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Words on Music: The Case of Early Modern England

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> Music is the world of sciences; for it embraceth all discipline[s], without which it cannot be perfit.
> —Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphua. Wits Common Wealth* (1598)

> Nowe therein of all Sciences . . . is our Poet the Monarch. For he dooth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will intice any man to enter it.
> —Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595)[1]

In the early modern era, words and music were intimately and infinitely conjoined. Although the best-known nexus between the two remains lyric poetry, music ultimately touched on every linguistic practice. Words bestowed precise intellectual content on music. Music offered additional power to words, and provided further topics for discourse. In spite of the increasing importance of print, early modern language still retained a sense of aurality. Music, principal object of the sense of hearing, simplified memorization and learning, especially in

[1]Ling, *Politeuphua. Wits Common Wealth*, corr. and augmented (London: J. R[oberts] for Nicholas Ling, 1598, fol. 196; Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London: Henry Olney, 1595), sig. E4.

cases in which words themselves approached musicality.[2] During an era in which oral learning remained crucial to even the most literate classes, the written word still suggested sonority. "Wordes are voyces framed with hart and toung, uttering the thoughtes of the mynde," explains the author of a vernacular *Art of Reason* (1573).[3] Nowhere were words on music more frequently used across so many genres or so judiciously framed with heart and tongue than in writings about the cultural place and uses of the art. Here reading, recitation, poetry, song, and music of voice and instrument alike become a continuity of sound remembered and made audible. And here words stand very much as a preparative to hearing or other bodily participation in music.

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As Ling and Sidney both remind us through commonplaces of their era, both the sciences of music and language (in form of poetry) incorporated all others, though perhaps in contrasting ways. The expressive practices of music and poetry occupied similar cultural niches, and were sponsored by the same groups of patrons. Church and theater were venues as much of musical sound as of sight and linguistic communication. Even the Word of God was brought memorably to life by music, according to each of the different traditions of European worship. Music and poetic language were most immediately joined together in the creation and performance of song, sacred or secular, vernacular or Latin. Sidney in particular emphasizes that the poet "commeth to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well inchaunting skill of Musicke" (*Apologie,* sig. E4). Among all classes from royal courtiers to the rabble who haunted taverns and fairs, skilled performers improvised music to

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[2]Poetry was often defined as sung speech, or speech rendered musical during this era, and both practices were considered to help memory. See, e.g., William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London: John Carlewod for Robert Walley, 1586), sigs. C2v-C3; Sidney, *Apologie*, sig. G3; anon., *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), p. 5; and Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 109-10, 120.

[3]Ralph Lever, *The Art of Reason* (London: H. Bynneman, 1573), sig. A.

words in traditions that have since been lost. Many were the poets who contributed introductory verses to music-books, or whose works were formally set by composers; particularly talented individuals such as Thomas Campion did both.

In song, the ancient elements of music—harmony, melody, and rhythm—served the expression of text and affect. Harmony added a dimension completely absent from intelligible speech. Melody enabled a musician to augment the monotone limitations of spoken European languages and to provide an additional aesthetic dimension. Rhythm, along with tempo and the musician's unique ability to dictate precise lengths for pauses, provided the tools for expressive dimensions well beyond the usual capacities of common speech and even surpassing some aspects of poetic diction. Tonal color and timbre, too, exceeded the abilities of the human voice. Only the the limited imaginations of some composers and performers hampered the full expression of these vital qualities, in song as in more abstract music.

Most scholarship on early modern English musical-linguistic relations has understandably focused on poetry, sung and spoken.[4] However,

[4]The most comprehensive modern works on music and language of the period are: Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962; first pub.1940); Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1970; first pub. 1948); John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961); Gretchen Ludke Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580-1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Elise Bickford Jorgens, *The Well Tun'd Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry, 1597-1651* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Louise Schleiner, *The Living Lyre in English Verse from Elizabeth through the Restoration* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1984); Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986); Robert Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England 1597-1622* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Robin Headlam Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies: Studies in Poetry, Drama and Music* (Cambridge:

music enjoyed an equal intimacy with broader and more fundamental aspects of language. The simple ability to sing and a basic acquaintance with melodic scales were taught through spoken syllables. Prose words truly "show[ed] the way," in Sidney's phrase, into instrumental manuals and music theory treatises for literate amateurs, and were meant to provide convincing reason for the purchase of music-books. Thomas Ravenscroft toys with this idea in dedicating the earliest English printed collection of popular vocal pieces "To the Well Disposed to Reade, And to the merry disposed to Sing."[5] At the other end of the spectrum, the striking unities of word and image in emblem books acquired an additional dimension through suggestions, and occasionally notes, of music. The key to decoding one of the emblems in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612), "Tantó dulcius [all the sweeter]" (Fig. 1), lies in the reader's or viewer's ability to hear (or imagine hearing) two voices singing, in their respective clefs, two different melodic and rhythmic settings of the word "Dolcimente [sweetly]," which by counterpoint and suspensions resolve discords into the stability of a concluding unison.[6]

Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Scholarship on music in the early modern English masque and theater, especially Shakespearean drama, has been a veritable academic industry since the mid-twentieth century, with diverse exemplars too many to list here.

[5]See Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia. Musicks Miscellanie. Or, Mixed Varietie of Pleasant Roundelayes, and delightfull Catches* (London: William Barley, 1609), sig. A2.

[6]Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna or A Garden of Heroical Devises, furnished and adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of sundry natures* (London: Wa: Dight, [1612]), p. 204. Reproduced by permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. For further connections between music and emblems see Linda Phyllis Austern, "The Siren, the Muse and the God of Love: Music and Gender in Seventeenth-Century English Emblem Books," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 18 (1999): 95-138.

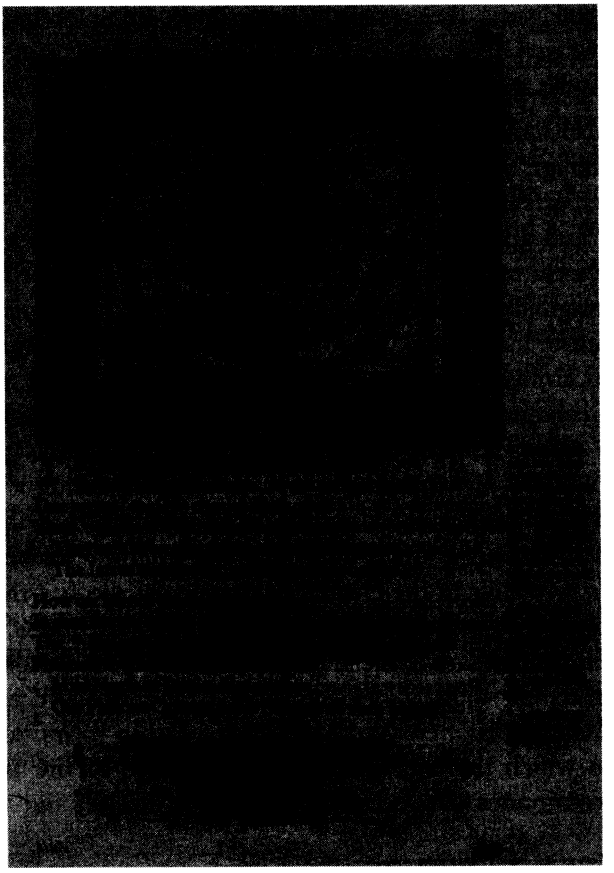
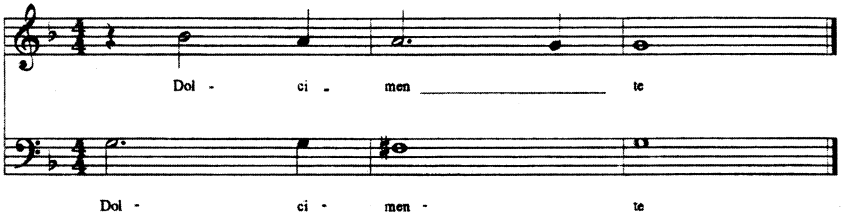


Figure 1.

In a modern transcription the passage would appear as follows:



Here, music and image truly join poetry in the kind of close grouping that Oxford medical doctor Richard Whitlock refers to in his *Zootomia* of 1654 as "*A Ternary of Sisters.*"[7]

Music also retained a vital role in the basic lessons of the grammar school. Although audible music was no longer accounted one of the four higher liberal arts of the mathematical quadrivium (along with geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic), as it had been in the middle ages, by the early modern era music had found a link to each division of the trivium, the three originally lower arts of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Like language, music had its own set of compositional rules, a form of tonal grammar governing the proper construction of its most minute building-blocks and its largest structural elements. Like language, written forms of music were founded upon the oral, and were meant to signify things heard: "A *Note* is a *Signe*, or *Character* repraesenting either a *Naturall* or *Artificiall Sound*," writes Ravenscroft in his treatise *A Briefe Discourse* (1614).[8] The increasingly unfashionable art of rhetoric remained at least as important as poetry in the creation of music. Music and rhetoric were defined by early modern sages as arts to move the affections, which arts which therefore augmented one another.[9] Even without words, musicians used the structural tools of persuasion to move the affections of the listener.[10] Dialectic, too, enjoyed a vital relationship to music, especially in an era in which the civil and ecclesiastical uses of the art were the subject of continuous and occasionally furious debate, and the learned

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[7]Richard Whitlock, *Zootomia, or Observations on the Present Manners of the English* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), p. 483.

[8]Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse Of the true (but neglected) use of Charact'ring the Degrees* (London: Edw[ard] Allde for Tho[mas] Adams, 1614), p. 2.

[9]See Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, tr. Ja. San[ford] (London: Henry Wykes, 1569), fol. 19 (on music and rhetoric augmenting one another as arts to move the affections); and Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherein those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training up of children* (London: Thomas Vautrollier for Thomas Chare, 1581), p. 38.

[10]Rhetoricians also applied musical terminology in discussions of the figures of their art and their effects; see Gregory G. Butler, "Music and Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English Sources," *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980): 53-64.

were expected to argue about music as forcefully as about any other subject.

At the end of the Renaissance, when music bridged the dual chasms between art and science and between mind and body, there were two fundamental forms of musical knowledge: performance and discourse. Each helped to indicate cultural literacy and class status. Each played a part in the civil and ecclesiastical unrest of the era, and as such became highly controversial. The first, performance, remained a familiar object of investigation and a source of aural pleasure. The second, musical discourse, was closer to what would today be considered rhetoric or philosophy, but relied on the descriptive vocabularies of music and the sense of hearing. This was the learned man's highest form of music, the sort taught at universities.[11] No longer strictly observing the ancient and medieval division of music into its active and contemplative—its practical and speculative—aspects,[12] the skilled Elizabethan, Jacobean, or Caroline was expected both to discuss ideas about music and to perform or compose. It is highly significant that the most famous English theorist of his era, Thomas Morley, mentions mentions disputation about music ahead of sight-singing in his self-instruction manual *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).[13] Both disputation and singing at sight could of course be incorporated in the practice of poetry, itself an art of harmony, proportion, and aural pleasure.

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[11]For more on how music was taught at English universities in this period—as silent speculation and as a branch of mathematics by lecturers, but nonetheless available extracurricularly in its practical forms—see Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 115-16, 127, 313-17; and Neal Ward Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 81.

