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MICHAEL PRAETORIUS, MUSIC HISTORIAN: AN  
ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF "SYNTAGMA MUSICUM"  
I, PART I.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1979

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MICHAEL PRAETORIUS, MUSIC HISTORIAN:

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF SYNTAGMA MUSICUM I, PART I

by

Michael David Fleming

A dissertation presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

May, 1979

Saint Louis, Missouri

IN MEMORIAM PATRIS MATRISQVE

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## PREFACE

## Preface

The basis of my translation is the facsimile reprint of Syntagma Musicum I edited by Wilibald Gurlitt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959). Since there was only a single printing, the question of variant readings does not arise. I have translated the Dedicatory Epistle, the address "To the Benevolent Reader," and the entire text of Part I, "On Sacred or Ecclesiastical Music." In addition, I have included the following items in Appendices I through IV: (Appendix I), the "Omissions" on Hebrew accents, which appear on pages 150-151 of the original; (Appendix II), the section dealing with the work of Johann Walther, including an extensive quotation from a manuscript source, which appears on pages 447-453 of the original; (Appendix III), the Synopsis or Table of Liturgical Music, which appears on pages 454-455 of the original, which is reproduced here in facsimile because of the extreme difficulty of retaining Praetorius' tabular layout in translation; (Appendix IV), the decretal of Pope John XXII on church music, which appears on pages 456-457 of the original. Praetorius' own table of contents and index, as well as some prefatory material which has no bearing on the dissertation, have been omitted.

Those words and phrases which appear in brackets are

either my own additions to the text, made for the sake of readability; words and phrases of the Latin text itself, where the meaning is unclear or doubtful; and transliterations of Greek words used by Praetorius, which are translated into English in my text. Common abbreviations have been expanded without comment, e.g., "cap." is given as "chapter," "Hieron.," as "Jerome." Proper names are given in their common English forms, when these exist. Names of works are also given in English in the case of those works which have common English titles, e.g., Augustine's City of God. When Praetorius gives a quotation from one of the Greek fathers, both in the original language and in Latin, I have based my translation on the Latin text, which in some cases does not agree word for word with the Greek. In transliterating Hebrew words, I have used the system developed by the Journal of Biblical Literature and the Harvard Theological Review whenever Praetorius gives the original Hebrew. When he gives only a (Germanized) transliteration, I have left this intact.

Biblical quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version, except in those few cases in which the meaning of a passage hinges on a particular word in the Latin. In such cases, I have supplied my own translation of the Latin in the text, and given the Revised Standard Version reading in a footnote. References to ancient versions of the Bible and to Luther's German translation have not been individually footnoted. The most reliable editions of

these are listed below:

1. Biblia Hebraica, ed. by Rudolf Kittel (16th ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1971).
2. Septuaginta, 3 vols., ed. by Alfred Rahlfs (9th ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1971).
3. Targums, in Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, 6 vols., ed. by Brian Walton (London, 1653-57).
4. Novum Testamentum Graece, ed. by Eberhard Nestle (25th ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1964).
5. Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem, 2 vols., ed. by Bonifacius Fischer (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).
6. Martin Luther, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch, 2 vols., ed. by Hans Volz and Heinz Blanke (Munich: Kogener und Bernhard, 1972).

Other translations of the Bible cited by Praetorius are footnoted individually.

Following the common practice of his time, Praetorius cited his sources in the text proper, usually in italics. These have been left in situ, either substituting parentheses for italics, or incorporating the reference into the text itself. Additional bibliographical information is supplied in my footnotes. When there is a discrepancy between Praetorius' reference and my own, it may be assumed that Praetorius is incorrect; it would have been tedious to sprinkle the pages with sic for every inaccurate reference.

In the footnotes, I have used Latin titles for all

patristic works, both Greek and Latin, following the translations given by Migne in the Patrologia Graeca for the Greek fathers.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

1. CIC: Corpus Iuris Canonici, 2 vols., ed. by Aemilius Ludovicus Richter (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955).
2. Jungmann, MRR: Josef A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951).
3. PG: Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca, 161 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1857-1904).
4. PL: Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1845-1902).

## INTRODUCTION

## Introduction

In 1614/1615, there appeared in print the first volume of Michael Praetorius' Syntagma Musicum, which the author planned as an encyclopedic survey of music, theoretical and practical.<sup>1</sup> The second and third volumes were published in 1618 and 1619; the publication of a projected fourth volume was prevented by the author's premature death in 1621. In the first part of Volume 1, which is the only portion under consideration in this study, Praetorius treated the history of vocal and instrumental music in the church, with strong emphasis on the patristic period.

It is clear that Praetorius was addressing a cultivated audience, made up of clergy rather than musicians. The Dedicatory Epistle is directed to "the reverend bishops, abbots, etc.," and the author repeatedly appeals to the leaders of the church as guardians of the liturgy and of liturgical music. This volume of the Syntagma Musicum was written in Latin, rather than German, which would have limited its circulation among ordinary musicians. In his address "To the Benevolent Reader," Praetorius asserts that the present work is intended for "the learned," whereas

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<sup>1</sup>The first part was printed in Wolfenbüttel by Elias Holwein in 1614; the second part and the Dedicatory Epistle, in Wittenberg by Johann Richter in 1615.



the forthcoming second volume will be for "organ-builders, organists, and all other instrumentalists," and the third and fourth volumes, for "musicians and amateurs of music."<sup>2</sup> Praetorius took for granted his readers' familiarity with the writings of the church fathers; there are many quotations from patristic sources, some given in incomplete and fragmentary form. Evidently, the "learned" readers were expected to be sufficiently familiar with the authors cited to follow Praetorius' arguments from sketchy quotations.<sup>3</sup> This volume was written, then, for the Lutheran clergy, and in particular, for the upper ranks of the church hierarchy, whom Praetorius saw as a bulwark against those who were eager

to snatch away and suppress...the treasure  
of the church committed to the liturgy...  
or to corrupt and distort it....<sup>4</sup>

A perusal of the Dedicatory Epistle will reveal Praetorius' purposes in publishing this volume of the Syntagma Musicum: first, to

present and explain piously all the types  
of songs, organs, and other instruments  
hallowed for the liturgical rites [which  
are] pleasing to God and useful to the  
public, and [to discuss their] use at  
gatherings of the church, both in ancient  
times and today.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 82-83.

<sup>4</sup> p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 21-22.

second, to refute the arguments of those

who strive to diminish or to remove altogether the offices of the liturgy...<sup>6</sup>

This second purpose, which underlies much of what Praetorius says in this volume, deserves a closer look, since it is less obvious than the first. The opponenets of traditional liturgical forms in the Lutheran church asserted that many liturgical texts and the music associated with them were tainted with Popery, since they had their origin in the period before the Reformation. Praetorius musters two counterarguments: Many parts of the liturgy

were accepted according to ancient custom, certainly long before the time of Popish abuse.<sup>7</sup>

and even those items which did originate during the period of Papal corruption contain much that is useful and edifying, which should be purged of error and retained

just as the Israelites learned to put to a more true use in the Sanctuary the spoils which the Egyptians had abused.<sup>8</sup>

For Praetorius, church music was no mere ornament or decoration; it was an integral part of the spiritual life of the church. He asserts that the church rests on two pillars, speech [contio] and song [cantio], which he com-

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<sup>6</sup> p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> p. 17.

parens allegorically to the trees of knowledge and of life in the Garden of Eden, to the Urim and Thummim carried by the Jewish high priest on his breastplate, to the two bronze pillars which supported Solomon's Temple, to the cherubim and seraphim, and to the two silver trumpets forged at Moses' command to summon the tribes of Israel.<sup>9</sup>

Praetorius divides his treatise into four sections: the first deals with the psalter, and provides him with an opportunity to deal with the role of music in the liturgy; the second deals with the Mass; the third, with the divine office; and the fourth, with the use of musical instruments in worship.

The section on psalmody considers chiefly the use of the psalms in Christian worship and the inward effects of psalm-singing on the worshippers. There is no technical discussion of the psalms as poetry, and the psalm-tones are mentioned only in passing. The author was concerned here mainly with the spiritual effects of the psalms on the singers, who

when reciting the divine words, receive God into their hearts.<sup>10</sup>

The section on psalmody is subdivided into two parts. The first, which includes Chapters I through V, contains a discussion of the use of the psalms and choral music in

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<sup>9</sup> pp. 5-12.

<sup>10</sup> p. 47.

worship, tracing the history of choral song from the Temple rites of the Jews through the patristic period of the Christian Church. In Chapter IV, Praetorius returns again to the theme first stated in the Dedicatory Epistle, that speech and music are inseparable, and that each supports and strengthens the other.

Therefore, choral melody pricke up the ears and focuses their attention on the word of God, [giving] contemplation to the mind, emotion and firm devotion to the heart.<sup>11</sup>

In the second subsection, which includes Chapters VI through XVI, he enumerates the various functions of psalmody in the primitive church, and the benefits derived from it under different circumstances. Chapter IX, for example, treats the use of the psalms in strengthening the faithful in times of persecution. Praetorius cites several anecdotes illustrating how Christians in a hostile pagan world found strength in psalm-singing.<sup>12</sup>

Several themes run through this first section: that sacred music is a gift of the Holy Spirit, that it has beneficial effects on the souls of both performer and listener, and that it has been an integral part of the worship of God since Old Testament times. It is a mistake, therefore, to view Praetorius' discussion of psalmody as purely descriptive or analytical; there is a strong undercurrent of propaganda

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<sup>11</sup>p. 54.

<sup>12</sup>See the story of Publia the deaconess on pp. 78-9.

in every chapter, reinforcing the claim of sacred music to an equal role with the spoken word in the liturgy of the Christian church.

Section II deals with the Mass. Despite Praetorius' promise to include "all the sacred songs of the morning liturgy"<sup>13</sup> in his survey, there is no mention of music per se. This section begins with a lengthy etymology of the word "missa." In addition to the derivation generally accepted by scholars today, namely, that the term is derived from the dismissal (missio, or in ecclesiastical Latin, missa) of the congregation, Praetorius gives several others, including a rather far-fetched one based on the Hebrew word "ma'aseh," which means "act" or "deed." The remainder of the section is taken up with a survey of the origins of the parts of the Mass, taken in the order in which they occur. The form of the Mass dealt with here is not the Tridentine Roman Mass, but the Lutheran Mass. For example, the Sanctus and Benedictus are placed after the Words of Institution, as they appeared in the Lutheran Kirchenordnungen. Again, there is a propagandistic undercurrent: each element of the Eucharistic rite is traced to its origin in the primitive church in order to cleanse the Mass of the stains of Popery. In the epilogue to Section II, the author asserts that even those parts of the Mass which did originate under the Papacy

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<sup>13</sup>p. 105.

were tolerable to some degree, and could not rightly be accused of superstition or idolatry.<sup>14</sup>

Section III deals with the liturgy of matins and vespers, the two hours of the divine office which had been retained among Lutherans. Here Praetorius seeks to draw out the spiritual significance of the various parts of the offices, rather than to trace their origins. The controversies surrounding the Mass in the sixteenth century had made it necessary for Praetorius to trace its pedigree in some detail. Since the offices were not sacramental services, there was less controversy surrounding them, and hence, less cause to deal with their ancestry. As in Section II, Praetorius is concerned here mainly with the liturgy itself, and only incidentally with its music. There is, however, a brief discussion of the psalm-tones, elaborating on the scanty reference made to them in Section I.<sup>15</sup>

In the supplement to Part III, Praetorius includes a survey of the litany, the little hours, and the rosary. The inclusion of the litany comes as no surprise; Luther himself had produced a revised litany in 1529, and one may assume that it had remained in use in the Lutheran Church. It does seem curious, however, that the day hours of the breviary and the rosary are included. The little hours had been suppressed in all reformed churches, and one can

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<sup>14</sup> p. 145.

<sup>15</sup> p. 155.

hardly imagine that the rosary would have found a place in Lutheran devotion, considering the hostility of Protestants to the cultus of the Virgin. No doubt Praetorius had unearthed some tidbits of information on these subjects in the course of his research, and he was loath to omit them altogether.

Section IV, which deals with instrumental music in the church, is in many ways parallel to Section I, which deals with choral music. Here again, Praetorius is propagandizing, mustering arguments from Scripture and from the church fathers against the enemies of church music. The first five chapters deal with the organization of worship among the Jews in the Old Testament; this is no more archeological survey, however. Praetorius makes several points here which would not have been lost on the church hierarchy in his own time: the Levitical musicians were carefully chosen and trained, their duties were rigidly prescribed, and they were abundantly provided for out of the tithes of the people. The contrast between the Biblical model and contemporary practice in regard to providing for the sustenance of church musicians would have been painfully clear to the reader.

Chapter VI deals with the meanings of the titles prefixed to many psalms, and the musical implications which they have. Chapters VII through XV, which discuss Biblical and modern instruments in detail, also provide a spirited defense of the use of instruments in worship,

supported by numerous quotations from the church fathers.

For information about Jewish music in Old Testament times, Praetorius relies on the Bible itself. A close examination of his Biblical quotations reveals, however, that he did not follow exactly either the Vulgate text, nor, as far as can be ascertained, any other standard translation. For example, in Section I, Chapter VII, he quotes from Psalm 37:

Gladium evaginaverunt peccatores,  
intenderunt arcum,  
ut sagittis petant pauperem et inopem,  
et occidunt rectos corde.<sup>16</sup>

The Vulgate reads:

Gladium evaginaverunt peccatores  
intenderunt arcum suum  
ut decipiant pauperem et inopem  
ut trucidant rectos corde.

The Latin translation of Tremellius and Junius, widely used by Protestants, reads:

Gladium eduxerint improbi,  
et adduxerint arcum suum,  
ad dejiciendum pauperem et egentem,  
ad mactandum rectos via.<sup>17</sup>

Since the numbering of quotations from the psalms corresponds to the Hebrew (and hence Protestant) numeration of the psalter, one might wonder if Praetorius was translating into Latin from Luther's German version, but such is not the case; the German reads:

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<sup>16</sup> pp. 69-70.

<sup>17</sup> Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Jansonius Caesius, 1578), Ps. 37.



Die Gottlosen ziehen das Schwert aus und spannen ihren Bogen, daß sie fällen die Elenden und Armen und schlachten die Frommen.

