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"Forms of Joy and Art": Donne, David, and the Power of Music

Anne Lake Prescott

> . . . The Organist is hee
> Who hath tun'd God and Man, the Organ we:
> The songs are these, which heavens high holy Muse
> Whisper'd to *David, David* to the Jewes:
> And *Davids* Successors, in holy zeale,
> In formes of joy and art doe re-reveale. . . .
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> — John Donne, "Upon the translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sydney, and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister"

> . . . [T]hey are the Pastoralls,
> And heavenly Sonnets, which that Shepheard fram'd,
> Who with his *Harpe*, the wicked Spirit tam'd
> That rag'd in *Saul*, and sung his *Hymnes* divine
> Among the pleasant groues of *Palestine*.
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> — George Wither, "A Soliloquy," in *A Preparation to the Psalter*[1]

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[1]John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), p. 34, ll. 29-34; George Wither, *A Preparation to the Psalter* (London, 1619), fol. 142 (also in the Spenser Society series, no. 37 [1884; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967], p. 21). The Sidney psalter has been edited with an introduction by J. C. A. Rathmell, *The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1963) and by Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan, *The Works of Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), vol. II. Mary became sole translator beginning with Psalm 44.

In 1955, as the Cold War deepened, there appeared *Tarantula*, a movie with marginally plausible special effects about a giant spider that terrorizes the countryside until the U.S. Air Force drops napalm on it. Renaissance observers might have advised the American authorities to try music instead: everyone knows, they would point out, that certain melodies and rhythms cure tarantula bites and so might discourage tarantulas themselves.[2] Music affects the spirits, too: the animating spirit in the blood, the rational spirit in the mind, the Holy Spirit in the soul (God willing), and, if one is King Saul listening to young David, a demonic spirit. Music wed to words has yet more impact, especially in a culture that thinks of poetry as "song," and when the words are metrical and their author is God speaking through his beloved David, the result is potent indeed.[3] Over the centuries so many have spoken of the psalms as godly alternatives to secular song or pagan fiction that it is easy to forget the degree to which the Psalter in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe shimmered with the glamour of power, inspiration, and, in some minds, something close to magic, precisely because it was so connected in people's minds to the energies that govern the natural world.[4] Translating

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[2]On tarantulas see Henry E. Sigerist, "The Story of Tarantism," in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (New York: Wolff, 1948), pp. 96-116, with relevant music; the section on tarantism in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) has impressive pictures.

[3]It was long believed that the psalms have meter—probably, said Jerome, hexameter, trimeter, and tetrameter. His statements are found, e.g., in the excerpts prefacing Archbishop Matthew Parker's *The whole Psalter translated into English Metre* (London, n.d. [?1567], sig. F4-F4v), a moderately fancy if inelegant anonymous translation with sometimes complex rhyme schemes that is dedicated to Henry Sidney; an appendix gives a set of modal melodies harmonized by Thomas Tallis. See also Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962; first pub. 1940), pp. 41-52. For parallels between patristic commentary on the Psalter and Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (1589), see my "King David as a 'Right Poet': Sidney and the Psalmist," *ELR* 19 (1989): 131-51.

[4]On music's relation to the natural realm see Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Tis Nature's Voice': Music, Natural Philosophy, and the Hidden World in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the*

the psalms is a reverent act—but it is also a way to vibrate with the originating force that crafted the world according to number, weight, and measure. There is a cultural place in early modern Europe where psalmody meets the occult.

For psalms in English to keep their ancient power it would help to have them translated well, which is what John Donne—and many since—thought that Philip and Mary Sidney had accomplished. Donne's celebration of the pair in "Upon the translation of the Psalmes" is as well known to scholars as its motives are obscure. Brother and sister, a new Moses and Miriam (46), are "Two, by their bloods, and by [God's] Spirit one" (14). ("Blood" and "spirit" may carry medical and musicological overtones.) God has made them an organ of which he Himself is the "Harmony," so that the pair, a "cloven tongue" or "cleft . . . spirit" (with a musical pun on "clef") recalling the Paraclete, can "tell us *why*, and teach us *how* to sing" (8-22). We cannot hear the music of the spheres, but we can hear that of the Sidneys. Alas that the psalms are "So well attyr'd abroad, so ill at home, / So well in Chambers, in thy Church so ill" (38-39)—an aside probably deploring the Anglican use of the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter."[5] Donne seems to say not that the English lack good

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Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century, ed. Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 30-67. Music, says Austern, was located "between the vibrant world of nature and the celestial choir" (31). Music could, of course, attempt to imitate that vibrant natural world. She cites (57) Elway Bevin's *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (London, 1631) on why one of his canons has four subcanons: the world itself has four elements, each with a set of living creatures inhabiting it (sig. G3).

[5]Gardner glosses "abroad" as "in chambers" and "at home" as "in Churches" (ed., *Divine Poems*, p. 103 n.), but "abroad" must refer to Dutch and French versions (the most famous being the French translation by Clément Marot and Theodore Beza, begun as courtly verse but transformed into the Huguenot Psalter). Donne would also have known Latin translations by Beza and George Buchanan, French ones by such Catholics as J.-A. de Baïf and Philippe Desportes, and perhaps Italian ones by François Perrot de Méssières, a friend of Philip Sidney. On Dutch, see Richard Todd, "'So Well Attyr'd Abroad': A Background to the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter and Its Implications for the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric," *TSLL* 29 (1987): 74-93. On Italian, see (with caution) Martha W. England, "Sir Philip Sidney and François Perrot de Méssières: Their Versions of the Psalms," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*

translations (the Sidneys had "well attyr'd" the psalms), but that these remain private.[6] Must the Church sing so hoarsely to its "Spouse and King"? The poem concludes by anticipating the day when "we come th'Extemporall song to sing, / (Learn'd the first hower, that we see the King, / Who hath translated those translators)," having been "tun[ed]" by the Sidneys and ready to "fall in with them, and sing our part" (43, 51-56). Note the dazzling pun on "Extemporall"—both not by rote and freed from time.

Is this a self-serving attempt from just after 1621 (when Mary was "translated," as Donne puts it) to please Mary's son, the Earl of Pembroke?[7] A mere search for patronage? Donne praises David's foreign imitators for having sung "sweetly and sincerely" (35), but what of his own sincerity, admittedly a problematic concept? Raymond-Jean Frontain has vigorously defended the complexity of Donne's poem,

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75 (1971): 30-54, 101-10. Baïf's quantitative measures (together with his further version of the psalter in ordinary rhymed measures) served hopes for Christian unity in the troubled 1570s and 1580s in France, hopes that might seem poignant to the Donne who wrote "Satyre III." For the thinking behind such hopes see Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1988; first pub. 1947), pp. 62-73; Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au xvi^e siècle* (Paris: Corti, 1969), *passim*; and Ronald P. Bermingham, "Les *Psaumes* mesurés de Jean-Antoine de Baïf: la poétique païenne au service de la Contre-Réforme," *Ren & Ref* 11 (1987): 41-57.

[6]Roland Greene, "Sir Philip Sidney's *Psalms*, the Sixteenth-Century Psalter, and the Nature of Lyric," *SEL* 30 (1990): 19-40, finds the Sidney Psalter unfit for ritual use because it is private and lyrical and its varied rhymes and metrical patterns would be difficult for congregational singing. Yet the Sidneys' chief model, the Marot-Beza version, served congregations well. Donne's friend Sir Robert Ker, writing to his son from Paris in 1624, says that the French and Dutch tunes, to which he writes his own versions, are better than the English (I assume he means Sternhold-Hopkins); see his *Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1875), II, 487-506. For a more sympathetic opinion of the oft-denigrated Sternhold and Hopkins see Hannibal Hamlin's persuasive argument in his *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 1.

[7]On the date see *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958; first pub. 1912), II, 242; Grierson suggests that Donne's poem may have been written for his friend Susan, Countess of Montgomery, Pembroke's sister-in law, who admired his sermons.

citing among other matters the tradition of reading David's psalms in terms of cosmic harmony and the Psalter's therapeutic effects both on the musical microcosm that constitutes an individual human being and on that other musical chorus, Christ's church.[8] A complexity Frontain omits is the allusion to Miriam: a prophetess, she overreached in challenging her brother Moses, and despite the latter's plea for mercy to a very angry God was divinely punished with a bad if temporary case of leprosy (see Numbers 12). As famous and inspired siblings, Moses and Miriam make moving parallels to Philip and Mary; but as an interfering and uppity woman who suffered for her impudence—or so says a book of the bible widely thought to have been written by the very brother whom she offended—Miriam is an uncertain model for sisters of talented men.