[12]The clearest modern summary of these related but distinct concepts of speculative and practical music remains that of John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), ch. 2, pp. 20-51.

[13]Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), p. 1. Modernized edition by R. Alec Harman, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music,* foreword by Thurston Dart, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1973 [1963]; first pub. 1952), p. 9.

For a culture on the cusp between predominantly auditory and predominantly visual epistemologies, musical performance and musical discourse were never far apart, any more than were spoken and written words. There was almost always a hint of sensory engagement and its pleasures or dangers even in the most esoteric references to music; words encoded, or served as gateways to, acts of listening or performing. In Morley's no-nonsense manual of harmony and counterpoint and similar introductory works on rhetoric or poetry, just beyond discourse lay sound in all of its technical and affective splendor. Among the works of John Donne, for example, appears a commendatory poem of shortly after 1621, "Upon the translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sidney, and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister."[14] Supporting Donne's high praise for this new vernacular version of the most ancient devotional poetry still in use there lies on the one hand a standard set of metaphors evoking the connections between audible earthly music and heavenly harmony. More important, however, is Donne's overt critique of the state of the psalter in his native country. He describes

> three Quires, heaven, earth, and sphears;
> The first, Heaven, hath a song, but no man heares,
> The Spheares have Musick, but they have no tongue,
> Their harmony is rather danc'd than sung;
> But our third Quire, to which the first gives eare,
> (For, Angels learne by what the Church does here)
> This Quire hath all. 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
> To us so sweetly and sincerely too,

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[14]John Donne, *The Divine Poems,* ed. Helen Gardner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), pp. 34-35 (first printed in Donne's *Poems with Elegies on the Authors Death* [London: M. F. for John Marriot, London? 1635], p. 367). H. J. C. Grierson suggests the date; Mary was "translated" (in Donne's phrase, line 53) in 1621, and Donne's poem may have been written for his friend Susan, Countess of Montgomery, who about this time was requesting copies of his sermons (ed., *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. [London: Oxford University Press, 1912; reprt. 1958], II, 242.

That I must not rejoyce as I would doe
When I behold that these Psalmes are become
So well attyr'd abroad, so ill at home,
So well in Chambers, in thy Church so ill,
As I can scarce call that reform'd untill
This be reform'd; Would a whole State present
A lesser gift than some one man hath sent?
And shall our Church, unto our Spouse and King
More hoarse, more harsh than any other, sing? (23-44)

The poem is dominated by a commingled sense of music as metaphor, word as music, and music as heard sound. Music, specifically music that blended seamlessly with the Word through the psalms, is here presented as both divine gift and gift to the divine. Text and music dissolve into each other, as do the mundane and celestial worlds, past and present. "*Davids* Successors," the Sidneys, make not just words but multiple forms of harmony newly accessible. The poem becomes a perfect reminder of the early modern English commonplace, borrowed from St. Augustine, that (as Ling puts it) "the ignorance of musick hindereth the understanding of the scriptures" (*Politeuphua,* fol. 196). Any distance between ourselves and the angelic choir, or between the metaphorical organ and our literal voices, is eradicated in the singing of psalms. However, Donne's poem on the Sidneys' Psalter also serves as a reminder that his church and culture were fragmented by disagreements over the performative limits of even the holiest of words made musical.[15]

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[15]See Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England,* vol. I: *From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 386; Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music,* rev. J. A. Westrup (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 1-12; Richard L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 459-62; M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; reprt. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), pp. 432-34; Robin A. Leaver, *Goostly Psalms and Spirituall Songes: English and Dutch Metricall Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535-1566* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 22-29, 34-43; Michel Poizat, *La Voix du Diable: la jouissance lyrique sacree* (Paris: Métailié, 1991), pp. 44-46; David C.

Critical not only of the official translation of the psalms in use in every parish of the land but of circumstances that limited musical expression more extremely in church than in private chambers, Donne here offers a rare practical contribution to an ongoing debate about music that ranged from the purely esoteric to the prescriptive.

Rapid religious and social change in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England left music hotly debated on several fronts, where it served in treatises to symbolize or magnify numerous cultural anxieties through a common stock of words and images—most elaborately so in the anonymous *Praise of Musicke* (1586), possibly by the Oxford scholar John Case.[16] Many of these words and images in turn reappear in the era's famous poetic evocations of music.[17] Modern scholarship, with its post-Enlightenment disciplinary boundaries and objective music theory grounded in structural analyses, has all but lost sight of the centrality of musical dialogue to a culture which analogized much of the unseen in musical terms, as does Donne. Widespread traces of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reflection on music remain in cultural artifacts as diverse as plays, sermons, medical handbooks, dedicatory poems, and collections of emblems. They help to show the breadth of meaning accorded to the subject in an era of civil and epistemological dissension, and further reveal a flourishing dialectic through which music, aided by language, truly "embrace[d] all discipline[s]," as Ling says in the

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Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 153-55; Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 19-22; and Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 135.

[16]Howard B. Barnett, "John Case—an Elizabethan Music Scholar," *Music and Letters* 50 (1969): 263-64; Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, pp. 28-32; and J. W. Binns, "John Case," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, 232.

[17]The only summary of this body of praise and blame to date is by Boyd, *Elizabethan Music*, pp. 13-36; but see also James Hutton, "Some English Poems in Praise of Music," in *English Miscellany* 2, ed. Mario Praz (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura for the British Council, 1951): 1-63 (repr. in James Hutton, *Essays on Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Rita Guerlac, foreword D. W. Walker [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980], pp. 17-73). There are actually far more works that praise or condemn music than either of these studies indicates.

epigraph above. In a fragmented set of subcultures that witnessed, among other relevant changes, the steady growth of a market for printed works of music and musical instruction, the birth and later suppression of a theatrical tradition that relied on music, the growth of an experimental science that included acoustics, and the ongoing reconsideration of the appropriate role and styles of music in Christian worship, personal investment in the condemnation or vindication of at least selected aspects of music ran high.

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Tudor and early Stuart thinkers still valued received wisdom above unsubstantiated opinion, even in earnest discussions or poetic evocations of the living arts. Virtually all subjects were still taught by rote and by the imitation of example. The theory and practice of music in their widest senses were no exception. It was not only traditional deliberations for or against music that were available to readers and writers of similar works. During the sixteenth century, thanks to the spread of print culture and the complementary agendas of humanism and the Reformation, treatises on how to construct arguments proliferated almost as quickly as editions and handbooks in all fields. Authors with a greater range of purposes were therefore able to disseminate their views more widely than ever before, continually augmenting a common stock of ideas. Some created dazzling displays of wit and skill, while others earnestly condemned perceived threats to public order. Music was one of many popular topics, lending itself particularly well to disputation because of the profusion of ancient models pro and con. Furthermore, through its position in the ancient mathematical quadrivium and its connection through language to the trivium, intellectual inquiry into music touched on virtually all subjects. Any formulaic tour of the *artes liberales* for any purpose therefore had to reserve a place for music.

Nonetheless, it is a mistake to consider the formal literary attack and defense of music in any of its manifestations as evidence of a calculated war against the art in England. For one thing, the genre was as venerable as Plato or St. Augustine, and found continued expression in such important Continental writings on music as Gioseffe Zarlino's *Istitutioni*

armoniche of 1558 and later editions.[18] Virtually every English musical publication of the era includes its own obligatory reference to the ancient and ongoing approbation of its subject. The vast majority of printed works of music from late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, from instrumental handbooks to collections of lute songs, reiterate familiar arguments in praise of their art. To purchase music was also to purchase a few choice lines in its favor, to aid the would-be musician, rhetorician, or poet with his verbal summation of the topic. Other professionals likewise found brief but conventional place for words on music. Extended discussions of such contested musical venues as church, theater, or tavern rarely fail to cite the finest ancient authorities on the appropriate use of music. Medical manuals and moral philosophies followed tradition and found room for a few venerable sententiae on the value of music. So many participated in what became a formula designed to sell all manner of books and ideologies that musician-soldier Captain Tobias Hume could remark somewhat jadedly in his *First Part of Ayres* (1605) that "To prayse Musicke, were to say, the Sunne is bright."[19]

The praise or blame of music was ultimately so widespread and so diverse that to associate it with any specific set of social agendas, or conversely, to see it simply as a rhetorical or poetic exercise, is to misread its usefulness. From antiquity through the early modern era, Western intellectual traditions were built on the continuous reinterpretation and reconversion of contradictory materials from irreconcilable sources.[20] The understanding of music, with its improbably entwined biblical, classical, and early Christian roots and its shifting relationship to evolving socio-cultural institutions, was no exception. The battle of wits with this musical arsenal was most cunningly fought on subtle grounds, as Donne demonstrates and Hume implies. From such a vantage point we can learn much about the cultural attitudes toward music. Not one of the

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[18]See *Istitutioni harmoniche* (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg, 1966), pp. 7-11. For a succinct overview of the Renaissance indebtedness to antiquity and the Middle Ages for its arguments about music, see Hutton, "Some English Poems," pp. 1-28.

[19]Hume, *The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish, and others* (London: John Windet, 1605), sig. B2v.

[20]Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, tr. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 3.

English interlocutors with a genuine agenda of social or religious reform was either categorically opposed to music or supportive of all current practice. That would have been far too simplistic. With the exception of a few professional men of war, perhaps borrowing their arguments from Gasparo Pallavicino's succinct advice, in Castiglione's manual of courtly conduct, warning men not to "womanise their minds" by music and thus "bring themselves in that sort to dread death,"[21] it was always somebody else who had no use for music. Shakespeare's infamous "man that hath no musicke in himselfe," described so graphically in *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.83), remains a man whom all would shun, and none would be. Even the most lurid warnings against the evil effects of the art by the likes of Philip Stubbes and William Prynne make exception for godly psalms or the courageous music of inspiration.[22] As the anonymous *Praise of Musicke* points out most directly, to argue against music was to disgrace Saints Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Gregory, "and the holy Fathers of the primitive Church" (sig. iiiv). Not even the most pious Puritan dared do so. Nor did any late Renaissance intellectual have the hubris to oppose the most revered philosophers of ancient Greece, or the greatest Roman orators.

Conversely, even the most ardent defenders of the art, men whose livelihoods may have depended on its widespread acceptance and use, were loath to spring to its universal defense. Literate supporters of art music, particularly those involved with the increasingly lucrative industry of music publishing and the creation of manuals of self-instruction, were in a sense competing with the followers of what Ravenscroft calls "those common kinde *Practitioners*, (truly ycleped *Minstrells*)" (*Discourse*, sig. Av). They were hard pressed to justify any form of musical practice that might undermine their own, or which might draw fire and brimstone from the self-appointed guardians of public morals. The dedication of Thomas Weelkes's *Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces* (1608) "to the right worshipful Master Edward Darcye Esquier, groome of her majesties privie chamber" gives a typical sense of the defense of notated

[21]See Baldessare Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, tr. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: William Seres, 1561), sig. Jii.

