the ancient philosophers attribute this to a hidden divine virtue, which they suppose naturally to be ingenerated in our minds; and for this cause some others of them, as *Herophilus*, and *Aristoxenus* who was also a musician, thought that the soul was nothing else but a musical motion, caused of the nature and figure of the whole body, gathering thereof this necessary conclusion, that whereas things that are of like natures have mutual and easy action and passion between themselves, it must needs be that musical concert, being like that harmonical motion which he calls the soul, most wonderfully allures and as it were ravishes our senses and cogitations. But this which I have said may seem peradventure to be too profoundly handled: I will therefore confirm it by natural experience and examples. And first generally (as I said before) there is neither man nor any other living creature exempt from the participation of the pleasure of music.

As for man, let us begin with him even from his cradle, and so take a view of his whole life: and we shall see that even every particular action of his is seasoned with this delight. First, in his infancy, while he is yet wholly destitute of the use of reason, we see that the child is stilled and allured to sleep with the sweet songs and lullabies of his nurse; although the grief of his tender limbs be such as is able to breed impatience in a stronger body. And for this cause is it that children are so delighted and allured with rattles and bells and suchlike toys as make a sound. Now as strength and judgment increase in

man, so music pleases and delights him more and more, so that whether he be noble or ignoble, yet the same delight of mind grows to perfection together with the body. And therefore *Aristotle*, in his *Politics*, counsels that children be instructed in music, especially if they be of noble parentage: not so much for the profit and commodity thereof, as because it is agreeable to nature, being in itself both liberal and honest. For in all matters, to propose profit as the only end is neither the part of a liberal nature nor of a gentlemanlike disposition. Again, in base and in ignoble persons, the very senses and spirits are wonderfully inflamed with the rural songs of *Phyllis* and *Amaryllis*: insomuch that even the ploughman and carter are, by the instinct of their harmonical souls, compelled to frame their breath into a whistle, thereby not only pleasing themselves, but also diminishing the tediousness of their labours. And therefore most natural is that which *Virgil* uses in describing a good housewife:

longum cantu solata laborem

Arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas

The housewife's spinning makes her labour long
Seem light with singing of some merry song.

as also that other spoke of the pruner of trees:

Alta sub rupe canit frondator ad auras

The lopper, singing from the craggy rock

The boughs and leaves beats down with many a knock.

and that of the shepherds:

Cur non Mopse (boni quoniam convenimus ambo

Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus)

Hic coilis inter mixtas cosedimus ulmos?

Mopsus, my friend, seeing our skill is great

Thine for the tune, mine for the pleasant rhyme.

In th'hazel bower why take we not our seat

In mirth and singing there to spend the time?

And hence it is that wayfaring men solace themselves with songs, and ease the wearisomeness of their journey, considering that music as a pleasant companion is unto them instead of a wagon on the way. And hence it is that manual labourers and mechanical artificers of all

sorts keep such a-chanting and singing in their shops: the tailor on his bulk; the shoemaker at his last; the mason at his wall; the shipboy at his oar; the tinker at his pan; and the tiler on the housetop. And therefore well says *Quintilian*, that every troublesome and laborious occupation uses music for a solace and recreation. Whereof that perhaps may be the cause which *Gyraldus* notes:

The symphony and concert of music (says he) agrees with the interior parts and affections of the soul. For as there are three parts or faculties of man's soul: the first and worthiest, the part reasonable, which is ever chief, and never in subjection to the other; the second, irascible, which, as it is ruled of the former, so rules the latter and the last: concupiscible, which ever obeys and never rules; so if we compare the symphony of music, with these powers of the soul, we shall find great conveniency and affinity between them. For look what proportion is between the parts reasonable and irascible: such is there in music between that string which is called *hypate* and that which is termed *mese*, causing the melody called *diatessaron*. And look what proportion is between the parts of irascible and concupiscible: such is there between *mese* and *nete*, making that sound which is named *diapente*; so that as those three parts of the soul consenting in one make an absolute and perfect action, so of these three in music is caused a pleasant and delectable *diapason*. And therefore no marvel if, according to the mixture of these sounds, diverse men be diversely affected with several music, insomuch that almost every peculiar nation and people be in their wars delighted with proper instruments: as in former times, the *Cretenses* with the harp; the *Lacones* with cornets; the *Amazons* with flutes; the *Sybarites* with shawms; the *Lydians* with whistles and pipes; the *Latins* with trumpets; the *Getes* with the chitarone and flute: so in these latter days, and more nice times of the world, all nations with compound and mixed music, and with sundry kinds of instruments, as cornets, waits, sackbuts, trumpet, drum and fife.

Neither do I here so attribute this delectation unto man, as denying it to other creatures, for I am verily persuaded that the ploughman and carter, of whom I spoke before, do not so much please them-

selves with their whistling as they are delightsome to their oxen and horses. Again, the warhorse is so inflamed with the sound of the trumpet that he cannot keep his standing, but makes an open way to his rider through the midst of his thickest enemies. And here it may please the reader for his recreation to call to mind one special history of the *Sybarites*, whose horses were not only delighted with music, but also taught to dance to the instrument; insomuch that one of their musicians at a certain time, having some discourtesy and injury offered him, took occasion to forsake his country, and fled to the *Crotoniates*, which were enemies to the *Sybarites*. Forasmuch as, not long before that time, the *Sybarites* had given them the overthrow in battle, this *tibicem*, or player on the shawm, coming among the *Crotoniates*, made his speech unto them to this purpose and effect: that if they could afford him credit, he would work such a device as they should easily obtain the conquest of the *Sybarite* horsemen. Credit was given unto his tale, and he, ordained captain of the war, instructed all the fluters and shawmers of the *Crotoniates* what note they should play, and how they should address themselves against their enemies. Now the *Sybarites* on the other side, being insolent, and having taken heart a grace and courage unto them by reason of their former victory, prepared themselves to meet their enemy in the field. Wherefore the shawmers, of whom I spoke before, having received a watchword of the captain, on a sudden, sounded their flutes and shawms. The horses of the *Sybarites*, hearing their country music, whereunto they had been accustomed, reared themselves on their hinder feet, cast the riders, and, as they were wont to dance at home, so now they did it in the skirmish. And by this policy, the *Crotoniates* won the victory of the *Sybarites*. Whereby may be gathered not only how pernicious clandestine treason is to a commonwealth, but also what strange and incredible delight music impresses even in these dumb and unreasonable creatures.

So mules are wonderfully allured with the sound of bells, and sheep follow their shepherds whistle. And it is recorded also that the hart and other wild beasts are by sweet and pleasant notes drawn into the toils and gins of the huntsman. *Aelianus*, in his *varia historia*, testifies

that *Pythocaris*, a musician, playing upon his cornet, mitigated the fierce and ravenous nature of wolves, and that the mares of *Libya* and elephants of *India* would follow the sound of organs and diverse other instruments. Now as these terrestrial beasts have their peculiar and proper delights, so aquatic creatures also, living in another element, offer themselves voluntarily to the sound of music. So, as *Martianus* records, certain fishes in the pool of *Alexandria* are with the noise of instruments enticed to the bank's side, offering themselves to men's hands, so long as the melody endures.

Wonderful are those things which in good authors are related of the dolphin; but for our purpose, none so fit as that of *Arion*, whose excellent skill in music gives testimony, as well against the savage and barbarous cruelty of those unnatural shipmen which sought to take away his life, as to the gentle and kind nature of the dolphin, which is both a lover of men and an earnest follower of music. *Arion*, seeing no way to escape the fury of his cruel enemies, took his cittern in his hand, and to his instrument sang his last song, wherewith not only the dolphins flocked in multitudes about the ship, ready to receive him on their backs; but even the sea, that rude and barbarous element, being before rough and tempestuous, seemed to allay his choler, waxing calm on a sudden, as if it had been to give *Arion* quiet passage through the waves.

There is also a third kind of living creatures, which by the philosophers are called *αμφίβια*, because they live both on the land and in the waters. Of these, I will only name the swan, which bird is therefore said to be under the patronage of *Apollo*, not only for that she is allured with the sweet notes and melodious concert of music, following them which play upon instruments on the water, but more especially because she seems to have some divination from him whereby she, foregoing what good is in death, by a natural instinct, finishes her life with singing and with joy.

*Sic ubi fata vocant udis abiectis in herbis,
Ad vada Maeandri concinit albus dolor:*

When death the swan assays,
Laid prostrate on the ground,

Her song doth make Meander's banks
Her dolours to resound.

As for those other creatures which live in the air, I do not think that the fowler could ever have made much spoil and havoc of them, being so far out of his reach and jurisdiction, had not Nature told him that they, above all creatures under the heavens, are as most delighted, so soonest entangled and allured with his songs. Wherefore when you see each fowl in his kind —the linnet, the nightingale, and the lark— to mount aloft and sing their notes unto the skies, show yourself docile in these two things: first, in acknowledging the delight which both you take in them, and they in music; and secondly, learn by their example what your duty is, and ought to be, in grateful singing of psalms and songs to him that made you.

Lastly, that I may not omit those which the heathenish poets and wise men counted inferior indeed to the gods but better than men, (how worthily I will not here stand to debate) even they testify also of them, that they take infinite pleasure in music. As when *Silenus* sang his song of the beginning of the world unto *Chronis*, *Mnasilus*, and *Aegle* the fair nymph:

*Tum vero in numerum Faunos Satyrosque videres
Laudere, tum regidas motare cacumina quercus.*

Then mightst thou see the fauns and satyrs dances lead,
The cypress trees to shake, and sturdy oaks their head.

So when *Pan* and *Apollo* strove which of them was the better musician:

*Deservere sui nimpha vineta Timoli,
Deservere suas nimphae pactolides undas.*

When Pan for laurel branch
in song with fair Apollo strove,
Pactolus' nymphs forsook their stream,
and T'molus' nymphs their grove.

Homer is not afraid to ascend a little higher, showing that even the gods and *Jupiter* himself are content to give a patient ear to musical concert, and thereupon in that banquet of the gods where *Vulcan* played the skinker, he makes *Apollo* and the *Muses* sing a song:

Ως τότε μὲν προπᾶν ἑμᾶρ ἐς ἡλεῶν καταδύν τα
 Δαινῶντι οὐδὲ τι ζῦμος ἐδεύτο δαίτος εἰσις,
 Οὐ μὲν φορμίνγος περικαλλεὸς ἦεν ἐχ Ἀπολλῶν
 Μῦσαεον θ' αἰ ἀεῖδον ἀμειβομεμα ὀπι καλεῖ.

Thus they in banqueting consumed the day:
 Nor fair nor mirth was wanting to their will,
 While fair Apollo on his harp did play,
 The Muses answering with equal skill.

Pythagoras and his sectatours thought that the world did not consist without musical proportion and concert. And therefore both he and the best philosophers ascribe unto every celestial sphere one goddess, or muse, which is the governess and ruler thereof: and because there are eight of those spheres—the seven planets and the eighth which is called the firmament—therefore they made eight peculiar *Muses*: attributing to *Luna* the muse *Clio*; to *Mercurius*, *Euterpe*; to *Venus*, *Thalia*; to *Sol*, *Melpomene*; to *Mars*, *Terpsichore*; to *Jupiter*, *Erato*; to *Saturn*, *Polymnia*; to the firmament, or *coelum stellatum*, *Urania*. And because eight particular sounds or voices, keeping due proportion and time, must needs arise a harmony or concert, which is made by them all; therefore that sound which all these make is called *Calliope*. And hence is that pleasant harmony of the celestial globes caused, which *Pythagoras* so much speaks of.

If then both gods and men, and unreasonable creatures of what kind so ever be allured and mitigated with music, we may safely conclude that this proceeds from that hidden virtue which is between our souls and music, and be bold with *Pindarus* to affirm that οὐα μὴ πεφίληκε ζεῦς &c: All those things that *Jupiter* does not love do only condemn the songs of the *Muses*.



THE EFFECTS AND OPERATION OF MUSIC

CHAPTER 4

NOW the former chapter was gathered a proof and demonstration of the sweetness of music, proceeding from the causes to the effects. Now, I mean by the contrary demonstration to prove the delectation thereof from the effects to the causes. For it cannot be but that, as the convenience and agreement which music has with our nature is the cause of the delectation thereof, so the pleasure and delectation is also the cause of those effects which it works as well in the minds and bodies of them that hear it.

Music, being in itself wholly most effectual, imports much of its force and efficacy even to the peculiar parts and portions thereof. And thereupon ancient writers make the distinction of songs and notes in music, according to the operations which they work in their hearers: calling some of them chaste and temperate; some amorous and light; some others warlike; others peaceable; some melancholic and doleful; others pleasant and delightful. And yet this division is not so ancient as that other which was in use in *Orpheus* and *Terpander's* time. For *Plutarch*, in his treatise of music, records that *modi musici* were also distinguished by the names of nations, such were principally these four: *modus Dorius*, *modus Phrygius*, *modus Lydius*; *modus Mixolydius*. Hereunto were added as collateral another three: *Hypodorius*, *Hypolydius*, and *Hypophrygius*, making seven in number, and answerable to the seven planets; whereunto *Ptolomaeus* adds an eighth, which is called *Hypomixolydius*: sharpest of them all and attributed to the firmament.