In this essay I expand on Frontain's discussion and on a related article by Jill Baumgaertner.[9] My expansion has three parts. First, I stress Frontain's point that David had close associations with Orpheus and other ancient musicians whose harmonies produced astonishing "effects." Second, according to a number of authorities, these effects can be both spiritual and physical, something that also deserves emphasis because of our recurrent tendency, even when we know better, to forget the degree to which in Donne's day any mind/body dualism was more a religious exhortation to think skyward than a philosophical or medical theory. Finally, the most famous example of David's musical prowess was his ability to harp away King Saul's demonic melancholy (1 Samuel 16). When the fit was upon him, Saul saw David with a darkened eye, even hurling a javelin at him (1 Samuel 18) before renewed harping took effect. Each topic is relevant to Donne and helps further to explain his praise of the Sidneys. His appreciation of music shows in this very poem; his thoughts on the body's workings emerge memorably when he argues in "The Exstasie" that spirits derived from blood link the senses to the mind, spirit, and soul; and Donne would have had reason to reflect with depth and wryness on the poet David's power over a king he cured, served, fled, opposed, and replaced. I doubt that Donne had fantasies of

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[8]Frontain, "Translating Heavenwards: 'Upon the Translation of the Psalmes' and John Donne's Poetics of Praise," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 22 (1999): 103-26.

[9]Jill Baumgaertner, "'Harmony' in Donne's 'La Corona' and 'Upon the Translation of the Psalmes,'" *JDJ* 3 (1984): 142-56.

regicide or reign, yet the pattern of David's stormy relationship with his tyrannical persecutor and father-in-law has much worth pondering by any poet working for royalty.

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The story of Orpheus has drawn imaginations almost as forcefully as the poet's singing was said to have drawn trees and stones and won the (temporary) mercy of Hades. Many of those imaginations were Christian.[10] Orpheus's musical power, his descent to the underworld, and images of him surrounded by animals reminded Christians of the good shepherd and the harrower of Hell. From there it was an easy step, since David is a type of Christ and his poetry a conduit for the logos, to think of the psalmist as another Orpheus. Indeed, in some early Christian images it can be hard to tell a Davidic Orpheus from an Orphic David, and there are Byzantine paintings in which the lady who looks like Eurydice is in fact "Melodia."[11] In later centuries, too, the quasi-magical energies exerted by Orpheus and by other musicians such as Timotheus (whose music swayed Alexander's moods), Arion (saved from drowning by an appreciative dolphin), and Amphion (who made stones levitate) seemed also to emanate from David, and to do so all the more triumphantly because the psalmist was no pagan singer and his exploits no pagan fable. The psalms were particularly useful to those who wanted Christian poetry to rival the classical and who insisted that biblical poetry has all the *energeia* of those ancient poets who could move stones and

[10]And Jewish. John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 11ff., notes a third-century legend that Orpheus had studied with Moses in Egypt; he cites a Greek *Testament of Orpheus*, probably by a Hellenized Jew. See also essays in *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of a Myth*, ed. John Warden (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

[11]Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*, pp. 147-48; ch. 4 describes an allegory in which Eurydice is the lost "art of music in its most profound principles" (p. 101, quoting Remigius's early tenth-century commentary on Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis*).

beasts.[12] The psalms can propel the mind upward in rapid ecstasy, not just settle it into dutiful piety. In more recent terms, the psalms provide a rush, a high. That is why in 1579 Antoine de la Faye could write, in a poem prefacing the Latin verse paraphrases by Theodore Beza, that this other Orpheus who can join mortals to the mind of God has snatched Faye up to the heavens to walk amidst the stars; and this is why the humanist Paul Melissus, in his own liminary blurb, is rapt he knows not whither ("quò rapior?") by these Apollonian sounds that draw men to the stars.[13]

It was the *power* as well as the much-lauded sweetness of David's music that impressed commentators and poets. One source for later exclamations is a famous letter from Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (c. 295-373), to Marcellinus. Not only is it fitting to praise God elaborately, he says, but "just as harmony that unites flutes effects a single sound," so reason requires that a man should not be "discordant in himself" but rather "a stringed instrument and devoting himself completely to the Spirit may obey in all his members and emotions, and serve the will of God," for "the Lord, wishing the melody of the words to be a symbol of the spiritual harmony in a soul, has ordered that the odes be chanted tunefully, and the Psalms recited with song." So David was "well pleasing to God, and he drove away from Saul the troubled and frenzied disposition, making his soul calm." Praising God "in well-tuned cymbals and harp and ten-stringed instrument" is a

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[12]On the orphic thinking behind some psalm versions, see John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 162-76 and, more generally, Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique*; Yates, *French Academies*, especially pp. 62-69; and D.P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972). In his *After the Heavenly Tune: English Poetry and the Aspiration to Song* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2000), however, Marc Berley argues that many English Renaissance poets familiar with Platonic or Pythagorean theories nevertheless thought the inward ear too clogged by the Fall to hear cosmic harmonies.

[13]Theodore Beza, *Psalmorum Davidis . . . libri quinque* (1580), sigs. ¶5 and ¶5v.

> figure and sign of the parts of the body coming into natural concord like harp strings, and of the thoughts of the soul becoming like cymbals, and then all of these being moved and living through the grand soul and through the command of the Spirit. . . . For thus beautifully singing praises, he brings rhythm to his soul and leads it, so to speak, from disproportion to proportion, with the result that, due to its steadfast nature, it is not frightened by something, but rather imagines positive things, even possessing a full desire for the future goods.[14]

Some of what Athanasius says is in the materials printed with Archbishop Parker's metrical *Whole Psalter* in English of 1567/68 (sigs. B4v-C2v), and the anonymous *Praise of Musicke* (London, 1586), sometimes ascribed to John Case,[15] tells a story about him:

> *Athanasius* the Bishop of *Alexandria* being by the Arrians deprived of his Bishoprick, escaped out of the hands of *Sirianus*, the Captaine of that armie, who came with a band of 3000. souldiers, beside the ayd of the *Arrians* which were in the citie, as well to place *Gregorius* in that [see] as to apprehend *Athanasius*. . . . The evening grewe on, and the people watched all night, because they looked for a communion. The Captaine placed his souldiers round about the Church: the which when *Athanasius* perceived, all his care was, that for his sake the people might receive no harme. Wherefore he willed the Deacon to end his praiers, & commanded they should sing a Psalm. Now while the Psalm was singing, with sweet and pleasant concent, the whole congregation went out at one dore: all this while, the souldiers

[14]Athanasius, *The Life of Antony and The Letter to Marcellinus*, tr. Robert C. Gregg (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), pp. 123-26.

[15]For the debate over Case's authorship of *The Praise of Musicke* see the entries on him by J.W. Binns in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, 232, and by Edward A. Malone in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Edward Doughtie, e.g., believes that Case is "probably" the author; see his *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986), p. 43.

> were silent, and made no uprore: but *Athanasius* in the midst of the throng scaped the rage of his enemies without harm."
> (sigs. G1-G1v)

The silence of the soldiers, pacified—or stunned—by the sound of psalms shows that music has "effects" and that they err who frown on singing in church.[16]

The *Praise of Musicke* cites many other examples, often from ancient sources, of the "affinity and congruity which Musicke hath with the nature of living creatures," the "effectes and operation, which it worketh in the hearers" (C3), and its "divine influence into the soules of men, whereby our cogitations and thoughts . . . are brought into a celestiall acknowledging of their natures" (C4v). Such music resonates (in a "recordation") with what the Platonists and Pythagoreans think is the "celestial Musicke" whereof souls were partakers in heaven, so that some say the soul is "nothing else, but a *Musical motion*" (C5). Even "naturall experience & examples" show that all animate beings love music: "the child is stilled, and allured to sleepe, with the sweete songes and lullabyes of his Nurse" (C5v), rustics are "inflamed, with the rural songs of *Phillis & Amaryllis*," laborers "whistle" while they work, and travelers "solace themselves with songs" (C6-C6v). The right kind of music can even encourage women to behave themselves: Agamemnon left behind him a musician skilled in the Doric mode to keep Clytemnestra chaste. As long as the musician lived, the queen stayed faithful, "but when *Aegistus*, for that purpose had murthered him, shee gave over her selfe to satisfie his

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[16]To defend the legitimacy of music and congregational singing is the agenda of much praise of David. See, e.g., Archibald Simson's *Sacred Septenarie* (1623), which cites David to show that "Musicke hath ever been lawfull, and esteemed among the Saints, & of great vertue to stir up the affections of men" (sig. B5; cf. the arguments on Dd7ff. that contrast godly singing in English churches with both "bawdie ballads" and papist Latin). The Church of England certainly allowed music in church, but many were aware that the issue was controversial. For sometimes dubious discussions of the matter citing this or that Church father or other authority with a variety of opinions see, e.g., Thomas Becon, *The Reliques of Rome* (London: 1563, sigs. R4v-S1), who cites Cornelius Agrippa on Athanasius' rejection of church singing and Erasmus' claim that "in the tyme of Paule there was no singing, but saying onely," and John Marbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* under "Musicke" (London: 1581, sigs. 3B4v-3B5v).

adulterous appetite." The system worked better with Penelope, to whom a musician played for twenty years and "wrought so effectually" that "she is registred as a most perfect & absolute example of chastitie" (D5).[17]

Why is music so effective? One reason, says the author, is the accord between the proportions of the soul and those of music: the diatessaron, the diapente, and the diapason (C7)—i.e., the fourth, fifth, and octave.[18] We may conclude, then, that the "agreement which musicke hath with our nature, is the cause of the delectation thereof: So the pleasure and delectation is also the cause of those effectes which it worketh as well in the minds as bodies of them that heare it" (D3v). Hence Nature can say, "When I made the firmament I established it by concent. When I made the elementes I qualified them with proportions. When I made man I gave him a soule either harmony it selfe, or at least harmonicall." She adds, "If I made any one which cannot brook or fancy Musicke, surely I erred and made a monster" (E5-E5v). As the author of *Praise* winds up his arguments he returns to the Psalter: "Such was the zeale and fervencie of the kingly prophet *David*, that he was therfore called by the title not only of the *annointed of the God* of Jacob, but also of *the sweet singer of Israell*" (K4v).