[22]William Prynne, *Histriomastix* (London: E.A. and W.I. for Michael Sparke, 1633), pp. 274-79; Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: Richard Jones, 1584), fols. 109-11.

art music against its unjust detractors on one hand and against the less elite practitioners of popular forms on the other:

> Right worshipful, it is no small comfort the Musicke professors conceive, when they consider the ever misdeeming multitude to brand them with infamy, whom the Honorable spirits have always honored: and although povertie hath debarred them their fellow arts mens companie, yet nature hath set their better part at libertie, to delight them that love Musicke. So many worthy men dayly labouring to call home againe the banished Philomele, whose purest blood the impure Minstralsie hath stained, I must presume to remember one of your worships least labours . . . the entertaining into your service the least proficient in Musicke, who with all dutifull observancie, humbly commend my poore labours to your worships protection.[23]

Such passionate reformers as Philip Stubbes were therefore left to rave unchecked against the looseness, licentiousness, lewdness, and incontinence of those bawdy parasites known as "minstrelles," who ranged the countryside and haunted taverns, ale-houses, "and other publique assemblies" (*Anatomie,* sigs. O4v-O5). William Prynne, too, could paraphrase St. Basil against the lure of the gorgeous lute-playing seductress for a culture with a deep-seated ambivalence about artistic performance by women (*Histriomastix* [1633], pp. 277-78). The anonymous *Praise of Musicke* skillfully anticipates and parries every potential argument against its subject, but still concedes that incompetent performance and "whatsoever is amisse in this or that lewd musician" may well lead to contempt for the art (sig. iiiv and p. 30). And Donne, through a poetic intimation of praxis limited by politics, can suggest a need for reform of the supposed reform.

Even the most grandiloquent works of social criticism about music and the equally passionate vindications that opposed them derive the bulk of their arguments from earlier sources. Paradoxically, the strongest statements made in the service of actual musical practice, particularly in public venues, are most indebted to prior authority. The reformed

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[23]Weelkes, *Ballets and Madrigals* (London: Thomas Este for William Barley, 1608), Cantus partbook, sig. A2v.

playwright and future preacher Stephen Gosson, for instance, borrows his most flamboyant and infamous condemnation of theatrical music from the pseudo-Plutarchian *De musica*, of which he and his contemporaries seemed inordinately fond:

> *Plutarch* complayneth, that ignorant men, not knowing the majestie of auncient musicke, abuse both the eares of the people, & the art it selfe: w[ith] bringing sweet consortes into Theaters, w[hich] rather effeminate the minde, as prickes unto vice, then procure amendment of maners as spurres to vertue.[24]

On the other side, the *Praise of Musicke*, the lengthiest and perhaps most ardent defense of music in Tudor times, is almost entirely derivative. Page after page advocating the unhampered use of music in civic and ecclesiastical rites offers a sprinkling of vogue names familiar from any schoolboy's commonplace collection: Athanasius, Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Juvenal, Pliny, Plutarch. Chapter 3, "The Suavitie of Musicke" (pp. 36-53), complete with its own marginal citations to Aristotle, Cicero, and Virgil, is fundamentally an unacknowledged translation from the Ferrarese scholar Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem.*[25] It is therefore with the greatest and most unimpeachable authority that the writer of *Praise* makes his argument, daring his opponent to contradict not his own personal opinions but the weighty words of experts across miles and millennia. As in all similarly constructed works, the sheer virtuosity of encyclopedic display becomes at least as crucial as the argument itself. Yet by its very nature the work inhabits an intellectual space paradoxically distinct from musical sound and aesthetic judgment. Practical musicians who broached the medium of print indicate a self-conscious awareness that readers expected dazzling verbal displays about the art. "I doe not studie Eloquence, or

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[24]Gosson, *The S[c]hoole of Abuse. Conteining a plesant invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Co[m]monwealth* (London: Thomas Woodstocke, 1579), fol. 11. See also, in particular, Plutarch, "Of Musicke. A Dialogue," in *The Philosophie, commonly called THE MORALS,* tr. Philemon Holland (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1603), pp. 1248-63.

[25]See *Praise of Musicke,* pp. 36-53; and Giraldi, *Historiae . . . dialogi decem*, 2 vols. (Basle: [M. Isengrin,] 1545), vol. I, dialogue 1, pp. 49-61.

professe Musicke," snaps Hume as he offers his compositions to his "understanding Reader" with all the rhetorical grace of a man-at-arms. "These are mine own Phansies expressed by my proper *Genius*, which if thou dost dislike, let me see thine" (*The First Part of Ayres . . .*, sig. B2v). Morley likewise explains that he has compiled a vernacular treatise on composition in spite of lesser learning because "of all other things [it] hath beene in writing least knowen to our countrimen, and most in practise" (*Plaine and Easie Introduction*, sig. B). Beneath this obvious tension between the work of the practicing musician and the polished eloquence of the musical dialectician there still stands a unifying sense of sound and musical gesture. Early modern England remained dominated by interlocking soundscapes, and the same privileged upbringing that provided access to the words of Aristotle and Athanasius also included numerous encounters with living music.[26]

* * * *

It is perhaps Ravenscroft, whose own career brought him into direct contact with the diverse musical worlds of church, theater, tavern, and London cityscape, who best summarizes the situation. To the practical musician belongs direct apprehension of the art by sound, ear, and the act of learning; to the intellectual speculator belongs the knowledge of musical things by judgment, wit, and understanding. The latter, claims the university-educated former cathedral chorister, requires Latin as its prerequisite. But with Latin learning, he tells his paradoxically vernacular reader, the musician can easily participate in such discourse.[27] In contrast, one needs a highly specialized form of hands-on instruction, acquired outside the conventional schoolroom, to become proficient in musical praxis. Hence Ravenscroft's little treatise, Morley's virtual dismissal of the speculative in his pragmatic guide, and Hume's and Gosson's snide

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[26]See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 23-65; and Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, pp. 30-95.

[27]Thomas Ravenscroft, *Treatise of Musick*, British Library Add. MS 19758, fol. 2. Morley, too, emphasizes that the practical beginner should not be burdened by terms and concepts requiring what Ravenscroft perceives as understanding (*Plaine and Easie*, sigs. B-Bv; ed. Harman, pp. 5-6).

remarks on either side of the divide between what Ravenscroft refers to as learning and understanding, or sensation and wit. Humans shared with animals the sensible soul which enabled bodily perception and caused "men, and unreasonable creatures of what kind soever, [to] be allured and mitigated with musicke" (*Praise of Musicke*, p. 53). But the rational soul, seat of the highest faculties of cognition and of judgment, was God's unique gift to his favored creature.[28]

The preeminent forms of musical knowledge thus remained textual, a blend of logic, language, philosophy, and ancient theory codified by Boethius. Herein lies the heart of early modern musical intellectualism and related discourse, most evident in a university curriculum that still provided formal musical instruction through the faculty of mathematics, but dismissed interested students to private tutors in the community to learn more practical skills. Herein also lies one aspect of the erudite repudiation of minstrelsy, and of the spirit of experimentalism which led natural philosophers from Bacon to Fludd to Newton to join musical judgment to sensation in contrasting quests for wisdom.[29] For an intellectual culture which had inherited a rote suspicion of embodied things and an equal admiration for the superiority of the cerebral, here indeed was a clear-cut dialectic between contrasting aspects of one art and science. "As for the methode of the booke," begins Morley, addressing the "curteous Reader" of his introduction to practical music,

> although it be not such as may in every point satisfie the curiositie of *Dichotomistes*: yet it is such as I thought most convenient for the capacitie of the learner. . . . And for the definition, division, partes, and kindes of Musicke, I have omitted them as things onely serving to content the learned, and not for the instruction of the ignorant.
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> (*Plaine and Easie Introduction*, sigs. B-Bv)

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[28]See Jill Kraye, "Moral Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Eckhard Kessler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 311-12.

[29]See Carpenter, *Music in the . . . Universities*, pp. 115-16, 313-17; and Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic*, pp. 24-28, 36-41. For more information about the pervasiveness of such musical experimentalism in early modern English intellectual culture, see further Gouk, pp. 72-90, 157-62, 178-92.

"*Pythagoras* bequeathes them a Clokebagge, and condemnes them for fooles, that judge Musicke by sound and eare," begins Gosson in an opposing work addressed to a different sort of reader:

> If you will bee good Scholers, and profite well in the Arte of Musike, shut your fidels in their cases, and looke uppe to Heaven: the order of the Spheres, the unfallible motion of the Planets, the juste course of the yeere, and varietie of the seasons, the concorde of the Elementes and their qualities, Fyre, Water, Ayre, Earth, Heate, Colde, Moisture, and Drought concurryng together to the constitution of earthly bodies and sustenaunce of every creature.
>
> (*S[c]hole of Abuse*, fol. 9)

There can be little doubt that Gosson joined in the singing of pious psalms from the English metrical psalter of Sternhold, Hopkins, and others in his personal religious devotion, just as Morley was far from ignorant of musical discourse.[30] Gosson certainly supports virtuous and healing forms of audible music in the same section of his self-styled "plesant invective." But his dialectical argument "against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Co[m]monwealth" deliberately positions judgment, wit, understanding, and the Latin

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[30]The doctrinally-approved English metrical psalter, presenting simple tunes to vernacular text, was published many times and in many forms from the mid-sixteenth century onward. The landmark London publication is T[homas] Starnhold [sic], J[ohn] Hopkins and others, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Metre* (London: John Day, 1562); but see also the earlier Continental prototype assembled abroad during Mary's reign, T[homas] Sternholde, *One and Fiftie Psalmes of David in English Metre* (Geneva: J. Crespin, 1556). The English metrical psalter was published many times and in many forms from the mid-sixteenth century, based on the same well-known and well-established tunes of the 1562 edition for each of the psalms. For a tabular summary of imprints, including insertion into the Bible and more musically complex arrangements by some of the leading composers of the era for inspirational performance in the home, see A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad*, 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged by W.A Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986), I, 99-117.

intellectual inheritance above sound, ear, and the clumsy gestures of sensory learning (*S[c]hole of Abuse*, title page and fol. 8v). In the same manner as an emblem or a book of secrets, which spoke on different levels to the more or less erudite, Gosson's rhetoric conceals hidden references for the knowing reader. The above passage, for example, draws discursive substance from the denunciation of wordly pleasures in Book 3 of Boethius's much-loved *De consolatione philosophiae*.[31] Nonetheless, in contrast to the likes of Ravenscroft or the author of the *Praise of Musicke*, Gosson finds no impediment to expressing such ideas in his native tongue.

As might be expected from such a range of presentations, there has been a great deal of disagreement over the depth and breadth of Latin learning in Gosson's and Ravenscroft's England.[32] It is clear that by the late sixteenth century there had occurred a shift in educational customs and the literary transmission of culture. A surprising number of readers therefore had recourse to what Ravenscroft implies was widely inaccessible. An Elizabethan gentleman was likely to be familiar with learned books and to have spent time travelling on the Continent. Print culture, the Reformation, and other shifts in emphasis on learning enabled many with basic literacy in their own tongue to participate in what had once been the province of an intellectual elite.[33] Such important

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[31]See Boethius, *Five Books of Philosophical Comfort*, tr. J. T. (London: John Windet for Matthew Lownes, 1609), Bk.3, the VIII prose, fol. 65v.