An examination of other Biblical quotations reveals the same phenomenon: Praetorius is following neither the Vulgate, nor Tremellius and Junius, nor Luther. What version of Scripture is he using then? It is probable that here, as so often elsewhere, Praetorius is quoting from memory, and his memory is often inaccurate. He generally preserves the meaning of the passage quoted, but it seems clear that he did not have the text before him as he was writing.

There are few Biblical quotations in Greek, and most of these occur in contexts in which Praetorius is comparing several variant translations of the same passage. For example, in the Dedicatory Epistle, he gives the Septuagint rendering of "Urim and Thummim," "deilosin kai aletheian;" again, in Section I, Chapter XII, he cites the Greek New Testament as one of three versions of James 5:13.<sup>18</sup>

Quotations in Hebrew are even less frequent than those in Greek, and consist mainly of single words or short phrases used to make some point of etymology or Biblical interpretation. One gains the strong impression that Praetorius' knowledge of Hebrew was rather sketchy, and that he relied heavily on secondhand information for

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<sup>18</sup> p. 6; p. 88.

his interpretations of Hebrew words.<sup>19</sup>

Most of the patristic writers known today were familiar to scholars in the seventeenth century, and their works were widely available in printed editions. In the case of the Latin fathers, Praetorius' quotations are generally close to the texts we have today. When they do vary, it is impossible to tell whether Praetorius was using a corrupt edition, or whether he was paraphrasing or quoting from memory. Quotations from the Greek fathers generally give the first few words in Greek, with a full translation in Latin, although a few appear in Latin only. The Greek incipits given by Praetorius seem to have no purpose but to impress the reader with his erudition. In no case except one does he draw out any nuance of meaning from the Greek text.<sup>20</sup>

Many of the other authors on whose works Praetorius drew frequently were chroniclers or encyclopedists of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Unfortunately, they are highly unreliable sources of information, since they were usually uncritical in the use of their own sources. The quotations from these authors tend to be quite long; in some cases, whole chapters or sections are quoted or paraphrased in extenso.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>For example, Valentin Schindler's Lexicon Pentaglotton (Hanover: Ioannes Iacobus Hennaenus, 1612).

<sup>20</sup>p. 286.

<sup>21</sup>See Section III, footnote 76.

Since few of these authors are familiar to modern readers, those most frequently referred to are identified below.

Sigebertus (Sigebert of Gembloux, ca. 1030-1112) was a monk of the Benedictine abbey at Gembloux. His Chronicon, which covers the period from 381 to 1111

uses an immense wealth of sources, but without much critical discernment.<sup>22</sup>

Durandus (Guillaume Durand, ca. 1230-1296) was the bishop of Mende, a noted canon lawyer, who attended Pope Gregory X at the Council of Lyons in 1274. His best-known work is the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, a detailed explication of the Mass, the office, and other ecclesiastical matters, with emphasis on their allegorical and symbolical meanings. This was an immensely popular work, and it was reprinted many times in the sixteenth century.

Bartolomeo Platina (1482-1481) was an Italian humanist, much involved in ecclesiastical affairs in Rome, where he held the office of Vatican librarian under Pope Sixtus IV. Praetorius makes extensive use of his De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum.

Albert Krantz (1448-1517) was a German historian and humanist, deeply involved in church reform. All of his scholarly works were published posthumously; they include Wandalia (1519), Saxonia (1520), Dania (1546), and the

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<sup>22</sup>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2d ed., ed. by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 1273.

Ecclesiastica Historia, sive Metropolis (1548), from which Praetorius quotes extensively.

Volaterranus (Raffaele Maffei, 1455-1522) was a humanist of a distinguished family of scholars. Praetorius makes use of his Commentariorum Rerum Urbanorum Libri Octo et Triginta.

Polydore Vergil (1470-1555) was an Italian humanist, who spent much of his life in England. His book De Rerum Inventoribus was immensely popular; it appeared in print in 1499, was greatly enlarged in 1521, and was widely translated. Praetorius relies heavily on Polydorus for his information about the origins of the various parts of the Mass and the office.

Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire Vermigli, 1500-1562) was an Augustinian friar, converted to Protestantism through his readings of Zwingli and Bucer. In 1547 he was invited to England by Thomas Cranmer, and was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The posthumously-published Loci Communes underly much of Praetorius' discussion of the Mass, although there are only a few direct references to him.

In reading through Volume I of the Syntagma Musicum, one cannot fail to be struck by the breadth of Praetorius' knowledge; the sheer number of sources he consulted is staggering. His use of these sources, however, needs closer scrutiny. In many cases he amassed and presented great chunks of information without making any attempt to

sift fact from legend, or to disentangle the truth from a mass of conflicting viewpoints. A good example is his etymology of the word "Mass," which forms the introduction to Section II. Here the most diverse sources are jumbled together, and fact is mixed with fancy in the most disconcerting fashion.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, in tracing the origin of the Sanctus, Praetorius gives credit to two Popes, Sixtus and Celestine, for its introduction into the Mass. Again and again the reader is presented with an undigested mass of information which he must sort out as best he may.

Praetorius' inaccuracy in quoting the Bible has been mentioned; his faulty memory was not confined to Scriptural quotations. His citations of chapter and book from the writings of the church fathers are often incorrect. To multiply examples would be pointless; one has only to note the discrepancies between the reference given by Praetorius in the text and the correct reference given in the footnote to judge the quality of his memory. Even when he seems to have been working with his source before him, he was not scrupulous about quoting precisely. Many passages are conflation or paraphrases, with the author's text interspersed with remarks by Praetorius.<sup>24</sup>

One can hardly criticize Praetorius for failing to meet the standards of scholarship established in the

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<sup>23</sup> pp. 107-09.

<sup>24</sup> for a Biblical example, see pp. 235-36.

nineteenth century. He was working in the tradition of the medieval chroniclers, whose aim was to amass information, without necessarily scrutinizing it to see whether or not it was reliable. But as impressive as the Syntagma Musicum is in its breadth and comprehensiveness, it cannot be relied on in detail. In those sections in which his sources were more or less reliable, that is, Sections I through III, it stands up fairly well. The only drawback is that many falsehoods are scattered among the reliable information. Part IV is on much more shaky ground, since Praetorius had to rely for information on the Biblical text and on patristic and later commentators on that text. Modern archaeology and textual criticism reveal that much of what he says here is subject to modification, when not simply wrong. Considering, however, that Praetorius took for granted the factual inerrancy of the Scriptures, as did other commentators of his time, he did a creditable job of sifting through the evidence and in drawing at least some correct conclusions from scanty and often contradictory sources.

In his first stated purpose,

to present and explain piously all the types of songs, organs, and other instruments hallowed for the liturgical rites...<sup>25</sup>

Praetorius succeeded only in part. He was hampered by the lack of any scientific basis for examining his sources

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<sup>25</sup> pp. 21-22.

and judging their reliability, since textual criticism had scarcely been born in his time. But he succeeded admirably in his second purpose, the refutation of the arguments of detractors of liturgical music. He managed to amass an impressive array of solid information from Scripture and from the fathers to buttress the role of music in the liturgy and the place of musicians in the life of the church.

In order to assess more accurately Praetorius' role as a music historian, I have selected two seventeenth-century treatises for comparison with Syntagma Musicum I. The first is Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim (1623) by Marin Mersenne; the second is Musurgia Universalis (1650) by Athanasius Kircher. The former is one of Mersenne's lesser-known works, and consists of a verse-by-verse commentary on the book of Genesis, with an explication of the biblical text followed by several quaestiones. The portion of Mersenne's treatise which is most closely paralleled in Praetorius is the commentary on Genesis 4:21:

His brother's name was Jubal; he was the father of all those who play the lyre and pipe.

This is analogous to Section IV of Syntagma Musicum I, which Praetorius entitled "Theoria Organices." Kircher's Musurgia Universalis is too well known to require much comment; it is a voluminous compendium of musical knowledge and legend, ranging over a much wider field than either Mersenne or Praetorius. The portion chosen as most suitable for com-

parison in Book II, "On the Music of the Hebrews and the Greeks." Let it be known that an overall comparison of the three treatises is not being undertaken here, still less a comparison of the musicological oeuvre of these three authors. Their works differ so greatly in scope, content, and organization that a general comparison would not be practical. I have chosen to examine the way in which the three writers deal with the same subject, namely, the use of music in general, and of instrumental music in particular, in Old Testament times.

Even a casual examination of Mersenne's treatise reveals a logical and orderly mind at work: the book is carefully arranged, and its plan of organization is easy to follow. Mersenne begins his discussion with a textual analysis of the passage under consideration, citing the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, followed by readings from the Targum and from later commentators. There follow two quaestiones arising from the text: "What were the musical instruments used by the Hebrews, the Greeks, and other nations, or which were used in antiquity?" and "On the power of music, both ancient and modern." The second quaestio is subdivided into seventeen articuli, most of which are irrelevant for purposes of comparison with Praetorius, since they deal with ancient Greek music, which Praetorius does not treat at all in the first part of Syntagma Musicum I.

The organization of Praetorius' Section IV is much



looser than that of the corresponding section in Mersenne, since Praetorius' treatment of the subject does not arise out of a single passage of Scripture. He begins with five chapters on the music employed in the Temple rites of the Jews, continues with seven more chapters on musical instruments in the Old Testament, and concludes with three chapters on instrumental music in patristic and "modern" times. On reading any page or paragraph from the two treatises, and comparing them, one gains the strong impression that Mersenne had a clear plan in mind before writing, and chose his sources systematically to illustrate the point he was making. Praetorius, by contrast, plunged in with little forethought, taking his sources as he found them, and reproducing them in no strict order. Thus, Mersenne's train of thought is always easy to follow, but Praetorius frequently leads the reader astray with anecdote and digression.

A comparison of Praetorius' own analysis of Genesis 4:21, found at the beginning of Chapter I of this section, will quickly reveal the different cast of mind of the two authors. Praetorius cites the Latin text only, not the Greek or the Hebrew. He digresses at once with a highly speculative etymology of Jubal's name, and wanders even further away from his subject in a vain attempt to connect the name "Jubal" with the German word "fallen." Both Praetorius and Mersenne recognize the problems of translation of "lyre and pipe." Do these refer to specific instruments, or are they general categories referring to instrumental

families? If they do refer to specific instruments, are they similar to those in use in the seventeenth century, or are they totally different? Praetorius returns to this question in Chapter VIII, seven chapters later; Mersenne treats it at once in Quaestio I.

In their treatment of Hebrew musical instruments, both Praetorius and Mersenne had the same sources of information: the Bible, various translations of and commentaries on the Bible, and the tradition of the church fathers. The only significant difference between the two is that Mersenne draws on the Greek and Latin classics for parallel information, whereas Praetorius reserves his discussion of secular music for the second part of Syntagma Musicum I, which is not under consideration for the purpose of comparison. The entire discussion occupies pages 103 to 135 of Praetorius' text; Mersenne deals with the same subject in columns 1515 through 1526. Even when one takes into consideration the difference in type size, spacing, and format, the volume of text is at least twice as great in Praetorius, although the amount of real information is approximately the same. This may be accounted for by Praetorius' incurable tendency to digress, while Mersenne generally stays close to his theme.

Further comparison would reveal little of interest, since there are many subjects dealt with in some detail in one treatise, but passed over briefly in the other. Praetorius, for example, devotes five chapters to a de-

tailed description of the cultic music of the Temple, a subject mentioned by Mersenne only in passing. In this case, the reason is apparent: Praetorius dealt at great length with the elaborate and carefully ordered worship of the Jews in order to draw a strong contrast to the state of Protestant church music in his own time. Since antimusical Puritanism was less in evidence among Catholics, Mersenne had no need to rally to the defense of church music. This is not to say that Mersenne was entirely objective; sections of the Quaestiones are bitterly polemical. He was simply writing from a different point of view and addressing a different audience.

Athanasius Kircher's Musurgia Universalis lies somewhere between Mersenne and Praetorius in its general method and treatment of the subject matter. It is divided into chapters according to topics, like the Syntagma Musicum, rather than proceeding from a single text, like the Quaestiones Celeberrimae. The first three chapters of book II are introductory, dealing with the invention of music (Chapter I), asserting the place of music among the sciences (Chapter II), and enumerating the various types of music (Chapter III). Chapter IV deals with Hebrew instruments, and is analogous to Chapters VII through XII of Praetorius. Chapter V deals with the psalms (or "the music of David," to use Kircher's terminology). Here Kircher treats some subjects dealt with in Chapters I through VI of Praetorius, namely, the authorship of the psalms and the meanings of

their superscriptions. He deals in some detail with the poetic and metrical aspects of the psalms, which Praetorius passes over with hardly any mention. From the number of quotations in Hebrew, it appears that Kircher was much better acquainted with that language than was Praetorius, which would account for his fuller treatment of more technical matters.

Chapter I of Kircher parallels both Chapter I of Praetorius and the commentary on Genesis 4:21 by Mersenne, so a comparison will be revealing. Kircher begins with a speculative discussion of the origin of music in primitive times, citing no sources in support of his theories about primitive shepherds fashioning musical instruments to while away their leisure hours.<sup>26</sup> He then moves on to the origins of music among the Hebrews, quoting the verse from Genesis about Jubal, "the father of all who play the lyre and pipe." Having done this, he digresses at once to a discussion of music among the Egyptians, who, according to him, restored music after the Flood.<sup>27</sup> He gives a highly questionable etymology of the word "musica," from the Egyptian (?) root "moys," recalling Praetorius' equally suspect derivation of "missa" in the Syntagma.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Athanasius Kircher, Musurgia Universalis, ed. Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), p. 44.

<sup>27</sup> ibid., pp. 44-45.

<sup>28</sup> ibid., p. 44; Praetorius, pp. 107-08.