I linger over this engaging polemic on music's behalf because it is such a compendium of commonplaces. What it says is said often, if sometimes with fresh touches. For example, according to Guillaume Du Bartas's "Babylone" in his *Seconde Sepmaine*, the second "pillar" of the Hebrew language is David,

> Whose touch right cunningly
> Combined with his voice draws downe sweet harmony
> From th'organized heav'ns, on Harpe that still shall sound
> As long as daies great star shall ore our heads go round.
> Nay farther who can tell, after these heav'nly Lights
> Their Measures ended have, but that the blessed Sprights,
> Christs holy champions, at sound of his accords
> Shall daunce in honor of th'Almightie Lord of Lords:

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[17]In *The Eternall Truth of Scriptures* (London, 1613/14), Thomas Jackson says something similar about Clytemnestra: she "continued chaste and loyall untill Aegistus got the Poet conveyed into an uninhabited Island" (sig. K4).

[18]What matters are the *ratios*: the diatessaron is 4:3, the diapente is 3:2, and the diapason or octave 2:1.

> When many legions of Angels, winged ghosts,
> Shall sing holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts.
> (tr. William L'isle [*Babilon*, 1595], sig. H2)

Du Bartas envisions a heavenly scene not unlike the one Donne anticipates for the Sidneys, or for that matter hopes for himself when he writes in his "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse" that "I shall be made thy Musique" (3)[19]

Others had already elaborated on the biblical assumption that heaven is musical, of course, perhaps most vividly in the apocryphal *Revelation of Paul* (c. 390): David stands near the heavenly altar, face shining like the sun; he holds a psaltery and harp and sings "the Alleluia delightfully, and his voice filled all the city," so that "all with one concent accompanied him" and "the city was shaken by their shouting." An angel explains that "this is the prophet David; this is the heavenly Jerusalem. When, therefore, Christ shall come in His second appearing, David himself goes forth with all the saints." He cannot offer sacrifice (I take this to mean he cannot perform a mass, not being a Christian priest), but "it is necessary for David to sing the Alleluia."[20] Du Bartas's description, though, also implies technical reasons for the psalmist's powers: David marries words to music and his clever touch draws upon and resonates with the

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[19] *Divine Poems*, ed. Gardner, p. 50. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, tr. G.W. Butterworth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919), ch. 1, p. 13, which calls our bodies the instruments on which Jesus plays to the Father not Orpheus's pagan music but David's. On Du Bartas see also Noel Heather, "Curing Man and the Cosmos: The Power of Music in French Renaissance Poetry," in *Music as Medicine*, ed. Horden, pp. 195-212.

[20] *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 20 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999; first pub. 1886), VIII, 578. I thank Dr. Lydia K. Lake for the reference. Cf. John Skelton's "Replycacion": "For Davyd, our poete, harped so meloudiously / Of our savyour Christ in his decacorde psautry, / That at his resurrection he harped out of hell / Old patriarkes and prophetes in heven with him to dwell"; ll. 339-42, in *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 383. A "decacorde psautry" is a ten-stringed psaltery, the instrument that many thought David used and that was contrasted to the more secular lute or pipe.

harmony made by the *organized* Heavens—the mathematically arranged spheres that encircle and affect the human microcosm.

Hell must be terrifyingly *un*organized, for according to Samuel Rowley it is unmusical. In a scene from his *When You See Me You Know Me* (1605) a composer argues that "Musicke is fit for kings" and that "Musicke is heavenly, for in heaven is musicke." He cites the evidence:

> The kingly prophet sang before the arke,
> And with his musicke charm'd the heart of Saul:
> And if the poet fail us not, my lord,
> The dulcet tongue of musicke made the stones
> To move, irrationall beasts and birds to dance.
> And last the trumpets' musicke shall awake the dead,
> And clothe their naked bones in coates of flesh,
> T'appeare in that high house of parliament,
> When those that gnash their teeth at musicke's sound,
> Shall make that place where musicke nere was found.[21]

So much for untuned souls. Musical souls will appear in that well-organized place, God's "parliament," while music's critics will not just inhabit hell but "make" it. The denigration of joyless teeth-gnashers and the celebration of melodious stone-movers and king-charmers has an agenda: those who detest music and doubtless want it forbidden in church are very likely the same grouches who want the stage shut down.[22] If praising Orpheus is rhetorically risky in this circumstance, praising David is clever. Godly militants could not deny the potency of his songs.

Singing psalms is thus good practice for heaven. Or so says Richard Chapman in *Hallelu-jah: or, king Davids shrill trumpet* (London, 1635), a discussion of Psalm 117. Chapman sounds a moral note, yet his prose jingles with such alliterations as the "Bacchanalians of Belshazzer" (sig. C2) or God's esteeming "caitiffes before Kings, Lazarus before Lords" (sig. I3v), and he evidently enjoyed sounds. His praise of David exploits

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[21]Quoted by Boyd, *Elizabethan Music*, p. 301.

[22]The author of the *Praise of Musicke* says dryly, "I dare not speake of dauncing or theatrall [sic] spectacles, least I pull whole swarmes of enimies upon me" (E8). Simson, *Sacred Septenarie*, sig. B5v, remarks darkly that in Hell there will be music: "there shall be sung that blacke Basse, the shouts of wicked men, who shall be forced to crie, *the Lord is just in all his judgements.*"

the psalmist's musicality. Take care, he says, to be "like the strings of a Davidicall Harpe in tune" (sig. I4). Learn "to tune thy voyce here on earth, that thou mayst have a place among the Psalmodicall quier of Heaven, acquaint thy heart with spirituall mirth, sing Davids Psalmes, that thou mayest have Davids spirit" (sig. Dd1).

If Chapman's "tuned" singers have a model and analogue in the "organized" heavens, so does the state. In a sermon on Psalm 75.3 preached before Elizabeth at Greenwich on 11 March 1589, Lancelot Andrewes says that Satan breathes infection into us but that David's "holy and heavenly use of his Harpe" does "by his tunes of Musicke, teach men how to set themselves in tune," how "to tune their households," and "how to preserve harmony . . . [in] a Commonwealth."[23] This is no idle conceit. The widespread tendency to read the tale of rocks and trees moving toward Orpheus as signifying music's impact on the blockish, or the tale of Arion riding a dolphin through the waves as music's soothing a fluctuating populace, is not just a desire to rationalize myth. It expresses a hope that music can pacify a kingdom harsh with discord. Although David's songs served some as battle hymns, others thought that singing them might reconcile religious enemies.[24]

For a Christian to translate psalms is to serve that world and to please God, but it also allows the translator to imagine aligning his or her own forces with cosmic energies. It is paradigmatic of such a wish that the sixteenth-century French poet Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie looked into his name and saw a Greek anagram that reads, in translation, "May Holy

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[23]Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons,* 3rd ed. (1635), sigs. Z6-Z6v; the psalm verse (75.3) reads, "The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved: I bear up the pillars of it" (Authorized Version, 1611).

[24]In Balthazar de Beaujoyeulx's *Balet comique de la Royne* (Paris, 1581), some Latin under a picture of Arion on his dolphin reads the image as prudence conquering the wavering mob; see the edition by Margaret M. McGowan (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), sig. R2v. Arion, "that excellent and famouz Muzicien," rode a 24-foot long dolphin at the 1575 entertainment for Elizabeth at Kenilworth, perhaps with a similar suggestion of social harmony; see Robert Laneham, *A Letter*, ed. Roger Kuin (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 57. In his *Exposition vpon the prophet Jonah* (London, 1600), sigs. Y1v-Y6v, Bishop George Abbot, who does know about music's effects on animals, explains at length why he does not believe a word of this legend, which he reads as a dark pagan distortion of the Jonah story.