[32]See Barnett, "John Case," p. 264; James W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 392-98; Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 14-15; Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structure of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 207-10; and G. A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe, 1500-1700*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985-88), I, 6-7.

[33]See Terence Cave, "Mimesis of Reading in the Renaissance," p. 163, in *Mimesis: From Mirror to Method, Augustine to Descartes* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Dartmouth College, 1982), p. 42, n. 34; Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 174-75; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern*

sources of musical information as Aristotle's *Politiques*, Augustine's *Confessions*, Castiglione's *Book of the Courtyer*, and the pseudo-Plutarchian *De musica*, not to mention the Bible, became available in English editions by the reign of James I. The international book trade further enabled writers from the author of the *Praise of Musicke* to poet and playwright Ben Jonson to recast the latest Continental ideas into their native language.

The proliferation of vernacular publications of sententiae, culled from across the geographies of time and space and alphabetically arranged according to the commonplace model, enabled would-be gentlemen like those in Morley's treatise to argue successfully on musical grounds.[34] Just as one could learn the commonplace basics of musical cadence and phrase structure from notated examples in Morley's *Introduction*, one could turn to compilations by Nicholas Ling or John Marbeck to learn all necessary arguments for and against music and singing: two thousand years of diverse facts and opinions about music distilled into simple, memorable statements. Even more simply, one could turn to the introductory material in practical music texts from Thomas Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke* to Thomas Ravenscroft's *Discourse* to learn a few useful arguments. Conversely, "the ground and use of Musicke, and wherein [it doth] consist" is explained in dual-language format (Latin and English)

Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 44, 86-89; G. R. Evans, *Problems of Authority in the Reformation Debates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-69; Penelope Gouk, "Some English Theories of Hearing in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Second Sense: Studies of Hearing and Musical Judgment from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk (London: Warburg Institute, 1991), p. 96; Richard Schoeck, "Renaissance Guides to Renaissance Learning," in *Acta conventus neo-Latini Turonensis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1980), pp. 241-47; Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 133-36; and Wright, "Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class," *The Library* 13 (1932): 312-14, 330-31.

[34]See Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 311; Crane, *Framing Authority*, pp. 15-18; Robert Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986): 6; Sister Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (New York: Pageant, 1962), pp. 174-201, 211-25; and Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 1-50, 192-204.

in such composite rhetorical manuals as William Basse's *Helpe to Discourse*.[35] As Gosson, Stubbes, and the *Praise of Musicke* particularly show, by the end of the Elizabethan era mastery of Latin was no longer necessary for the display of musical judgment, wit, or understanding from any perspective.

If basic books and common understanding provided the raw material, it was up to individual interlocutors with their own agendas to create extended arguments. From Aristotle well through the dawn of intellectual modernity, disputation hinged on the formulation of a problem through the collation of prior authority, and consequent solution through careful distinctions among all available opinions. Negotiating and organizing this often bewildering morass of basic premises in order to devise correct inferences and make deductions was the object of logic, moved from the pinnacle to the center of the trivium by adherents to Ramism.[36] "*Logicke* in the first place *findeth out argumentes*, and then in the next place *disposeth* such arguments for better and readier judgment," explains one "Henoch Clapham, prisoner in the gate-house at Westminster, adjoining London" in a publication of 1605.[37] Early modern English dialectic, most often considered synonymous with this logic and contrasted to the ornate forms of rhetoric that helped give arguments their subtle flavor, found its roots in a tangled web of classical, medieval, and continental Renaissance arts of

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[35]Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (London: Thomas Este for Simon Waterson, 1603), sig. B; Ravenscroft, *Brief Discourse,* sigs. A-A4; and W[illiam] B[asse] and E.P., *A Helpe to Discourse* (London: N.O. for Leonard Beck, 1620), sig. F.

[36]See Scott Ashworth, "Traditional Logic," in *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy,* ed. Schmitt et al., pp. 143-72; Lisa Jardine, "Humanistic Logic," pp. 175-76; Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method,* p. 119; Eugene R. Kintgen, "Reconstructing Elizabethan Reading," *SEL* 30 (1990): 56; Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: The Case of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 72-75; Michael McCanles, *Dialectical Criticism and Renaissance Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 214-15; and Ronald H. McKinney, "The Origins of Modern Dialectics," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983): 179, 188-89.

[37]Clapham, *Doctor Andros his Prosopoeia Answered* (London: n.p., 1605), sig. A4.

disputation. Against this muddle of potentially conflicting procedures and organizational schemes, the essential tasks remained how to select the appropriate material, how to argue, and how to anticipate opponents' objections. The disputant was taught to reach agreement between the opposing views laid out so carefully not by means of a compromise, but by a synthesis between active and cooperating opposition of truth.[38] Thus the presentation and interpretation of collected arguments was key.

The reliance on preexisting material in such exercises was therefore hardly new, but it did not necessarily produce a witless regurgitation of schoolboy sentences. According to longstanding tradition, an early modern disputant had to be taught what to look for and how to assemble schematic displays of the relevant sorts of knowledge. "An argume[n]t, is a waie to prove how one thyng is gathered by another, and to shew that thyng, whiche is doubtful, by that which is not doubtful," explains Thomas Wilson in a handbook of 1552, *The Rule of Reason*. Untutored observation was thus unprofitable. On the other hand, neither the sort of active reading done in preparation for the production of new texts nor the systematic glossing used to produce commonplace categorizations was meant to end in mimetic repetition. Memory, meditation, and places stored in the mind were most vital for the original construction of arguments. "Let them practice when they would invent matter, but to runne through those places curiously in their mindes; and if one place do not offer fit matter, another will surely, and furnish them with store," writes John Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612), a Jacobean summation of grammar-school training.[39]

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[38]See Jardine, "Humanistic Logic," pp. 175-76, 189-91; Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning*, pp. 104-10; McKinney, "Origins of Modern Dialectics," p. 189, 190; Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 225-35, and also his *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 4-7; Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 1-62, 126-98.

[39]See Wilson, *The Rule of Reason Conteining the Arte of Logique* (London: R. Grafton, 1552), fol. 45; and Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: Or the Grammar Schoole* (London: Thomas Man, 1612), p. 182. On constructing original arguments see Crane, *Framing Authority*, pp. 12-33, 39; Kintgen, "Reconstructing Elizabethan Reading," pp. 5-6; and Lechner, *Commonplaces*, pp. 5-7.

Disputation on music as on other subjects also extended through grammatical structure and rhetorical eloquence all the way to moral philosophy. To a culture whose theories of communication were founded largely on ideas of moral improvement through the alteration of affections, it was almost impossible to separate exacting or persuasive speech from consequent action.[40] Nowhere was this more true than in formal construction of rhetorical praise or blame. As Henry Peacham the Elder defines "encomion" in the most important Elizabethan handbook on rhetoric, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), it was not only "a forme of speech by which the Orator doth highly commend to his hearers, some person or thing in respect of their worthy deserts & vertues." More importantly, it served "to support and encrease vertue, by giving due praise and commendation to it." Adhortation, like its opposite dehortation, was meant to have "not only the forme of a commandement or of a promise, but also sundrye & mighty reasons to move the minde and understanding of man not only to a willing consent, but also to a fervent desire to performe the thing adhorted."[41] As in dialectic, exemplarity and the useful storehouse of common knowledge found equal place in the exhortation to moral or political action. "The principal end of making Theams," writes the educator Brinsley, "[is] to furnish scholars with all store of the choicest matter, that they may therby learne to understand, speak, or write of any ordinary Theame, Morall or Political . . . and especially concerning vertues & vices" (*Ludus Literarius*, pp. 174-75). Logician Thomas Blundeville concurs in his *True Order and Method of Wryting* (1574):

> Humane wisedome hath three principall partes, the first hereof teacheth us rightlye to judge of all thinges, what is to be desired, and what is to be seconde, howe and by what meanes we may best attayne to the things which we desire The thirde

[40]See William J. Kennedy, *Rhetorical Norms in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 7-9; Lechner, *Commonplaces*, p. 210; and Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, p. 8.

[41]Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence, conteyning the figures of grammar and rhetorick* (London: H. Jackson, 1577), pp. 155, 78.

> teacheth us to take occasio[n] when it is offered and forsee all peril that may hap.[42]

In giving rise to the thoughts of the mind, words also gave voice to the passions of the heart, which could then be transmitted to others. Here the arts of grammar and rhetoric became inextricably linked to logic in the persuasive construction of arguments. "A man may say against Eloquence, that truth is sufficiently maintained and defended by it selfe: which I confesse is true, where the minds of men are pure, and free from passions," says Pierre Charron in an early English translation of his greatest work, *Of Wisdome.* "But," he continues, "the greatest part of the world, either by nature, or art, and ill instruction, is preoccupied, and ill disposed unto vertue and verity. . . . So by the fiery motions of eloquence, they must be made supple and maniable, apt to take the temper of veritie."[43] The author of the *Arte of English Poesie* (possibly, as noted above, George Puttenham), a noteworthy defender of music and its considerable virtues, explains that, though it may seem "impertinent" to consider the grave task of moral instruction under such a frivolous heading as poetry,

> there is a dece[n]cy to be observed in every mans actio[n] and behavior aswell as in his speach & writing. . . . [F]or the good maker or poet who is in dece[n]t speach & good termes to describe all things and with prayse or dispraise to report every ma[n]s behaviour, ought to know the comlinesse of an actio[n] aswell as of a word & thereby to direct himselfe both in praise & perswasio[n] or any other point that perteines to the Oratours arte. (p. 231)

And increasingly throughout the Elizabethan era and well into the next century, the sermon, which had always brought together these inextricable arts of morality and persuasion, became the preeminent tool

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[42]See Blundevill[e], *The True Order and Method of Wryting and Reading Hystories* (London: Willyam Seres, [1574]), sig. F3v.

[43]Charron, *Of Wisedome*, tr. Samson Lennard (London: Edward Blount and William Aspley, [1608?]), p. 587.

for the transmission of argument.[44] In addition to the proliferation of vernacular manuals on how to construct sermons, the language and structures of the genre are brought into the disputation on music both directly, as by Humphrey Sydenham, and implicitly by such writers as Stephen Batman, John Northbrooke, and Philip Stubbes.