Aside from the Bible, Kircher cites no sources in support of his arguments, although he does rely on other authorities in his later discussion of Hebrew instruments. In his treatment of plucked instruments, for example, he cites many of the same church fathers relied on by Praetorius.<sup>29</sup>

The discussion of musical instruments is in many ways parallel to Praetorius, since the primary source of information for both sides was the Bible itself. Kircher does rely much more heavily than Praetorius on rabbinic commentators, no doubt because his greater knowledge of Hebrew made them more accessible to him. He draws some analogies between Hebrew instruments and their counterparts in the Greco-Roman world, but does not deal with Greek or Roman musical practices in any detail. In general, there is a greater adherence to the information supplied by the Hebrew text and less reliance on patristic interpretations of Scripture. This did not, however, make Kircher any less subject to error than Praetorius, or any less prone to flights of fancy, as one modern writer noted with some astonishment:

Athanasius Kircher...furnishes a detailed description and account of the mashrokita, giving the impression of an organ-like instrument. Kircher's delineation, made two thousand years

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<sup>29</sup>For example, Jerome's notoriously unreliable (and probably spurious) Letter to Dardanus.

after the event related by Daniel and not supported by any historical evidence, must be considered by any critical observer as an obvious product of pure imagination.<sup>30</sup>

The three treatises may be characterized as follows:

Mersenne is the most systematic and logical, as well as the best organized. He cites a limited number of authorities, but these are well chosen and relevant to the matter under discussion. Praetorius presents a copious amount of source material, but does not organize it well or use it to great effectiveness. He succumbs too often to the temptation to wander away from his subject, losing the reader in his pursuit of fascinating but irrelevant details. Kircher organizes his material about as well as Praetorius, but since he draws on fewer sources, he is more likely to let his own imagination run rampant.

How does Praetorius fare, then, in comparison with a contemporary in another country (Mersenne) and a compatriot of the next generation (Kircher)? He must yield to Mersenne in organization and command of his sources. He surpasses Kircher on account of the wide range of sources consulted, and the sheer amount of information presented. Although Praetorius lacked the ability to organize his materials in a convincing fashion, and was often inclined to digress, nevertheless, he had ranged widely in search of information, and he did a commendable job in supporting

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<sup>30</sup> Alfred Sendrey, Music in Ancient Israel (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), p. 401.

his own point of view in regard to church music. For these reasons, Syntagma Musicum I deserves more attention and closer study than it has received. It is hoped that this translation will lead to a greater appreciation of Praetorius' role as a writer on music by shedding light on an aspect of his writings which has been neglected in the past.

SYNTAGMATIS  
MUSICI  
TOMUS PRIMUS

*Complectens*  
DUAS PARTES:

*quarum*

PRIMA agit  
DE MUSICA SACRA  
VEL ECCLESIASTICA,  
Religionis exercitio accommodatâ:

&

QUATUOR MEMBRIS  
*comprehensæ.*

- I. *Διάφορα*, sive Discursus de Musica Choralis & veterum Psalmodia.
- II. *Ἐπιτομὴ μυσικῆ* sive Commentarij de Missodia vel Liturgia summa.
- III. *Ἐξηγήσεις* sive Explicatio Matutinæ & vespertinæ Liturgiæ: cum alijs annexis.
- IV. *Θεωρία* sive Contemplatio Musicæ Instrumentalis Ecclesiasticæ, cum in Veteris, tum Novi Testamenti Ecclesiâ usitatæ.

AUCTORE  
MICHAELE PRÆTORIO C.

WITTEBERGÆ.

E Typographico JOHANNIS RICHTERI, Anno 1615.



SYNTAGMA MUSICUM

FIRST VOLUME

Containing Two Parts:

of which the First Deals with  
Sacred or Ecclesiastical Music

Suited to the Practice of Religion

and Containing Four Sections:

- I. Dianoia, or discussion of choral music and the psalmody of the ancients.
- II. Hupomnēmata, or commentaries on Missody, or the highest liturgy.
- III. Exēgēsis, or explanation of the liturgical music of matins and vespers, with other additions.
- IV. Theoria, or consideration of ecclesiastical instrumental music, used both in the Old Testament and in the New.

written by

Michael Praetorius C[reuzbergensis]

Wittenberg

from the Press of Johann Richter, anno 1615

To the most reverend, most illustrious, reverend,  
most noble, most excellent, most renowned, most learned,  
by the Gift of God  
bishops, abbots, leaders, canons, doctors, and church  
inspectors

in

Saxony, Brandenburg

Magdeburg, Halberstadt,

Braunschweig,

in the Arch-Electoral and -Episcopal Duchy

Guardians of the Sacred Liturgy

his Lords Protectors and Cherished Patrons

Michael Praetorius C[reuzbergensis]

dedicates and consecrates

with many greetings

this sacred part of the Syntagma Musicum

in honor of ecclesiastical dignity.

**DEDICATORY EPISTLE**

### Dedicatory Epistle

The most reverend, most illustrious, reverend, most noble, most excellent, most renowned, most learned, by the gift of God bishops, abbots, fathers, directors, canons, doctors, and church inspectors, lords protectors, and cherished patrons.

Your most reverend highnesses and your most reverend reverences will agree with me that two occupations are required for the complete and finished perfection of the divine liturgy, as it is carried out at the public gatherings of the church, namely, speech and song. The connection between these is consecrated by the mystical dignity of sanction, reconfirmed by the doctrinal utility of intention, renewed by the paradigmatic constancy of function.

Surely the ultimate and highest end of man, which he has in common with the blessed angels, appoints and dedicates him to the natural exercise of divine worship. For if we examine the case, the end of man is clearly twofold: to seek and recognize the truth, and to choose virtue. But since the highest truth is the knowledge of God, and the highest virtue, the praise of God, it follows that the end of man is to know God and to worship him. The former is received and given most of all by sacred speech, the latter,

by songs in church.

Thus, before the Fall, the human race was established in good order [eutaxia] for this twofold end; for this, it was restored to grace after the Fall; finally, it is for this that it will be resurrected in glory after mortal life, and joined the the immortal fellowship of the angels, so that man, in every state of his goodness, [which is] divinely given, may be nothing other than the temple of God, celebrating the sacrosanct divinity of the Trinity. And it is to this that the symbolic mysteries of the worship in Paradise, the Levitical rite, and the prophetic vision [all] pertain, not without divine inspiration. And who is there who would not understand without any explanation that these [symbolic mysteries] interpret to [our] eyes and ears the exact manner in which the liturgy was established to be carried out, and [that they] make it evident to our hands at first grasp?

A sacrament of two trees was proposed and set up for liturgical worship for the first church, created by Adam and Eve in Paradise. One was [the tree] of discernment, that is, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, under which was to be established the examination and contemplation of the difference between seeking good and avoiding evil, [as was] implanted by the Creator. The other was the tree of life, under which man, who had not [yet] fallen into error, was to cultivate the practical praise of immortality, which was to be sung eternally with the angels,

both in the earthly Paradise, and in the heavenly Paradise (Genesis 2[:9]).

Among the other Levitical rites and priestly ornaments, the ephod, worn on the breast by the high priest, illustrated the two duties of the liturgy, not obscurely, but with the colored light of varied outline, because it was adorned and decorated not only with gold and jewels, according to the number of tribes [of Israel], but also by two outstanding signs: the Urim and Thummim, which the Septuagint interprets as "deilōsin kai alētheian," "brightness and truth." The Chaldean used "anermneutous."<sup>1</sup> In Hebrew "urim" [means] "lights" or "brightness;" "thummim," "perfection" or "wholeness." Luther translates: "Das Licht und das Recht" (Exodus 28[:30]).<sup>2</sup>

For, just as clear oration is suitable to speech, to illuminate the understanding of the mysteries in the minds of the hearers, so the true confession of the praise due to God is surely suitable to song, depending in the perfection of the faith on nothing other than God, who, for the sake of justice, giving to each what is his, obtains for his very own and demands of the church the glory of praise and thanksgiving. This [glory], when reason [ratio], the inward

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<sup>1</sup>Praetorius refers repeatedly to the "Chaldean" or the "Chaldean paraphrast." This is the common sixteenth-century term for the Aramaic (Chaldee) Targums of Scripture.

<sup>2</sup>For a current explanation of Urim and Thummim, see Isaac Mendelssohn, "Urim and Thummim," in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon, 1962), IV, 739-40.

word [logos ho esō] had first been inwardly illuminated by the pellucid speech [concione] of the Holy Spirit, was then exposed and diffused, like rays [of light], by the prayer of songs, the outward word [logos ho exō] in the public sanctuary, so that in this way, the breastplate of [to logeion tōn] the Urim and Thummim might eagerly confess in public religion the purpose of the breastplate of the Christian Christ-bearer [Christophorou], whom he carries about as an advancement of faith, and [might confess] how greatly that faith, of course, was perfected in the oracles of divine will and celestial law.

As the Urim and Thummim were carried about together by the high priest on the breastplate [logeiō], so should those entrusted with the supervision of the church completely avoid ever separating or pulling apart speech and song in the ecclesiastical system of the public liturgy. For as the whole breastplate rests on both sides of the breast, so does the perfect and complete liturgy consist of two duties, that is, speech and song. For Urim signifies the splendor or the mind or reason, and the enlightenment for thinking and observing; and Thummin, the harmonic perfection of speech or singing, for whole and incorrupt praise. And as the breastplate [logeion] shone with pure gold, precious stones, and sacred symbols, so stands the liturgy, perfect and complete in its parts, not mixed with the filth of human fallacies, but with the integrity of sincere faith in teaching and singing.

Through the Urim and Thummim, or the perfect ways of absolute wisdom, the prophecies sought after are remembered in sacred letters. Thus, surely, the high and infinite goodness and wisdom of God are sought by the practice of the liturgy, until he responds from on high with benign attention and spontaneous blessing.

Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, David's inseparable companion and friend in exile, warned David from the ephod to leave Keilah, because the inhabitants of Keilah were about to hand him over to Saul (I Kings 23 [recte I Samuel 23]).

Thus Urim and Thummim, that is, the devout faith and faithful devotion of liturgical speech and song in the pious ministries of the church, fortify us wretches wandering about in the exile of this life with prudence against the persecution of tyrants, and warn us cautiously and safely, so that we, surrounded by the deceit of infidels and heretics, might never be handed over to Satan for the destruction and ruin of our souls.

And again, when David laid waste the Amalekite city of Ziklag, having previously carried off a huge booty, he pursued [the Amalekites] with six hundred men, killed them, and took the spoils, according to the prediction of the ephod (I Samuel 30[:8]). Thus, by means of the prophecies of the liturgy the faithful, prodigious in number, are able to rout the many powerful enemies of the church, to pursue them with glorious victory, and finally, to take possession of rich spoils and precious treasures.



And, as Suidas attests, when the priest wished to ask God a question, he took the ephod, put his hands underneath, and looking at the ephod, questioned God. If the question was pleasing to God, the diamond immediately shone and glittered with rays of light. If it was not pleasing, [the diamond] remained unchanged.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the liturgy, devoutly and intently directed and carried out by the touch of the hands, the expression of the face, and the scrutiny of faith, gives forth most effectively movements inflamed by the fire of the Holy Spirit, and if the person is pleasing through faith, God gives his assent, if not for use, certainly for salvation, and [he] replies by graciously hearing [the question].

For the diamond became blood-red if God was about to give the people over to destruction; black, if they were to struck by pestilence. It is likewise fitting to adapt the texts and songs of the liturgy to times of peace, war, and pestilence, and to ward off punishment by penitence.

Finally, if the person consulting God received no reply, this was a sign of the divine wrath. Thus Saul received no reply when he was cast down (II Samuel 28 [recte I Samuel 28:6]), either from prophets, or from dreams, or from Urim and Thummim. So God surely turns away from a liturgy put together without faith and penitence, carried

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<sup>3</sup>This reference is not found in the standard edition of the Suida, Ada Adler, ed., Suidae Lexikon, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1935).

out in impiety and hypocrisy, and accordingly he, stirred up with righteous indignation, casts man into eternal reprobation and hides his face in silence.

Furthermore, since speech and song preach and celebrate the doctrine of the same confession of Christ, and of the propitiation made by his blood, in the orthodox agreement and harmony of one faith, it is fitting for these two pillars of the church's liturgy to be foreshadowed in the two bronze columns set up by Solomon in the portico of his Temple. These were decorated with a row of crowns and pomegranates; the [pillar] on the right was called "Jacchin," that is, "the one who approves" or "he establishes;" the left one [was called] "Booz" or "Bohaz," that is, "in him is virtue or strength" (I Kings 7:2 [recte 7:21]; II Chronicles 3[:17]). To be sure, speech and song are more valuable to the church than a column of bronze or oak, for by these the reign of Christ is established in the homily and in the congregation of the faithful, who, like seeds enclosed within the skin of an apple, joined with the Prophets and the Apostles in confessing one and the same faith, depending on the death of Christ, awaiting an incorruptible crown. For, as the poet sings:

Fidere qui Christo novêre viriliter, illos  
illanguescenti fronde corona manet.<sup>4</sup>

(II Timothy 4[:8]; I Peter 5[:10]).

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<sup>4</sup>"[For] those who learned to trust manfully in Christ/ a crown remains, an imperishable garland." Source unknown.

Moreover, the ministries of speech and song are clearly symbolized by those two bright cherubim (Exodus 25[:19-20]) and the two burning seraphim (Isaiah 6[:2-3]), who create an agreement and harmony of both liturgies useful and pleasing to all the hierarchies united to Christ, turning toward him with wings touching and turning their gaze on the mercy-seat, which contained the rod of Aaron, the jar of manna, and the tables of the Decalogue. And those who, about to take flight, sang the trisagion, with faces and feet covered, symbolize the liturgy, both modest and humble, and free and obliging, in which the confession of the adorable Triune is most gloriously celebrated in heart and voice by the consonance of teaching and singing. Thus that glorifying heavenly host joins the sweetest music to [the words of] the angel of the Lord, who was teaching and announcing the birth of Christ in festive brilliance, so that the best speech and song might join together to provide the solemnity [suitable to] the feast [Luke 2:13].

Finally, the two silver trumpets which Moses had made at divine command, to summon the assembly with their sound or fanfare, suitably represent the twofold duties of an harmonious liturgy (Numbers 10:3, 7). For the sound which the preachers and singers raise, like a trumpet, with harmonious consonance in preaching and singing, and incorrupt sincerity, is symbolized by the simple and even, or diatonos sound produced by both trumpets in the use of the church to summon the congregation, and by the material of which they are made:

pure, solid, and malleable silver.

To so many divine prototypes, by which the mystical dignity of sanctity consecrates the joining of a twofold liturgy, [there] may be added, furthermore, the philosophical use of this effort, and in addition, the paradigmatic application of its use, by means of which the liturgy was thereafter repeated, celebrated, and propagated, until [the time of] our church.

The zeal of David, Solomon, and others in the Old Testament for carrying out the liturgy at feasts and solemnities is well known. [It was carried out] both through the Levites, who taught about the Messiah through sacrifices, and through the singers, who praised the same Christ in song and instrumental music.