David sprout forth as One orphically."[25] Anagrams have a peculiar relation to identity in any case, but it must be particularly wonderful to find lurking in one's very name not just a pun ("When thou hast done, thou hast not done. . . . Thou hast done"),[26] but two musicians capable of producing effects. Le Fèvre in some sense *is* David-Orpheus. Anybody who translates the psalms is joining or integrating David's voice, but Le Fèvre's name-magic indicates, I think, the not-so-secret longing of many poets. And musicians: Claude Goudimel, who set some Geneva psalms, hoped a celestial fury would help him follow the "cygne Royal de Judée" whose voice attracted "eared forests" ("forets aureillées"), halted flowing water, and softened God's wrath.[27]

Exclamations over Orphic effects, that is, served many a defense of music that must have had, in its inner recesses, the deeper aim of validating pleasure and desire. After all, music can indeed affect the spirits, help shape the mind, and in its power to produce what we would call endorphins can do so for ill as well as good. Small wonder that so many have wanted—and want—to control it. The rhetorical advantage of including David in celebrations of music that may, consciously or not, double as celebrations of *Eros* in his fullest significance, is clear: one may scoff at pagan fables, frown at the tavern music accompanying what a contemporary moralist wittily called "tobachanales," fuss over what a lute-teacher might hum to one's daughter, or reject the aural stimulants with which Catholics distract worshippers from the word.[28] But would

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[25]See Walker, *Ancient Theology*, pp. 23-24. The Greek anagram may be found, e.g., at the end of Boderie's *Hymnes ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1578), sig. Nn6v. He also fancied the anagram "L'UN qui GUIDE ORFEE," which plays with "Guy" and "Lefèvre." There is much on David in his *Galliade ou de la Revolution des arts et sciences* (Paris, 1578/9), which derives "Orfee" from Hebrew meaning "Lumiere de bouche" (sig. F3v) and Bardus, the first "bard," from Hebrew for "Fils de la resonance" (V1). See also *La Galliade* (1582), ed. François Roudaut (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993).

[26]"A Hymne to God the Father," ll. 5, 11, 17 (*Divine Poems*, ed. Gardner, p. 51).

[27]*Les Cent Cinquante Pseaumes de David* (Paris, 1564), fol. A3; see Pierre Pidoux, *Le Psautier Huguenot*, 2 vols. (Basle: Baerenreiter, 1962), II, 143.

[28]For the "tobachanales," see William Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction Conjured* (1611), sig. Vv2. Fear of enjoyment is surprisingly common; even

any sane Christian condemn David for feeling a joy at God's law and word that made him move his body as well as his harpstrings? Of course not, thinks the author of the *Praise of Musicke* (ch. 9), who quotes Psalm 150.4 ("Praise him with Virginals & organs") and recalls how David's dancing before the ark drew frowns of disapproval from "his foolish wife Michol." Asks the author, "Now what are wee which laugh at the solemnities of these singers but foolish Michols?" (H2; see 2 Samuel 6, likewise cited by Donne when defending the vigorous expression of joy).[29]

Levinus Lemnius's *Sanctuarie of Salvation*, translated by H. K[inder]. and printed in 1592 by Hugh Singleton (Spenser's and Sidney's publisher) likewise has much to say on the joy of music: "Musick with her harmony, good concordance, and instruments which sound tunably, doth not only delight the eares with sweetnes of the sounds, but also by the same melodious noise peircing and passing throughout all the arteries and pipes of the body, stirreth up and quickneth the spirites both vital and animall, and dispersing the darke dimnesse and mistie dulnesse of the mind, maketh the understanding lively, cheereful and active." Pagans understood this, and "the history of David sheweth plainly, that the Hebrues also had the use and benefite of this delitesome recreation. . . . For that princely prophet was accustomed to sing holy hymnes and Psalmes to the harpe, and with his sweete melodiously sounding harpe to mitigate and assuage the furious mind of Saul, when he was vexed of the

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Athanasius carefully denies in his letter on the psalms (see note 14 above) that pleasure is the purpose of singing psalms, and centuries later the Taliban's list of forbidden pleasures apparently included music.

[29]The author, says his margin, is quoting "Rabb. Samuel in lib. De adventu Messiae sect. 24"; I have not traced the reference. Donne defends David's dancing in an undated sermon on 1 Thessalonians 5.16 "*Preached in Saint Dunstans*": "When David *danced and leaped, and shouted before the Arke,* if he laughed too, it mis-became him not. Not to feele joy is an argument against religious tendernesse, not to show that joy, is an argument against thankfulnesse of the heart: that is a stupidity, this is a contempt" (*The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953-62]), X, 213, 217).

ill spirit, and troubled with melancholie, and so to bring the king to a better reformed and more quiet mind" (sigs. L5-L7).[30]

David's songs are a rampart against the small group of those who dislike music (probably because music is pleasurable) and the larger group that rejects its use in worship because we should focus soberly on words—God's, the preacher's, and our own. Although Donne's poem on the Sidneys has nothing explicit to say about this matter, his compliments fit a tradition exploited by those who welcomed music into the church precisely because of its affective impact, one that brings exhilaration as well as peace.

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Music affects the mind or soul, those parts that most people considered incorporeal. Over and over, though, from classical times to the Renaissance, writers such as Lemnius acknowledge its influence on bodies. Some early modern comments on music split the body (low) from the mind (high) in unthinking ways. Richard Mulcaster, for example, notes in a poem on the composer William Byrd that doctors recommend exercise for the body and music for the mind (Byrd himself was to say that music strengthens the breast, opens the lungs, and reduces stuttering).[31] Those who reflect longer on the topic, though, are likely to argue that the effects must be physical, at least in their initial stages, whatever the exact mechanisms. In a pre-Cartesian world Donne was not alone in thinking that, as he puts it in "The Exstasie," there is between soul and body a "subtile knot, which makes us man," and that without

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[30]One comment in Lemnius's preface carries particular interest. After agreeing that the "glorie, beautie, braverie, pompe, pride and pleasure of this world, passeth and vanisheth away like a dreame or a traunce, like a phantasie or most vaine vision," he adds that "the earth is as it were a stage, whereon every man living in his state, condition, order and degree, doth play his part. . . . No surely, they are but plaiers upon the scaffold for a short time" (sigs. A6v-A7). The ideas are old, the words Shakespearean.

[31]Mulcaster's "In Musicam Thomae Tallisii, et Gvilielmi Birdi" appeared in Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones . . . sacrae* (London, 1575); it is reprinted with a translation in Boyd, *Elizabethan Music*, pp. 286-89. Byrd lists music's benefits in the preface to his *Psalmes. Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie* (London, 1588), sig. [A3v]; see Boyd, *Elizabethan Music*, pp. 104-05.

the senses "a great prince in Prison lies."[32] Donne writes this with a perhaps mischievous bravado in the service of seduction, but the same theory can explain music's power. Music may seem immaterial but works through the flesh.

Thanks to this materiality, music's effects do not require a human mind, let alone a human soul. The writer of the *Praise of Musicke*, like many others, observes that warhorses step lively to music, huntsmen lure harts with it, and Libyan mares and Indian elephants "followe the sound of Organes and divers other instruments." Fish swim toward the source of music, and of course the dolphin's rescue of Arion from the "barbarous cruelty of those unnaturall shipmen, which sought to take away his life" shows that this gentle creature is "both a lover of men, and an earnest follower of musicke" (C7v-D1). The Renaissance inherited many, many such examples. One source for them is Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*. Here we read, for example, that many think gout in the hips is relieved "if a flute-player plays soothing measures." In fact, flute music, "when played skilfully and melodiously, will also cure snake-bites, and indeed is good medicine for many ills of the body." Thus we see how "very close is the connection between the bodies and the minds of men, and therefore between physical and mental ailments and their remedies."[33] Music works

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[32] *The Complete Poetry of John Donne,* ed. John T. Shawcross (New York: Anchor, 1967), p. 132. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark recall Donne's poem when describing Ficino's theories about music and the body (*De vita libri tres,* I.2) in the introduction to their translation (*Three Books on Life* [Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1989] p. 43).