These several distinctions of notes in music do not so far dissent in name and appellation as they do nearly accord in effects and operation. For *modus Dorius*, being a grave and staid part of music, answers to that which I called chaste and temperate. *Modus Lydius*, used in comedies in former times, being more lighter and wanton than *Dorius*, answers to that which I termed amorous and delightsome. *Modus Phrygius*, distracting the mind variably, also called *Bacchicus* for

his great force and violence, answers to that which I called warlike; and *Mixolydius*, most used in tragedies, expressing in melody those lamentable affectations which are in tragedies represented, answers to that which before I named melancholic and doleful. As for those others, *Hypodorus*, *Hypolydius*, *Hypophrygius*, & *Hypomixolydius*, there is no doubt but that they, being collateral and assistants to these, move suchlike affectations as their principal. *Macrobius* in effect says as much in these words:

Ut visus colorum, sic sonorum varietate delectatur auditus: modus Dorius prudentiae largitor est & castitatis effector: Phrygius pugnas excitat & votum furoris inflammat: Æolius animi temperem tranquillat, somnumque iam placatis tribuit. Lydius intellectum obtusis acuit, & terreno desiderio gravatis caelestium appetentiam inducit, bonorum operator eximius.

That is: as the eye is delighted with the variety of colours, so is the ear with the diversity of sounds. *Modus Dorius* is a giver of wisdom and a causer of chastity. *Modus Phrygius* provokes to fight and makes courageous. *Æolius* quietens the mind, and gives sleep to the pacified senses. *Lydius* sharpens dull wits, and to men oppressed with earthly cares, it brings a desire of heavenly things, being a wonderful worker of good motions.

So that the effects of music generally are these: to make haste to incite and stir up men's courage, to allay and pacify anger, to move pity and compassion, and to make pleasant and delightful. Nay, yet I will go further, and doubt not but to prove by good authority that music has brought madmen into their perfect senses; that it has cured disease, driven away evil spirits, yea and also abandoned the pestilence from men and cities.

Touching the first effect of music, we read that *Agamemnon*, going to the war of *Troy*, left behind him *Demodocus*, an excellent musician, skilful in *modo Dorio*, to keep chaste his wife *Clytemnestra*, whom he nicely had in suspicion of wantonness and levity with *Aegistus*. Whereupon it is recorded that as long a *Demodocus* lived, *Clytemnestra* remained faithful to her husband; but when *Aegistus* for that purpose had murdered him, she gave over herself to satisfy his adulterous appetite. So did *Ulysses* leave *Phenius*, another musician, with *Pene-*

lope, whom *Ulysses*, returning home at twenty years' end, found to have wrought so effectually with his wife, that both he deserved great commendation for his acts, and she is registered as a most perfect and absolute example of chastity. Neither do I attribute so much to *Homer*, the author thereof, as to *Dydimus* his interpreter, who gives this as a reason thereof, because in those days musicians were the chiefest professors of philosophy.

I doubt not but that those which are glad to take any occasion to speak against music will think the contrary, and affirm that it makes men effeminate and too much subject unto pleasure. But whom, I pray you, does it make effeminate? Surely none but such as without it would be wanton: it is indeed as fire to flax, and as wine to a drunkard. If flax be easily inflamed, is the fault in the fire? Or if a drunkard be easily overcome with wine, is the fault in the wine? So likewise if the sun harden clay and mollify wax: the diversity of these effects is by reason of the diversity of those subjects. Even so the same, music, which mollifies some men, moves some others nothing at all; so that the fault is not in music, which of itself is good, but in the corrupt nature and evil disposition of light persons, which of themselves are prone to wantonness.

As for the second effect, which is caused by *modus Phrygius* as I said before, it shall suffice to confirm it by example. The *Athenians*, having received great hurt and loss by seeking to recover the island *Salamis*, made a law that whosoever should make mention of any more recovering thereof should die the death. But *Solon*, perceiving this law to be hurtful to the commonwealth, feigned himself to be mad, and, running into the chiefest places of the city, sang a certain elegy, which he for that purpose had made, showing how easily the island might be redeemed, and how pernicious a law that was, which had been made in that behalf. With whose sweet song, *Plutarch* records the *Athenians* to have been so incensed that immediately they armed themselves, and with good success recovered *Salamis*. To this purpose serves also that which is recorded of a certain young man of *Taurominium*, who *Boethius* reports, was incited with the sound of *modus Phrygius* to set on fire a house, wherein a harlot was enter-

tained. But a most manifest proof hereof is that which is said of *Alexander* the Great, who, sitting at a banquet amongst his friends, was nevertheless by the excellent skill of *Timotheus*, a famous musician, so inflamed with the fury of *modus Orthius*, or as some say, of *Dorius*, that he called for his spear and target, as if he would presently have addressed himself to war.

Neither is this a more apparent proof for this part than that which followed is for the next: the same *Timotheus*, seeing *Alexander* thus incensed, only with the changing of a note, pacified this mood of his, and as it were with a more mild sound mollified and assuaged his former violence.

Chameleon Ponticus reports of a certain man called *Clinias Pythagoricus*, that he, being a man given to severity, if at any time he perceived himself to have been melancholy, took his cittern in his hand, and professed that he took ease thereby. And *Homer* witnesses of *Achilles* that, of all the spoils of *Etion*, he only took for himself a lute, wherewith he might assuage his wrath in his extremity. So a minstrel pacified *Elizeus* when *Iehoram* came to ask counsel of him, and quieted his mind when he was sore offended.

As the fourth effect may by many examples be confirmed, so the story of *Louis* the Pious, the emperor, makes it most evident. For when *Theodolphus* the bishop had, by his counsel and device, caused *Lotharius* not only to deprive his father *Lodovicus* of his empire, but to cast him into prison, who can justly accuse the emperor, if he, being restored to his imperial dignity again, did fully purpose to chastise the bishop with death? Yet nevertheless, such was the force of music, that the emperor, passing by the prison wall and hearing the bishop sing a hymn most pleasantly, which he had made in prison for his solace, was moved in compassion to be favourable to that man which had dealt disloyally with himself, and restored him to his former dignity and estimation.

As for the fifth, we daily prove it in ourselves: using music as a medicine for our sorrow, and a remedy for our grief. For as every disease is cured by his contrary, so music is as an *Antipharmacon* to sorrow, abandoning pensive and heavy cogitations as the sunbeams do the

lightsome vapours. Greater are those other properties of this art, which I will in this place rather touch than dilate with examples.

Music assuages and eases the inordinate perturbations and evil affections of the mind. For *Pythagoras*, with the changing of the sound of his instrument, caused a young man, overcome with the impatience of love, to change his affection also, wholly taking away the extremity of his passion. So *Empedocles*, with his skilful playing on the cittern, hindered a madman ready to flay himself. Yea, *Zenocrates* also and *Asclepiades* are said by this only medicine to have restored a lunatic person into his perfect senses. If it be so, that music can help the outrages of the mind, it will not seem incredible that it should cure the diseases of the body. By the help of music, *Ismenias*, a *Theban* musician, restored men sick of an ague to their former health, and *Asclepiades* by the sound of a trumpet caused a deaf man to hear. *Theophrastus* also testifies of the *Ischiasy*, that their sicknesses are cured if a man play the *Phrygian* note unto them.

It is also a present remedy against evil spirits, which, as it is proved by that one example of *Saul*, from whom the evil spirit departed when *David* played on his harp, so having so sufficient authority for the confirmation thereof, I shall not need to stand upon it any longer. Lastly, we read also of music that it has delivered both men and cities from the noisome infection of the pestilence. As *Gyraldus*, in the place above incited, records: *Terpander* and *Arion*, says he, with their music, delivered the *Lesbians* and *Ionians* from most contagious infections. And *Thales*, a musician of *Crete*, with the sweetness of his harmony, banished the plague from his city. I dare in no way affirm the last effect and operation of this worthy art, were it not that *Plato* with his credit and authority did embolden me: *mutati musicae moduli* (says he) *status publici mutationem afferunt*: the changing of musical notes has caused an alteration of the common state.

The reason hereof can be no other than this: because, by the force of music, as well those of less heart and courage are stirred up, as those of greater stomach weakened and unable to any excellent enterprise. Whereupon he also infers that such are the manners of young men as are the notes and tunes they are accustomed to in their tender years.

Now if these my proofs and authorities shall, to some ἀμωσος and unmoveable person, either seem too weak, or the things attributed to music too hyperbolic, he shall bewray either his ignorance in not having read ancient writers in whom, as of all other sciences, so of this especially, most admirable, condign practices are comprehended; or else his malice in derogating from this art those properties which he can neither deny other men have given, nor convince, ought not by good reason to be attributed thereunto. For as I do not stand on the sufficiency of these allegations, meaning in this part only to show what has been ascribed unto music in former times: so is it not enough for any malicious *Musomastix* to take his pen and write I lie, unless he can by sufficient reason declare that these authors by me cited have erred heretofore; which if he shall not be able to perform, then let him give some reason why music in these days is not the same as it has been heretofore, or why music has rather lost any of her former excellency than increased in perfection from time to time, considering that time is the perfecter and increaser of all arts. But I will not willingly entangle myself with the vain and fantastical devices of this sort of men. Only I conclude this point, with that common saying of the learned:

scientia neminem habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.

None are so great enemies to knowledge
as they that know nothing at all.

Likewise, in *Apulia*, when any man is bitten by the *Tarantula*, which is a certain kind of fly, very venomous and full of danger, they find out the nature and sympathy of the sickness or humour with playing on instruments and with diversity of music; neither do they cease from playing until the often motion and agitation have driven the disease away.



THE NECESSITY OF MUSIC

CHAPTER 5

BUT what of all these things before rehearsed, if music have neither profit or necessity? Or to what end should a man bestow his travel and industry in that whereof there is no use? Can an art be unnecessary, or can any thing be good for so many purposes as have been declared, and not be needful? Yea, can any thing be so profitable and have no use? Easier it is for water not to moisten, and for fire not to give heat, than for an art liberal to be unnecessary, or for so precious a science to have no use. And therefore most memorable is that judgment of *Galen*, which will not suffer that to be called an art that brings no profit to our life. Wherefore, before I enter into that which is the mark whereat I aim, (I mean the use of music in the church) I must add to these former commendations something of the necessity of it in fewer words: so of civil use thereof more at large.

And first concerning the necessity, I confess that music is not so necessary for man as meats are for the preservation of life, and clothing for the defence of the body (for so he would not be a man that were not a musician) but, as in meats, some are coarse and others delicate, which both nevertheless are necessary: the one to those meaner, the other to them of higher degree. And as labouring men use mean apparel only to defend their bodies from the violence of the weather, and gentlemen finer, not only so, but for an ornament also, which both are necessary to distinguish their callings; so music is as the more delicate meats, and as the finer apparel: not indeed necessary simply, but profitably necessary for the comeliness of life.

And therefore *Socrates*, and *Plato*, and all the *Pythagoreans* instructed their young men and maids in the knowledge of music, not to the provocation of wantonness, but to the restraining and bridling of their affections under the rule and moderation of reason. For they, because youth naturally is moveable and delirious of delight and yet unfit to receive any severe discipline, thought it convenient and necessary to acquaint their children with an honest oblectation of music

in their youth; that, being brought up in that liberal delectation, they might learn to refrain from other illiberal and inordinate pleasures. And *Aristotle*, in the eighth book of his *Politics*, which is wholly of that argument, gives counsel that noblemen and gentlemen be instructed with music, first to avoid idleness, because the idle time which is in a man's life requires to be busied in the knowledge and learning of some profitable thing; secondly, because music after a sort belongs unto virtue. For as that exercise which is called *gymnastica* strengthens and confirms the body, so music refreshes the wearied mind with honest delectation. Thirdly, for that it has great force in the well-ordered and good institution of life.

And therefore, *Pythagoras'* scholars, as *Tully* records, were wont both to give certain hidden and secret precepts in verses, and to withdraw their minds from intentive and deep cogitations with singing and with instruments. Yea, and many of the ancient *Grecians*, among whom this art was in high estimation, instructed their children in music as profitable to the correction of life and manners, that thereby they might be incited to temperance and honesty: for it is the property of liberal sciences to ingenerate a gentle and liberal action in their hearers. Whereupon *Aristotle*, in the same place, infers that albeit arts are to be learned not for any vain pleasure or ostentation, but for some good and profitable use. Yet if music were neither necessary nor profitable at all, it ought to be accounted of, and embraced, because it is liberal.

And yet *Aristotle* does not so far commend music to noblemen that he would rather wish them the practice than the speculation and knowledge thereof, but as he would have none but those that profess to be the practisers of it, so he counsels noblemen rather to use it for their private solace than public ostentation, and rather be able to judge of other men's cunning than willing to show their own. For the *Lacedaemonians*, says he, a warlike and noble people, have this as a singular commendation, that although they seemed not to have any skill in music, yet they could easily discern which sound agreed or disagreed most. And he makes it a general observation that in all poets of any credit and name, *Jupiter* is never made to sing, or to play

any instrument, although they deny him not most exact knowledge and judgment. And indeed, who does not confess an abuse of this art in *Nero*, who would sit whole days together playing in the theatre? Or in *Archabius*, that foolish musician, of whom it is written that his auditors were wont to give him more money to end his song than to begin. Pope *John* xxii, of that name, who was himself a good musician and wrote a book thereof; in the second chapter of his book attributes thus much thereunto:

Great is the necessity of music, and the use thereof not to be condemned. For it makes him that is skilful therein able to judge of that which he hears, to amend that which is amiss, and to make anew.