In the New Testament is preserved an exhortation by the Apostle [Paul], derived from many psalms, for the teaching and admonition about [didaskalian kai noumethian] the liturgy (Ephesians 5[:18-19]; Colossians 3[:16]). In the primitive church, after the time of the Apostles, Christian emperors, kings, bishops, fathers, and doctors of the church were eager for a worthy observance of the liturgy.

Theodosius, Constantine, Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis, etc., obtained an immortal name in [their] cultivation of the liturgy [because] they took time for the liturgies in honor of the divine Majesty, and joined the choirs of psalm-singers with inner devotion.<sup>5</sup> Among these, Constantine the Great

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<sup>5</sup>Theodosius I (346-395) promoted Christian orthodoxy

piously and solemnly pronounced that not only did the care of the region pertain to him, but also that of religion, not only that of the realm, but that of the church, whose bishop was set up, not within [the church], like the priests, but outside, by God.<sup>6</sup>

Ludwig III, duke of Bavaria, was in the habit of saying:

I prefer to sing in church, rather than to mutter something noteworthy which neither anyone above can understand, nor I myself, to assault the ears of the saints, and to invite God's wrath.<sup>7</sup>

(Hieronymus Henningus in [his] Genealogy). On this account, Flavian, Diodorus, Damasus, Ambrose, Gregory, Vitalian, and many others, earned outstanding praise. Their piety in establishing and strengthening the music of the liturgy may be seen, both in the preface to my [publications of] liturgical music,<sup>8</sup> and also scattered here and there in this part of the Syntagma Musicum, [which treats] sacred music.

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and suppressed Arianism and paganism. Constantine I (285-337) gave official recognition to Christianity, suppressed Donatism, and summoned the Council of Nicaea (325). Pepin III (714-768) promoted the ecclesiastical reforms of St. Boniface. Charlemagne (724-814) urged the standardization and Romanization of the Gallican liturgy. Louis I (778-840) furthered the monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane and supported St. Anskar's missionary work in Scandinavia.

<sup>6</sup>Eusebius, Vita Constantini 4.24, PG 20.1171.

<sup>7</sup>Hieronymus Henningus, Genealogia Aliquot Familiarum Nobilium in Saxonia (Hamburg, 1590).

<sup>8</sup>Michael Praetorius, Preface to Missodia Sionia (1611) in Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1934), XI, vii.

Furthermore, [their piety] is most worthy of remembrance, because they faithfully received and preserved the liturgy handed down to our church, and guarded it like a precious [gem].

Although there are some to be found who strive to diminish or to remove altogether the offices of the liturgy, being of the opinion that the yearly lections and songs for Sundays originated with the Papacy, ecclesiastical history attests that they were accepted according to ancient custom, certainly long before the times of Popish abuse.

There are some who say that the practice of lections in the church was first established and handed over to the church to be strictly observed during the reign of Charlemagne, at the instigation of and by the effort of learned men, Paul the Deacon of Aquileia and Alcuin, abbot of Tours, formerly a pupil of the Venerable Bede, around the year 800 A.D.<sup>9</sup> But this does not seem very likely in light of calculations which show that it was established much earlier. For it is clear from the writings of the fathers who preceded the age of Charlemagne that the lections and histories had clearly been appointed for certain times long before.

In this regard, please see the Orations of Ambrose, who lived around 400 A.D.; volumes two and three of Chrysostom, who flourished around the year 405 A.D.; volume one of Leo I,

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<sup>9</sup>See Gerald Ellard, Master Alcuin, Liturgist (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), pp. 86-102.

who was raised to the episcopacy of the Church of Rome in the year 440; volume ten of Augustine, who was bishop of the Church of Hippo in Africa in the year 430; the forty Orations on the Gospel by Gregory the Great, who was bishop of Rome in the year 590; and finally, the ninety-eight Orations on the same by Bede, who died in England in the year 732.<sup>10</sup> You will find, then, that these men at that time read the same Gospels, appointed for certain times, which we read [now].

Moreover, what Guillaume Durand writes (Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, book 5, chapter "On Compline") is trustworthy, [namely] that the Emperor Theodosius asked Damasus, bishop of Rome, to appoint someone learned and orthodox to arrange certain lessons, prayers or collects, and songs, suitable for each Sunday and feast day. And [Durand] adds that, around the year of Christ 440, Damasus asked Jerome, a man learned and skilled in languages, who was then living in Bethlehem, the birthplace of Christ, to undertake this task. He undertook and completed this task in order to satisfy [Damasus'] pious plea, and constructed a series of texts [to be read] throughout the year, distinguished by a certain order, which was later

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<sup>10</sup> Ambrose, Sermones, PL 17.625-98; John Chrysostom, Sermones, PG 49, 50; Leo the Great, Sermones, PL 54.141-428; Augustine, Sermones de Tempore, PL 38.995-1248; Gregory the Great, Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo, PL 76.1075-1312; Bede, Homiliae, PL 94.1-268.

commanded for the public services of the churches.<sup>11</sup>

What then? Granted that the liturgical readings and songs were chosen, collected, and first used under the Papacy. But who in his right mind would think that on this account they should necessarily be despised and rejected? I am certainly not one to defend the position of the Papists, but I believe that the best [people] will readily agree with me to accept what Augustine rightly affirms

(On Christian Doctrine 2.18):

He who is a good and true Christian will know that the truth, wherever he finds it, is the Lord's.<sup>12</sup>

and Epistle 28:

Whoever speaks the truth speaks by the grace of him who is Truth itself.<sup>13</sup>

And let us consider what [canon] law adds here:

A custom which is suitable to religion, in keeping with discipline, [and] helpful to salvation, shall have the force of law.<sup>14</sup>

(C[anon] "Consuetudo," Distinctio 3). And Augustine makes the same assertion (Epistle 119, chapter 18):

Those things which are neither contrary to faith, nor to good morals, and which in some way exhort a better life, should not only not be condemned, but praised and imitated wherever we see them being

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<sup>11</sup> Guillaume Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Lyons: Iacobus Giunti, 1539), 5.2.

<sup>12</sup> Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana 2.18, PL 34.49.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine, Epistle 166.9 (28.9), PL 33.724.

<sup>14</sup> CIC, Decretum, Dist. 1, C. 5.



established, or recognize that they have been established.<sup>15</sup>

What, then, of the fact that the liturgy of the reformed churches is clearly in agreement with the rule of the Apostles, and that it is a blood-relation of theirs in doctrine, as Tertullian says (On the Prescriptions against Heretics, book 2), because it retains the vine of faith and the seeds of doctrine handed down by the Apostles?<sup>16</sup>

Although it cannot be denied that the monks, turning the liturgy into a theatrical and scenic spectacle, formerly profaned the holy offices, and profane [them] today by the blasphemy of the abominable Mass, and that they block their ears with the liturgical melody, as if with an incantation, that they bewitch their souls with foul corruptions and gross errors about the sacrifice of the Mass and the invocation of the saints; nevertheless, it is agreed that the songs were freed from a superstitious and vain worship by God's grace, and properly converted to the true and religious worship of God in the reformed liturgies, just as the Israelites learned to put to a more true use in the Sanctuary the spoils which the Egyptians had abused. So we read that Harmonius Syrus, the disciple of the illustrious Ephrem, arranged to have his father's lyrics, set to legitimate modes and musical meters, sung in rotating order, to

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<sup>15</sup>Augustine, Epistle 55.18 (119.18), PL 33.221.

<sup>16</sup>Tertullian, Liber de Praescriptionibus adversus Haereticos, 32, PL 2.43.

spread his father's heresies by means of lyrical melodies. By this means many Syrians, lulled by the beauty of the words and the meter of the music, gradually came to accept the opinions received from [Harmonius'] father Bardesanes. Saint Ephrem, when he recognized this, took over Harmonius' tunes, [and] adapted to songs of this type words in keeping with the church's teaching, and gave them to the Syrians to sing. From that time until the present, whenever the Syrians sing in praise of God, they do not use the poems themselves [which were] produced by Harmonius, but the melodies he composed.<sup>17</sup>

And everyone who considers carefully will admit that the liturgy of preaching and singing received in our churches is of pure and uncontaminated doctrine, uniquely established on the glory of the most holy Trinity and on the praise of his works and merits. There is no place here for praise of episcopacy, which, because it abounds in superstition and idolatry, has long been attacked, and has been eliminated from our churches. The music adopted by our churches from the primitive churches in psalms, responsories, hymns, antiphons, etc., sings only of that which is consonant with the preaching of the Prophets and the Apostles, in proportion to the rule of faith, exactly in agreement with Holy Scripture, and varying [but] little from it. Whatever is performed here with voices and instruments spreads the good repute of

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<sup>17</sup>See Sozomen, Ecclesiastica Historia 3.16, PG 67.1090.

God, lives by confessing the sincerity of the Christian religion, and shows the true worship of God by supplication and praise.

The reformed churches, therefore, retain and use in a decent and orderly manner [eutaktōs kai euschēmonōs] the liturgy of speech and song, the heritage of primitive piety, with both voices and instruments, in order to rouse fittingly the festive rejoicing of the holy congregation, and to celebrate religiously the solemnity of the [church] year.

Rhēma gar esti theou, kai enthumoumenon,  
kai adomenon, kai anakrouomenon...

For it is the Word of God, whether thought with the mind, or sung, or played on an instrument...<sup>18</sup>

as Justin Martyr says (in [his] Questions to the Orthodox). And everyone who loves the liturgy and loves God most [leitourgophilos kai theophilestatos] must surely accept this irrefragable judgement.

Indeed, in considering carefully the dignity of the established liturgy, the usefulness of its purpose, and the application of its use, I began to think carefully what my part was, and what was available that I could bring to the speech and song of the liturgy, according to the talent granted to me, for the advantage of church and school. Therefore, taking into consideration the office that I fulfil in the employ of the duke of Braunschweig, by the

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<sup>18</sup> Justin Martyr, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos (spurious), Question 108, PG 6.1354-55.

gracious will of God and of the civil authority, I not only arranged and harmonized, according to the rule of the chorale melodies, German hymns by Luther and others by the Muses of Zion<sup>19</sup> (and these first attempts are not altogether satisfactory to me at this time. Therefore, I intend to emend and correct them thoroughly, with God's help, and to have them printed again at some time); but I began to arrange for choirs of voices, organs, and other instruments, Latin songs in the style of motets, for the entire liturgical year, restricted in the harmonic progressions of the voices [harmonicis vocum numeris] by the choral diagraphē, or rule, and [I began] to collect them in a body [per sōmatopoiian] in one volume.<sup>20</sup> The difference between these songs used in the liturgy is shown under the general title "Synopsis or Table" (that is, in the Leitourgodia Sionia Latina, published in 1611); and the goal and aim of the author in composing them will be seen by examining the same table, which I did not think it superfluous to add to this first volume in an Appendix.<sup>21</sup>

Just as it is shameful, then, not to speak with Scripture, or not to use sound words agreeable to the rule in sacred assemblies, so I shall say, not improperly, that if

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<sup>19</sup>Michael Praetorius, Musae Sioniae (1605-1610) in Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius, ed. by Rudolf Gerber, et. al. (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1928-1941), I-IX.

<sup>20</sup>ibid., XI-XIV.

<sup>21</sup>See Appendix III.

someone wishes to sing in church, he should sing with the church. Nor do I wish to have anyone counted among the musicians who, in undertaking any task for the church, totally disregards the accepted norms of choral melody in church, who sets himself up to indulge only his own taste and temperament. The majestic sweetness and sweet majesty of the church should rightly stand firm. For this reason, I always make a great effort when setting sacred hymns, to regard with one eye the choral melody used by the church, and with the other, my own harmony (of whatever sort it may be). Taking this into consideration, during the past two years, while I have been in charge of choral music at the court of the elector of Saxony in Dresden, I have produced, in addition to the Musae Sioniae already published, a good many sacred songs, both in German and in Latin, for several voices, so as to pay attention to the movement of the chorale (as it is called), especially in the German [songs], and also diligently to adorn it and present it in many guises, some of my own invention, some borrowed from the modern Italians. I have arranged these songs in two volumes, and I intend to submit the second one [which is] in German, to public judgement, possibly this year, if God grant me life and strength.<sup>22</sup>

In presenting and explaining piously the types of

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<sup>22</sup>This presumably refers to the Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica, which did not appear in print until 1619, found in the Gesamtausgabe, ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1930, 1933), XVII.

songs, organs, and other instruments hallowed for the liturgical rites pleasing to God, useful to the public, and in use at the daily gatherings of the church, both in ancient times and today, I thought that I was undertaking a task not out of keeping with my duty, first of all, out of my zeal for this subject, to construct this Syntagma Musicum, arranged from the reading of ancient and modern ecclesiastical authors, the documents of historians, writings in various languages, and finally, the observation of music itself.

For piety's sake I shall begin, among the four volumes growing out of this, with the first part of the first volume, in which these four different sections illustrate, taking the chapters in order, sacred or ecclesiastical music, which serves the practice of religion or worship (as you may see from the Table and General Index placed at the beginning of the book).

Diancia, or discussion of psalmody.

Hupomnēmata, or commentaries on the music of the Mass.

Exēgēsis, or explanation of the liturgy of matins and vespers.

Theoria, or consideration of sacred instrumental music.

By this pious arrangement of the Syntagma, I trust that the talents turned away from the practice of secular art to a sacred use will begin to support and revere the ancient majesty of the church's song, and its majestic divinity and Spirit-filled devotion, with a praiseworthy result for religion. And I hope that those who love the liturgy [lei-

tourgophiloi] and those who love God most [theophilestatoi] will be so satisfied by the work of this Syntagma, that they will not, in any case, totally withhold [their] testimony to [my] pious zeal and ready willingness in the cause of sacred music. I assume nothing imprudently for myself; I am not lying in wait for a bit of glory. And in order that it may not appear in this work that I wish either to deserve [glory] or to seek it, I have named here and there in this little work the fathers and historians from whose monuments I have drunk the springs of antiquity, in addition to the Centuriae Magdeburgenses, and Peter Martyr, Stephen Szegedenus, Salomon Gesner, Christopher Pelargus, Joachim Garcaeus, William Perkins, Polydore Vergil, Guillaume Durand, Theodore Zwinger, and a great many others.<sup>23</sup> And I admit openly that I have formed and presented the diataxin kai diakosmēsin, the arrangement and order of this Syntagma Musicum with the support of good friends, who reached out their hands to help a work hindered sometimes by my ill-health, sometimes by domestic and courtly affairs.