[33] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, tr. J.C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, Book 4.xiii: "Tanta prosus adfinitas est corporibus hominum mentibusque et propterea vitiis quoque aut medellis animorum et corporum." Bruno Meinecke, "Music and Medicine in Classical Antiquity" (in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Schullian and Schoen, pp. 47-95), mentions flogging slaves to analgesic flute music, curing the mad, halting plague, and fixing a gored thigh. In the same volume Armen Carapetyan, "Music and Medicine in the Renaissance and the 17th and 18th Centuries" (pp. 117-57), cites Dr. Ambroise Paré on music's benefits for deafness, bites, madness, plague, alcoholism, gout, and sciatica. For aching hips, try the Phrygian mode (says the *Praise of Musicke*, D6-D8). Early medicine did not understand the circulation of blood and the heart's valve system, but the pulse had long fascinated doctors and could seem to have a musical nature; see Nancy G. Sirasi, "The Music of Pulse in the Writings

on babies, too: Pontus de Tyard notes that a crying infant's spirit responds to a lullaby and the resulting heat dries some of the superfluous humidity and sends the rest to the brain, causing the child to doze off.[34]

Opinions differed as to how all this works. A musical cure must require the right music. Basil, in a passage included with Parker's *Psalter* (sig. G1v), recalls that Pythagoras so affected some drunken rowdies by playing to them in the Dorian mode that they cast away their garlands and fled home in shame. (Presumably had they heard harmonies in the Lydian mode they would have merely laughed.) Episodes like this have disturbing implications, however little explored at the time. What happens to the "self" when it is so affected by music? Is a drunken roisterer, ungarlanded and blushing at home, less or more himself after his Dorian experience? When the musician Timotheus roused and then relaxed Alexander by changing modes where was the real Alexander? Basil cites that story in this same passage, recalling that Timotheus could "stirre up a mannes mynde to anger by his roughe and sower harmonie, & could asswage and release them agayne by a soft kinde of harmonie at his will and pleasure." Such strength and virtue, he says, "is set in the true use of musike." Yes, but it is Timotheus who has the "will and pleasure." What of Alexander's will? King Saul was not a mellow man at the best of times, but when God dispatches a demon into him is he truly Saul? Does his will remain? These are not merely postmodern questions, and at least one Renaissance writer, Maurice Scève, seems to have found musical effects unsettling in just these terms.[35] Donne does not raise such questions about identity, power, and the psalms when writing on the Sidneys, and perhaps he did not at the time think about them, but they lurk in the theories that underlie his praise.

Those theories, it has been said, shifted during the seventeenth century from the magical to the natural, but magical ones too assume a

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of Italian Academic Physicians (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 689-710.

[34]Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire Second*, ed. Cathy M. Yandell (Geneva: Droz, 1980), p. 195. See also Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique*, p. 336: the poet "E.G.D." tells his little Philippe that when toys and breast cannot stop his cries a lullaby by his daddy will, such is a baby's memory of angelic harmony.

[35]James Helgerson, *Harmonie Divine et Subjectivité Poétique chez Maurice Scève* (Geneva: Droz, 2001), shows how tensions within musical theories might affect subjectivity.

sympathy between music and the body.[36] The sympathy works because we are indeed little worlds made cunningly. The healthy body is a harmony of its various members, as are the bodies of the state and the Church, and all these bodies can—or should—be in harmony with each other as well as in their own innards. One way we might conceptualize musical sympathies can be seen in the illustrations that superimpose musical intervals on the human body or otherwise indicate our musicality. Each of us is a little *musical* world made cunningly.[37]

Many thoughts on music assume such sympathy. Explaining the effects of the psalms, for example, the author of the *Praise of Musicke* turns to what we might call ancient string theory:

> for as even our senses witnesse unto us, that if we strike onely one string of any instrument the rest of that tone also give a certaine kind of sound, as if the striking of one pertained to them all: so in our bodie, if any thing be pleasant or grievous to any part, it is also pleasant or grievous to the whole. Good reason therefore that the toung professe in divine service, that which the heart beleeveth: & what both hart beleeveth, & toung confesseth, good reason that both hand and whole body testifie to their power.[38]

Donne would agree; in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross on 24 March 1616/17,[39] he insists that "man, who is not made *all soul*, but a composed creature of body and soul," is thereby obligated to do "the offices of mutual society" and uphold "that frame in which God is pleased to be glorified. . . ." Are you the only spectator, Donne asks each

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[36]See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), although she does little with medical theory.

[37]See the illustrations in S.K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1974).

[38]*Praise of Musicke,* sig. H4v; the author later quotes Tertullian on how the psaltery's strings parallel the body's members "linked togither" (H5v).

[39]*Sermons*, ed. Potter and Simpson, I, 183. The text of the sermon, addressed to the Privy Council and others on the occasion of the King's Accession Day, is based on Proverbs 22:11, "He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips, the king shall be his friend."

hearer, in this world's theater? "Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are play'd, and all play partes; and must thou only sit idle and hear it? Is every body else made to be a *Member*, and to do some real office for the sustenation of this great Body, this World; and wilt thou only be no member of this Body?"[40] It is our corporality that binds us in harmonious charity. In this regard Dr. Donne and Jack Donne are in accord: Christ and Cupid both tell us that we are flesh as well as spirit. That is why Donne, like others, is not being merely metaphorical when near the start of another sermon he says, adopting a phrase from the Vulgate (Canticles I. 2), that "the whole booke of Psalmes is *Oleum effusum*, (as the Spouse speaks of the name of Christ) an Oyntment powred out upon all sorts of sores, A Searcloth that souples all bruises, A balme that searches all wounds."[41]

Armen Carapetyan has described the thinking behind an essentially Pythagorean view of music. Its effects are enabled, ran the theory, by a set of analogies between musical modes or intervals and the elements or humors that compose our bodies and shape our personalities.[42] Music and our cunningly made little worlds are sets of quaternities: soprano / fire, alto / air, tenor / water, bass /earth. Various humors respond to various modes; Agrippa, says Carapetyan, thought that the Dorian mode goes with phlegm and water; the Phrygian with fire and yellow bile; the sanguine Lydian with air and blood; and the melancholy Mixolydian with earth and black bile. When we are ill the humors are not just out of balance but also out of *harmony*. Other writers, most notably Ficino, stress that the body's sympathy with music involves the airy "spirit" in

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[40]I, 207. Donne adds: "I speak not this to your selves, you *Senators* of *London*; but as God hath blessed you in your ways, and in your Callings, so put your *children* into ways and courses too, in which God may bless them" (p. 208).

[41]Second Prebend Sermon, on Psalm 63:7 ("Because Thou hast been my helpe, therefore in the shadow of Thy wings will I rejoice"), preached at St. Paul's, 29 January 1625/26; in *Sermons*, ed. Potter and Simpson, VII, 51.

[42]Carapetyan, "Music and Medicine," in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Schullian and Schoen, pp. 117-57. A recent relevant study is Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

our blood. D. P. Walker has described his thinking in detail.[43] Spirit, says Ficino, is "a certain vapour of the blood, pure, subtle, hot and lucid. And, formed from the subtler blood by the heat of the heart, it flies to the brain, and there the soul assiduously employs it for the exercise of both the interior and exterior senses. Thus the blood serves the spirit, the spirit the senses, and finally the senses reason."[44] "Spirit" is thus part of our nervous system, formed in the blood but operating in the brain, where too much exertion is apt to dry and thicken the remaining blood and make studious people melancholy. (Did Saul think too much?) Wine, incense, and herbs help, but music is better because airy and harmonious. Nor is David's effect on Saul surprising: "since song and sound arise from the cogitation of the mind, the impetus of the phantasy, and the feeling of the heart, and, together with the air they have broken up and tempered, strike the aerial sprit of the hearer, which is the junction of the soul and body, they easily move the phantasy, affect the heart and penetrate into the deep recesses of the mind."[45]

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[43]See Walker's *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000; first pub. 1958); ch. 1, pt. 1 is on "Ficino's Music-Spirit Theory." Walker's analyses, particularly those on eye and ear, are corrected and expanded by Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 101-44; because of our linguistic habits ("I see!"), a longing for theophanic vision, and an ancient visual epistemology, Tomlinson thinks Ficino unusual in stressing sound—instrumental or vocal—over sight. Yet Christianity, as he does not mention, had long had an iconophobic impulse—Protestants preferred the word, whether *sermo* or *logos*, to sights. Ficino expresses his thoughts on music with particular clarity (and alludes to David's cure of Saul) in a letter to Antonio Canigiani, in *Meditations on the Soul: Selected Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, tr. by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 1997), pp. 61-63. In a passage on David and Saul, Thomas Cogan's *Haven of Health* (1584; 1612 ed.) says that "Ficinus speaking of himselfe sayeth . . . how much the sweete tune of the Harpe, and singing, doe prevaile against the dumpes of melancholie" (sigs. B2v-B3); see Ficino, *De vita*, I.10 (tr. Kaske and Clark, p. 135).

[44]Translation in Walker, *Magic*, p. 3; see Ficino, *De vita* I.2 (tr. Kaske and Clark, p. 111).

[45]Walker, *Magic*, p. 6, from the letter to Canigiani, above (I quote Walker, who calls him Canisiano).