And thus much he ascribes to the necessity of the art. Nevertheless the necessity which we mean is that it bridles and nurtures our inordinate affections, as not only *Aristotle* taught us before, but *Strabo* also, calling musicians the masters and correctors of manners. *Homer*, in the same sense, terms them *Sophonistas*: that is to say moderators, or teachers of temperance.

And for the like cause, as I suppose, was music first brought into the church and used in divine service: for *Isidore* testifies that:

propter carnales in ecclesia, non propter spirituales, consuetudo est instituta canendi, ut qui a verbis non compunguntur, suavitate modulaminis moveantur: the custom of singing in the church was instituted for the carnal, not for the spiritual: that they whom the words do not pierce might be moved with the sweetness of the note.

Saint *Augustine* also is of opinion that music is necessary in the church of God:

ut per oblectamenta aurium, infirmior animus in affectum pietatis surgat: that by the delight of the ears, the weak soul may be stirred up into a feeling of godliness. And his reason is: *omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro suavi diversitate sentio habere proprios modos in voce atque cantu, quorum nescio qua occulta familiaritate excitentur* — I perceive that all the affection of our spirits have certain proper motions in the voice and song, according to the sweet diversity thereof, which (with I know not what hidden familiarity) are excited and stirred up.

In a word, *Aristotle's* resolution touching the civil necessity is that music has relation to these three things: to delectation, to discipline, and to a happy life. To delectation, because music, with the sweetness thereof, refreshes the mind and make it better able to greater labours. To discipline, because it is a cause of breeding in us chastity, temperance, and other moral virtues. To a happy life, because that cannot consist without judgment and liberal delectations, whereof music is the chiefest.



THE USE OF MUSIC GENERALLY
IN THE COURSE OF OUR LIFE

CHAPTER 6

PHILOSOPHY and experience have taught us that *omne bonum quo communius eo melius*: the goodness of every good thing stands chiefly upon the use. If the mysteries and secrets of nature, touching plants, springs, metals, stones and the like, had lain always smothered and suppressed within her bosom, doubtless we had wanted much of her blessings, and she as much of our commendation. How vile a thing were gold amongst us, if for lack of better use, we used it as we read of the *Scythians*, to manacle and shackle our prisoners? Scarlet is no colour to him that sees it not; emerald not precious to him that knows it not. But music, God be thanked, is no nightbird: she has flown through the whole world in the open face and sight of all men. And the sun has not had a larger theatre in which to display his beams than music to lay open her sweetness. Look into all ages: she has grown up with them. Look into all places: she has enfranchised herself within them. Look into all estates: she has no sooner come, but welcomed them. Antiquity, which nowadays every green head will need set to school and make subject to the overlasting pregnancy of his young wit, derives her even from *Saturn's* time, when the world was scant shelled:

Tum cum virguncula Iuno

Et privatus adhuc Idæis Iupiter antris.

When Juno was a girl as yet,

And Jupiter not weaned from teat.

Then did the priests of *Cybele* sing a happy lullaby for him whose crying, if they had not drowned of purpose with their singing and tabering, his merciless father, *Saturn*, would had devoured him.

But what need these broken staves? Nature, which indeed was when nothing else was, can bear the best record in these cases. And what evidence gives she? When I made the firmament, I established it by concert. When I made the elements, I qualified them with proportions. When I made man, I gave him a soul, either Harmony itself,

or at least harmonical. Nay, besides this, *non est harmonice compositus qui Musica non delectatur*. If I made any one which cannot brook or fancy music, surely I erred and made a monster. For how is it credible, if beasts have been snared, birds allured, fishes baited, serpents charmed, yea and rent in sunder with music, that her strength should become weakness in the wisest and most reasonable creature, without an infallible prejudice of a most untoward nature? If there be any such flintlike and senseless man, let us leave him as a desperate patient, unrecoverable to the course of his own hateful constellation; which if it had not vowed to try an experiment, and make one in all degrees worse than *Timon of Athens*, a man even wholly resolved and done into spitefulness, how could it possibly have harboured within his breast such an unnatural loathing towards so excellent a science? I speak this but in jealousy: for I never heard of any, though seated and planted in the very heart of *Barbary*, which ever did abhor it, or was not sometimes greedy to embrace it. The rather, because it is *gladius Delphicus*, having an edge of all sides: for it is made meat and drink to melancholy; a great horse to choler; a full tide to grief; a fire to pleasure; a right hand to prodigality; a main sea to drunkenness; and finally a forced friend to all manner of affections and vices.

So then, if good dispositions love her for her own sake, the bad for their passions' sake, as whereby they back and strengthen themselves in their ungraciousness, I hope I may safely conclude a universality touching her use and service. In this discourse, plenty would have overwhelmed me, had not a former tract of her suavity and effects forestalled this place. For to omit the court with her consorts, corporations with their waits, and other places both of greater countenance and frequency, wherein music may seem by more authority to claim acquaintance; and to look but with half an eye into the country, wherein toiling and, as they call it, good husbandry should exclude all pleasurable recreation, how heartily does the poorest swain both please himself and flatter his beast with whistling and singing? Alas, what pleasure could they take at the whip and plough-tail in so often and unsellant labours, such bitter weather beatings, sometimes benumbed with cold, othertimes melted with heat, ever-

more panting and scarcely drawing breath under their burdenous travels, unless they quieted and even brought asleep their painfulness with this their homely yet comfortable and self-pleasing exercise? That, as the woman in *Plutarch* sang:

mole pistrinum, mole, nam & Pittachus molit Rex magnae Mytilenae:

Grind mill, grind! For even *Pittachus* grinds,
the great King of *Mytilene*.

(otherwise were it not for his grinders, his belly would take but poor toll) so those with a light heart make their plough go lighter, and, while they use the solace of the natural instruments, both quicken themselves and encourage forward their over-laboured horses.

What shall I speak of that petty and counterfeit music which carters make with their whips; hempknockers with their beetles; spinners with their wheels; barbers with their scissors; smiths with their hammers, where methinks the mastersmith with his treble hammer sings descant whilst the greater buzzes upon the plainsong? Who does not straightway imagine upon music when he hears his maids either at the woolhurdle or the milking pail? Good God, what distinct intention and remission is there of their strokes? What orderly dividing of their strains? What artificial pitching of their stops? If then the bare imitation of music in comparison of the other, being dumb and lifeless, be notwithstanding so available as to cherish over-dulled spirits, and even by stealth to carry away the most laboursome drudgeries; what malicious and sworn frowardness is it against nature, sense, and reason, by a commission only of *sic volumus sic inbemus*, to discommon that which is the principal and by all reason of the greater force? Wherein because experience prevents examples, (for what need I allege *Parrhasius* and *Nicias*, two notable painters, by their own confession strengthened hereby and even steeled in their infinite labours?) I will reduce all to one monument of antiquity, not private to any one either person, household, colony, or town, but generally put in use by a whole nation. The ancients of *Crete* (a realm renowned sometimes for no fewer than a hundred beautiful cities) as they were religious in their laws, being the very sinews and joints of every well-governed commonwealth, so they

were as careful to plant them in their children's heads. But these laws being matters of state and government, and therefore too hard meat for such young stomachs to digest, and deeper lessons than to match their shallow capacities, they used music therein as a schoolmaster, by fair means and gentle allurements to mitigate the difficulty of their tasks. Which, if it be so unprofitable as it is made nowadays, why was it accepted in so famous and populous a country? Why born out and maintained by so grave authority? Why admitted to things of so great importance, wherein stands the life and soul of all kingdoms? Why instilled to youth, for pliability of nature easily corrupted, and for their hope the best seed of the next harvest?

But henceforth, because these sullen stoics do measure not their good liking of good arts by such hard and niggardly scantlings, I will learn to be more liberal to myself, and presume upon that fore-granted, which as I know not, so I care not whether ever they will grant or no. Music is not at their stinting: her charter (how large let all the world judge) was granted by nature, confirmed by prescription of time out of mind, and established by the use of all places, persons and conditions. For better assurance whereof, I will descend more particularly to her use, and speak of it partly as it is civil in time of peace and quietness, partly as warlike in times of commotion.



THE PARTICULAR USE OF MUSIC IN CIVIL MATTERS,
ESPECIALLY IN SACRIFICES, FEASTS,
MARRIAGES AND BURIALS

CHAPTER 7

Now the civil use, to let pass all generalities which I have touched before with a wet finger, may best be collected out from either of these solemn actions or assemblies, which are frequented in all political states, and may be listed for brevity's sake within the compass of these four things, to wit: sacrifices, feasts, marriages and burials. For I dare not speak of dancing or theatrical spectacles, lest I pull whole swarms of enemies upon me, albeit *Lesbonax* of *Mytilene*, *honestus plane vir & bonus*, a man I am sure as well-titled as curiously-minded, called dancers *χειροφάς* —men teaching wisdom even with their hands— and often went to theatres, giving this testimony of them: that he ever returned home the better by them.

I confess I am accessory to their injury against music in bereaving it of these two so ample and notable provinces, because I do not by open resistance hinder their riot. For howsoever obscenity may bring the stage in suspicion of unchasteness and incontinency, make dancing disfavoured and odious, I am sure that neither of them keeping themselves under sail, that is, not over-reaching their honest and lawful circumstances, can want either good grounds to authorise them, or sufficient patronage to maintain them.

As for these sacred, or rather profane, church rites used amongst the heathen and pagans in reverence of their supposed gods, let that sorting of music into *Sophronistice*, applied to sobriety and temperance; *Encomiastice* to praises; *Orchematice* to dancings; *Threnetice* to calamities; and *Paeanice* to sacrifices be sufficient to discharge me of further pains.

Notwithstanding because examples stick deeper than precepts, and both these will scant serve to win some men's credence, let them call to mind what the priests of *Rhea* in *Crete* called *Curetes*; or these *Corybantes* in *Phrygia* did; what kind of service *Apollo* found in *Delos*, or the sun amongst the *Indians*; in what manner those gadding

housewives of *Thrace* worshipped *Bacchus*. And if one *Proctor Antoninus*, the emperor, may not serve to answer thoroughly enough on behalf of *Rome*, who in sacrificing to *Heliogabalus* appointed *Carthaginian* dames to dance and make melody about the altars, let the whole clergy of *Mars*, called *Salii*, (perhaps as some have guessed for dancing and leaping) instruct them what the usage and fashion was amongst the *Romans*.

Touching banquets, let no man (I would advise him) exclude pleasure and recreation from thence, unless he have a forehead to set against the whole world, and a face to be at defiance with all countries. For otherwise why have the feastmakers provided meats for the mouth, sights for the eye, perfumes for the nose; yea, why have they strewed violets and roses for the feet to walk upon, but to allure and detain their guests with all manner of delectation? And must the ear sleep all this while? No, there are questions of nature, of policy, or manners to be disputed on, as amongst the *Persians*. There are riddles and mystical speeches to be explicated (for example's sake: A man and yet no man, of an eunuch; a stone and yet no stone, of a pumice; a bird and yet no bird, of a rearmouse) as amongst the *Grecians*. You may eat books in time of meals, as did *Alexander Severus*; you may give ear to tragical and comical poets, as did *Hadrianus*. Or, if such table-talk be too grave for your light humour, bring in young children to find you occupied with their apish prattling, as amongst the *Abydens*. Bring in fools and jesters (the very scorns and reproaches of nature) to delight you with their toys, as amongst the *Romans*. And I pray why not music as well as these? Sure if I were privy to any reasons of yours, which are either few and will shrink in the numbering, or light and will vanish in the weighing, I would never suffer my pen to belie my heart: either I would bend all my force to convince them, or if I could not, utterly forsake the defence of music.

In the meantime, if I err, I am glad that my error is not young or self-willed, but sprung even from the most ancient and best approved manner of many countries. The *Arcadians*, (what speak I of the *Arcadians*?) veterest the ancients, (for so in *Athenaeus* the patents are general, and concern other places) were enjoined, by virtue of the

laws and statutes in time of feasting, to sing forth praises unto their gods. *Cato's* originals, for ought I know, are not extant amongst us.

However, if we will be tried by one of *Cato's* peers, *Tully* can tell us that every guest was bound in musical sort to express the feats of arms and chivalry attempted and performed by their noble captains. I am bold to say they were bound, for their feasts in those days represented even the whole body of a commonwealth. They had *regem & legem*, their King and their laws, and every inferior upon pain of some milce or other sworn to allegiance. Now amongst these decrees, one was that a laurel or mistle bough should pass throughout the table from hand to hand, as an ensign or standard for each man in his time and course to sing under. Afterward, they were put to the harp, and he that refused it sped no better than we read *Themistocles* did. For *habilis est indoctor*: he was condemned of ignorance and unskilfulness.