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<sup>23</sup> Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575), Centuriae Magdeburgenses, 13 vols. (1559-1574); Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire Vermigli, 1500-1567), Loci Communes (1575); Stephen Szegedenus (Istvan Kis, 1505-1572), Theologiae Sincerae Loci Communes (1608); Salomon Gesner (1159-1605), Lutheran theologian and biblical commentator; Christopher Pelargus (Storch, 1565-1633), author of doctrinal and exegetical works; Joachim Garcaeus (d. 1633), linguist and theologian; William Perkins (1558-1602), Problems of Catholicism (1603); Polydore Vergil (d. 1555), see Introduction; Guillaume Durand (d. 1296), see Introduction; Theodore Zwinger (1597-1654), Reformation theologian.

And I should wish that those who possess more learning and a larger library [char. I] would be spurred on to deal more fully and elaborately with the ancient dignity of the church's liturgy and instrumental music, so as to delight my own eagerness for learning and love of knowledge [philomatheian], as well as that of other musicians who love the art [philomousōn]. But if they find it shameful or tiresome to do this, let them take care that no one say in reproach of them what Ptolemy Philadelphus wrote in reply to the Jews, having requested of them a Bible written in Hebrew letters:

thesaurōu kekrummenou kai tēgēs esphragismenēs tis ōpheleia in amphotois?

What use is there in either a closed treasure-chest or a sealed fountain?<sup>24</sup>

[Joshua ben] Sirach, when he came to Egypt at the request of Euergetes, son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, adapted the same apophthegm to those who completely hide their studies, when others might find them useful, and practically bury themselves alive. He addresses them thus ([Sirach] 20:32):

Sophia kekrummenē kai thesauros aphonis tis ōpheleia amphotois?

Hidden wisdom and unseen treasure--what advantage is there in either of them?

The same [saying] is perfectly suited to those musicians who are envious or idle or timid, or not eager enough to communicate useful information. They are also convicted by

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<sup>24</sup>No source cited.



this Greek proverb, which agrees with that which was said above, which, as we read in book four of Suetonius, was hurled by Nero:

Hidden music is in no repute.<sup>25</sup>

And Casaubon notes that the Greek senarium was:

Tēs lanthanousēs mousikēs oudeis logos.

Nullus latentis musicae respectum est.<sup>26</sup>

Ovid [says]:

Non erit ignotae gratia magnae Lyrae.<sup>27</sup>

Lucian in Harmonides puts it somewhat differently:

Ouden ophelos apporētou kai aphanous mousikēs.<sup>28</sup>

Gellius, book twenty-three, chapter ten, translates:

Wonderful music is worthless when hidden away.<sup>29</sup>

Now, your patronage and protection of this Syntagma of vocal and instrumental music demands inevitably that I direct to your most reverend and illustrious highnesses and your reverend dignities, with your permission, a modest and humble dedication [prosphonēsin]. For I, a humble choirmaster, venerate and acknowledge you, the bishops and patrons of the church, as well as superiors and high curators, inspectors, and directors of the sacred office in

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<sup>25</sup>Suetonius De Vita Caesarum 6.20.

<sup>26</sup>Isaac Casaubon, ed., C. Suetoni Tranquili de XII Caesaribus Libri VIII (n.p., 1605).

<sup>27</sup>Ovid Ars Amatoria 3.400.

<sup>28</sup>Lucian Harmonides.

<sup>29</sup>Aulus Gellius Noctes Atticae 13.31.

churches and choirs. Your reverend highnesses' and dignities' outstanding piety and most observant care of the liturgy assures me that you will not withhold encouragement from me. Your reverend highnesses' and dignities' duties and names: bishops, abbots, leaders, and deans, cantors, etc., call to mind the meaning of the episcopal sees and churches, the noble houses, the collegiate churches, the monasteries, etc. All these indicate that the thoughts of your minds and all the actions of your lives are devoted and will be devoted to this cause [namely], that the seat of religion may stand firm and unmoved, as the noble house of piety, built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, so that it may not build on the foundations of heretics, that the colleges may share [and] solidly confirm peace and concord in doctrine and orthodox worship, that the choirs and churches, which devoutly and religiously intone and sound in the glorification of the most divine Name, and in the confession of saving faith, in the practice of the liturgy of speech and song, may be places of sweetness [melitēria], places of meditation [phrontisēria], holy [semeia], pure [agneutēria], and skillful [asketēria].

God roused you faithful governors of the church from the golden mouth of Chrysostom (On Psalm 43, John 6) like trumpets, at whose sound the walls of Jericho fell.<sup>30</sup> For your faithfulness in following the sacred duty to which you

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<sup>30</sup> John Chrysostom, Expositio in Psalmum 43, PG 55.167-82; Homilia VI in Joannem, PG 59.59-62.

were called and raised up prevents the doctrine of the Church of Rome from flourishing, although it is fortified by many ramparts of powerful men, like high walls. By that holy fanfare of evangelical speech and song, [your faithfulness] overturns the supports of Popish doctrine, like the fallen walls of Jericho, and exposes before the eyes of all the corruptions, abuses, and errors of the Roman Church.

It is an inexpressible gift of God that in both Upper and Lower Saxony, since the darkness of barbarous and erroneous religion has been dispelled and the iron collar of Papal slavery has been struck off [that] he has joyously freed so many of your collegiate churches into the liberty of Christ, in which you justly prove yourselves to be assertors and vindicators of true and sincere religion and most constant and munificent directors and leaders [ergodiōktas] of the liturgy. For not only do you resemble Constantine, Theodosius, Flavian, and others in your zealous care for the performance of the liturgy, but also, by the generous propensity of your liberty toward God and toward sacred persons and things, you liberally support and highly value both the faithful interpreters of the divine Word and most eloquent heralds of Christ, as well as the singers who are in charge of the sacred offices of the liturgy.

It is most fitting, I believe, for me to commend to your safekeeping this little liturgical work of the Syrtagma Musicum, [to] you who are involved in the Christian liturgy, and who are sworn to defend it. This is most necessary in

these times, when both the word and the music of the liturgy have so many dangerous enemies on all sides, who will try anything, either to snatch away and suppress through unmusical people [amorous] the treasure of the church committed to the liturgy, especially instrumental [music], or to corrupt and distort it by means of antimusical people [kakomorous], having made statements filled with superstitious error.

And certainly, by your many public statements of affection toward the ministers of the liturgy, you have led and invited me to hope very highly for your patronage and protection for my little liturgical Syntagma. Therefore, as a sign of my gratitude toward such generous and faithful patrons of the liturgy, having little else to give, I wished to place on the public stage and temple of fame, as a public testimony of [my] gratitude, these first pages of the Syntagma Musicum, which deal with the liturgy, and at the same time, to commend them to your care. I strive ceaselessly for humility of heart, in order that this may take place with your permission, as it ought.

Since only the repayment of a vow is adequate for the outstanding work and generosity of your patronage, I pray with devout prayers to the Ruler of all the unbegotten Father, the leader Son, and the comforting Holy Spirit, that he may auspiciously support the efforts which you will undertake on behalf of religion and of sacred matters, that he may keep the practice of religion safe and intact, and that, with his grace and inspiration, you, pursuing the goal

before you with untiring zeal, unbroken constancy, and unconquerable piety, may defend the dignity of liturgical practice, extend its use, and, as is fitting, that you may vigorously build the zeal of the church for its exercise, in faithfulness to your duty, both in speech, against the Psallians, Prodicians, [and] Messalians, and in song, against those who foolishly complain or roar with hypocritical throats, and against the despoilers and destroyers of organs and choirs.<sup>31</sup>

May the Creator and Originator, Giver and Preserver of religion make this fixed and firm, and may he graciously guard, protect, and strengthen your most reverend and illustrious highnesses and reverend dignities, [keeping them] constant in sincere religion, flourishing in peace and tranquility, flourishing in long life, in the glorious worship of the Thrice-Holy [trisagiou], and the salvific increase of the church, through Christ Emmanuel. Amen.

Wolfenbüttel, the year of Christ [1615]

May the sudden judgement not terrify the pious.

Behold, I come; quickly, quickly now, O my Christ.<sup>32</sup>

Heaven is my home.

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<sup>31</sup>The Psallians, Prodicians, and Messalians were members of heretical sects which emphasized inner purity, and rejected the external practices of religion.

<sup>32</sup>A chronogram; the capital letters in each line add up to 1615 in Roman numerals.

TO THE BENEVOLENT READER

To the Benevolent Reader,

Greetings<sup>\*</sup>

Although, dear gracious reader, this Syntagma Musicum, together with its index, printed above, should properly have been written and assembled entirely in one language, Latin or German, according to the regulis artis dicendi; nevertheless, the natura artis canendi could not rightly allow or permit it. For after the same [art] was discovered, [which happened], surely, soon after the beginning of the world, quo ad prima rudimenta, both by the Jews and by the heathen, so it has attained only in recent times, among us Christians, its glorious supplementa. Accordingly, just as that which the ancient musici wrote in the Latin tongue cannot very well be translated into understandable German, likewise, Latin voces and phrases appropriatae are lacking for that which present-day musici name and express, each in his own idiomate, with many neötericis terminis. And if one should write, then, in the same language, there would be a barbarus or at least an obscurus stylus, and the manner of speaking would be much more difficult to understand than the art itself is to master.

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\* In my translation of this address to the reader, which is written in German, I have left the Latin and Greek words intact in order to give the modern reader the flavor of Praetorius' style.

So I hope that no one will hold it against me that I have presented some things entirely in Latin, some entirely in German, and some I have introduced in German and Latin together in this Syntagmate musico miscellaneo. I have wished to see therein that which both literati and illiterati philomousoi in hac nostra Germania patria could understand, which each in his own place might find pleasant and useful to read.

Thus the first volume is entirely in Latin for the learned (although it would not be without use for others devoted to the art of music, but rather useful, perhaps, and beneficial, if a learned man would take the trouble to turn this first volume out of Latin into good German, and have it printed. This would be impossible for me, although very precious, on account of innumerable other hindrances, and it would be quite pleasant and useful to those not skilled in the Latin tongue). The second volume is entirely in German for organbuilders, organists, and all other instrumentalists. The third and fourth are arranged for both musicos and musices cultores.

It is for each musico or musices amatori to compare and read through whatever serves his own good. May God help that it might best serve and redound to his godly honor, and to that of beloved Christendom.

Given at Dresden, June 24, anno 1614.

Michael Praetorius C[reuzbergensis].



**SECTION I**

PART I  
ON SACRED AND ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC

SECTION I

DIANOIA

or

A Discourse on Choral Music

or

the Sacred Psalmody of the Ancients

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Chapter I

On choral psalmody, instituted by David and Solomon, and later accepted in the choirs of the Greek and Latin churches, in [a manner] quite different from the ancient [psalmody] of the Egyptians.

Plainsong, otherwise called ancient music (that is to say, choral music, which uses equal notes, without increase or decrease of value) takes its name from the choirs where it is commonly practiced, and [the word "choral"] refers to the public custom of reciting psalms and hymns in church, both [in the manner] instituted by Moses, David, and Solomon in the Old Testament, and [in that] accepted and generally practiced by Christians in the New Testament.

One reads that David was the first to appoint singers, and that he entrusted to Asaph, Jeduthun, Heman, and others, the ministry of singing before the Ark and the Tabernacle of God, as is plainly written in I Chronicles 15, 16, and 25, and in II Chronicles 5, where it is indicated that Solomon also reconfirmed his father's decree that the singers who were under [the authority of] Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun should sing standing at the eastern side of the altar.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning this, Athanasius also said in his Synopsis of Holy Scripture:

David was the first to receive the spirit of psalm-singing, and the first to compose and write psalms, and to choose and appoint by himself the aforementioned psalmodists from the priests. He also prescribed a place for these, and the order of the melodies, and the time of singing, morning and evening. And he decreed that some should sing when the Tabernacle was open, others, when it was closed, that some should stand on the right, and others on the left, and that they should thus sing psalms to God, raising their voices in hymns of praise. And [he decreed that] others should sing before in confession and praise.<sup>2</sup>

This custom of singing by choirs, as is most suitable for Christians, grew up in the church in Antioch (for the origin of the name "Christian" see Acts 2 [recte 11:26])<sup>3</sup> which, after the church gathered in Samaria and the church

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<sup>1</sup>These passages deal with the post-exilic worship of the Jews in the Temple at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup>Athanasius, Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae 21, PG 28.331.

<sup>3</sup>Acts 11:26, "And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch."

established in Caesarea, was the next colony led forth from the church of Jerusalem. Theodoret recalls in his Ecclesiastical History 2.24 the way in which Flavian and Diodorus, pious and orthodox men, first established in that [church] the practice of singing the psalms of David in two choirs:

This was remarkable, worthy of the pious men Flavian and Diodorus, who, although not yet ordained to the priesthood, converted the people, rousing them to pious fervor day and night. The men first established the singing of the melodies of David in alternation, with the singers divided into two groups. When this had begun in Antioch, it spread everywhere and reached the ends of the earth.<sup>4</sup>

The time at which this happened is commented on by [the] Suida, which explains the word "choros" as follows:

choros [esti] to sustema tōn en tais ekklesi-  
siais adontōn. diērēthēsan de hoi choroi tōn  
eklesiōn eis duo merē epi Konstantiou tou  
huiou tou Konstantinou megalou kai Phlabianou  
episkopou Antiocheias, dichē tous Dabidikous  
psalmous oidontes hoper en Antiocheia prōton  
arxamenon eis panta periēlthe tēs oikoumenēs  
ta perata.<sup>5</sup>

That is:

A choir is a gathering of people singing together in church. Church choirs, moreover, were divided into two parts under Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, by Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, to sing the Psalms of David in alternation. And when this had begun, it spread to all the ends of the earth.

The chronology of Constantius attributes this order to the year 342 A.D.; thus, musical choirs are reckoned to

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<sup>4</sup>Theodoret, Ecclesiastica Historia 5.32, PG 69.1009.