Spirit and music, airy allies, reach the mind through the senses. This is particularly true of the hearing, thought Ficino, because hearing is nobler than other senses: it can process words. The eye, filled with luminous or liquid matter, is less able to connect with the outside world than is the ear; ears allow air further into the head. Even more important, sound works through motion, whereas images that strike the eye are static and are hence less likely to move us. (Had Ficino known that light has vibrations he might have changed his mind.) Song, being moving air, is almost a living thing, says Ficino, "a kind of aerial and rational animal."[46] As D. P. Walker notes, though, such theories can become confusing or even edge into heterodoxy because of semantic slippage between the vaporous but material "spirit" in the blood and "spirit" as the ineffable soul.[47] Casual terminology can make Renaissance writers seem—or be—inconsistent when they describe musical effects. The *Praise of Musicke*, for instance, asserts in what looks like blithe contradiction to any somatic theory, that "Music hath a certaine divine influence into the soules of men, whereby our cogitations and thoughts (say Epicurus what he will) are brought into a celestiall acknowledging of their natures" (C4v).

The fact remains that when thinking seriously about how music works most educated writers assume that it affects our minds by initially physical means, if only because, as Sir John Hayward puts it, "the body, and the soule are so firmely, and familiarly knit together, that whatsoever joy or griefe happeneth to the one, it is forthwith communicated to the other."[48] Donne himself would have every sympathy with such an assumption. Nor had ancient belief in close ties between music and the

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[46]Walker, *Magic*, p.10, citing Ficino's *De vita*, III.21 (tr. Kaske and Clark, p. 359). True, in the Introduction to Giovanni Croce's *Musica Sacra, To Sixe Voyces* (tr. R. H., London, 1608), the translator says, "albeit that the verie concent of the Note may sweetly strike the outward sence of the eare; yet it is the Dittie, which convayed with the Musicke to the intellectual Soule, by the Organs of hearing, that doth touch the hart" (sig. [A2]). Yet the *ear* still matters.

[47]Walker, "Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music," in *Music, Spirit, and Language in the Renaissance*, a collection of Walker's essays edited by Penelope Gouk (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), pp. 146-50.

[48]Hayward, *Davids Teares* (London, 1622; 1636 ed.), p. 22; quoted by Kate Narveson, "Flesh, Excrement, Humors, Nothing: The Body in Early Stuart Devotional Discourse," *SP* 96 (1999): 313-33.

body died out during the Middle Ages. Many agreed with Richard de Saint-Victor that "Music is that natural love by which the soul is held bound to the body with incorporeal chains."[49] Even in a scholastic mood, then, Donne would have found many medieval authorities for whom music both represents and helps organize concord in the individual body, among embodied persons, and in Christ's own body, the Church.

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In praising the Sidneys Donne does not mention the psalmist's most celebrated musical effect, but no early modern poet could love the psalms without recalling that the presumed author had cured a king, a triumph that can provoke questions and speculations. First, reasonable people could disagree as to whether music alone can expel a demon; some even came to read the demon as a metaphor. Second, the story of a shepherd affecting a king's mood must have had resonance for poets with an eye on court service. Few Englishmen can have thought that singing to James I would do to him what Timotheus had done to Alexander, let along what David had done to Saul, but the thought of affecting the very powerful through song remains a pleasant one for the not-so-powerful.

Notices of David's effect on Saul turn up over and over in Renaissance writing, including secular texts.[50] Musical humanists such as Franchino Gaffurio understandably found the story compelling: Gaffurio's *Theory of Music* (1492) starts by recalling such figures as Timotheus and Arion, and various cures (e.g., of drunken riots, popular unrest, hip trouble, snakebite, and madness) that show how "great is the

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[49]"Musica . . . est illa naturalis amicitia, qua anima corpori non corporeis vinculis alligata tenetur"; from Richard de Saint-Victor, *Excerptionum Allegoricarum libri XXIV*. For this and similar thoughts by Honorius of Ratisbone see James Dauphiné, "La Musique des elements: Motif privilegié de l'*Harmonia Mundi* au XII[e] siècle," in *Esoterisme et Litterature: Etude de symbolique en littérature française et comparée du Moyen Age à nos jours* (Nice: C.E.M. de Nice, 1992), pp. 39-48. Augustine, Boethius, and Bede also wrote on music, but the passages Dauphiné quotes are especially pertinent.

[50]For some in French, see Françoise Joukovsky, *Orphée et ses disciples dans la poésie française et néo-latine du xvi[e] siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), who remarks on p. 138 that allusions to David's cure of Saul increase in the later sixteenth century—when, I might add, France suffered civil war.

affinity between the minds and the bodies of men and therefore also between the ailments of mind and body and their remedies. And David's lyre drove out the devil and he held control over the spirits through sound and after the kithara sounded three times, the king, whom the inner foe tortured in a terrible manner, returned to a state of inner freedom." By way of explanation Gaffurio reminds us that a string will resound through sympathy with another when the latter is struck.[51]

Admiration of music's effect on Saul knew no confessional boundaries. Luther, asserting that music is a gift from God, recalls that David "often banished the evil spirit of Saul or restrained and subdued it with his lyre, . . . [f]or the evil spirit is ill at ease wherever God's Word is sung or preached in true faith. He is a spirit of gloom and cannot abide where he finds a spiritually happy heart. . . ."[52] And John Fisher, future bishop and Catholic martyr, likewise remembers that the psalmist soothed Saul's "woodnes."[53] True, some allusions have more polemical bite. Thomas More, in his *Confutation of Tyndales Answer*, argues that "godly ceremonyes" and "solempnite" make worshippers more devout and "theyr flesshe the more tame and lesse rebellyouse, and farre the better in temper" ("temper" here has its full musical/physiological/ cosmological resonance). So even if "they were at other tymes and places in ryght greate rage, yet in the chyrche at the voyces of Chrystes mynysters in the quere wyth organys and all to gether, and beholdyng the solempne godly sacramentes, and ceremonyes in theyr syght, they fele theyr passyons appeased as dyd kynge Saule in hys ragyouse fury at the sowne of Davyds harpe."[54] The contrast is with what More sees as the Reformation's reduced and impoverished worship. More has drafted David into a defense of much that was repugnant to Tyndale and other reformers: solemn (that is, impressive and elaborate) ceremonies, instrumental music, and "syghts." David's harp here serves the cause of splendid

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[51]Franchino Gaffurio, *The Theory of Music*, tr. Walter K. Kreyszig and ed. Claude Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 13-15.

[52]Martin Luther, *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Hilton C. Oswald, 55 vols. (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1955-86), XV, 274.

[53]John Fisher, *Fruytfull saynges of Davyd* (1508), sig. Aa2v.

[54]St. Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndales Answer*, ed. L. A. Schuster, Richard Marius, J. P. Lusardi, and Richard Schoeck (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 161.

ceremony, roaring organ, impressive sights, and musical effects on the "flesh" in all its senses.

Not all who praise David's exploit care how it was managed. In a list of Orphic poets, Spenser merely says of "that celestiall Psalmist" that "when the wicked feend his Lord tormented, / With heauenly notes, that did all other pas, / The outrage of his furious fit relented, / Such Musicke is wise words with time concented, / To moderate stiffe minds, disposd to striue" (*The Faerie Queene*, IV.ii.2).[55] Some who do care about David's method offer a theory but forget the demon altogether and write, as does Cowley, as though Saul were just having a very bad day:

> Thus when two Brethren strings are set alike,
> To move them both, but one of them we strike,
> Thus Davids Lyre did Sauls wild rage controul,
> And tun'd the harsh disorders of his Soul.[56]

The cure of Saul, though, is not a straightforward matter. That the demon was sent by God might dismay a modern sensibility but does not seem to have discomfited Donne's generation, and in any case many people were by now reading the demon as either melancholy, which is a physical as well as mental illness, or partially empowered by melancholy and hence subject to being cured or palliated by medical methods (which might include music). It was the mechanisms of Saul's distress and David's seeming miracle that remained—and would remain—a source of puzzlement and debate.[57] Chrysostom, in a discussion printed with

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[55]Edmund Spenser, *The Poetical Works*, ed. J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), p. 219.

[56]Abraham Cowley, *Davideis* (1656), in *Poems*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 254. Cowley mentions devils and hell, as well as some music theory, but his Saul is afflicted by a personified Envy, not by a literal demon.