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Participants in the ongoing cultural dialectic on music truly had many choices through which to direct themselves, as the author of the *Praise of Musick* says, in "praise or persuasion or any other point that pertained to the orator's art." Like that author, disputants could arrange their arguments on a single side of what was clearly understood as a bipolar debate. Alternatively, they could present opposed perspectives, and ultimately prove one morally or logically superior to the other. Most commonly, writers laid out a melange of material from a variety of sources, and either reached measured conclusions after weighing the evidence, or left the reader with the tools with which to construct further arguments with the right ring of authority. Collections of sentences, similitudes, or commonplaces gathered under the headings of music in print or in manuscript tended to become as evidently random in their arrangement as the ones in the much-reprinted *Politeuphua* assembled by Nicholas Ling. Here the reader finds strings of seeming solecisms moving from metaphysics to metaphor, as in "Musicke over our soules is both Queene and Mistresse" and "All things in this world, [are] but the musick of inconstancie" (1598 ed., fols. 195v-97). The simplest and most direct sets of comments, from the opening of the much-neglected anonymous Elizabethan theoretical treatise *The Pathway to Musicke* (1596) to the chapter on music in Andrew Boord's vernacular medical handbook *The Breviarie of Health* (1587 ed.), traditionally began, like Ling's collection, with a definition. Like Boord, most writers selected their places and deployed their musical arguments as best befitted the general topic of the work in which these appeared. "Musica is the Latin

[44]See Padley, *Grammatical Theory,* p. 8; and Robert Wuthnow, *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 130-31.

word. In Greeke it is named Musicae," explains this medical doctor, for whom these languages provided greatest authority. "In English it is named Musicke which is one of y^e^ VII. liberal sciences & a science which is comfortable to man in sicknes and in health."[45]

London schoolmaster and educational theorist Richard Mulcaster begins his cautious encomium by explaining that "*Musicke* maketh up the summe, and is devided into two partes, the voice and the instrument . . . both the two in this age best to be begon, while both the voice and the jointe be pliable to the traine" (*Positions*, p. 36). Likewise John Florio, teaching "familiar speech, merie Proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings" as an aspect of polite discourse in an English-Italian language manual, gives his readers the sort of flourishes that could have saved Morley's fabled dinner guest, who was untutored in music, a lot of embarassment:

> Howe doth Musicke please you?
> It pleaseth me wel, and you[?]
> Musicke is a laudable thyng.
> Yea sir, for Saintes have also used it, as kyng David, when he was any thyng sadde, or melancholike, he tooke delight in playing & singing Psalmes in praise of God his lord, Musicke is said to be the rejoysing of the hart: Musicke comforteth the mynde, and feareth the enimie, and also it is terrible, fearful, and terrifying: but there are many that do abuse it now adaies, which thing displeaseth me.
> You say true.[46]

But as words on music came to evoke the opposed realms of fleshly and spiritual desire—came to be strung together in the service of animal spirit or the angel choir—interlocutors raised their technical stakes and the persuasive quality of their arguments to take the side of judgment, wit, and understanding. However varied, however contradictory the early modern inheritance of information on music, it remained the art and

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[45]See *The Pathway to Musicke* (London: William Barley, 1596), sig. A2; and Boord, *The Breviarie of Health* (London: Thomas East, 1587), p. 83.

[46]Florio, *First Fruites: which yeelde familiar speech, merie Proverbes, wittie Sentences, and golden sayings* ([London:] Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke, 1578), fols. 70v-71.

science most clearly located between evident physicality and ontological mystery. The same music which raised the mind to God could also make it wander. Even imitations of the divine Psalmist who sang sweetly of the Resurrection in anticipation of the coming of Christ still began with a sensory gesture of mouth, or arms, or fingers. Embodied music, which paradoxically reflected the greater harmony of the cosmos, not only involved all five animal senses but entangled the bodies and lower spirits of auditor and performer.[47] "But let us not so resemble small things to great, that wee should dare compare those Poetic Rhapsodies with his sacred Harmony, their sensuall Elegies and madrigals with his divers Sonnets," cautions Somerset preacher Humphrey Sydenham in his sermon at the dedication of a church organ.[48]

George Wither, too, deals with the same threat of earthly and sensual music in his emblematic praise of religious music, "MUSICA SERVA DEI," published in his *Collection of Emblemes* of 1635 (Fig. 2).[49] Wither's title and image of David harping alone, eyes raised in ecstasy to the divine light and presence, are borrowed from a Dutch Collection of Gabriel Rollenhagen, where the accompanying Latin verses briefly contrast earthly and divine music.[50] But rather than starting his own accompanying poetic epigram with, say, the sound and sight of an instrument in church or with an incontrovertible quotation from a psalm, as does Sydenham, Wither begins with the effective device of diminishing his presumed opponents, whether music-haters or lovers of earthly music, and their morally untenable position (1-18):

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[47]For further information about the physical basis for musical affect and the attendant danger, see *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), Part III: Renaissance and Early Modern Europe, pp. 103-248; and Jamie Kassler, *Inner Music: Hobbes, Hooke, and North on Internal Character* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), pp. 1-48.

[48]Sydenham, "The Well-Tuned Cymball," in *Sermons on Solemn Occasions* (London: John Beale for Humphrey Robinson, 1637), p. 5.

[49]Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: A. M. for Henry Taunton, 1634), Sig. I2 (Bk. 2, illustration iii, p. 65). Reproduced by permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[50]Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum* (Cologne: Crispin van de Passe, [1611]), fol. 53.

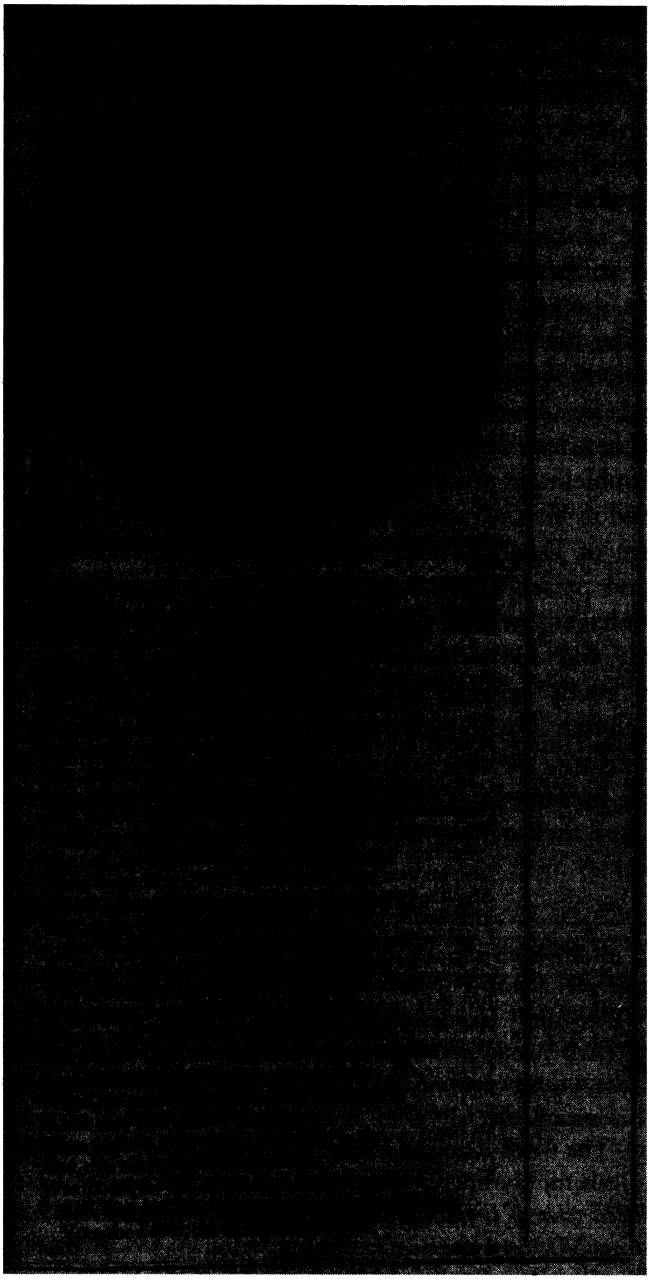

Figure 2.

To *Musicke*, and the Muses, many beare
Much hatred; and, to whatsoever ends
Their *Soul-delighting-Raptures* tuned are,
Such peevish dispositions, it offends.
Some others, in a *Morall way*, affect
Their pleasing *Straines* (or, for a sensuall use)
But, in *Gods Worship*, they the same suspect;
(Or, taxe it rather) as a great abuse.
The *First* of these, are full of *Melancholy*,
And, Pitty need, or Comfort, more then blame;
And, soone, may fall into some dangerous *folly*,
Unlesse they labour, to prevent the same.
The *Last*, are *giddie-things*, that have befool'd
Their Judgements, with *beguiling-Fantasies*,
Which (if they be not, by discretion, school'd)
Will plunge them into greater *Vanities*.
For, *Musicke*, is the *Handmaid* of the LORD,
And, for his *Worship*, was at first ordayned.

Here those who would argue against Wither's position are already found to be physically and spiritually ill, in need of either a musical cure to rebalance them (since music was a classic remedy for melancholy),[51] or a change from listening to musical genres that only beguile fancy.

* * * *

Across the entire spectrum of English discourse on music, with its varied interlocutors, media, and forms of presentation, one particular dialectic between body and soul stands out. Again and again, whether in single isolated sentences from tracts on other topics or in extended disquisitions devoted to music, English writers reveal wide traces of a

[51]See Linda Phyllis Austern, "'No Pill's Gonna Cure My Ill': Gender, Erotic Melancholy, and Traditions of Musical Healing in the Modern West," in *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Penelope Gouk (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 113-36; Gretchen L. Finney, "Music, Mirth, and the Galenic Tradition in England," in *Reason and the Imagination: Studies in the History of Ideas, 1600-1800*, ed. J. A. Mazzeo (London: Routledge, 1962), pp. 143-47; and Penelope Gouk, "Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits in Early Modern Thought," in *Music as Medicine*, ed. Horden, pp. 173-94.

cultural anxiety about the physicality of music. The peculiar uniqueness of the art, which enters through the one sense that cannot easily be closed or withdrawn from immediate contact with its stimulus, and which causes strong physical response, lay at the center of numerous English discussions of music. Here descriptive language, like music itself, crossed the permeable barrier between formulaic argument and experience, between knowledge and learning. "I grau[n]t Musicke is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man and beaste, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it redier to serve God," says Philip Stubbes, a social reformer who is usually accounted as an opponent of music. "[A]nd beeyng used to that end, Musicke is very laudable," he concludes formulaically. "But beeyng used in publique assemblies and private conventicles, as a *directorie* to filthie Dauncyng, through the sweete harmonie and smoothe melodie thereof, it estraungeth the minde, stirreth up filthie lust, *wommanisheth* the mynde, ravisheth the harte, enflameth concupiscence, and bryngeth in uncleannesse," he adds in a commemoration of physical horror, before going on to recommend dispelling the dangers through austere regulatory solo performance (*Anatomie of Abuses,* fol. 109v).