What need I specify *Lacedaemon* or *Athens*? We need not travel far to be seen in their antiquities. Every historiographer, especially in this argument, has matter enough to cloy and over-charge the hungriest mind. And that one song in commendation of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, for rooting out the tyranny and memory of *Pisistratus*: *φιλοτατε Αρμοδιε οτιπο τε θνηκασ*: thou are not yet dead, sweet *Harmodius* (for his name was revived every banquet) makes it a clear case touching the *Athenians*. The *Sybarites*, besides all variety of minstrelsy, brought in horses at their time of feasting to tread the measures. But to set the sun against the lesser stars, I mean the son of *Sirach* against all profane authors, (for how can I but confound myself and the readers in so ample a maze of authorities?) he compares music in a feast to an emerald or carbuncle set in gold: if it be perilous, why does the wise man commend it to us in his writings? If vile, why does he match it with two so excellent and precious stones? But his bare words is to me a better warrant for the ratifying of it than all their peevish and scarce colourable wrangling to reprove it.

I come to marriages, wherein as our ancestors (I do willingly harp upon this string, that our younger wits may know they stand under correction of elder judgments) did fondly, and with a kind of doting,

maintain many rites and ceremonies, some whereof were either shadows or abodements of a pleasant life to come: as the eating of a quince pear, to be a preparative of sweet and delightful days between the married persons; the joining of *Mercury* and *Venus* together, as a token that love must be preserved and fostered by courteous speeches, with other not unlike. So in the time of solemnising the same, they had choice and set songs appointed for the purpose. The *Grecians* generally, by report of *Aristophanes*, one of their poets, sang *Hymen*, *O Hymenae*, *O Hymen*, calling upon the name of him whom they made their chief superintendent over such matters. And *Plato*, in his book entitled *Gorgias*, makes mention of this ditty as peculiarly belonging to those festival times:

*Formosum esse, & divitem, & bene valere,
summum existimatur bonum.*

Wilt thou be blessed and happy indeed?

Be fair, rich and healthy, if thou wilt speed.

The *Athenians*, one of the best flowers in Greece, sang *incoditum carmen*, perhaps some black saint without order or distinction, and it is reported to be this:

*Bonos ama, timidos repelle,
scimus enim timidorum parvam esse ubique, gratiam.*

Embrace and love the good, the carpet knights repel:

How little favour they have found elsewhere, who knows not well.

I will end with death, the end of all mortality, which, though it be the dissolution of nature and parting of the soul from the body, terrible in itself to flesh and blood, and amplified with a number of unpleasant and uncomfortable accidents, as the shaving of the head, howling, mourning apparel, funeral boughs of yew, box, cypress, and the like; yet we shall find by resorting to antiquities that music has had a share amongst them as being unseasonable at no time. I let pass the *Thracians*, with their triumphs and jubilees for the happy estate of their deceased friends and kinsfolk. The *Libyans*, most honourable, mention of those principally which were slain, either by elephants or other wild beasts, or spent their blood and livelihood in the field for maintenance of their country. I cannot omit, without injury to their

thankfulness and my own cause, the rather since the cause which moved them to these exigents cannot be ungrateful to any loyal and well-disposed ears. Autumn winds are not so common as authorities if I would use them. Every grammar scholar that opens but an orator, poet, or historiographer, shall see trumpets, psalms, and singing attributed to funeral. And to reduce all veins to the heart and all authorities to one head: if there were no such remembering of the dead, why have they deified a goddess of these songs? That as *Janus* amongst them was the first god to open the door and entrance of their lives, so *Maenia* should be the last to do them any service, by quickening them after their deaths and raising up a second life, by a wailful and yet musical commemoration of their laudable desserts.



THE PARTICULAR USE OF MUSIC IN WARLIKE MATTERS

CHAPTER 8

Now because music is reported to be *belli & pacis aluna vel comes*: either the daughter or companion both of war and peace, I will set the palm and olive together. And as I have been short in declaring her peaceable use, so I will take the nearest course that may be in this warlike treatise. Though painters and poets are commonly allowed to lie, yet I am sure *Theon* expressed no more colours than is true in life when he drew an armed man in complete harness, ready to make excursion upon his enemies, and to all men's thinking, animated and encouraged thereunto by the clamourous sounds of a musician. I appeal not now to men's integrity and uprightness of judgment: I make provocation to them as they are men. Let them speak if the drum, fife, and trumpet do not excite their spirits and make their hearts even to swell to the overthrow of their enemies.

The Kings of *Persia* first sang a song to *Caster & Pollux*, and then made encounter with their adversaries. The *Lacedaemonians* used psalms, whose captain, *Agessilaus*, being demanded of one not so wise as curious (I will not say he was a ringleader to our froward questionists nowadays, to what end and purpose he did it) made answer that hereby he was assured of every man's mind and courage. For if his paces were consonant and according to measures, then it is argued he was not appalled; if disagreeing, it argued that he was faint-hearted. Now if it be expedient for a captain to know whether his soldiers be harts or lions, whose good and cheerful hearts are the first step to the winning of the field, then it is consequent that music should by a *Lydius lapis*, the right touchstone to try their minds.

Now besides the advertisement given hereby to the captain, our own side is incited, the adverse parts amazed and astonished. For which causes, all nations, civil and barbarous, though in diverse sorts, yet upon one and the self same ground, have made even the earth shake and the heavens ring: either with outcries, braying, howling,

singing, and clattering of their armour, as the old *Germans* and *Frenchmen*; or with tabering upon their wagon pelts, as the *Cimbrians*; or with drums and great iron hammers, as the *Parthians*; or with a gentler and remisser kind of music, with their harping, or piping, or winding the cornets, or sounding trumpets, or tinkling their cymbals, as the *Lydians*, *Etrurians*, *Arcadians*, *Sicilians*, *Corinthians*, *Syrians*, *Trojans*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and to speak in one word, no one word so true: all countries. Amongst which, *Athens*, the mother and nurse of the best literature, was accustomed to sing hymns to *Apollo* and *Jupiter* for the better speeding of the doubtful voyages. And *Rome*, the lady and queen of all other cities (if they may be credited in their own cause) used first an ox horn, till *Tyrrhenus* had devised the brazen trumpet, provided notwithstanding that in any expedition of silence, they gave but a watch word only, without any sound of instruments.



THE LAWFUL USE OF MUSIC IN THE CHURCH, CONFIRMED BY THE PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER 9

NOW although there be none but few men so senseless and blockish by nature, or of disposition so peevish and wayward that, taking no delight in music themselves, and measuring the worth and price thereof by their own affections, do account of it as a thing either vain and unlawful or idle and unprofitable; yet there be many who, albeit they allow a moderate and sober use of it in civil matters, do notwithstanding cast it out of the church as an unclean thing, and will vouchsafe it no place in the service of God. But if the use thereof be proved to be not lawful only in the church, but profitable also and decent by the practice of the church at all times, the opinion of the best learned in all ages, and the authority of the Scriptures themselves in many places, I trust that these men will reform their opinions from thinking so basely of it, or refrain their tongues from inveighing so bitterly against.

And first, as touching the practice of the church, they are not ignorant that the most ancient church of the *Jews* (which from God himself received the doctrine of truth, which it believed; the precepts of life, which it observed; the order of discipline, which it practised) used no one spiritual exercise more than singing unto the Lord. When the Ark (which was unto them a visible sign of God's presence among them, and unto which they resorted to ask counsel of the Lord, and to pour out their prayers, as we do unto the church) was brought into the city of *David*, not only the four thousand *Levites*, whom *David* had assigned this office to praise the Lord with instruments which he had made, sang and made melody; but *David* himself also sang, rejoiced, and danced before it. Afterwards, when the temple was built by *Solomon*, and the Ark, with other things dedicated thereunto by *David*, was brought into the temple, the *Levites* according to their office sang unto the Lord songs of praise and thanksgiving, lifting up their voices with trumpets and cymbals, and with instruments of music: which service the Lord did so gratefully accept that he vouchsafed his visible presence and filled the temple with his glory.

And when *Ezechias* opened the temple, which had been shut, and re-established the service of the Lord, which had been intermitted by that wickedness of *Ahas*, among other things, there is especial mention that he restored this exercise. For he appointed the *Levites* in the house of the Lord, with cymbals and viols and with harp, according to the commandment of *David*, and *Gad* the king's seer, and *Nathan* the prophet. For the commandment was by the hand of the Lord, and by the hand of his prophets. And his holy ordinance, which the Lord himself had sanctified, continued in that church as other parts of his service did, thought corrupted, even unto the coming of Christ in the flesh. Neither was it then as a bodily and unprofitable exercise abolished, but retained as a spiritual service unto the Lord, albeit not in that order and form as before.

And as *Isidore* testifies that:

ad antiquum morem psalmistarum in veteri ecclesia Iudaorum, &c. of the ancient custom of singers in the old church of the *Jews*, the primitive church took example to nourish singers, by whose songs the minds of the hearers might be stirred up to God. And the psalmist or singer ought to be most excellent, both in voice and art, that he may the better delight the hearers with the sweetness of his music.

Yea, even our saviour Christ used this divine exercise, for when he had eaten the passover with his disciples, Saint *Matthew* adds:

and when he had sung a psalm, they went out into the mount of Olives.

As for the times wherein the Apostles themselves lived, it cannot be denied but that this exercise was used in the churches which they planted: for many exhortations are by them made in their epistles, as it shall after appear unto their churches that then flourished concerning this matter, and I trust their practice then was agreeable to their exhortations.

Pliny, in an epistle he writes to *Trajan* the emperor, (whilst Saint *John* was living) testifies that it was the custom of the Christians to sing hymns unto their Christ in their assemblies before day: for they could not freely come together by day for the persecutions that then raged against them. Afterward, when the church of Christ had a breathing time and might freely serve their God, they did that openly

in their churches which before they used secretly in the assemblies. Look upon the East and the West, the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, and you shall find this to be true. It had its beginning in the East churches, and from thence, being derived unto the West, spread itself unto all churches, as Saint *Augustine* reports in his *Confessions*.

It would be too long to run over all the particular churches which frequented this exercise: it shall be sufficient to take a view of the patriarchal seats, by whom the others were to be directed in matters of doctrine and discipline. *Theodoret* reports that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* ordained in the Church of *Antioch* that the psalms of *David* should be sung interchangeably by a choir of singing men, divided into parts: first at the monument of martyrs, and afterwards in the church

& hortabantur, says he, socios sui ministerii ut in Ecclesia santissimum Dominum nostrum hymnis celebrarent. And they exhorted their fellow ministers to praise their holy Lord Christ with hymns and songs.

The which order, once begun at *Antioch*, was derived farther and farther even unto the utmost parts of the world.

In *Zozomenus* likewise it is recorded that when the people of *Antioch* had intelligence that the emperor *Theodosius* was incensed against them for a sedition raised in their city, they made their prayers unto God to allay and mitigate his rage, using thereunto mournful songs and melody. The which, when *Flavianus* the bishop had caused to be sung before the emperor as he sat at meat, the story says that *Theodosius* was thereat not only moved to pity, but forgave the offence also, and himself with tears increased their lamentations. And in another place, he says that the clergy and people of *Antioch*, dividing themselves into two parts, did according to their accustomed manner praise God with hymns and songs.

To these former authorities accords *Socrates*, who, although he attribute not the original of this singing of antiphons and psalms in the Church of *Antioch* to *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, as *Theodoret* does, but unto *Ignatius*, one more ancient than they: (for he was the third bishop of that place after *Peter*, and was very conversant with the Apostles themselves) yet he agrees with him in the verity of the matter whereof I speak, affirming that *Ignatius*, having seen a vision

of angels lauding the holy Trinity with hymns, interchangeably sung, constituted in the Church of *Antioch* that form and manner of singing, which had been manifested unto him in that vision. And albeit this may seem somewhat fabulous (as perhaps it is, and as the *Magdeburgenses* are of opinion, saying that this is not a matter of so great moment, that therefore angels should come down from heaven and appear singing) yet this clause which they add, especially because the church in those days wanted neither psalms nor hymns, is a sufficient proof of my assertion.

Now concerning the Church of *Alexandria*, as I do confess, this exercise was not so much used there as in *Antioch*, so must I needs say that sometimes it was there also frequented. For proof whereof, I refer the reader to *Socrates* and the tripartite history, where they declare how *Athanasius*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, being by the *Arians* deprived of his bishopric, escaped out of the hands of *Sirianus*, the captain of that army, who came with a band of 3,000 soldiers, beside the aid of the *Arians* which were in the city, as well to place *Gregorius* in that see as to apprehend *Athanasius*. For the history says thus:

The evening grew on, and the people watched all night, because they looked for a communion. The captain placed his soldiers round about the church, the which when *Athanasius* perceived, all his care was that for his sake the people might receive no harm. Wherefore he willed the deacon to end his prayers, and commanded they should sing a psalm. Now, while the psalm was singing with sweet and pleasant concert, the whole congregation went out at one door; all this while, the soldiers were silent and made no uproar: but *Athanasius*, in the midst of the throng, escaped the rage of his enemies without harm.