[57]The debate is examined in exhaustive detail by Werner Kümmel in "Melancholie und die Macht der Musik Die Krankheit König Sauls in der historischen Diskussion," in *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 4, Heft 3.4 (1969): 189-203. My thanks to Roger Kuin for help with the German. Kümmel shows how opinion wavered between stressing demonic possession and melancholy (although some said Saul suffered both) and how Lutherans were more likely to

Parker's *Psalter* of 1567/68 (E3v-E4), merely observes that demons can enter when the Holy Ghost departs, "which thing may clearely be learned in Saule who was sore haunted therwith." Hence, he says, "though we be not vexed so extreemely wyth suche a spirite, as Saule was vexed, if we bee tormented and choked by malicious actes and wretched dedes: We have therefore muche neede to have Davids harpe, to sing to our soule some divine harmony." With psalms we can "destroy the devils power in us, as readily as David was wont to aswage Saules fury with his harpe," so let us "sing to that soule that is affected wyth other sayinges of holy scripture, specifically Davids Psalmes."

Chrysostom must be reading God's withdrawal of favor as the departure of the Holy Ghost and thus, in a roundabout way, as sending an evil spirit. Nor does Michael Drayton have a problem with the demon or its divine origin. In 1630, by now harboring less than friendly feelings toward the monarchy that had rewarded him so slenderly, he published a poem, "David and Goliah" that treats Saul's madness at some length.[58] The opening lines call David "That heavenly Harper, whose harmonious Strings / Expeld that evill Spirit which *Saul* possest, / And of his torments often him releast" (2-4). David was such a good musician, in fact, that as he sang his "Celestiall Lyricks" to his fellow swains broken-hearted birds would drop dead from the branches in envy (81-90). After God sends a demon as punishment for Saul's disobedience the king develops cramps, stitches, bulging eyes, roaring voice, and "outragious fits" (207-20). Some councilors suggest "Physick." But others, "whose soules were ravished more hie," recommend music and suggest sending for David, known to have tamed "fierce Tigars" and "layd the Lion, and the Beare to sleepe" and "put such spirit into his silly sheepe / By his high straines, as that they durst oppose / The Woolfe and Fox, their most inveterate foes" (227-52).

Drayton's notion that David's music transformed sheepish timidity into stoutheartedness against wolves and what we can deduce is good

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believe in musical effects and Calvinists to credit God alone. Cf. Peter Murray Jones, "Music Therapy in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of Hugo van der Goes," in *Music as Medicine*, ed. Horden, pp.120-44.

[58] *Complete Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel et al., 5 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1931-41; 1961 ed.), III, 418-39; the poem was first published by Drayton with *The Muses Elizium* (1630).

counter-intelligence against foxes has no more biblical warrant than his harp's taming effect on tigers or soporific effect on bears. This is a noteworthy touch, though: a quasi-allegorical reminder, written under a less than resolutely Protestant king (Charles I), that the psalms had often sustained the godly in their struggles against overt oppression by Catholic powers and politic subversion by Jesuits and other foxy conspirators. So, in Drayton's narrative, Saul meets David, is enchanted by his beauty, makes him his favorite, and then reverts to madness, reeling, swooning, and clutching at the walls. He calms down only when David sends his "winged sound" bounding "About the spacious Roome." David thus "Torments the spirit which so torments the King" and makes him "shift from place to place, / Still following him with a full Diapase" until "he made th'unruly fiend obay / The force of Musicke" (279-309).

Music, then, is rough on demons, but thoughts on David's powers can involve some subtly knotted issues, including the demonological: how can a real demon, having no body of its own, be affected by music if music works as musical theorists say?[59] Thomas Wright's *Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1601), which devotes several pages to music's impact on everything from mules to "little sucklings" to Saul, lays out the issue with admirable clarity, if simplifying somewhat by seeing only two sides to this complex debate. Many doctors, he says, argue that since "The devill being a spirit, cannot be expelled from a body naturally by the vertue of musick," we may conclude either that Saul was possessed, in which case it was God and not David who cured him, or that the demons was not *in* Saul but "only molested him with the vehemencie of some melancholy humor." Theologians, though, have scripture on their side and we should believe that God worked a miracle through David's music, just as he works through other "creatures."[60]

Many Protestants gladly believed in music's effects, but it is significant that one early English reformer, Sir Anthony Cope, had been

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[59]Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, pp. 125-26, noting David's effect on Saul's demon, cites Girolamo Menghi, a noted Italian Counter-reformation demonologist, who asks in *Flagellum daemonum* (1576) if music acts directly on demons or helps the body resist them (improving its spiritual autoimmune system, so to speak); Menghi, says Tomlinson, prefers the latter theory.

[60]Wright, *Passions of the Minde* (1601, 1604; 1630 ed.), sigs. L8-M5. Wright cites many of the usual stories about musical effects.

less sure. In the preface to *A Godly meditacion upon xx. select and chosen Psalmes of the Prophet David* (London, 1547), he urges Queen Katherine Parr to move herself and others by reading the psalms. Poets, he reminds her, feign that Orpheus made beasts and stones "dauncing to folow hym"—that is, he explains, "he brought the people to good civilitie." But "our celestial Orpheus the prophete David hath so sette forth his songes that they have strength and force to cause men which be carnall and beastly, to become spiritual and heavenly" (sig.*2v). Read the chapter in which David expels the evil spirit in Saul, he asks, then swerves to add a caveat: "And thys thynge I truste none wyl judge to be done by the vertue of the sounde of his harpe, but through the power of the noble Psalmes that he sange playinge theron: whiche Psalmes he undoubtedly being inspired with the spirite of God had before made." God will, says Cope, send his spirit to us, too, as we read and utter the psalms (*3v).

Cope seems to fear that music as understood by the likes of Gaffurio and Ficino risks becoming a rival of God's power, a natural magic that might obviate divine grace. That may be why he is careful to deny that music itself produced the therapeutic effects: better to give all the credit to words inspired by God. That he cites the episode at all, though, suggests a hope that the power of the recently released word might affect the king and thus accelerate the Reformation in England. This had, after all, been largely a revolution from above, one started by a monarch who seemed sometimes to harbor an inner demon that darkened his eye with wrath and suspicion. And if Henry would have profited from being musically fumigated, his son Edward would profit from being shaped by Davidic words. Cope denies any peculiarly musical effects on Saul, but everything else about this passage bespeaks a faith in the Psalter's influence on royal minds.

Written much later, with fewer hopes in a king and less desire for extensive church reformation, George Wither's *Preparation to the Psalter* (1619), an omnium gatherum of past commentary and Wither's own thoughts, shows no doubt that David's triumph involved musical effects. Wither even risks a dangerously magical word when claiming that "The Divell is not ignorant of the power that is in these divine Charmes." He has, he reports, felt music's effects upon himself, and then there is David, who "allayed the evill affections in his Maister Saul; nay, Charm'd a

Spirit out of him."[61] But he knows that the nature of this effect can be debated, aware that if no power inhered in the music itself, then those advocating its liturgical use will have to abandon this particular support. Some might say, notes Wither logically enough, that David's power "lay more in those heavenly Songs which he sung, then in his outward Musicke." But "I thereto answere, It cannot be denyed, his skill in Musicke was a speciall gift of the Spirit, and that he had greater power given to his Psalmes, then to his Harpe; yet we read not of any song he then used." Moreover, he points out, "if Sauls servants had not knowne before, that there was that vertue naturally in Musicke, to cure their Maister, they would never have willed him so confidently, to search out a cunning Musician for that purpose." So the Church needs its "Quires and Musicke," for they have "great Mysteries" and indeed represent "somewhat in that triumphant assembly to which we all aspire." We must not abolish its use, even if some organists do "take over-much liberty, and runne on too fantastically in their voluntaries" (pp. 95-97).

Virgilio Malvezzi, an Italian Protestant, likewise believed in musical effects, but was less persuaded that David's harp could by itself affect a demon. His *Il Davide perseguitato or David persecuted*, translated by R. Ashley (London, 1637), is a study of David's early political career at the court of Saul as God raised him "from the sheephooke to the scepter" (sig. B8). It is also a remarkable set of meditations on such topics as the nature of tyranny, why tall men have weak brains, the nature of friendship, the value of promoting talented commoners, the sources of "melancholy," and the effects of music. Malvezzi has few illusions about power politics: "The greatest individuals of one Species, are for the most part Lucifers" (C1v). As for modern times: "There want not this day such Sauls, that sacrifice to God the sacrifices of disobedience. These golden mountaines heaped up with impiety that seemes sometimes to adorne them, defile the altars of God, they onely garnish the ambition of man" (A5v).