In a culture of surprising and often uneasy religious pluralism, whose intellectual currency bore the traces of so many separate influences, there is a startling pattern of obsession with musical soul-loss and concomitant moral degradation, often presented in terms of graphic violence or sexual metaphor. Across the political and presentational spectrum of early modern English musical discourse, there is a consistent verbal emphasis on the dangerous *jouissance* of music, the extraordinary pleasure which raised sensuous participation all the way to frenzy and the involuntary surrender of self. Even the very descriptions often break down, merging rhetorical borrowings from the sense of hearing with those of the lower senses of touch and taste, or with synaesthetic visions of divine light. Music led upward from the body and all earthly travail, but in so doing posed an equal threat to the integrated self. In a catalogue of music's beneficial effects, one of its staunchest Elizabethan supporters reminds us in an extraordinarily sensuous passage that even the most sincerely devotional music forcibly carries away the ear and bewitches the mind with a siren's sound, pulling it away from duty and acceptable meditation to wander freely among the occult dangers of the universe (Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 38). An entry in an anonymous manuscript commonplace

book in the Folger Shakespeare Library perhaps summarizes the situation most succinctly: music "inciteth to devotyon and intyceth to dissolucon."[52]

Joshua Poole's little seventeenth-century guide to "Rhyming Monosyllables, the choicest Epithets, and Phrases" presents a word-list for music that reads like notes toward the sort of zealous diatribe which Gosson or Prynne might have envied: "heart-ravishing, soul-invading, raping, entrancing, sense-bereaving, inchanting, encharming, wanton, fancy-tickling, intrancing, delicious, ravishing, soul-raping."[53] Here we see a simple distillation of common words pressed again and again into the service of discourse about the capacity of music to dissolve the bonds between body and soul, to soften or make effeminate the manly intellect, to invade the body through the ear and ravish the consciousness with great violence. "The cause of this is in us a continuall contemplation of sublime things," says one influential sage of a phenomenon recognized in antiquity and reemphasized for early modernity by the occult philosophies of Marsilio Ficino and his followers,

> which as far as it conjoyns with a most profound intension of the mind, the soul to incorporeal wisdom, doth so far recall it self with its vehement agitations from things sensible and the body, and . . . in such a manner sometimes, that it even flieth out of the body, and seemeth as it were dissolved.[54]

This sort of rapture, broadly linked through language to soul-theft, ravishment, rape in the medieval and more modern senses, frenzy, furor, lust, and its close linguistic analogue of overwhelming joy, appears again and again in longer arguments for and against music.

Allegorization of the sacred through the sensuous was nothing new, and was perhaps most importantly codified for the Christian West by the early church fathers. By the seventeenth century, on the eve of scientific revolution, intellectual language throughout Europe and across disciplines emphasized the non-visibility of meaning through lush

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[52]Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.381, p. 111.

[53]Poole, *The English Parnassus: or, a Helpe to English Poesie* (London: Tho. Johnson, 1657), p. 139.

[54]Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, tr. J. F. (London: R.W. for Gregory Moule, 1651), p. 508.

allegories evoking all five senses. In a mid-seventeenth century theological tract, Richard Baxter explains that "there is yet another way by which we may make our senses here serviceable to us; and that is, By comparing the objects of sense with the objects of faith; and so forcing sense to afford us that Medium, from whence we may conclude the transcendent worth of Glory."[55] Lucas Trelcatius's *Common Places of Sacred Divinity* perhaps explains the situation even better:

> For, of the actions by God in every Sacrament prescribed . . . comming unto our outward senses, propose to our mindes, other things altogether spirituall, and heavenly, that they might be understood, and by faith sealed up.[56]

But music was no mere metaphor, no simple tool to suggest hidden qualities through linguistic evocation of the sense of hearing. Music was, as numerous discourses remind us, a pragmatic art with a genuine place both in the sacred service and in profane pastimes of all sorts. "And I think hee hath not a *minde* well temper'd, whose zeale is not inflamed by a *heavenly Anthem*," observes moralist Owen Felltham, who elsewhere condemns the same art as more suitable for women than for men, for courtesans than for virtuous women, because of the same power to inflame bodily spirits and the impressionable mind.[57] Within early modern culture, music had the unique distinction of providing a pathway to ecstasy through a paradoxically worldly pleasure that, as often as not, seemed to serve its own sensual end.

* * * *

In the polymorphous gathering place where sound, meaning, body, soul, desire, and dissolution meet, music becomes its own form of argument. In 1622 Thomas Tomkins, organist of the Chapel Royal and one of the most prolific English composers of sixteenth- and

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[55]Baxter, *The Saints Everlasting Rest: or, a Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in Glory* (London: Robert White for Thomas Underhil and Francis Tyton, 1650), p. 761.

[56]Trelcatius, *A Briefe Institution of the Common Places of Sacred Divinity*, tr. John Gawen (London: T.P. for Francis Burton, 1610), p. 299.

[57]Felltham, *Resolves*, 5th ed. (London: Henry Seile, 1634), pp. 275, 274.

seventeenth-century anthems and services, published a rather old-fashioned madrigal of six parts on the unlikely subject of "Musicke Divine." Dedicated to lay clerk and fellow chapel musician "Mr. Doctor [William] Heather," who had been awarded the degree of Doctor of Music from Oxford in May of that year, the piece seems at first glance a mere throwback to an earlier era.[58] Stylistically it stands opposite the simple psalms of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, and is meant for chamber performance. The piece is marked by the thick polyphonic texture and imitative voice-leading which had been all the rage in the heyday of the English madrigal some twenty-five years previously. It hovers anachronistically between modality and tonality, relying on naive word-painting to express the literal meaning of its text. However, on closer examination and placed within an intellectual context as formulaic as a schoolboy's exercise and as lurid as a well-crafted sermon, the little piece acquires greater depth. Like Donne, Tomkins uses the expressive medium in which he excels in order to comment on the current state of church and chamber music making. The madrigal's uneasy union between sacred and secular, its evocation of the translucent line between love and lust, and its hinted awareness of slander of the composer's art additionally recall the formal rhetorical praise of music.

Most importantly, Tomkins's "Musicke Divine" raises the problem of the disturbing effects of music on body and soul, and is thus particularly resonant with cultural anxieties about the art. Using the very medium that bridged the gap between the clear safety of heavenly realm and the darkness of bodily urge, it becomes one composer's response to the widespread debates that threatened to obliterate his profession and condemn his art for its dangerous call to sensory excess. "There are two kyndes of Love: the one Natural, and the other Heavenlye," explains moral philosopher William Baldwin in a commonplace explication in 1573 of "Love, luste, and lecherye."[59] Following the ancient Platonic

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[58]Tomkins, *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (London, 1622). The piece is available in a rather outdated modern edition in *The English Madrigal School*, ed. Edmund Horace Fellowes, vol. 18 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1922), pp. 154-64. For a useful performing version, see *The Oxford Book of English Madrigals*, ed. Philip Ledger (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 175-85.

[59]Baldwin, *A Treatise of Morall Philosophye* [London, n.p., 1573], fol. O2.

allegory of the heavenly and the earthly Venuses, most early modern thinkers assigned the opposing poles of the contrast to love and lust. The former ultimately led toward harmonious union with the divine. The latter, like the wrong sorts of music, simply enervated the body through base sensory pleasure until it finally destroyed the soul. Music theorists, writing of an art so closely linked to both of these extremes, were particularly careful to maintain the distinction. When the Master in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* explains that a nature inclined to love leads many composers, including priests, to excel in the wanton pleasures of "*Madrigals, Canzonets,* and other such agreable musicke," his student Polymathes replies, "You play upon the *Homonymie* [i. e., equivocalness] of the word *Love*, for in that they be inclined to lust, therein I see no reason why they should be commended . . ." (Third Part, pp. 149-50).

The separation of love and lust in sounding music, as old as St. Augustine and as recent as the musical disputants who rediscovered the church fathers and their suspicion of the sensual delight of audition, is handled with wit and skill in Tomkins's madrigal. The anonymous text of "Musicke Divine" presents a problem that vexed many a man of God, the appropriate use of this most deeply sensual of the arts:

> Musicke divine, proceeding from above,
> Whose sacred subject oftentimes is Love,
> In this appears her heavenly harmony
> Where tuneful concords sweetly do agree.
> And yet in this her slander is unjust,
> To call that Love, which is indeed but Lust.

Tomkins's choice of the most secular of musical genres as a vehicle for sacred love demonstrates the uneasy, indefinite boundary between earthbound arousal through hearing and divine inspiration and heavenly ecstasy through perceptible harmony.

Morley reminds us of the audible connection his culture and Tomkins's heard between the madrigal and the "tempests and turmoils of love," manifest in the compositional techniques that defined the genre. "[T]he more variety of points bee shewed in one song," he explains to those who would compose madrigals,

> the more is the *Madrigal* esteemed, and withall you must bring in fine bindinges and strange closes according as the words of your Dittie shal move you. . . . and this is the cause that the parts of a *Madrigal* either of five or sixe parts go sometimes full, sometimes very single, sometimes jumping together, and sometime quite contrarie waies, like unto the passion which they expresse, for as you schollers say that this love is ful of hopes and feares, so is the Madrigall or lovers musicke full of diversitie of passions and ayres.
>
> (*Plaine and Easie Introduction*, Third Parte, p. 172)

Morley distinguishes the madrigal from the more grave and sober motet, the genre most closely associated with free articulation of sacred love, advising the student of composition,

> As for the musick [of the madrigal] it is next unto the Motet, the most artificiall and to men of understanding most delightful. If therefore you will compose in this kind you must possesse your selfe with an amorous humour (for in no co[m]position shal you prove admirable except you put on, and possesse your selfe wholy with that vaine wherein you compose) so that you must in your musicke be wavering like the wind, sometime wanton, sometime drooping, sometime grave and staide, otherwhile effeminate . . . and shew the verie uttermost of your varietie, and the more varietie you shew the better shal you please. (p. 180)

Tomkins follows all of this advice in his display of an amorous humor that balances the earthly and the heavenly. His six-part piece is truly full of diverse passions and airs, marked by Morley's recommended changing textures and inconstant relationships between voices. The learned, imitative opening suggests old-fashioned sacred polyphony (See Appendix, Ex. 1). The witty madrigalisms and clever treatment of such concepts as "harmony" demonstrate the sensory-intellectual subtlety expected of the madrigal (See Appendix, Ex. 2). Here "harmony" flows with langorous excess in long melismas, "love" literally soars toward higher regions, and "lust" is surprisingly dull according to the rules of part-writing (See Appendix, Ex. 3). No striking harmonies, metrical displacement, distant tonal regions, or "strange closes" illustrate that dreadful term "lust." It is not adorned with florid melismas or other

ornament. Each articulation is a mere dominant or tonic chord, ordinary, basic, and uninteresting. When both terms sound briefly together, "lust" is engulfed or softened by "love." Moreover, four bars from the end (p. 64), the sole articulation of "love" against the strength of four voices singing the word "lust" fills in the third of the G-minor chord, adding the one note of consonant sweetness to an otherwise stark and unrefined sound (See Appendix, Ex. 4). The "natural" musical contrary to divine love is thus the very opposite of madrigalian artifice. Tomkins's conclusion is simple: the complexities of music are unjustly slandered when it is dismissed as an agent of mere lust; lust, though harmonically basic, is unworthy of serious compositional energy; and love rings with sonic sweetness as it flows like music between the realms of sense and interior contemplation. Through the very sense of hearing, Tomkins reminds his listeners of what Henry More says in the aptly-titled *Cupids Conflict*: "But senses objects soon do glut the soul, / Or rather weary with their emptiness."[60] Lust is empty.

Most crucially, in "Musicke Diuine" Tomkins translates his culture's rhetorical and conceptual ideas of love and ecstasy into musical form at once audible to the ear and comprehensible to the understanding. "I like that Love which by a *soft ascension*, does degree it selfe in the *soule*," says Felltham of "enduring love" in his *Resolves* (p. 7). Tomkins's ultimate articulation of "love" works itself into the hearer's soul in a similar manner, for each voice treats the word as a stepwise melismatic ascent after a soft initial drop. Even more striking is the composer's clear auditory connection between harmony and the concepts of "ecstasy," "rapture," or "ravishment" to which music is so often linked by early modern English thinkers. Most simply, ecstasy was defined as "a trance, swooning, or astonishment, a ravishment or transport of the spirit by passion," the evident goal of true desire.[61] In his English vernacular dictionary of 1658, Edward Phillips adds that ecstasy is also the rhetorical device of "a figure wherein a syllable is made long contrary to

[60]More, *Cupids Conflict,* in *Democritus Platonissans* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1646), p. 2.