Whereof I gather that, as in other churches, so also in this of *Alexandria* they used this divine exercise, which also Saint *Augustine* testifies, though not in so full a manner, when he wishes that the proper order of singing were used in the church where he was, which *Athanasius* observed in the Church of *Alexandria*, who commanded him that read the Scriptures that he should so temperate and moderate his voice that he might rather seem to speak treatably than to sing, to the end he might be the better understood of the people.

And yet nevertheless, Saint *Augustine*, calling to mind how wonderfully he himself had been moved with the singing of the church at the conversion to the faith, and what operation it works in the hearers, although doubting, confessing in the same place that he does allow singing in the church, that by the delight thereof the weak mind might be brought into a feeling of religion.

As for the Church of *Jerusalem*, I think it a matter needless to stand long in proof of that which no man can deny, especially seeing this exercise was in use among the Apostles themselves, as may appear by that of *Paul*:

I will sing with the spirit,
but I will sing with the understanding also.

and none were bishops of that see but such as were either Apostles themselves, or scholars of the Apostles. Yet, lest I should seem to say nothing in so large a matter, I will allege only one testimony for confirmation hereof. There is, extant among the epistles of Saint *Jerome*, one of Saint *Jerome's* own making, but under the name of *Paula* and *Eustochius*, written to *Marcella*, the argument whereof is to entreat *Marcella*, who was then at *Rome*, to come unto *Jerusalem*, where *Paula* and *Eustochius* remained. Among many commendations of the place, and diverse reasons to persuade her, this is one:

Hic vox quidem dissona, sed una religio, tot psallentium chori, quot gentium diversitates: Here, say they, are diverse languages, but one religion, and so many choirs of singers as there is diversities of nations.

And in the same epistle, they add:

In christi villula: Here in Christ's village is no pride, but all pains, and besides the singing of psalms, nothing but silence. The husbandman holding the plough sings *Alleluia*; the harvestman sweating at his labour solaces himself with psalms; and he which cuts the vines sings some psalm of *David*. These are our verses in this country; these be the tunes of our shepherds; and these be the instruments of our husbandry, &c.

The fourth patriarchal seat was *Constantinople*, wherein, as in a place consecrated to the service of God, was to be heard the most sweet and pleasant voice of the church, singing psalms and hymns unto the Lord. For *Socrates* reports that *Chrysostom* ordained in the church of

Constantinople the manner of singing by course: that is, choirs interchangeably singing, which he did by emulation of the *Arians*, who, in their meetings and assemblies without the city, used this kind of singing with a great show of holiness and devotion. The which order, once begun upon this occasion, continued, as *Zozomenus* notes, a perpetual custom in that church. Insomuch that Saint *Hilary*, in his commentaries upon the psalms gives this testimony to the Church of *Constantinople*:

They began (says he) the day in prayers unto God; they ended the day with hymns to him in the church.

and again:

Let him which is without the church hear the voice of the people making their prayers; let him consider the excellent sound of their hymns.

We read also that *Justinian* the emperor, in the eighth year of his reign, after the fifth general council at *Constantinople*, wherein were one hundred and sixty-five fathers assembled to condemn the errors of the *Origenists*, made a song, the beginning whereof was: *The only begotten son and word of God*, and gave it to the Church of *Constantinople* to be sung. They were also wont to sing the *Psalms of David*, and certain litanies, which they did at the commandment of *Anastasius*, the governor of the city, to the end that they might take heed of sedition, wherewith the city was oftentimes molested. Many more testimonies might be alleged to prove the frequentation of this exercise in their patriarchal seats, but that I judge these are sufficient, and my purpose is to show that as this custom began in these chief and mother churches of the East: so it flowed from them as from fountains, not only into all other inferior churches of the East, but as if it had taken force in the course thereof, derived itself unto their sister Church of *Rome*, and all other christian congregations in the West.

And first concerning the other east churches: we read of the Church of *Edessa*, where *Ephraim*, a *Syrian* (a man commended and had in admiration of Saint *Basil* for his excellent knowledge and learning) was deacon, that there in his time this divine exercise was

embraced. For when *Harmonius*, a heretic, had set wicked and impious songs to most pleasant and delectable tunes, and thereby had allured the minds of many, this *Ephraim* is said to have made holy and godly ditties, and to have applied them to the sweet notes and tunes of *Harmonius*, whereby it came to pass that afterwards, the *Syrians*, his countrymen, sang in their assemblies the songs of *Ephraim*, observing therewith the musical consent of *Harmonius*, which was to them not only most pleasant, but wonderful profitable and commodious.

And this custom prevailed also the the Church of *Neocesaria*. In the time of *Basil*, who, in a epistle he writes to certain of the clergy of *Neocesaria*, answers the reproaches of *Sabellius* and *Marcellus*, who found fault with the singing used in their church, and for that cause had separated themselves from the congregation. His words be these:

De nocte populus consurgens &c: The people rise before day, and hie them to the house of prayer, and there, after that, in mourning and in heaviness and in continual tears, they have confessed themselves unto God. Standing up from their prayers, they begin the psalmody, and, being divided into two parts, they sing together, the one part answering the other, whereby they strengthen themselves in the exercise and meditation of the word of God. And being attentive with their hearts, they confirm their minds, rejecting all vain and frivolous cogitations, and so with variety of psalms and diversity of prayer, sometimes singing, and sometimes praying, they spend the night. As soon as the day appears, altogether, as it were with one mouth and with one heart, they offer a psalm unto the Lord. If for these things you avoid our company, you must avoid likewise the Churches of *Egypt*, of *Libya*, them of *Thebes* and also of *Palestine*, of *Arabia*, of *Phoenicia*, of *Syria*, and all those that border upon the river *Euphrates*, where the use of singing psalms is frequented.

Where I note that, though I should have held my peace, yet Saint *Basil* proves for me the generality of this practice, seeing in his last words he affirms that this order was agreeable to all the other churches of God. For the churches in *Egypt*, I have not only Saint *Basil's* bare assertion (as in this place appears) which nevertheless were sufficient for my purpose, but also the testimonies of ancient

writers. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, as *Eusebius* reports in his second book *De promissionibus*, commends *Nepos*, a bishop of *Egypt*:

propter fidem, sedulitatem & exercitum in scripturis, & propter multam ipsius psalmodiam, qua etiam num multi ex fratribus delectentur: that is, for his faith, for his diligence in preaching, and for his exercise in the Scripture, and for his making and setting of diverse psalms and hymns, wherewith even till that day, many of the brethren were delighted.

The same *Eusebius* cites out of *Philo* this testimony for the use of this exercise in the churches of *Egypt*:

Non contemplationi se solum, &c. They do not not only give themselves to contemplation (for thereof he had spoken before) but they make also songs and hymns, with most exact qualities and measures of verses, which they sing in the honour and praise of God.

Time will not suffer me to speak of those churches severally which are mentioned in Saint *Basil's* catalogue; wherefore I will content myself with his authority, thinking his assertion as forceable to persuade the reader as my proofs and allegations. And to conclude this former part, concerning the practice of the East churches, I will verily persuade myself that the Churches of *Corinth*, of *Colossia*, of *Ephesus* and the rest used this exercise in their divine service. In which opinion, I am the more confirmed, for that so often mentions and so many exhortations hereof are extant in the epistles of the holy Apostle to these congregations.

As *Italy* and the western parts in former times were beholden to *Greece* for human learning, so at the first propagation of the Gospel, they were much more bound to the *Greeks* and eastern regions for the knowledge of God and true religion. The substance whereof, as they received pure and undefiled at the first, and altogether unspotted with men's traditions, as a treasure delivered unto them by the Apostles themselves; so withal they received also the holy ceremonies and customs of the same, as they and the Holy Ghost had thought it most convenient. And forasmuch as nothing of price is begun and perfected at once, but increasing by little and little, afterward grows to a full and absolute perfection: therefore it is recorded that the West

and *Latin* churches first received the substance of religion as the foundation, and afterward the rites and ceremonies thereof as beautiful adjuncts and ornaments of the building. For whereas the doctrine of Christ had continued in these parts ever since the preaching of the Apostles, we read that this part of divine service was not entertained into the *Latin* churches before the time of Saint *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, which was after *Peter's* death at Rome almost three hundred years. So that of all the churches in the West, the Church of *Milan* was the first that used this solemnity, in the days of *Ambrose*, the holy man of God, by whose means and advice it was received. Whereof we have the testimonies as well of *Sygbertus*, and *Iuo* in his chronicle, which attributes the first institution of singing of anthems and hymns in the *Latin* churches unto *Ambrose*, as the writers of *Magdeburg* justify; as of *Augustine* also, who affirms that at what time *Justina*, the mother of *Valentinian* the emperor, favouring the heresy of the *Arians*, persecuted the true Church of Christ: the manner of singing psalms which was used in the East churches began to be frequented in the church of *Milan* by the counsel of *Ambrose*, lest the people, being in continual watching and labour, should faint and pine away for sorrow. The which use, he says, was not only retained there, but was also received and embraced of all the churches and congregations of Christ throughout the West.

To these former authorities agrees *Isidore*, who, speaking of *Ambrose*, records that he not only made hymns himself which were sung in the church in *Milan*, and called *Ambrosiani* after his name, but also was the first that instituted the singing of anthems in his church to the example of the *Greeks*, who divided a choir of singing men into two parts, which should sing by course, like the two seraphins, or the two testaments, answering one another in order, adding also *cuius celebritatis devotio postea per totius occidentis ecclesias observabatur*.

I think it a matter of more labour than necessity to go about to show the frequentation of this solemnity in the Church of *Rome*. I mean not that which is now, but that which was in the time of the primitive church, especially seeing that as that was the place whither all nations made great recourse, so nothing was there omitted which

might in any respect make to the setting forth of the Gospel and divine service of God. Nevertheless, lest I should seem to speak only by guesses and conjectures, I will allege antiquity for my proof. *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Hispalis* in *Spain*, of whom I spoke before, makes a difference and distinction between anthems and responsories: for anthems, he said as I affirmed before:

that *Ambrose* was the first that translated them from the *Greek* into the *Latin* church; but for responsories, he shows that they were long before that time used in the churches of *Italy*, and were so called because when one sang, the choir answered him singing also, and then it was the use either that every man should sing by himself, or sometimes one alone, or at some other times, two or three together, the choir for the most part making the answer.

Pontianus, likewise, the first Bishop of *Rome*, which was long before Saint *Ambrose*, ordained that, in all churches, psalms should be sung night and day, as *fasciculus temporum* has observed. Now as I easily confess that this was not that exquisite kind of music which afterward was in use: so it cannot be denied that they embraced the other also. *Damasus* wrote unto Saint *Jerome*, then being at *Jerusalem*, by *Boniface*, a priest, asking that he would send him *psallentium graecorum*, the manner of singing of the *Greeks* in the East. He complains also in that epistle

of the simplicity of the *Roman* church, that there was on the Sunday but one epistle of the Apostle and one chapter of the Gospel rehearsed, and that there was no singing with the voice, nor lines of hymns known among them.

Whereupon Saint *Jerome*, in his answer, sent him that which he requested, and besides counselled him that at the end of every psalm, he should cause to be sung *Glory be to the Father, &c.* Wherefore for certainty of this matter, we have the words of *Platina*, who records that *Damasus* was the first which caused the psalms to be sung *alternatim*, by course interchangeably, in the Church of *Rome*.

The which, when Mr. *Harding* alleged against Bishop *Jewell*, so as he would thereby confirm either singing in an unknown tongue, or that the choir only sang in the primitive church, the bishop answers unto

by denial, not of the thing. For he granted they used singing, but of the illations: for although they used singing (says he) yet they used it not in an unknown tongue, and though they used singing interchangeably by sides, yet the choir or sides sang not alone, but the people also, which he confirms out of the decrees of *Gregory, distinct. 92*, who forbad the priest that said service to sing; and in the end adds this conclusion:

Hereof we may gather (says he) that *Damasus* divided the whole people into two parts, and willed them to sing the psalms in their own tongue, the one part making answer by course to the other.

Now, here methinks I perceive some exult, as if they had gotten *confitentem reum*, because I confess, the choirs did not only sing in the primitive church, but the people; and verily I do confess, neither is it my purpose to deny any manifest truth, and I doubt not but to reconcile these contrarieties in their proper place sufficiently, where I shall answer all objections fully that can in any respect be alleged against this exercise. In the mean season, I have got hereby so much as I desired in this place: namely that this part of God's service was used in the *Roman* church and other congregations in *Italy*.

Neither did this service contain itself only within the bounds of *Italy*, but took root also in the churches of *France* and *Germany* and other places. For in the time of Saint *Hilary*, Bishop of *Poitiers* in *France*, it is testified by *Isidore* that this custom was confirmed in the church. Insomuch that *Hilary*, himself a man of wonderful eloquence, made hymns which were sung in his church and called after his name *Hylariani*.

The same may be said of the churches of *Africa*, as *Carthage* and *Hippo*; for the church of *Carthage*, Saint *Augustine* says this much:

Hylarius quidam vir tribunitius &c. A certain man called *Hilary*, being incensed, I know not upon what occasion, against the ministers of God, did revile with contumelious speeches, wheresoever he came, that custom of singing hymns at the altar our of the book of psalms, either before the offering, or after that which was offered was distributed to the people, which was begun in *Carthage*, saying that it ought not so to be. To him I made answer, says Saint *Augustine*, being commanded so to do by the brethren.