Malvezzi is also fascinated by musical medicine. Those who sent for David to help Saul, he says, thought that "the Melancholick humour

[61]Wither, *Preparation* [1884/1967], p. 95. Citing the "excellent Sympathie" between "Musicke, and the humane nature" (p. 94), Wither notes musical cures for snakebite, madness, and sciatica. He knows about tarantula bites but is unsure what a tarantula might be and hesitantly calls it a lizard.

being stirred up, they that are oppressed by it might bee eased by melodie." Some think melancholy caused by the devil, its blackness having "an Analogie with the darknesse of sinne." True, thanks to cerebral irritation from "stirring the Images" in the brain (Malvezzi has read his Ficino), melancholics can be gifted, but this need not indicate actual demons. In those rare instances when a devil is to blame, it would still have to operate through the body (B12 ff.). Demons, though, are incorporeal. "Had the devill a bodie Musick might haply bee able to chace him out, being unable to endure the power of Melodie: hee who is a friend to it, is an enemie to sinne"; but, being bodiless, Saul's evil spirit left him "not because of Davids musick, but his Goodnesse." As for those with bodies, "Musick would be the truest medicine for all Maladies, if wee knew the right and true proportion, and how to apply to each that kind of Consonancie that would correct it: If any acromatick[62] musick hath beene able to stir up the melancholick humour and to inrage it, why should not the contrary bee effectuall to qualifie and restraine it?" Like tarantula bites, other woes might be cured if we understood the required harmonies, "But the ignorance of men, and the discomposed nature of Sinne, makes us runne to the Physician, when wee should have recourse to the Musician" (B12-C1).

As Malvezzi knows, David's effect on Saul has political resonance. Many scholars have explored both the tendency of medieval and Renaissance poets, artists, or eulogists to imagine their kings as David and the alacrity with which rulers agreed. Henry VIII, himself a musician and poet, appears as David in the pictures that enliven a manuscript Psalter made for the king, and at Auch cathedral, François I, another poet, appears as a David complete with harp, natty outfit, chiseled nose, and jaunty beard.[63] Nor was gender a barrier, as witness the many

[62]According to the *OED* this should be "achromatic," colorless, but I cannot make sense of Malvezzi's use of it. Is there confusion with "atra" meaning "dark"?

[63]On the psalter and its images of Henry (in British Library MS. Royal Z.A.xvi) see John N. King, "Henry VIII as David: The King's Image and Reformation Politics," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor*

associations of Elizabeth with the persecuted shepherd-courtier and rebel-troubled Israelite king.[64] To remember David's harping Saul out of his madness, however, is inevitably to take the young musician's side against a king who rewarded him with persecution[65] Yet it would be perverse to hear anti-monarchical overtones in all celebrations of the psalms of David, for David was himself a king and was often praised (not least by authorities) for his earlier obedience to his anointed ruler. He never, we read in one of England's official set of homilies, used "force or violence against King Saul his mortall and deadly enimy," and so it is "an intolerable ignorance, madnes, and wickednes, for subjects to make any murmuring, rebellions, resistance, or withstanding, commotion, or insur[re]ction against their . . . Lord and king."[66] Nevertheless, even before some in Britain came to believe that the Bible, as a small child I once knew innocently put it, ends with "The Book of Revolution," references to the psalmist's ambiguous early political career, like those to

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Texts and Contexts, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), pp. 83-85 and fig. 4. Further on James and David see James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2000). The image of Francis I as David at Auch Cathedral in southern France is one of a series of carved wooden panels near the Choir.

[64]For Elizabeth see Margaret P. Hannay, "'Princes You as Men Must Dy': Genevan Advice to Monarchs in the Psalmes of Mary Sidney," *ELR* 19 (1989): 22-41, who argues that Mary Sidney's translations subtly enjoin monarchs to focus on their duty to God and their subjects. One of Mary's most compelling phrases, "Tyrant, why swell'st thou thus," translates the opening of Psalm 52, a psalm applied, as the Geneva Bible's headnote puts it, to "the arrogant tyrannie" of Saul's high priest and informer, Doeg, who harried David in his flight (see 1 Samuel 22). The psalm's opening seems to find an echo in a line of Donne's holy sonnet 6, "Why swell'st thou then?" ("Death be not proud," in *Divine Poems,* ed. Gardner, p. 9), as Hannay et al. likewise point out in *The Selected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Clarendon, forthcoming 2005). Donne must have read the Sidney psalter with some care.

[65]Saul had no poetic aspirations, but some Renaissance monarchs did. On playing David to a ruler who himself plays David but acts like Saul, see my "Musical Strains: Marot's Double Role as Psalmist and Courtier," in *Contending Kingdoms: Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France,* ed. Marie-Rose Logan and Peter Rudnytsky (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), pp. 42-68.

[66]*Certain Sermons, and Homilies* (London, 1547; 1594 ed.), sigs. I6-I8.

his later sexual misbehavior, could be energized by such allusions' *potential* to promote reflection on tyranny and the loss of legitimacy. If *Mercurius Davidicus, or A Patterne of Loyall Devotion Wherein King David sends his Pietie to King Charles, His Subjects* (1643) marshals a battalion of phrases from the psalms to support the royalist cause,[67] the English translator of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay's *Meditations upon Psal. 101* (1599) retains the author's tactful warnings to his old friend, the newly Catholic Henri IV, that David, whose sufferings anticipated the king's own, learned that kings rule and survive better by practicing virtue, not violence.[68]

Like Richard III, Saul was useful in Renaissance political discourse: a jealous persecutor of the psalmist, intermittently crazy, ill-tempered to the point of hurling a spear at the very musician—and future son-in-law—who lightened his dark moods, he offers a study in both tyranny and the loss of legitimacy. All a commentator need do is note that the local ruler is blessedly unlike the Israelite tyrant even while, perhaps, leaving the reader to toy with thinking something else. That may be why Edmund Bunny's *Coronation of David* (1588), for example, remarks that some modern princes, like Saul, have "deserved to bee remooved . . . that trueth and equity may be established, and set up for ever!" (sig. L4v). Bunny whispers no criticism of Elizabeth, but the margin exclaims, "How much the rejection of Saul ought to touch our Christian Princes." Not that even David would find it easy to cure the current plethora of Sauls, according to John Davies of Hereford, who remarks in his *Holy Roode* (1609, sig. B2v) that "Though David healed Saul with sound of harp, / Our Davids self must swoune ere health procure: / So many Sauls possest with Sathans store, / Must make the remedy exceeding sore!" By the time Donne wrote on the Sidneys he did not, probably, seriously think of James as a Saul, but whatever his eventual reasons for gratitude to the king it would be strange if the thought had never crossed his mind: as is clear from Satyre IV and titles in his *Courtier's Library*, Donne had been uneasy with the state's persecutory surveillance of

[67] *Mercurius*, published anonymously "by His Majesties Command" at Oxford, mixes prayers for Charles into phrases from the psalms.

[68] *Meditations*, tr. R. W[ilcox] (London, 1599), *passim*; Wilcox dedicates his translation to Essex.

those—such as recusants—it found threatening. How pleasant to think that one's own harmonies might send that particular demon back home![69]

What is the evidence that Donne was impressed by the story of Saul and David's harp? We may assume that loving music, informed about Renaissance medicine, conscious of the ties between body and soul/spirit, and returning to the psalms over and over in his sermons, he could hardly have failed to warm to the image of the psalmist harping away a demon by means of harmonies that, if rediscovered and revived by modern poets or musicians, might establish a less corrupt and more irenic Christendom. Curiously, though, one of Donne's rare allusions to the effect of David on Saul's madness verges on the dismissive.[70] In a sermon commenting on King David's willingness to turn to God when in anguish, Donne says that "Whatsoever the affliction then was, temporall, or spirituall, (we take it rather to be spirituall) *Davids* recourse is presently to God. He doth not, as his predecessour *Saul* did, when he was afflicted, send for one that was cunning upon the Harp, to divert sorrow so."[71]

The pastoral advice is clear—in our sorrow we should rely on God, not on methods mediated by human skill and human flesh. Donne is probably also assuming, like Calvin, Malvezzi, and some others, that Saul's demon, as an incorporeal spirit, was more likely to flee from prayer than from music that, no matter how powerful, works through bodies. As Donne does not say but might have, Jesus did not harp demons from their victim into the Gadarene swine but gave them their divine marching orders in a single word: "Go" (I follow Matthew 8:32).

Donne's contempt for Saul in this sermon accompanies caustic remarks on the powerful: David does not exploit subjects' rebellion to excuse further taxes, Donne says, or use his son Absalom's betrayal to excuse hopes for his death. The point is not the limits of music but David's greatness compared to the defects and cruelty of too many other kings. What matters is our priorities. God first, *then* music. That Saul resorted to a musical shepherd rather than to prayer does not make

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[69]Sat. IV, ll. 27-28, 119-20, 237-44 (ed. Shawcross, pp. 26, 30, 34); *The Courtier's Library*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930), pp. 74-75.

[70]I would say the only allusion, but I may have missed others.

[71]*Sermons*, ed. Potter and Simpson, V, 321.

David's chasing away a king's demon less noteworthy or his harp's effects any less an echo, to paraphrase Dante, of the music that moves the sun and the other stars. Music emanates from and serves its Creator. Saul forgot that, but David did not. Finally, when all is said and sung, God is the best music.

Barnard College and Columbia University