<sup>5</sup>Suidae Lexikon, ed. by Ada Adler (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935), IV, 184.

have lasted more than 1,200 years.<sup>6</sup> Polydorus provides a definition of the word "chorus" (De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2):

A chorus contains the voices of many persons, so that one [voice] is produced from many, and consonance from dissonance. This is on the authority of Seneca and Macrobius.<sup>7</sup> Plato (De Legibus 2) asserts that a chorus is named apo tes charas,<sup>8</sup> that is, after the joy [it provides].<sup>9</sup>

Eusebius (7.24) recalls the ancient psalmody established by Bishop Nepos of Egypt at the time of Galienus, who ruled in 260 A.C.:

In many other matters (except, that is, in the error concerning the millennium, by which he began the chiliastic heresy [Nicephorus 6.21])<sup>10</sup> I praise and esteem Nepos, both for his faith and diligence, and for his exercise in the Scriptures, and also for the quantity of his psalmody, which many of the brethren even now find pleasing.<sup>11</sup>

But the manner of psalm-singing in Egypt differed from that in Antioch. When one of the Egyptian brethren sang psalms, the rest sat quietly and listened attentively in silence, as Cassian describes the custom:

When the brethren in Egypt gather to celebrate

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<sup>6</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 382, PL 160.66.

<sup>7</sup>Seneca Epistle 84.9; Macrobius Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis 2.1.

<sup>8</sup>Plato De Legibus 2.654.

<sup>9</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>10</sup>Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 6.21, PG 145.1170-74.

<sup>11</sup>Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica 7.24, PG 20.691-95.

the solemnities which they call synaxes, when such an innumerable multitude of the brethren gather together, such silence is kept by all, that one would believe that hardly anyone were present, except the psalm-singer, who stands up in their midst.<sup>12</sup>

Also, it was customary in the soloistic psalmody of the Egyptians for the psalm to end with the doxology [doxologia] of the Holy Trinity, as Cassian affirms in chapter 9 of the book mentioned:

For we saw in this province that when one man sings, at the conclusion [of the psalm] all the bystanders say in a loud voice, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit". Nowhere in the East do we hear it done otherwise; when the singer finished his psalm, those who had been standing by in silence joined in prayer. And this glorification of the Trinity is commonly called an antiphon.<sup>13</sup>

Thus says Cassian.

Furthermore, out of liking for the Antiochene choral psalmody, temples or oratories were erected under [the reigns of] the pious emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and others. [They were so built] that a particular place was assigned to the choir, [a place] where the psalmists stood. For Eusebius, in his panegyric oration (Ecclesiastical History 10.4) on the building and dedication of a church, [the oration] which he dedicates to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, describes, among other things, the structure of the church:

Therefore, having enclosed this much larger

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<sup>12</sup> John Cassian, De Coenobiorum Institutis 2.10, PL 49.97-98.

<sup>13</sup> ibid., 2.8, PL 49.94-95.

choir, he fortified its outer edge with a wall, to provide protection for the whole edifice. Then he extended a large vestibule, reaching into the air toward the rays of the sun, so that those who stood at a distance outside the sacred walls should have a clear view of those within.<sup>14</sup>

On the use of psalmody, especially that [which is] customary at night, as is the custom of the clerics of Neocaesarea, St. Basil comments:

Ek nuktos gar orthrizei par' hēmin ho laos epi ton oikon tēs proseuchēs, etc.

that is,

By night the people rise before dawn and go to the house of prayer; and in trial and tribulation and unending tears, they make their confession to God. Then, arising from prayer, they begin to sing psalms. And then, divided into two parts, they sing in alternation (kai nun men dichē dianeuēlthentes, antipsallousin allēlois), and by this means, at the same time they strengthen their practice of and meditation on the word of God, and the attention of their hearts; and, having put aside vain thoughts, [they] possess great calmness of mind. Then one of them, who has the gift of singing, begins first, and the rest reply. And thus with varied psalmody, interspersed now and again with prayer, they pass the night. When day dawns, all equally, as if with one mouth and heart, offer a psalm of confession to the Lord, and they offer repentance.<sup>15</sup>

Thus far Basil.

Thus, the same manner of psalm-singing passed from the Asian, African, Egyptian, and European Greek churches into the Latin and Italian churches, according to the Sibylline

<sup>14</sup>Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica 10.4, PG 20.847-880.

<sup>15</sup>Basil, Epistle 207, PG 32.763-64.

oracle:

Ex iados gaiēs sophon hixetai italiēsin.<sup>16</sup>

And in a chronicle one reads that Pontian, bishop in the Roman church, ordered the psalms to be sung day and night in all the churches.<sup>17</sup> Even the pagan Pliny the Younger, in his tenth book of letters to the Emperor Trajan, writes:

The Christians are accustomed to gather on a certain day before dawn, and to sing songs to Christ as a God, singing in alternation.<sup>18</sup>

For the manner in which the practice of psalmody began and flourished in Milan and elsewhere, see Chapter IX, "The Use and Practice of Ecclesiastical Psalmody."

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<sup>16</sup>"From Ionian soil, wisdom will come forth for the Italians." This is not found among the authentic Sibylline oracles, ed. by Aloisius Rzach, Chrēsmoi Sibylliakoi (Prague: Tempsley, 1891).

<sup>17</sup>Eusebius mentions Pope Pontian in the Historia Ecclesiastica 6.23 and 6.29 (PG 20.575 and 587) and in his Chronica, anno 230 (PG 19.571), but neither he nor any other contemporary credits Pontian with any musical activities.

<sup>18</sup>Pliny the Younger Epistle 10.96.



## Chapter II

On the psalm-melodies of the ancients and their purpose, a varied method of ecclesiastical singing; also, on the ritual designated in the gradual psalms.

There is no clear agreement about the types of melodies and inflections of the voice in use among the ancients, beyond what Isidore mentions in his book On the Divine Office, [that] in ancient times, it was the practice of the church to sing the psalms with such a slight inflection of the voice (just as Augustine recalls [Confessions 10.33] that he was told by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria)<sup>19</sup> that psalm-singing was closer to speech than to song. In the same passage, he gives the reason for the adoption of music:

For the sake of carnal men (and we should all admit that we are so), and not for spiritual [men], the custom of singing was established in the church, so that even those who are not stirred by the words may be moved by the sweetness of the melody.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, the distinction made by the fathers between "psalm," "song" or "ode," "hymn," "psalm-song," and "song-psalm," etc., is clearly explained in chapter IX

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<sup>19</sup> Augustine, Confessiones 10.33, PL 32.799-800.

<sup>20</sup> Isidore of Seville, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis 5.1, PL 83.742.

[recte XIII] of [Section IV]: "Theoria Organices," following Basil's explanation of Psalm 29<sup>21</sup> and Hilary's prologue to the psalms, where he likewise adds:

Headings corresponding to these four types of the art of music are fitted to each psalm.<sup>22</sup>

A definition of "hymn" which is mentioned in the classification of the fathers, is given in Section III of this part: "Exēgēma, or Explanation of the Liturgy of Matins and Vespers." But one may enumerate briefly the various types [mentioned by] the fathers, as follows:

First, "psalm," which is performed on a musical instrument.

Then, "ode," which is not set to music [quae siletur].

Then, "psalm-ode," or in other words, "ode-psalm" or "canticle," which is sung by the human voice with instrumental accompaniment.

Finally, "hymn," which is performed by the human voice throughout, without accompaniment.

Moreover, the melody of the ancients [which was] to be observed especially in psalmody seems to be indicated in the inscriptions of the psalms called "šîrê hama'ālôt," "songs of degrees or ascents." Many interpreters agree with the fathers, that this inscription [epigraphē] refers to

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<sup>21</sup>Basil, Homilia in Psalmum XXIX, PG 29.306.

<sup>22</sup>Hilary, Prologus in Liber Psalmorum, PL 9.244.

the meaning and teaching of the psalms.<sup>23</sup>

Augustine, referring to the ascents of the heart from the valley of weeping, comments as follows:

There is a mountain which we ascend, a certain spiritual height. And what mountain is this, which we ascend, but our Lord Jesus Christ?<sup>24</sup>

See Martin Luther on Psalm 121: "I lift up my eyes to the hills.":

Christ is the place, the time, and all the circumstances which are necessary for prayer...<sup>25</sup>

and consequently for singing and for all theological arguments. For ascents, like mountains, and blessings, and salvations, and egressions, are attributed to Christ in the feminine plural because Hebrew lacks the neuter gender. Thus, in place of it, the extraordinary [kat' exochēn] feminine plural is used, that we may not be in doubt about any remaining part of salvation, but have all things in abundance [hyperperissōs] in Christ (John 10[:10]).<sup>26</sup> Thus ascents symbolize lofty things which move above and beyond the grasp of any human reason. No eye has seen them, nor any ear heard them, nor have they ever ascended into

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<sup>23</sup>See The Anchor Bible, Psalms III (101-150), trans. and annotated by Mitchell Dahood (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 194-95.

<sup>24</sup>Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum CXIX, 1, PL 37.1597.

<sup>25</sup>Martin Luther, In XV Psalmos Graduum, in D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. by G. Bebermayer (Weimar: Harmann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1930), XL, 53.

<sup>26</sup>John 10:10: "I have come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

human hearts (I Corinthians 2[:9]). That is, "ma'ălôt," "ascents;" "birūkôt," "blessings;" "māšā'ôt," "salvations;" "tūsā'ôt," "egressions" [are all in the feminine plural]. Therefore (as Bernard sang)<sup>27</sup> the blood of Christ was so precious that one tiny drop would have sufficed to redeem all mankind, to say nothing of all his blood. Thus we have been saved in superabundance [hyperperissotatōs] on account of the superabundance of the preciousness of his blood. What Paul says (Ephesians 4[:8-9 paraphrased]) agrees with this:

He who descended into the depths of the earth ascended above all heavens, thrones, majesties.<sup>28</sup>

This is Basil's opinion:

The songs of ascents, according to history at least, speak of the ascent from Babylon, but according to anagoge, the [meaning] of those psalms was extended to the ascent to virtue.<sup>29</sup>

Athanasius, Nazianzen, Cyril, and Hilary give an allegorical interpretation about those who have advanced in pursuit of virtue, who have the singular advancement of felicity in singing these fifteen songs of ascents.<sup>30</sup> Hilary

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<sup>27</sup>Source unknown.

<sup>28</sup>Ephesians 4:10: "He who descended is also he who ascended far above all the heavens..."

<sup>29</sup>The source of this quotation is unknown; Basil wrote no commentary on the gradual psalms.

<sup>30</sup>Athanasius, De Titulis Psalmorum, PG 27.1219-28. Gregory of Nazianzen, Commentarium in Psalmos, PG 35.1235; Cyril, no commentary on the gradual psalms exists; Hilary, Prologus in Liber Psalmorum, PL 9.242.

explains the matter more fully and clearly, saying:

Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, having entered heaven, seated at the right hand of the eternal Father, praying to the Father that where he is, we might be also, raised us also, and gathered us into heaven. He had already warned us through the prophets, in what ways and by what efforts in our lives we might ascend to him. But through Isaiah [1:16-18] he spoke thus: "Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do good; seek justice; correct oppression; defend the fatherless; plead for the widow. Come now, let us reason together, says the LORD." For these are the steps of the Perfect One, and the eternal Temple where the Prince of priests has ascended, having purged our sins with his blood.<sup>31</sup>

So says Hilary.

Vatablus believes that the fifteen psalms which follow in order after [Psalm] 119 are designated by this title because they were to be sung after the ascent or return from Babylon.<sup>32</sup>

Tremellius and Junius believe that a certain exochē, that is, eminence and excellence, is indicated, because they stand out brilliantly like jewels and are easily preferable to others, not only on account of their brevity, but on account of their sweetness of consolation, to say nothing of their charming words. Thus they translate [the superscription] as "most excellent songs."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Hilary, Prologus in Cantica Quindecim Graduum, 5 PL 9.644.

<sup>32</sup>Franciscus Vatablus, ed., Biblia Sacra (Heidleberg: ex officina Commeliniana, 1599), p. 199.

<sup>33</sup>Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia

Paulus Fagius interprets [the titles] as "songs of conclusion," which were usually sung at the end of the sacred rites, before the dismissal of the congregation, since the word "Ālāh" is often the same in Hebrew as "to end" or "to disappear."<sup>34</sup>

The Jews foolishly say that the future liberation of their race is predicted, when, at the Messiah's appearance, they will return to Judea; and when this happens, they will sing these psalms with a triumphant voice.

Rabbi David Kimhi believes that the name was taken from the fact that, on the mountain of the House of God, one ascended fifteen steps from the women's quarters to the place where the men gathered, and that each gradual psalm was intended for a particular step.<sup>35</sup>

The Chaldean paraphrast translates: "a song sung on the steps or ascents from the sea."<sup>36</sup> The Jews tell a story about the sea, which rose so far toward the foundations laid for the Holy House that it was feared that the whole world would be inundated, and that Architopel, aided by Shemhamphor, stopped it at the fifteenth step.

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Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Iansonius Caesius, 1578), p. 182.

<sup>34</sup>Paulus Fagius (fl. 1550), no work cited.

<sup>35</sup>David Kimhi, The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Psalms CXX-CL, ed. and trans. by Joshua Baker and Ernest W. Nicholson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 3.

<sup>36</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

There are others, however, who refer to the musical performance [of these psalms], and believe that they were usually sung in the raised choir-loft at Jerusalem. Among these is Luther, who, with [Nicolas of] Lyra, concludes that a loftier place and a louder voice were indicated by the inscription.<sup>37</sup> And Rabbi ben Ezra believes that there was a certain type of melody, or the beginning of a well-known song whose tone is expressed in these psalms.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Luther's Biblical translation uses the phrase "ein Lied im höhern Chor;" Nicolas of Lyra, gloss on Ps. CXIX (120) in Biblia, cum Postillis Nicolas de Lyra (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485).

<sup>38</sup>See Cuthbert C. Keet, A Study of the Psalms of Ascents (London: Mitre Press, 1969), pp. 4-5.

## Chapter III

On the benefits of psalmody in general, together with the rules and regulations for singing psalms devoutly and modestly; and here [is] the metathesis or transition to [a discussion of] the value and uses of psalmody, and to the second, more important part of the discussion [dianoias].

Justin describes, moreover, how very beautiful are the benefits of psalmody:

hēdunei gar hē psalmodia tēn psuchēn pros  
zeonta, etc.

that is,

1. The singing of psalms rouses the soul to the fervent desire for that which is desirable in songs.

2. It soothes the emotions which arise from the flesh.

3. It dispels improper thoughts, which are inspired in us by invisible enemies.

4. It stirs up the soul to bear the fruits of divine goodness.

5. It perfects those who are nobly striving in piety toward patience in adverse circumstances.

6. For the pious, it is a remedy for all life's ills.

7. Paul calls it "the sword of the Spirit"<sup>39</sup> when it provides pious soldiers with arms against invisible foes: rhēma gar esti theou, kai enthymoumenon, kai adomenon, kai anakrouomenon. For it is the word of God, whether thought with the mind, or sung, or played on an instrument [pulsu edatur].