So *Victor*, in his history *de Vand. persecutione* says:

That at *Carthage* in the feast of Easter, the people assemble themselves together in the palace of *Faustus*, and there sing hymns in the night-season, in honour of the time.

As for the Church of *Hippo*, where Saint *Augustine* himself was ruler and chief bishop, it is not likely that he would defend the use of that against *Hilary* which he would not allow in his church; especially seeing he himself was not only wonderfully therewith delighted, but in his conversion (as was noted before) had the effectual working thereof in himself.

It were an infinite and endless labour to rehearse every particular church after this order, considering that even the very name of them are infinite; nevertheless if these particulars will not suffice, harken to the general voice of the doctors, who with one consent agree that nothing was more frequent in the assemblies of the faithful. First Saint *Jerome* has these words:

Matutinis vespertinisque hymnis ecclesia delectatur Deus, per animam fidelem, quae relicto inanium superstitionum retu eum devote laudaverit.

God is delighted with the morning and evening hymns of the church by a faithful soul, which, rejecting the ceremonies of vain superstitions, praises him devoutly.

And *Eusebius*, writing the exercises of the Christians in their meetings, makes this catalogue:

They used prayers, singing of psalms, celebration of the sacraments, and thanksgiving.

To whom agrees Saint *Basil*:

templa martyribus dedicarunt &c. They dedicated churches to the holy martyrs with hymns and giving of thanks, whereunto they came together even at midnight as then their manner was.

And in the same place:

Interdum concionandi materia ex psalmis illis desumpta est quos prius decantarunt. Sometimes the arguments and texts of their sermons were taken out of the psalms which they had sung before.

So *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus*, against the cavils of *Theodotus* and *Artemon* and other heretics, make mention of psalms and songs which

faithful men had made, attributing therein to Christ, divine God-head, and praising him with sweet concent. And it may easily be gathered out of Saint *Augustine* that godly men in their assemblies sang praises unto God, and made their prayers to their Lord. So *Theodoret* makes mention of dancings and banquets, which Christians were wont to use in their merry meetings after any notable and strange deliverance.

And *Epiphanius* to this purpose speaks:

Morning hymns are continually sung in the church, and evening prayers: yea, both psalms and prayers by candlelight.

But most evident is that testimony of Rabbi *Samuel*, who, writing to *Isaac* the *Israelite*, has these words:

Paveo, mi domine, quod dictum est de apostolis illud Esaiæ &c. I am afraid, Sir, of that which *Esaias* speaks of the Apostles: they shall declare the holy one of Jacob and preach the God of Israel; the ignorant shall receive knowledge, and musicians shall know the laws. We manifestly see that ignorant men and musicians teach our law. And who are these ignorant men, but the Gentiles? And who are these musicians, singing our psalter and our prophets in the churches, but the Christians?

And a little after:

His omnibus consideratis &c. All these thing considered, methinks we do amiss in judging of the sacrifice of their praise which they offer in the church of God, singing; especially seeing we find both commandment for it in the law of God, and the example of *David*. For commandment, it is said: praise him with virginals and organs; praise him with cymbals; praise him with high sounding cymbals; let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. For example, we read that *David* danced before the Ark, whom his foolish wife *Michol* did therefore reprehend. But he answered "O foolish woman! Will God suffer me in his service to be despised?" And all the children of *Israel* sounded the trumpet as they carried the Ark. Now what are we, which laugh at the solemnities of these singing, but foolish *Michols*? And who are these that sing but the Christians, dancing and singing to God in humbleness of heart, as *David* did?

But for conclusion of this point, my last proof shall be out of *Isidore*, which speaks most plainly to the effect:

Davidis psalterium id circo cum melodia cantelinarum suavivum ad ecclesia frequentatur, quo facilius ad compunctionem flectantur. The psalter of *David* is therefore accustomed to be sung in the church with the melody of pleasant songs, that men may the more easily thereby be brought to a remorse of conscience and sorrow for their sins.



THE LAWFUL USE OF CHURCH MUSIC, PROVED BY AUTHORITIES OUT OF THE DOCTORS

CHAPTER 10

TO the practice of the church, it may seem superfluous to add the opinions of the fathers, because it is likely that they who used music in their churches, allowed it in their opinions. And yet because the fathers set down the use thereof in ecclesiastical matters, that we may leave no place of cavil for the adversary, I think it not amiss, though in few words, to add their particular speeches to this purpose. *Justin* Martyr, who flourished about the year of our Lord 164, in his questions which the Gentiles proposed to the Christians, moving a question touching this matter, makes answer thereunto. His question he puts down in this form:

If verses and songs were invented by them which detested religion, purposely to deceive, and were commended to them which lived under the law for their weakness only, and because they were to be trained up as children: why should they which have received perfect gifts of grace, and different from those means which we have spoken of, use singing in their churches, to the imitation of those which were under the law as children and infants?

His answer is this:

To sing is not at all to become children, but to sing with dumb instruments and dancing and cymbals is. Therefore the use of such instruments and others which are fit for children is thrust out and expelled from the church, and singing only is retained. For it inflames the heart with a fervent desire of that which in singing delights us; it subdues the motions of the flesh; it drives away those wicked cogitations which our invisible enemies put into our minds; it waters the mind, and causes it to bring forth fruit of heavenly things; it arms and strengthens the reverencers of religion with patience in adversity; it ministers a remedy unto the godly against those molestations which spring of worldly affections. This Saint *Paul* called the sword of the spirit, wherewith he furnished christian soldiers against their spiritual enemies. For the word of God is that which, being meditated upon, sung and sounded out, casts away and

puts to flight the devils themselves. It is of force to adorn the mind with christian virtues, which spring up in them that reverence religion with ecclesiastical songs.

Thus far *Justin* Martyr. Of which words, being in themselves so clear and evident to prove the lawful use of music in the church, I say nothing but this: that as he plainly allows singing, so he excludes not all musical instruments, but such as are fit for children. *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria* in *Africa*, who lived about the year of our Lord 329, writing to *Marcellinus* of the interpretation of the psalms, among other things which he speaks in the commendation of this excellent gift of God, shows why it pleased God to ordain the use thereof:

As we do utter (says he) and deliver our inward thoughts by our words, so God, willing to have the melody of our words to be a sign of the spiritual concent which is in our minds, *psalmos ut modulis canerentur instituit, & cum huius modi harmonia recitari voluit*: ordained that psalms should be sung with music and would have them recited with such harmony. *Ut inde concinnitas animorum &c*: that there, by the quietness of the mind which is well-disposed, may be known as it is written: if any man be sorrowful, let him sing.

And a little after, speaking of instrumental music, he uses these words:

To praise God upon the well-tuned cymbals, upon the harp and psaltery of ten strings is a note and signification that there is such a concent between the parts of the body as there is among the strings.

And surely this his saying is proved by experience. For as even we witness unto ourselves that if we strike only one string of any instrument, the rest of that tone also gives a certain kind of sound, as if the striking of one pertained to them all. So in our body, if anything be pleasant or grievous to any part, it is also pleasant or grievous to the whole. Good reason therefore that the tongue professes in divine service that which the heart believes: and what both heart believes and tongue confesses, good reason that both hand and whole body testify to their power. The like has Saint *Augustine*, in the prologue he writes before his narrations of the psalms:

Because (says he) that the Holy Ghost saw that man's mind by nature did forsake the way of virtue and incline to the delights of this life, and that it might be incited and stirred up to tread the paths of

virtue by sweet harmony, he mingled the efficacy of singing with his doctrine, that while the ears are delighted with the sweetness of the verse, the profit of the word of God might, by little and little, distil into their minds: much like unto a skilful physician who, when he will minister any sharp or bitter potion to his patient, anoints the mouth of the cup with honey, lest the diseased or sick person should refuse the profit for the bitterness thereof.

And lest we should think that he speaks not this of the music in the church, he defines a psalm to be one voice of the whole church, whereupon in the same place, breaking into a wonderful commendation of psalms, he adds:

Psalmus tranquillitas animarum est, &c: A psalm is the quietness of souls, the standard-bearer of peace, a restrainer of the perturbations and rage of our cogitations; repressing wrath, bridling wantonness, inciting to sobriety, making friendship, bringing those to concord which were at variance; and a reconciler of utter enemies.

And in another place, telling first how he became a Christian, he uses these words:

Quantum flevi in canticis tuis, &c: How great an abundance of tears did I shed at the hearing of your hymns and psalms, and how inwardly was I moved with the voice of your sweet singing congregation?

Among others, virtuous *Gregory Nazianzen* commends this one in his sister *Gorgonia*, that she was skilful in singing and used it very often. And surely no marvel, seeing *Chrysostom* attributes these divine properties thereunto:

Musica, says he, mentem e terra abducit, &c: Music withdraws our minds from earthly cogitations, lifts up our spirits into heaven, makes them light and celestial.

And therefore it is that *Tertullian* gives this general exhortation:

Sonent inter duos psalmi, &c: Let psalms and hymns be sung even of two, and let them provoke one another which of them can sing better to his God.

Athanasius, in the place above cited, gives this reason why we should not only sing, but also sing cunningly and artificially to our maker:

Modulatim recitare psalmos &c. To sing psalms artificially is not to make a show of cunning music, but an argument that the cogitations of our minds do aptly agree with our music, and that reading, which observes the law of feet and numbers, is a sign of a sober and quiet affection in the mind. For both to praise God upon well-sounding cymbals and upon the harp and psaltery of ten strings is a note and signification that the parts of our body are so conjoined and linked together as be the strings &c.

To the same purpose speaks *Athanasius* at large in the same place, and his meaning is as well to show how good and comely an ornament music is in the church (which as in those days it was not doubted of, nor once called in question, so needed no exquisite apology) as to declare the profit and use which it has even in private meditations.

For, says he, they that sing, so that the melody of words with the quantity of them may agree with the harmony of the spirit, be those which sing with the tongue and with understanding also; neither do they delight themselves only, but also bring wonderful help to those that hear them. For he that sings well frames his mind to his song, and brings it, as it were, from an inequality to a certain equality and proportion; not that he is moved by any thing, but rather that he perceives thereby the affections and imaginations of good things, and stirs up in his mind a greater desire to do good afterwards. For the soul, being intente to the words, forgets the affectations and perturbations; and, being made merry with the pleasant sound, is brought to a sense and feeling of Christ and most excellent and heavenly cogitations.

To their former authorities, it were an easy matter to add more innumerable, but I will content myself and the reader with a few. *Eusebius*, in his twelfth book, *De praepationem evangelica*, uses these words:

Ut pueri animus legem ita sequatur, ut una cum ea &c. To the end that the minds of children may so follow the law, that they may together therewith rejoice and be sorrowful, let them learn and sing often such odes and songs as contain the praises and dispraises of those things which the law praises and discommends.

and he adds this reason:

Quoniam teneriores animi rationem virtutis nonsuscipiunt, ludo atque cantu praeparantur: Iure igitur apud nos prophetarum odae a pueris addicuntur: For the tender minds of children are therefore to be prepared with dalliance and mirth, because they cannot conceive the reason of virtue at the first. Good therefore is that use amongst us that the psalms of the prophets should be learned by children.

And Saint *Chrysostom*, upon these words of the 134th psalm, *psallite nomine eius quia suave est*, has this sentence:

Hoc dicit, ostendens rem ipsam habere quandam vel per se voluptatem una cum utilitate &c: This he says to show that the thing itself has of itself a certain pleasure with profit. For the principal gain thereof is to sing hymns unto God; to purge the soul; to lift our cogitations on high; to learn true and exquisite knowledge; to argue of things present and things to come. Besides these things, it has also by melody great pleasure and some comfort and recreation, and makes him that sings grave and reverend. And that it makes men such, it is manifest, in as much as one interpreter says 'it is a comely thing', and another 'it is a pleasant thing': for both say true. For although he that sings be never so outrageous, yet while he reverences the psalm, he pacifies the tyranny of his outrage. Although he be overwhelmed with mischiefs and overcome with the heaviness of his soul, yet, while he takes pleasure in singing, he eases his heart, extols his cogitations, and lifts up his mind on high.

This part might wonderfully be amplified as with the speeches of ancient fathers: so also with the practice and examples, not only of themselves, as is before declared, but also of most noble and renown emperors. As of *Constantine* the Great, *Justinian*, *Theodosius* the Younger, *Valens* the emperor, and *Carolus Magnus*, which may be confirmed by the testimonies of *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Carion* in his chronology. *Eusebius* thus testifies of *Constantine*:

Cantare primus incaepit, una oravit, conciones sacras reverenter audiit: adeo ut rogatus ut consideret, responderit: fas non esse dogmata de Deo remisse & segniter audiri. He first began the psalm, prayed together with the people, heard holy sermons with reverence, insomuch that being

desired to sit down, he answered: it was not meet that those things which were declared concerned God should be heard remissly and negligently.

Nicephorus, speaking of *Justinian*, says:

Justinianus imperator octavo sui imperii anno, constituit ut in concionibus ecclesiasticis concineretur illud: Unigenitus filius & verbum dei &c. *Justinian*, the emperor, in the eighth year of his reign, instituted that that ditty 'the only begotten son and word of God &c.' should be sung in ecclesiastical meetings.