[61]Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (London: Thomas Newcomb for Humphrey Moseley, 1656), sig. O3.

its proper nature."[62] Hence Tomkins's melismatically elongated "harmony," which gently undulates downward from heaven over several repetitions in an extended sequence, in an audible expression of the passionate spiritual transport of love.

The enraptured soul is not lost, but gently guided. No siren beckons it to sin with cloying sweetness. The mind is not "estranged" nor stirred to "filthy lust," but subtly guided toward higher things. "Now I in you without a body move, / Rising and falling with your wings," exclaims the poet George Herbert (5-6) on the sweet, sacred transport of "*Church-musick*," which he terms a "house of pleasure," a refuge from "displeasure" that "Did through my bodie wound my minde" (1-3). He and music "both together sweetly live and love," and "[I]f I travell in your companie, / You know the way to heavens doore" (7, 11-12).[63] Portions of Tomkins's madrigal do likewise to the attentive listener, with the rise and fall of harmony leading ultimately up to heaven. The most amorous secular genre has become a vehicle for heavenly love, reminding the auditor that divine music was thought to be as powerful as ecstatic prayer. Yet this is no anthem or motet, no psalm, hymn, or portion of the Mass. It is not a cry to the divine, nor intended for sacred space or service. Here love and the sacred originate in a profane body of music and secular text, the auditory equivalent of a Platonic ascent through earthly beauty. In the end, the final cadence of this worldly composition settles on the disappointment of lust. "Musicke diuine" and "heavenly harmony" (1, 3) are but a lingering memory of greater auditory beauty. Through the very medium of music joined to text, the objects of sound and ear lead to judgment, wit, and understanding. A skillfully composed piece of music renders slander of the art more thoroughly unjust than all the learned commonplaces most logically deployed.

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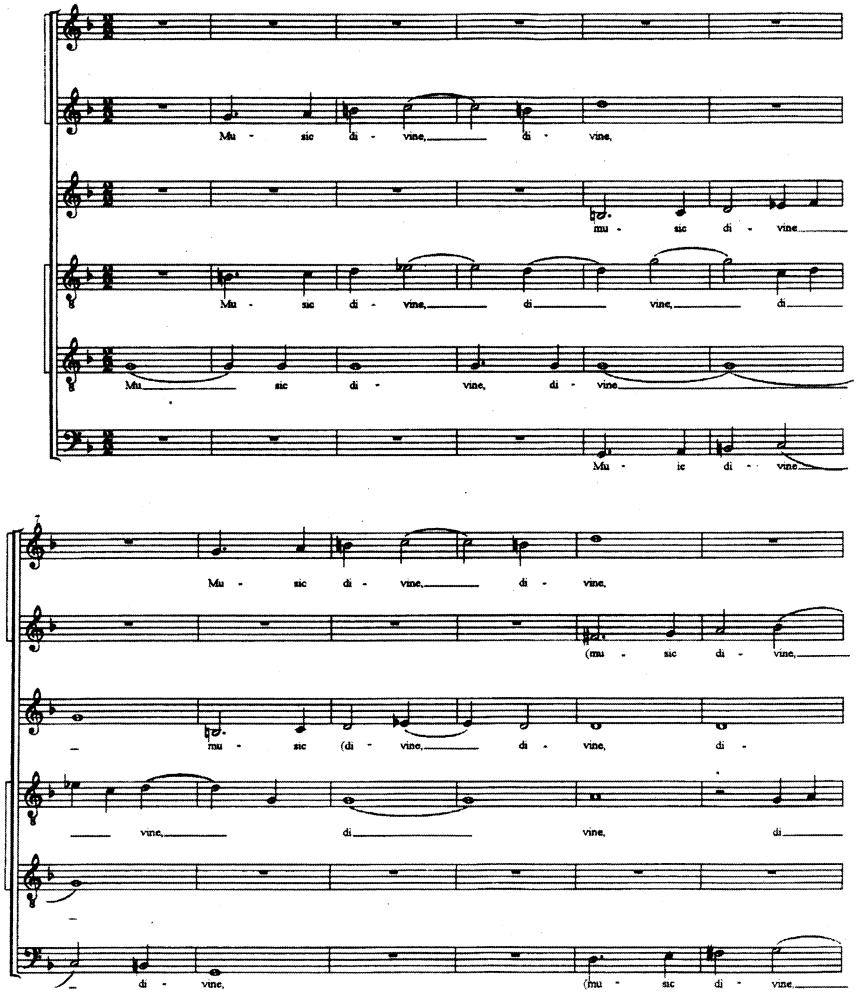
[62]Phillips, *The New World of English Words* ([London?:] Nathaniel Brooke, 1658), sig. N3.

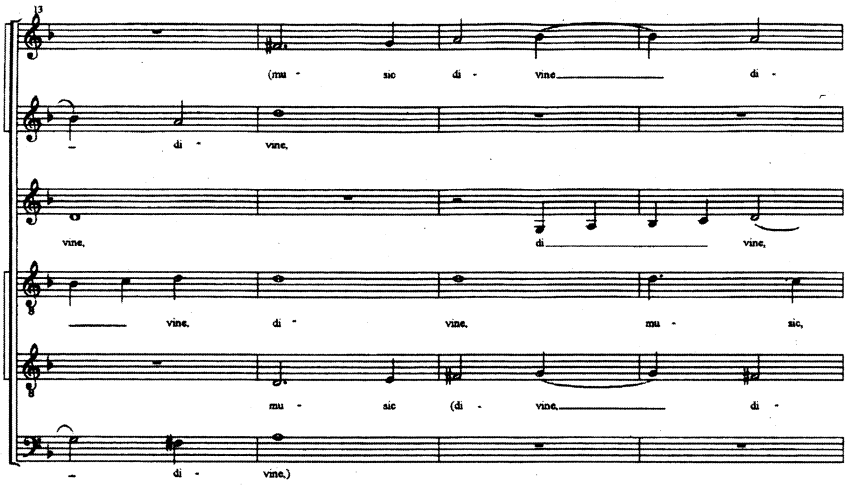
[63]Herbert, *The Temple*, 11th ed. (London: S. Roycraft for John Williams, 1678), p. 57.

Appendix

Example 1

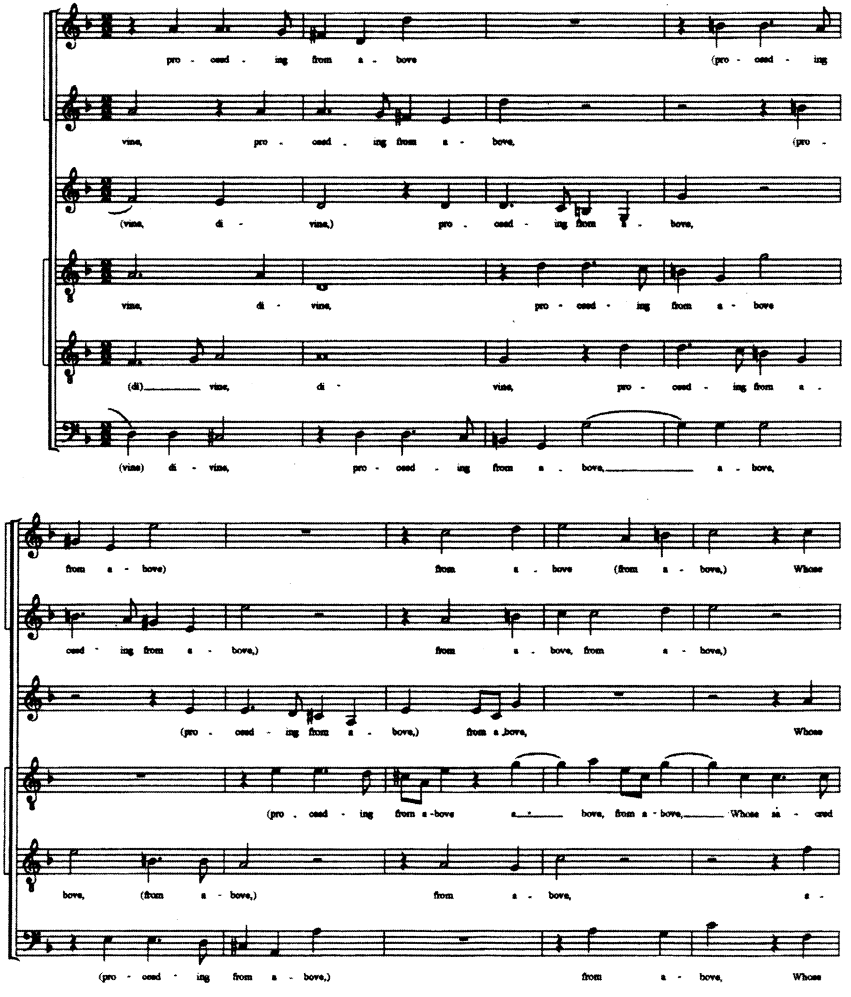
The opening of Thomas Tomkins's "Music Divine," showing the sort of learned imitation that suggests both old fashioned madrigal writing and sacred polyphony.