8. It serves to ward off [apelatikon] demons.

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<sup>39</sup>Eph. 6:17.



9. Those things which are applied from ecclesiastical song perfect the soul in the virtues of piety.<sup>40</sup>

So says Justin.

There is also a twofold benefit of psalmody in church, namely, that the singers, when reciting the divine words, receive God into their hearts, and thus, devotion to God is kindled by songs of this type. Pope John XXII indicates [this] in these words (Extravagantes, canon on the life and character of clerics):

A very sweet sound resounds in the mouths of psalm-singers, since they receive God into their hearts while speaking [the] words. In the same way, also, they kindle devotion with songs. Hence, the singing of psalms in the church of God is advised, so that the devotion of the faithful may be stirred up. In this, the celebration of the day and night offices and of the Mass, there is constant singing by clergy and people, at the proper time and in the proper order, so that they may be pleased by the same order and delight in its perfection.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, the Pope teaches that psalmody was introduced into the church and accepted there for this reason most of all: that devotion to God might be kindled and stirred up.

In order, moreover, that psalmody, assisted by the grace of the Holy Spirit, might rouse virtue in [men's] souls, it is necessary that a manner of psalm-singing be

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<sup>40</sup> Justin Martyr, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos (spurious), Question 108, PG 6.1354-55.

<sup>41</sup> CIC, Extrav. com. III, canon 3. For the full text, as reproduced by Praetorius, see Appendix IV.

observed [which is] true and pleasing to God. In this regard, the following advice was given to psalmists and cantors at the fourth Synod of Carthage:

Take care that what you sing with your mouth, you believe in your heart; and that what you believe in your heart, you confirm in your deeds.<sup>42</sup>

And also the Apostle [Paul] (Ephesians 5:19) asks for singing songs and psalms to the Lord in one's heart.<sup>43</sup>

In his commentary on this passage (3.5) Jerome addresses singers as follows:

Let those whose duty it is to sing in church hear that they must sing to God, not with their voices, but with their hearts. Let the songs be heard in fear, in deeds, in knowledge of Scripture, etc.<sup>44</sup>

The same precept is attributed to Jerome in Canon Law, Chapter 92, [in the passage beginning]: "cantantes, etc.", where the gloss adds two verses:

Non vox, sed votum, non chordula musica,  
sed cor  
Non clamans, sed amans cantat  
in aure Dei.<sup>45</sup>

And Chrysostom, in his sermon on the songs of David

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<sup>42</sup>Severinus Binius, Concilia Generalia et Provincialia (Cologne: Ioan. Gymnic. and Anton Hierat., 1606), vol. 1, p. 728.

<sup>43</sup>Eph. 5:18-19: "...be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart."

<sup>44</sup>Jerome, Commentarium in Epistolam ad Ephesios 3, PL 7.562. See footnote 41 for the reference to CIC.

<sup>45</sup>"Not with the voice, but with prayer, not with a stringed instrument, but with the heart / Not crying out, but loving, he sings into the ear of God."

says:

Let us sing the psalms of David or other words of Holy Writ, [we who are] souls troubled by the devil, or by the evil proddings of the flesh. And let us sing in such a way that the mouth in singing instructs the mind. Nor should this appear feeble and mean; rather, when we make ready to sing with the tongue, the soul will be ashamed, even if it feels otherwise, not at least to imitate the tongue, [which is] singing.<sup>46</sup>

We read also that great care was taken in church that nothing having to do with song was done lightly or indecently, but all things solemnly and fittingly, and that the greatest of modesty was displayed by the singers and attendants. For the learned authority of the holy fathers decreed (so says Pope John XXII in the Decretum, Extravagantes communes on the life and character of clerics), that in the offices of divine praise, that [behavior] which was due to the performance of the service should be displayed, that every mind should be alert, [that] the text should not give offense, and that the singers should [display] solemn gravity and sing with well-modulated voices.<sup>47</sup> And in his decretal, the pontiff sternly reprimands those singers who, contrary to the nobility of clerical office, were too wanton in their singing, and he warns them [under threat] of punishment, to abstain henceforth from such levity.

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<sup>46</sup>John Chrysostom, Argumentum Psalmorum (spurious), 2, PG 55.536-37.

<sup>47</sup>See footnote 41.

Nor should they soothe their throats and jaws with sweet medicines, like the tragedians, so that the modes and songs of the theatre might be heard in church.

So says Jerome (Decretum, distinctio 92, [in the passage beginning] "cantantes").<sup>48</sup>

Likewise, the esteem in which Saint Paul's rule on veiling the head, handed down in I Corinthians 11[:5], was held among the ancients, is evident from the book which Tertullian, the ancient ecclesiastical writer, wrote in its entirety, On the Veiling of Virgins, in which, among other things, he proves with many arguments that it is unseemly for virgins to remain uncovered during the psalms or during any mention of God. He says:

What a great reprimand those women deserve, when they remain uncovered during the psalms, or any mention of God. And is it fitting that [while] at prayer they should casually put some fringe or tuft, or some sort of thread on their heads, thinking that they are properly covered? So highly do they value their heads!<sup>50</sup>

Thus there may be found in the preceding discourse [a discussion of] choral music, which arose out of ecclesiastical psalmody, and [of] the method of singing by choirs introduced in the churches of the Old Testament

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<sup>48</sup>See footnote 44.

<sup>49</sup>I Cor. 11:5, "...but any woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonors her head."

<sup>50</sup>Tertullian, De Virginibus Velandis 17, PL 2.913.

and the New Testament, and its melody, and the variety of inflections, the manifold benefits, the manner of singing devoutly, and the discipline and reverence of which it was worthy. Now we must digress a bit toward the wide field of common practice, which will fully prove that choral music is full of the movement of the Holy Spirit, pleasing to God, necessary to the church, and useful to the pious.

## Chapter IV

On the sweetness and the pathetic solemnity of psalmody, fitted by composers to the tones and modes of music, which were profitably invented.

First of all, let us turn our attention toward the solemn sweetness and the sweet solemnity of choral music, which contains the living essence of the divine Suada.<sup>51</sup> And surely, the authors did not intend to produce and express this without the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, both in the lively pronunciation of single sounds, and in the marvelous prosody of the syllables, and [they accomplished this] not with unremitting monotony [monotonia], but with flexible and varied equality and equal variety, with the result that, when the voices sound thus, as if set in motion by the soul, the voice of a soul piously and attentively moved, an interpreter and messenger is presented publicly before God, the angels, and the church in oratories. Thus the voice, mouth, and tongue, confessing their salvation with mind and heart believing in justice (Romans 10[:10]),<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>The personification of the power of persuasion.

<sup>52</sup>Romans 10:10: "For man believes with his heart and so is justified, and he confesses with his lips and so is saved."

may be heard to agree amicably in the practice of devout hymnody, and each [seem] to give the palm to the other. In like manner, the poets were unable to express every sort of subject matter in every sort of poem, as Horace warns in the Art of Poetry:

Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult.<sup>53</sup>

and Ovid:

Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles;  
Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui.<sup>54</sup>

Thus composers and those skilled in composing melodies varied the modes and the placement of the notes individually, according to the diversity of the subject matter and of the text. For surely captivating [psuchagōgos] and moving choral melody seems to portray clearly and obviously the living image of sacred eloquence with the lifeblood of the words, with the nerves and sinews of the thoughts, by means of the color of eloquent notes and modes, just as the most artful Apelles [did] with faithful and careful brush, adjusting the various motions to the diversity of material in different styles. For [thus] it sings [according] to the text: in compassion, a doleful sound from an anguished heart; in fear, a hesitating sound from a heart sharply constricted; in pleasure and spiritual joy, a sort of effusive

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<sup>53</sup>Horace Ars Poetica 89: "A comic subject cannot be expressed in tragic verses."

<sup>54</sup>Ovid Remedia Amoris 381: "Achilles cannot be spoken of in the meters of Callimachus/ Cydippe is not for your speech, O Homer."

and joyful sound from a merry heart; and finally, in sorrow or commiseration, a certain solemn, depressed, and veiled sound from a burning and indignant heart. Therefore, choral melody pricks up the ears and focuses their attention on the word of God, [giving] contemplation to the mind, emotion and firm devotion to the heart, much more effectively than the lyre of Demodocus, which, when played at the banquet of Prince Alcinoös, wrung tears from Ulysses, and dried them up when laid aside (Homer Odyssey 8).<sup>55</sup>

For the rest, ecclesiastical and scholarly history have celebrated many who were occupied in composing melodies and adapting the musical modes [to sacred texts].

John of Damascus, the theologian, who [was once] a scribe, and became a monk at Damascus around the year 725 A.D., together with Bishop Cosmas of Maiuma, and Theophanes, the brother of Theodore Graptor, are called "melodi" or "cantores" because they supplied with melodies those songs which are ordered to be sung in the Christian church. Certainly the canons of songs of John and Cosmas have been without peer up to the present time (Suidas and Cedrenus).<sup>56</sup> Likewise, John of Damsacus devised the characters by means of which ascending and descending intervals are notated,

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<sup>55</sup>Homer Odyssey 8.83.

<sup>56</sup>Suidae Lexikon, ed. by Ada Adler (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931), II, 649; Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium, anno 739, PG 121.883.



and by means of which choral psalmody, which then alone occupied a place in church, was written and sung (Zarlino).<sup>57</sup>

But it is difficult, nay impossible, to venture to guess what these characters were, or of what sort. Surely no one will easily persuade me that they are like those which we commonly use today. But one may argue from an old Missal preserved in the Bibliotheca Guelphica at Wolfenbüttel that they are not, on the other hand, so terribly old, nor have they been constantly and unremittingly in use. [This Missal] was elegantly and artistically written on pure and unblemished parchment in the year 915, as the frontispiece of the book indicates; but since [the book itself] is in another hand, I would conjecture that it was written long before [this date]. In order that each may see for himself what the writing and characters of this book are like, we present samples copied from the original, the first and the second.<sup>58</sup>

It might seem fitting to say something further here about Hebrew accents, seeing that some consider them to be the model for [our] notation, but since the matter is obscure and unknown, I considered it better to omit it.<sup>59</sup> For it is generally agreed in the writings of the grammarians and the rabbis, and I myself was told by a certain per-

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<sup>57</sup>Giuseppe Zarlino, Le Institutioni Harmoniche (1573; facsimile reprint, Ridgewood, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1966), 4.8 (376).

<sup>58</sup>See Ex. 1 (Introit, Advent IV) and Ex. 2 (Introit and Communio for Easter Day).

<sup>59</sup>See Appendix I.

**R**orante caeli desuper & nubes pluant in  
 te & flum aperiantur terra & germinent  
 saluatorem. Celi enarrant gloriam dei &  
 opera manuum eius aduertit firmamentum

Ex. 1

**R**esurrexi & adhaere cum sum  
 alleluia posuisti super me manum  
 tuam alleluia mirabilis facta est sci  
 entia tua alleluia alleluia  
 Domine probasti me & cognouisti me tu  
 cognouisti sessionem meam & resurrec  
 tionem meam

**P**ascha nostrum immola  
 tus est xpietus  
 spule mur in a zimis  
 sinceritatis & ueritatis

Ex. 2

son of the Jewish race, converted to Christianity (who even now is carrying out ecclesiastical duties in Anhalt), who took the Christian name Gerson, that among the modern Jews there is disagreement over the accents and the melodies of the psalms and the other songs of the Old Testament, as well as over the titles prefixed to the psalms, to say nothing of the fact that the Jews in Poland use different melodies in singing the psalms than those in Germany, but they use the same accents. And surely it is an argument in favor of disregarding the accents in singing, that [the Jews] sing the psalms one way on a great feast day, another way on lesser feast days, without changing the accents. Nay, rather it is obvious that the rationale of accents is unknown to the Jews at this time, since they do not know why some syllables in the Decalogue have double accents. Therefore, I thought it useless to speak further about accents, since everyone can find out [about them] for himself from the books of Schindler, Renemannus, and other grammarians.<sup>60</sup>

To return to the matter at hand, Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, made King of the Franks by the Pope, brought the Roman rite and music to France in the year of our Lord 751 (Sigebert).<sup>61</sup> Charlemagne, disturbed by the disagreement in church music between the Romans and the Franks,

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<sup>60</sup> Praetorius makes extensive use of Valentin Schindler's Lexikon Pentaglotton (Hanover: Joannes Jacobus Hennaues, 1612); he does not mention Renemannus again.

<sup>61</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 751, PL 160.142.

sent two clerics to Rome to learn the authentic chant from the Romans, and to teach [it] to the Franks. Through them, the church in Metz first of all, and thence, all of France, was brought back to the authority of the Roman chant, in the year of our Lord 774 (Sigebert and Aemylius, book 2).<sup>62</sup>

Sixteen years later, when a disagreement in singing and reading arose again between Rome and Metz, Charlemagne corrected the disagreement by means of cantors sent by [Pope] Hadrian, A.D. 790. This was the work of Paul Varnefridi, who was in charge of sacred matters for him (Sigebert).<sup>63</sup> And since only four tropes, or modes, were in use, according to the institution of [Pope] Gregory: Phrygian, Dorian, Lydian, [and] Mixolydian (lest the Latins yield in any way to the Greeks), he divided the leader from the follower, [and] distinguished the four subsidiary modes from the four primary modes, and made the eight modes. These [subsidiary modes] are called "cantores plagii," that is, "oblique [modes]." And he did this for the sole purpose of enabling the church to express in harmonious sounds the whole severity [deinotēta] and power of the words of Scripture, and in order that, in sweetness of agreement in Scripture, they might become distinguished among Christians. When the Greek legates were singing the divine office and the psalms accord-

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<sup>62</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 774, PL 160.147; Paulus Aemylius Veronensis, De Rebus Gestis Francorum (Basel: Sebastianus Henricipetri, n. d.), bk. 2.