And of *Theodosius* the Younger:

Theodosius minor imperator, cum tota ecclesia supplicationem fecit pro serenitate, & ipse quidem medius hymnis canendis praeivit privati habitu incedens. *Theodosius* the emperor made his supplications with the whole church for fair weather, and went in the midst before them in the habit of a private person while they sang their hymns.

So *Nazianzen* speaks of *Valens*:

When the emperor *Valens* entered into the church where Saint *Basil* preached, *τι αχοην ωροβαλεον τυ ψαλμοδια καταβρον-τηθυ*: hearing the sound of the psalms, he was stricken as if it had been with thunder.

So does the history record of *Charles* the Great:

Quandocunque fiut in urbibus accessit ad psalmodiam &c. Whensoever he came to any city, he went to the psalmody and sang himself, appointing unto his sons and his other princes lessons to be sung, and joined his earnest prayer with the godly.

The epistle of the bishops, which were of the Council of *Antioch* against *Paulus Samosatenus* the heretic, among other things lays this to his charge:

quod psalmos & cantus, qui ad honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi decantari solent, tamquam recentiores, & a viris recentioris memoriae editos exploserit: That he has thrust out of the church as new and made by men of late memory those psalms and songs which were wont to be sung in the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whereby it may appear that as all the reverent assembly disliked the attempt of *Paulus* in abolishing the use of singing, so also they

thought it a meet ceremony and ornament for their churches. To these antiquities of former times, it shall not be unneedful to add the opinions of later writers: as of *Bullinger*, *Peter Martyr*, *Calvin*, *Wolphius*, *Beza*, and others, who all with one consent (although some, I confess, be earnest against pricksong and artificial music in the church) yet make this resolution: that as all other things, which of themselves be good, may be both well and evil used, so music likewise has doubtless a good and profitable use in the church. Howsoever, in the time of popery, the right and lawful use thereof has been quite extinguished and forgotten. And surely, if any man think that I have in this treatise taken upon me the defence of the unlawful use thereof, he may well take just occasion of offence. But I am so far from allowing of the abuse, and of popish church music, that I detest both the one and the other. Look upon the several tracts of these men whom I last mentioned: *Bullinger* in his 5th Decade and 5th sermon; *Peter Martyr* upon the 5th chapter of the *Judges*; *Calvin* in his *Institutions*, and his commentaries upon the psalms, namely upon the 4, 48, 67, and 98th psalms; *Wolphius* upon the 12th chapter of *Nehemiah*; *Beza* upon the 3rd chapter to the *Colossians*; and in diverse other places, and you shall find all the contention to be against the abuse, and no one word against the right and lawful use thereof.

Here I will willingly omit *Brentius* and all the *Lutherans*, with whom I see no reason why in this point we should not most constantly agree, so that all things be done to edifying and to the praise of God. Wherefore I will conclude this part with that saying of Saint *Ambrose* in his *Hexameron*:

Quis sensum hominis gerens, non erubescat sine psalmodum celebritate diem claudere, cum etiam aves minutissimae solemniter devotione & dulci carmine ortus dierum ac noctium persequantur: Who is he, bearing the sense of a man, which is not ashamed to end the day without the singing of psalms, seeing even the little birds with solemn devotion and sweet notes do both begin and end the day?



SENTENCES OF THE SCRIPTURE,
FOR THE USE OF CHURCH MUSIC

CHAPTER II

BECAUSE it may seem a matter impertinent to heap a great number of testimonies of the Scripture for the proof of that which can by no reason be denied, I mean, after some few testimonies and grounds of the Scripture alleged, to touch the point and quick of this controversy. Forasmuch therefore as I have hitherto sufficiently proved by the practice of the church and authority of fathers that there is a lawful use of music in the church, I will consent myself with these sentences of Scripture which I shall here quote for confirmation of the same, meaning in one conclusion to prove those two things which are in question: that as well artificial as also instrumental music may be used in God's congregation.

My grounds therefore are these: first the testimonies of the Old Testament, whereof I will cite some, because all are infinite.

Psalm 33: Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous: for praise becomes well the just : praise the Lord with harp, sing unto him with viol and instrument of ten strings : sing unto him a new song, sing cheerfully with a loud voice, &c.

Likewise, in the last psalm:

Praise him in the sound of the trumpet, praise him upon the viol and harp : praise ye him with timbrel and flute, praise ye him with virginals and organs : praise ye him with sounding cymbals, praise ye him upon the high sounding cymbals : let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.

Add hitherto, *Psalm 81*, the first 5 verses:

sing we joyfully unto God our strength, &c.

I willingly for brevity's sake omit all other speeches of the psalms.

Read besides these the particular examples of *Miriam*, *Exodus 15*; of *Deborah* and *Baruch*, *Judges 5*; of *Anna*, the mother of *Samuel*, *1 Samuel 2*; of all the tribes of *Israel*, *Nehemiah 12*; *2 Chronicles 5*; *1 Ezra 3*; and infinite more? Whereof I gather not only precepts, as in the former places out of the psalms, but also example and practice as

out of these places last alleged. And surely, considering that music is no ceremonial thing, and therefore not abolished with those things that are ceremonial, I see no sufficient cause why that which was so excellent an ornament to divine service in those times should now in these latter days be cast out as an unclean thing, and have no place nor use in God's church.

Neither is this practice and service of God a thing either unused in the primitive church, or not heard of the New Testament, which is manifest by these testimonies:

Colossians 3, 6: Let the word of God dwell in you plenteously, in all kinds of wisdom; teaching, and admonishing your own selves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with a grace in your hearts to the Lord.

And again:

Ephesians 5, 19: Speaking unto yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts &c.

Hitherto join also the examples of Christ and his disciples, *Matthew* 26, 30; of *Zacharias* and the virgin *Mary*, *Luke* 1; and tell me why both the commendation of this exercise, given by the Apostle, (for I will not call it a precept) and the example, both of our Saviour and other blessed saints of God, may not be a sufficient warrant for us to practice that in our churches which they performed in former ages. And surely, if every action of Christ be our instruction and an example whereunto we should frame ourselves, why should Christ have been author of that which he allowed in himself, and in his Apostles, if he were not willing that we should take example thereby to imitate both them and him?

Now if we consider to what end the custom of singing was used, we shall perceive that it was not so used as that singing and the sounding of organs should be a deed meritorious, to obtain remission of sins and life eternal (as the *Jews* imagine of their songs, and the heathen of their sonnets); or, as the hypocritical monks and friars sang their seven canonical hours, that the doing of that work, whether with understanding or without understanding, it was not

material, yet the bare performance of it should be meritorious for the sins of the quick and the dead; but rather that the Lord might decently be praised, whether with humble and hearty prayer, as in in the time of heaviness, when grief oppresses; or with singing of psalms and playing on instruments, as in the time of joy and mirth, according to that counsel of the Apostle:

If any man be afflicted, let him pray;
and if any man be merry, let him sing psalms.

In my opinion, excellent is that interpretation of Master *Calvin*, upon these words in *Luke*:

Then was with the angel a multitude of heavenly soldiers praising and singing "Glory be to God on high". The Lord, says he, by the example of this heavenly melody, would commend unto us the unity of faith, and stir us up here on earth to sing the praises of our God, &c.

Wherefore a good argument may be gathered out of diverse places in the *Revelation*: that forasmuch as our life here on earth should, with all industry and endeavour, apply itself to be like that heavenly life which the angels live above, where the twenty-four elders fall down before the Lamb, having every one harps and golden viols in their hands. The voice of which harpers, harping with their harps, *John* himself testifies he heard, and that they sang as it were a new song before the throne, &c. We therefore ought not to omit any part of that service which may either stir us up in devotion or make to the testifying of divine service and beautifying of the church of God. And surely in the praising of God, whom should the Church Militant follow rather than the Church Triumphant? And whom should the saints on earth imitate rather than the saints in heaven?

...who behold the Lord face to face, and know even as they are known. (1 *Corinthians* 13, 12)

Doubtless there can be no greater comfort for a pensive soul than to think that he is a partaker of the same salvation with the saints. And no one thing can pierce deeper into the heart of man than that he is called to the same state of praising and lauding God with the holy angels. Howbeit because I would displease no man, nor give just occasion of offence unto any, I put this as a principle: that as nothing

is to be taught, so nothing is to be sung in the church, but either that which is set down in the express word of God, or that which may certainly be shown to be collected out of it. For I profess that rotten rhymes of popery and superstitious invocation or praying unto saints does not give greater cause of vomit to any man than to myself; and all either unwritten or unwarrantable verities I so far abhor as that I judge them more fit for grocers' shops and fishmongers' stalls than for God's congregation.

So that I thus far agree with the greatest adversaries of our profession that I would not admit any other matter than is contained in the written word of God, or consonable thereunto. Only herein we differ: that they would have no great exquisite art or cunning thereunto, neither the noise of dumb instruments to fill up the measure of the praises of God; and I allow both. Wherein if I be not too much affectioned, methinks they do great injury to the word of God, in that they can contentedly permit it to be sung plainly, denying the outward helps and ornaments of art to add more grace and dignity thereunto. And truly, if in all other faculties, it be not only lawful, but commendable also, as in painting and speaking, to set out their matters with colours and eloquence of words, I see no reason why to add more grace to the ditty with the exquisiteness of music should be condemnable in the church.

Wherefore I am of opinion that few of our adversaries can answer this reason, which seems to me to be a general rule and infallible demonstration for the allowing as well of the cunning and exquisite art of singing as of the use of organs and dumb instruments. The psalms may be used in the church as the author of them appointed, but the Holy Ghost, the author of the psalms, appointed and commanded them by the prophet *David* to be sung: and to be sung most cunningly; and to be sung with diverse artificial instruments of music; and to be sung with sundry, several, and most excellent notes and tunes. Therefore in our English church, the psalms may be sung; and sung most cunningly; and with diverse artificial instruments of music; and sung with sundry, several and most excellent notes.

For proof that the Holy Ghost would have them sung, he calls diverse psalms by the name of the *Hebrew* word שִׁיר, *Shir*, which is a song, and such a song as ought of necessity to be sung: as Psalm 7 and 120. That he would have them sung most cunningly, he directs many psalms especially, and by name *Lammazzeath*: that is, to the skilful chanter, or to him that excels in music, as Psalm 4, &c. That he would have them sung with diverse other kinds of musical instruments is expressed in the title of certain psalms, as Psalm 6 and 8. That he would have them sung with sundry, several and most excellent notes and variety of tunes, in diverse parts and places of sundry psalms: it is to be seen by the word סֵלָה, *Selah*, set down in sundry places, as Psalm 77 &c, which *Hebrew* word properly signifies ‘now change your voice, and that cunningly; now lift up your voice, and that with another excellent tune, that the people may be more attentive,’ and the word *Selah* is never written but where the matter of the psalm is most notable.



A REFUTATION OF OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE LAWFUL USE OF MUSIC IN THE CHURCH

CHAPTER 12

IN this last part of my treatise, I might seem to undertake a matter far above my ability, were it not that either their objections were too weak to prove their purposes; or those which are of any force, mistaken and grounded upon false principles. Nevertheless, that I may proceed orderly therein, it shall not be amiss to see what diversity of opinions there are concerning this matter. Some dislike not all kinds of singing, but that which is sung by the ministers alone, or by singing men deputed for that purpose; and these are they who cannot away with exquisite and cunning music, nor with the sound of instruments in the church, but, measuring all things by their own humours, think plainsong far more meet for God's congregation. Others there be that disallow all kind of music in the church. And we do not only permit singing, contrary to the latter, but also cunning and exquisite singing, clean repugnant to the former. My meaning is therefore first to see what reasonable answer may be made, as well to those who are against exquisite music (which, by yielding something, make a great show of probability) as those who wholly banish all music out of divine service, who therefore cannot avoid suspicion of stomach and malice, because they be so earnest against that which was never hitherto condemned.

To the former, who dislike not all kinds of music, but that which is sung by certain men ordained to that purpose, alleging that they would have all the people sing together, I answer that if all could, it were not amiss; but because it cannot be, I see no reason why the people may not take as good edification by the singing which other sing, as by the prayers that others read, especially if they so sing as they may be understood.

Yea, but (they say) this cunning and exquisite music, wherein the bass and contratenors and other parts sing with full choir, with often repetition of the same thing, is so confuse and indistinct that the very ditty cannot be understood, much less any edification taken. If any-

thing will satisfy these men, methinks this which I shall say may be instead of a reasonable answer. That the singing of so many parts together causes the ditty not to be understood: it is *vitium hominum non artis* — the fault is in them that so sing, and not in the art. For no doubt but a full choir of good and distinct voices may be as well understood as two or three pronouncing the same thing. Again, because indeed this obscurity can hardly be avoided, it has been well provided for in the church that nothing should so be sung but such things as are very familiar and known unto the people. And whereas they object the often repetition of the same thing as a fault, methinks they blame that which, by their own reason, should rather be commended. For if some things by the number of the voices be hardly understood at once, then surely the 2, 3, or 4th repetition is a means to cause it to be understood the better; neither if it be understood at the first is it therefore a fault to repeat it again, because the often ingeminating and sounding the same in our ears causes the thing repeated to take deep root, and work effectually in our hearts.