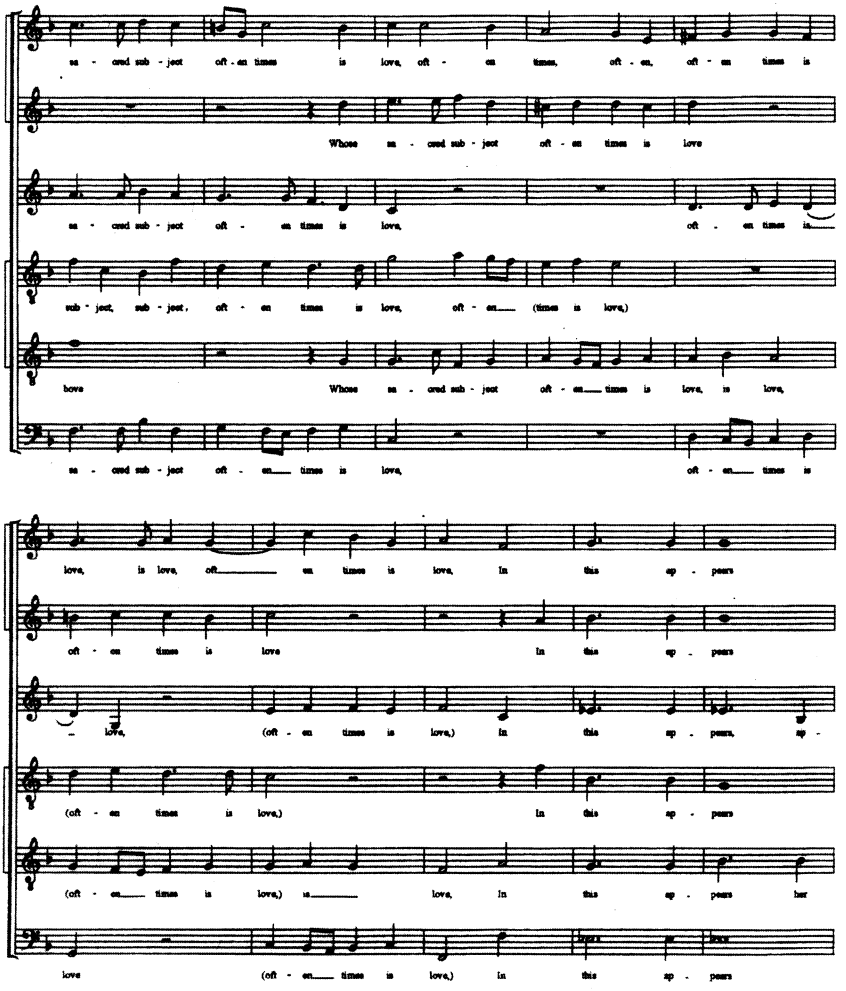


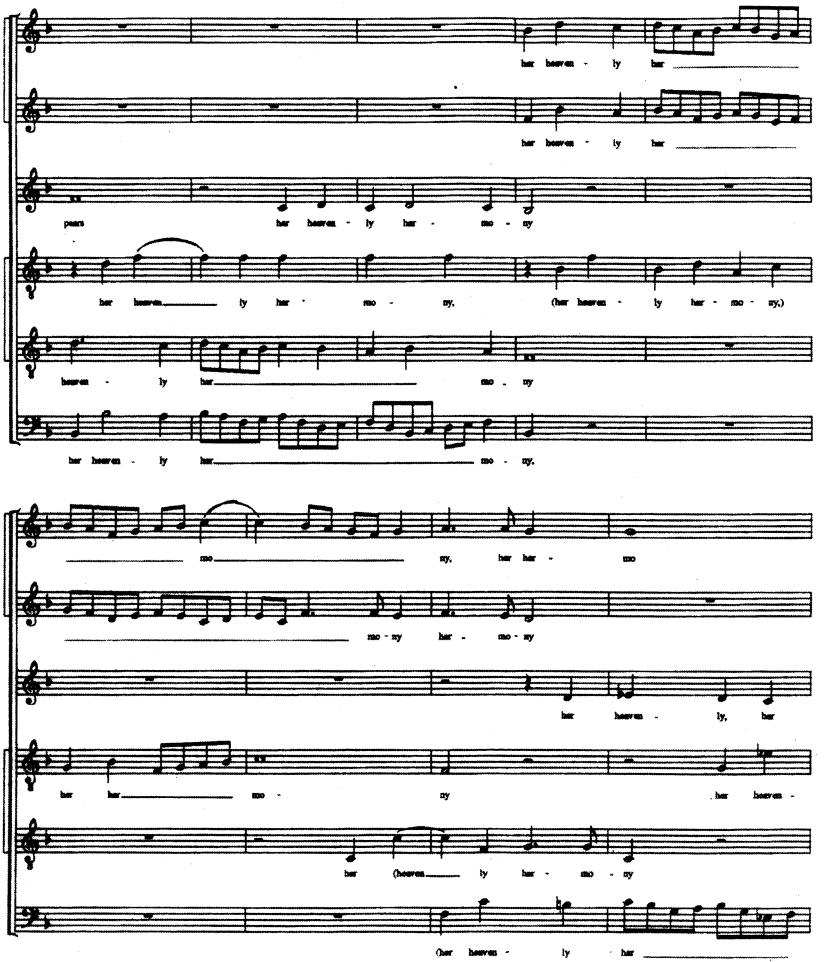

13
(mu - sic di - vine di -
di - vine,
vine, di vine,
vine, di - vine, mu - sic,
mu - sic (di - vine, di -
di - vine.)

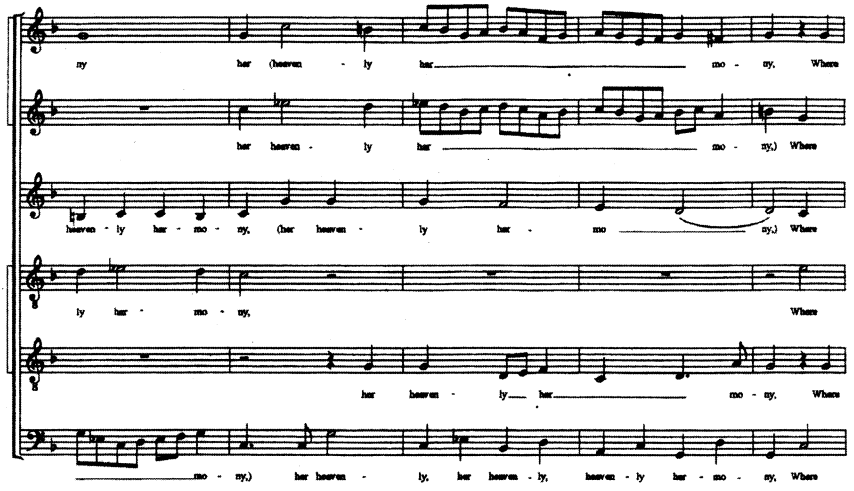
Example 2

Literal text-painting and witty madrigalisms in "Music Divine" express such terms as "above" and "harmony" with the wit and skill expected of the genre.



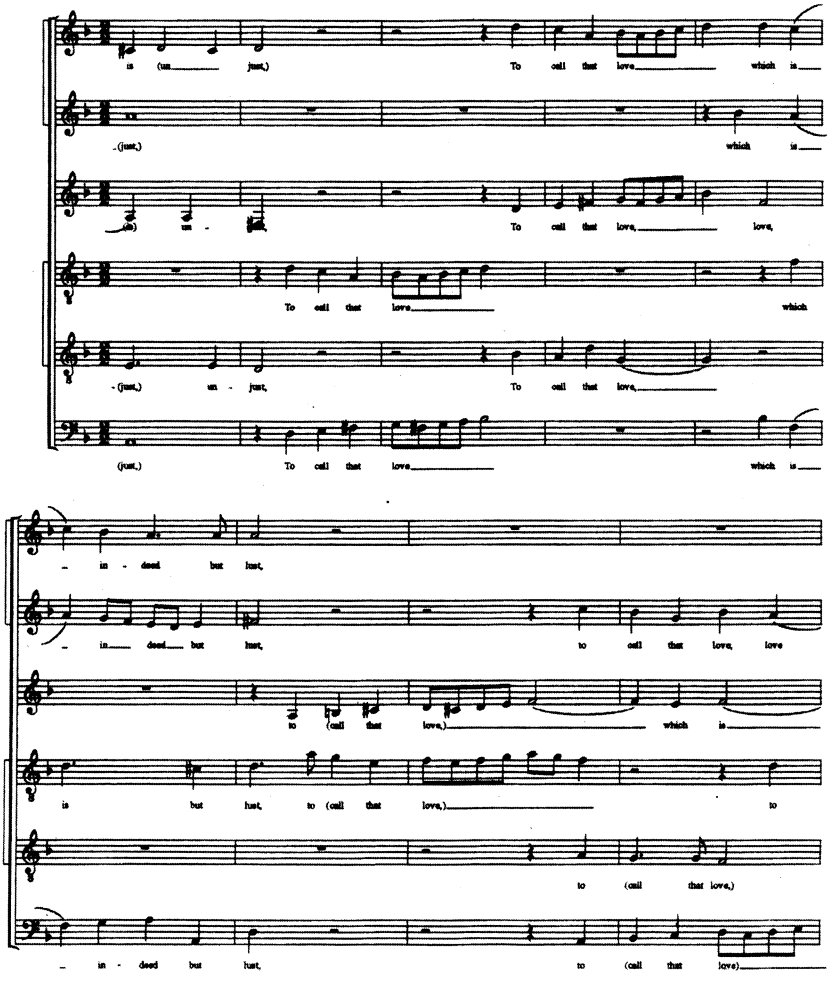

sa - cred sub - ject oft - en times is love, oft - en times, oft - en, oft - en times is
Whose sa - cred sub - ject oft - en times is love
sa - cred sub - ject oft - en times is love, oft - en times is
sub - ject, sub - ject, oft - en times is love, oft - en (times is love,)
bove Whose sa - cred sub - ject oft - en times is love, is love,
sa - cred sub - ject oft - en times is love, oft - en times is
love, is love, oft en times is love, In this ap - pears
oft - en times is love In this ap - pears
love, (oft - en times is love,) In this ap - pears, ap -
(oft - en times is love,) In this ap - pears
(oft - en times is love,) is love, In this ap - pears her
love (oft - en times is love,) In this ap - pears

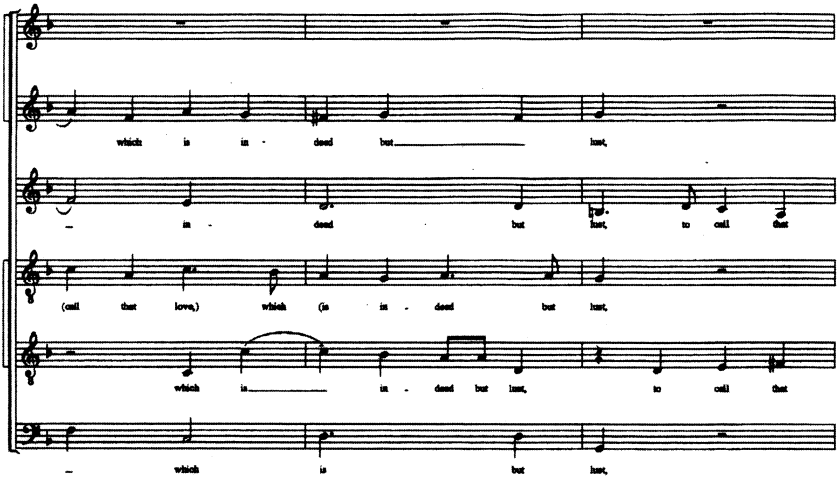

her heaven - ly her
her heaven - ly her
pears her heaven - ly her - mo - ny
her heaven ly her - mo - ny, (her heaven - ly her - mo - ny,)
heaven - ly her mo - ny
her heaven - ly her mo - ny.
mo ny, her her - mo
mo - ny her - mo - ny
her heaven - ly, her
her her mo - ny her heaven -
her (heaven ly her - mo - ny
(her heaven - ly her


ny her (heaven - ly her mo - ny, Where
her heaven - ly her mo - ny,) Where
heaven - ly her - mo - ny, (her heaven - ly her - mo ny,) Where
ly her - mo - ny, Where
her heaven - ly her mo - ny, Where
mo - ny,) her heaven - ly, her heaven - ly, heaven - ly her - mo - ny, Where

Example 3

Contrasting treatment of "love" and "lust" in Tomkins's "Music Divine."




which is in - deed but lust,
– in - deed but lust, to call that
(call that love,) which (is in - deed but lust,
which is in - deed but lust, to call that
– which is but lust,

Example 4

Ending of "Music Divine," further emphasizing the contrast between love and lust, giving "love" the sweetness of the third scale degree when it sounds against "lust."