The third reason is because exquisite music makes us more intensive to the note than to the matter. And to this purpose they allege the place of Saint *Augustine*, where he says that he did sin mortally when he was more moved with the melody than with the ditty that was song. Verily, I do in no way allow that men at the reading of the chapters should walk in the body of the church, and when the organs play, give attentive heed thereunto, as if the whole and better part of the service did consist in music: for this is a wonderful abuse. But if they learn to lay the fault where the fault is, they might easily learn to satisfy themselves herein. For it is not the fault of music if you be too much therewith allured, but your own. And Saint *Augustine* in that place does not condemn music for the sweet sound thereof, but his own frail and weak nature, which took occasion of offence at that which in itself was good. Again, as it carries away some men with pleasure of the note, so for a recompense, it causes others to give greater heed and attention to the matter: even as the sound of the trumpet in the war is to the dastardly and white-livered knight, a cause of fear; but to the valiant soldier, a heartening and encouragement.

Wherefore, for a final answer unto these, methinks a man out of their own words may gather this good collection against them. Singing in the church they allow, whereupon I infer if the worst sort of singing be allowable in the church, then the better much rather. But artificial singing is far better than their plain music, for it strikes deeper, and works more effectually in the hearers, therefore much rather to be allowed in God's congregation.

Touching the second opinion, which excludes music wholly, without exception, I mean severally to make answer to such of their objections as seem to be of greatest importance. The first objection bears great show of truth, affirming (which we can by no means deny) that God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth, and requires not the outward actions and service of the body, but the inward motions of the heart, the which as it is true indeed, so it is also declared by the testimony of *Gregory*, who in *dist 92 in sancta Romana*, complains that it falls oftentimes,

ut dum blanda vox quaritur, congrua vita negligatur, & cantor minister Deum moribus stimulet, cum populum vocibus delectat: that while a pleasant voice is sought, honest life is neglected, and that the singing man oftentimes offends God, when he endeavours to delight the people with his voice.

adding in the same place those common verses:

*Non vox sed votum, non cordula musica sed cor,
Non clamans sed amans cantat in aure Dei.*

And hereupon the fathers in the fourth Council of *Carthage* decreed that when the chanter of any place was chosen, he should say:

vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas, & quod corde credis, opere comprobas: see that you believe with your heart that which you sing with your mouth, and that you perform in work that which you believe with your heart.

All which testimonies as they seem to make against us, so carry the greater force with them, because they are grounded upon a truth.

But the same answer afore to that objection out of *Saint Augustine* may satisfy these. For what if many men be more carried away with

the pleasure of the sound than with the thing and ditty: is this music's fault? Or is it not rather the fault of them which, by that which is good, take occasion of evil? If some intemperate person takes surfeit of pleasant and wholesome meats, are the meats to be reprehended, or the man? And although God be a spirit, and well to be worshipped in spirit and truth, yet forasmuch as he made both the soul and the body, it is as well that the faculties of the one as the parts of the other are to be referred to his glory. For what kind of collection is this? God is to be worshipped in spirit and truth, therefore we must not endeavour to please and worship him with our outward and bodily actions. Or, the inward service of the heart is accepted, therefore the outward service of body may be omitted? When we therefore commend the outward service of God, we do not deny the inward.

But we require that they which do sing, sing with the tongue and with the understanding also. Now they which so sing that the melody of words, by the singing of voices, may agree with the harmony of the spirit, be those which sing with the tongue and understanding also, and profit not only themselves but others, as before was declared out of *Athanasius*. Secondly, they urge us that because prick-song is not verbally nor literally commanded in the Gospel, it may not therefore be allowed. Whereunto I answer that, being not ceremonial, it is sufficient for any Christian, being clear and free from the *Manichees'* opinion that the Old Testament has approved it. Again, granted that it has no commandment in either the Old or New Testament, is it therefore without all advice and consideration to be rejected? Verily, many things have been very acceptable unto God which have had no express commandment in the Scriptures: as the gold, incense and myrrh, which the three wise men offered unto Christ; the precious box of spikenard, wherewith *Mary Magdalene* anointed his blessed feet; the costly odours wherewith *Nicodemus* did embalm his glorious body; the boughs of trees and garments which the people broke down and spread in the way, as he went to *Jerusalem*; and infinite other more, which were done without any warrant of holy Scripture. Wherefore as in the building of the temple, the service of them which brought lime and mortar and other base things;

and as in the beautifying of Christ's body: these things of small value were acceptable unto the Lord, so no doubt but the songs of the faithful may be as a sweet odour of incense unto him, and most grateful in his sight.

Thirdly, this use of singing is a ceremonial thing, and if there were no other, yet this were a sufficient cause why it should be excluded out of the church. I answer that music was no ceremony: for every ceremony in the time of the Law was a type and figure of something, the substance whereof coming in place, the ceremony was abolished. Now because we find nothing in the Gospel which answers to music in a certain agreement of similitude unto its type and figure, we may therefore safely pronounce that music was neither ceremonial in the time of the Law, nor to be abolished out of the church in the time of the Gospel. Many other reasons of final moment may be brought against us, but seeing so little force in the stronger, I thought it an unnecessary point to trouble my paper and the reader with the weaker.

And surely I do not dislike the good counsel and endeavour of any well-disposed man that is earnest in correcting abuses and in separating that which is good from that which is evil. But methinks it is a desperate remedy for some few abuses and inconveniences, which might be better amended, to root out all music from the church. Much like the counsel of *Fabritius* and other senators of *Rome*, which, by abolishing gold and silver, or at leastwise the use thereof, thought to take away covetousness and ambition; or the device of *Lycugus* among the *Lacedaemonians*, who, for hatred of drunkenness, caused all the vines in the country to be digged up by the roots. Now as these men, being otherwise wise and politic, as diverse others their actions testify, took not herein a right course of reforming those faults which were amiss; because they might better have taken order against covetousness and drunkenness, by permitting a lawful and decent use of money and wine than by quite abolishing of them. Even so, those which reprehend certain things in church music may better reform them in permitting a moderate use than in plucking it up by the roots. For as a man may be covetous without money, and

drunken without wine, so a frail and weak mind will find other provocations to call it from the ditty, though music should be wanting.

Wherefore for conclusion of this matter, as I easily grant to Master *Bullinger* that this is no good argument: the East churches use singing; the West churches use not singing: therefore the West churches are no churches. So I hope Master *Bullinger*, and any other good man whatsoever, will grant as much to me, that this is as false a collection: the West churches use not singing; the East churches do use singing, therefore the East Church is no Church. Seeing then that there is no precept in the New Testament whereby church music is either commanded or forbidden, as it is apparent that, as those churches which used it not cannot be compelled to receive; so those churches which do use it can by no place of the Scripture therefore be condemned. And this is the resolution of all our late divines: *Bucer, Bullinger, Calvin* and the rest, which with one consent agree that it is an indifferent thing, having no hurt, but rather much good in it, if it be discreetly and soberly used. Why then is it not as lawful for me to incline to this part: that it should or may be used, as it is for them to incline to the contrary, that it should not or may not in any way be used, considering that neither my singing makes me less the servant of God, nor their not singing makes them the more holy and devout men?

Lastly therefore, it remains that, having answered the chiefest arguments that they make against us, I now bring certain reasons for my position. First therefore, music is rather to be used in the church than not, because it is the excellent invention and gift of God himself, ordained to the honour and glory of God. Neither does their cavil avail anything at all, which say that if this reason were good, then all the liberal sciences, and the knowledge of the civil law, and all good and honest arts might by as good reason be used in the church, because they are also the invention and good gift of God. For if they knew how to refer every of these thing to their neat and proper end, they might perceive that as the end of those other sciences is first to know and then to serve to the glory of God, so the vent and only end of music is immediately the setting forth of God's praise and honour.

A second reason of my affection is because music, with concinnity of her sound and the excellency of harmony, does as it were knit and join us unto God, putting us in mind of our maker and that mutual unity and consent which ought to be, as of voices so of minds, in God's church and congregations. Thirdly, if there were no other reason, yet this were of sufficient force to persuade the lawful use of music: in that as a pleasant bait, it both allures men into the church which otherwise would not come, and causes them which are there to continue till the divine service be ended. Fourthly, men do more willingly hear and more firmly carry away with them those things which they hear sung than those which they hear barely spoken and pronounced.

Lastly, the use thereof is ancient and of great continuance, for it was used in *Trajan's* time as I before showed, and it was translated from the religions of the heathen, which in hymns and songs yielded all reverence and honour to their gods of wood and stone. And surely, if there be any one thing in man more excellent than another, that is music; and therefore good reason that he which has made us and the world, and preserves both us and it, should be worshipped and honoured with that thing which is most excellent in man, dividing as it were his soul from his body, and lifting up his cogitations above himself. Such was the zeal and fervency of the kingly prophet *David*, that he was therefore called by the title not only of *The Anointed of the God of Jacob*, but also of *The Sweet Singer of Israel*. And Saint *Augustine* says of himself that the voices of the singers did pierce into his ears,

and God's truth distilled into his heart, and that thence
was inflamed in him an affection of godliness
which caused tears to issue from him,
so that he felt himself to be
in a most blessed
and happy
state.

GLOSSARY

I have not included any footnotes in the book for two reasons: firstly, because they would interrupt those for whom the subject matter presented no difficulty; secondly, because they would tire those for whom the subject matter was new. It is too great a conceit for me to guess what the reader may or may not know; and to make reference to the numerous mythological and historical characters in the book would produce another book itself. However, I have placed here a list of words, used in the text, that are either particularly strange or archaic in themselves, or else common words used in an uncommon sense. A few of the words have defied a thorough search of the full *Oxford English Dictionary*, and consequently the definition is nothing more than a guess based upon the etymology and context.

abroach, to set: (v.) to publish or diffuse

affiance: (n.) trust, reliance

ague: (n.) periodic fever with shivering

apothegm, apophthegm: (n.) terse saying, maxim

artificer: (n.) craftsman

artificial: (adj.) made with skill

attemper: (v.) to mix in due proportion, moderate

auditors: (n.) audience, listeners

authorizement: (n.) authorization

beetle: (n.) a heavy mallet for driving pegs, poles

besteems: (v.) to be most suitable; to think fit

beuray: (v.) to make manifest, clear, evident; to reveal

brook: (v.) to put up with, bear

carbuncle: (n.) fiery-red precious stone

carpet knights: (n.) A derogatory term for those did not 'win their spurs' on the battlefield, but were knighted kneeling on carpet at court. Also known as 'knights of carpetry'.

carter: (n.) an uncultured or foolish man

cater: (n.) a servant who provides for the household

cavil: (v.) to make trifling objection; to find fault without sufficient reason

- choler*: (n.) anger, irascibility
cogitation: (n.) a thought; the act of thinking
colewort: (n.) a cabbage
concent: (n.) harmony
concinnity: (n.) studied beauty, elegance
condign: (adj.) deserved, adequate, suitable
consist: (v.) to come into existence
contumelious: (adj.) abusive, insolent
counsel: (n.) advice
currycomb: (n.) a comb for combing horses
discommon: (v.) to exclude
diverse: (adj) different
falchion: (n.) broad, curved sword
foot: (n.) the smallest unit of rhythm in speech
fowler: (n.) one who hunts fowl
froward: (adj.) perverse, ungovernable, wayward
gin: (n.) trap, snare
handsel: (n.) the first use, a trial, experiment or proof
hart: (n.) deer
hault: (adj.) high
hempknocker: (n.) (presumably) one who knocks poles in the ground
for hemp plants to climb up.
houseroom: (n.) rented accommodation
husbandry: (n.) farming
illation: (n.) the act of reasoning, deduction, concluding
illecebrous: (adj.) alluring, enticing, attractive
ingeminate: (v.) to repeat, reiterate
ingenerate: (v.) to produce within, engender
inveigh: (v.) to speak violently against
list: (v.) to like, to be pleased
methinks: (v.) it seems to me; I think that
milce: (n.) clemency, mercy, forgiveness; (However, here it seems to
be used as its antithesis.)
minstrelsy: (n.) the type of music performed by a minstrel
niggardly: (adj.) miserly

- oblectation*: (n.) the state of being pleased
quick: (n.) centre
rearmouse: (n.) a species of bat
recordation: (n.) remembrance, commemoration
rehearse: (n.) repeat, reiterate
rustines: (n.) practices?
sectary: (n.) member of a sect
sectator: (n.) a disciple, follower
seen: (adj.) knowledgeable
skinker: (n.) waiter, or host who provides drink
sod: (adj.) boiled
somnities: (n.) night-time activities?
speek: (v.) to prosper, succeed
stomach: (n.) pride, stubbornness; anger, spite, or irritation
swealing: (ger.) singeing, scorching
unsellant: (adj.) miserable, wretched
veterest: (adj.) oldest, most ancient
viands: (n.) food, provisions
waits: (n.) carol singers, or a wind instrument ensemble, paid by a city to sing or play in the streets.
wait: (n.) an [unspecified] wind instrument, used by *waits*.
wont: (adj.) accustomed to
woolhurdle: (n.) wooden frame or gate used in wool-processing