<sup>63</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 790, PL 160.150.

ing to their native rite in Aachen, Charlemagne, who was secretly listening in, was so charmed by the sweetness of the melody that he ordered the melodies to be written down (Aventinus, Annals of the Bulgars, book 4; Jacobus Curio, Chronicles, book 2).<sup>64</sup>

And Robert, bishop of Chartres, outstanding in learning and holiness of life, wrote much, and improved somewhat the manner of singing in the service of the church. [This took place] under Pope Gregory V and Robert, King of France, the son of Hugo the Great (Platina).<sup>65</sup>

Another famous man was Guido d'Arezzo, [who lived] under the emperors Conrad II and Henry III. He taught unknown melodies to the boys in the quickest way, and applied all this to various musical instruments. Sigebert writes in his Chronicle that Guido lived around 1208.<sup>66</sup> Volaterranus, book twenty-one, and Krantz, Metropolis 4.18, [write] about him as follows:

Guido, traveling through various parts of the country, corrected corrupt music and taught the chant by the flexions of the joints of the hand. This is commonly called a scale. Hermann, archbishop of Hamburg, and Elveric, bishop of Osnabrück, made use of his work.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Joannes Aventinus, Annales Boicrum (Basel: ad Perneam Lecythum, 1580), bk. 4 (284); Jacobus Curio, Chronologicarum Rerum Libri II (Basel: Henrichus Petri, 1557), bk. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n. p., n. d.), fol. 73v.

<sup>66</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 1208, PL 160.204.

<sup>67</sup> Raffaele Maffei (Volaterranus), Commentariorum

It is written that [Guido] ingeniously derived the six syllables; Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, from the hymn in Sapphic hemistichs, originated in memory of Saint John the Baptist, and lately corrected (This hymn was formerly used to ward off hoarseness, since John the Baptist, who is called the voice of one crying in the wilderness, was believed to be the tutelary deity of those crying and singing in the monasteries, according to Popish superstition):

UT queant laxis REsonare fibris

MIRA Baptistae FAMuli tuorum

SOLVE polluti LABii reatum

Sancte Iohannes.

Among the composers of our time in the German church, one may be singled out for special praise, the solemn and melodious founder of Lutheran music, Johann Walther, Court Kappelmeister to Johann Frederick, and later to Maurice, Duke of Saxony and Elector. A memorial to his efforts and zeal on behalf of choral music is found in the general index prefixed to Leitourgodia Sionia.<sup>68</sup>

But let us move on to [discuss] the effectiveness and benefit of psalmody.

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Urbanorum Raphaëlis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri  
(Basel, 1159), bk. 21.

<sup>68</sup>See Appendix II.

## Chapter V

On the efficacy, and the religious and devotional benefit of psalmody, since by the meditation on and frequent celebration of divine virtue, it solemnly rouses the emotions of those who gather everywhere in the presence of God and the angels, [and rouses them] favorably to one's neighbor and adversely to Satan.

Certainly a mind [possessed] of devout faith perceives that in choral music and the psalmody of the church, the glory of God has been spread about. For indeed [choral music] balances, considers, and reflects on the importance of each word and sentence, and presents them for contemplation to the alert singer and the aroused listener, in order that the signs of sacred matters, the documents of Christian truth, the mysteries of the confession of Christ, and the authentic martyrdoms of the Apostles, likewise the vows and sighs of a suppliant church, and in some manner, all things so analogous to the rule and canon of the faith, may not depart by a hairsbreadth from the prophetic and apostolic foundation.

For the encomium is very true, in which that music-loving [philomousos] nightingale (Philipp Melanchthon, I believe) commended music, saying:

Nothing is sweeter to any man not depraved

than doctrine rightly depicted in words,  
which is well carried to the ears and  
souls [of men] by harmony.<sup>69</sup>

And the senses bear witness that our spirits are moved by such music, both to sorrow, when they hear the complaints of our misfortunes, or gloomy songs of hardship; but on the other hand, when our spirits hear the sweet melodies of the mercy of God, they are lightened and roused to prayer.

And that which Basil wrote about the use of the psalms in his prologue to Psalm 1, may be affirmed in regard to music:

For the psalmody and choral music of the church is joy, tranquility of soul, the herald of peace, which can calm all the billows and storms of fearful emotions; for it appeases anger, restrains lust, [it] is the conciliator of love, composer of dissent, reconciler of enemies. For who would consider anyone an enemy, if he sings songs together with him to God? Therefore psalmody demonstrates charity, which is the greatest good, and joins people together in one accord. Psalmody puts demons to flight and brings together the heavenly host, gives security in [the midst of] nightly fears, is rest for daily labors, guardian of children, protection of youths: solace for the old, the most fitting adornment for women. In solitude it offers a sweet refuge; it moderates public life. [It is] an education for beginners, an increase for the proficient, absolution, strengthening, the voice of the church. Furthermore, it illuminates solemnities, produces sadness which is from God, wrings tears from a stony heart. Psalmody is the work of the angels, to ourani-  
ōn politeuma (the heavenly government),

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<sup>69</sup>No work is cited. The complete works of Melanchthon are available ed. by Henricus Bindseil, Opera quae Super-  
sunt Omnia (28 vols.; Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1856).



ruler and society of the heavenly Jerusalem,  
spiritual thymiama and incense. O admirable  
wisdom of the heavenly Master, who in one and  
the same deed established both singing and  
useful learning.<sup>70</sup>

Here I am following Basil's explanation.

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<sup>70</sup> Basil, Homilia in Psalmum I, 2, PG 29:211-14.

## Chapter VI

On the use of psalmody for memory and teaching [mnemoneutikō kai paideutikō], which is at the service of instruction and memory; and [a discussion] of the orthodox use of [those] melodies which heretics evilly apply to instill corruption, or attempt to abolish.

Indeed, songs and poems, like certain succinct apophthegms, are easily committed to memory, adhere to the mind a very long time, and very quickly come to our aid, both on account of the brevity of the songs, and on account of the smoothness of their meters. For the mystic grace of the sacred words, like a living river, flows from the mouths of the singers as if through a choral chanrel, and [the words] enter the united hearts of the listeners, where they are instilled. Once received, they are easily brought to mind with the help of the same tune.

On this matter, Basil writes beautifully, saying:

When the Holy Spirit saw the mortal race despise the right path, inclined toward voluptuousness and difficult to persuade toward virtue (and we, therefore, are inclined toward voluptuousness), what did he do? He mixed the gladness of melody with heavenly doctrines in order that we might receive in secret the value of the written word by the delight of [our] ears, without perceiving it. And he does this like a wise physician, who, when giving

a bad-tasting medicine to children coats the glass with honey, so that [the medicine] does not sicken the one who drinks it. So are these fitting psalm-melodies offered to us, who are truly children in spiritual matters, so that they may seem pleasant by their appearance, but in fact instruct us in divine mysteries and purify our minds. Thus it happens that, among those who are especially slow-witted, hardly a one is found who can commit to memory some precept of the Apostles or of the Prophets, but the psalms can be recalled at once. They sing them indoors, and hum them outdoors, and carry them around in the field.<sup>71</sup>

So says Basil; and, as Nazianzus said:

mnēmoneiteon toutou [Christou] mallon ē anapneusteon.<sup>72</sup>

[that is]:

It is more important to remember him (Christ) than to breathe.

Let them consider and observe: music supplies both argument and memory.

Augustine likewise confirms this, when he commends the holy life of those who sing psalms and sacred songs while at work, saying:

Or are we unaware of the vanities and the many evils of theatrical fables with which workers endow their hearts and tongues, when they do not withdraw their hands from their task? What, then, hinders the servant of God, working with his hands, from meditating on the law of the Lord, and singing psalms to the name of the Lord most high? For even

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<sup>71</sup>Basil, Homilia in Psalmum I, 2, PG 29.211-14.

<sup>72</sup>No work is cited. The complete works of Gregory of Nazianzus are found in PG 35-38.

manual workers can easily sing divine songs, and ease the work itself with an almost divine command.<sup>73</sup>

[He says this in his book] On the Work of Monks, 17.

The ancients affirm that they not only sang psalms at gatherings of the church, but also instilled them in both boys and girls at a tender age. It is apparent from the life of Gregory Agrigentinus, in the works of Metaphrastes, that the preceptors and teachers inculcated the psalms in schools.<sup>74</sup>

Although there were heretics who covered the pestilence of foul corruptions with the sweetness of melody, so that [men's] souls might drink crass errors from depraved hymns, nevertheless the orthodox, divinely inspired, delivered the songs of the church from superstitious and vain worship, and introduced them to the true acknowledgement and praise of God, thrice holy, just as the Israelites had learned to bring into the true use of the Sanctuary, the spoils of the Egyptians, which they had proudly and superstitiously abused. On a similar matter, see Nicephorus 10.26 [and] Augustine, On Christian Doctrine 2.40.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Augustine, De Opere Monachorum, 17, PL 40:565.

<sup>74</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes, Vita Sancti Gregorii Agrigentini, PG 116.191.

<sup>75</sup> Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 10.26, PG 147.511-18; Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana 2.40, PL 34.63.

Thus Harmonius Syrus, a disciple of the great Ephraem, arranged to have sung in rotating order his father's words, enclosed in legitimate modes and musical meters, so as to spread his father's heresy with lyrical melodies. By this means, many of the Syrians, lulled by the beauty of the words and the meters, were gradually persuaded by the opinions received from [Harmonius'] father Bardesanes. But, having recognized this, Saint Ephraem changed the verses of Harmonius, and having fitted to the melodies poems consonant to the teaching of the church, he gave these to the Syrians to sing. From that time until now, the Syrians when singing do not use the poems produced by Harmonius, but their melodies only.<sup>76</sup>

Moreover, one may learn from Theodoret (3.19) that even maidens were taught psalmody from childhood, [as one finds in] the story of Publia, deaconess at Antioch, who was the mistress in charge of the girls' education.<sup>77</sup>

Thus they were convinced that their children could more easily learn the elements of the Christian religion, retain them the longest time, and most quickly recall them to mind.

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<sup>76</sup> For information about the works of Ephraem, see Egon Wellesz, "Early Christian Music," in The New Oxford History of Music, ed. by Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), II, 8.

<sup>77</sup> Theodoret, Ecclesiastica Historia 3.14, PG 82.110-111.

But since the Devil saw that his power was being attacked and his kingdom laid waste by the psalmody of the pious, he fought tooth and nail, with all his might, to take away from schools and churches the time given to practice in psalm-singing.

We read about Paul of Samosata that he took away from the church psalms sung in the glory of Christ [and] proclaiming his divinity, and also hymns written by the faithful in imitation of these. In the midst of a gathering of people on the great day of Easter, he persuaded the women to sing psalms about [Christ] which would have struck any hearer with horror (Eusebius 7.29).<sup>78</sup>

Therefore, Megalander Luther judges rightly in his letter to the musician Senfl, saying:

We know that music is hateful and intolerable to demons, and quite rightly so. Nor am I ashamed to say that, after theology, there is no art which can equal music, for [music] itself, after theology, offers that which only theology offers, etc.

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<sup>78</sup>Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica 7.20, PG 20.712.

<sup>79</sup>Martin Luther, Letter to Ludwig Senfl, in Luther's Works, vol. 49, ed. and trans. by Gottfried G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), p. 428.

## Chapter VII

On the ecclesiastical [ekklesiastikō] use of psalmody at the consecration and dedication of churches.

And surely, in order to show the true use of churches, and to stir up the listeners to eagerness for the divine Word, [Christians] not only expounded the oracles of the psalms at [their] gatherings, but [constantly] repeated the psalms. It is pleasant to see and to hear in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius (10.4) about the dedication ceremonies of Christians, who at the consecration of churches (celebrated without superstitious, empty, and theatrical pomp) employed certain psalms, by means of which they commended to the one God the safety of the church, sustained the pious against the cruelty of tyrants, and roused the church to consider with gratitude the tranquility [enjoyed] by the church under the protection of orthodox monarchs, and to acknowledge seriously the gathering and propagation of the church in the New Testament.<sup>80</sup> For Eusebius and others recall that Christians sang these words from the psalms in their solemnities of dedication:

Psalm 37[:14-15]  
The wicked draw the sword and bend their bows,

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<sup>80</sup>Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica 10.4, PG 20.846-79.

to bring down the poor and needy,  
to slay those who walk uprightly;  
their sword shall enter their own heart,  
and their bows shall be broken.

Psalm 9[:7, 6]

...the very memory of them has perished  
...thou hast blotted out their names  
for ever and ever.

Psalm 19 [recte 18:41, 43]

They cried for help, but there was none  
to save,  
they cried to the LORD, but he did not  
answer them.  
Thou didst deliver me from strife  
with the peoples;  
thou didst make me the head of the nations.

Psalm 20[:8]

They will collapse and fall;  
but we shall rise and stand upright.

Psalm 44[:1-2]

We have heard with our ears, O God,  
our fathers have told us,  
what deeds thou didst perform in their days,  
in the days of old:  
Thou with thine own hand didst drive out  
the nations,  
but them thou didst plant;  
thou didst afflict the peoples,  
but them thou didst set free.

Psalm 48[:8]

As we have heard, so have we seen  
in the city of the LORD of hosts,  
in the city of our God,  
which God establishes for ever.

Psalm 84[:1]

How lovely is thy dwelling place,  
O LORD of hosts!

Psalm 122[:1-2]

I was glad when they said to me,



"Let us go to the house of the LORD!"  
Our feet have been standing  
within thy gates, O Jerusalem.

## Chapter VIII

On the virtue and benefit of psalmody for appropriation to oneself [idiopoietikō], in which the hearer adopts as his own the words of the text sung, with compunction and conversion.

Very greatly to be admired and worthy of all veneration is the dignity of ecclesiastical music, especially choral [music], which the Holy Spirit inspired with such grace and efficacy that both the devout listener and the attentive singer unhesitatingly adapt the words sung to themselves, and adopt them as their own. For what Athanasius said about the dignity of the Psalter, may be said of all ecclesiastical music:

In ecclesiastical choral music, indeed, there is a particular character of speech, suited to the emotions of each person, which has the particular distinction of embracing in psalms, hymns, proses, responsories, antiphons, and other texts, the moods of each soul, and the changes and moderations of mood depicted and expressed in living images, so that each person can draw [on it] as a model and understand, and in the same way, mold himself [to the image] presented there.<sup>82</sup>

From the music which sings sacred words, the hearer directs the emotions of his soul, and discovers what a

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<sup>82</sup> Athanasius, Epistola ad Marcellinum, PG 27.11-44.

remedy it provides for his sickness. And moreover, in sacred songs it is remarkable that the one who sings thinks that he is singing his own words, on account of his piety; and whoever sings thus, [sings] as if that which he is singing had been of his own composition, and as if the words were his own, and thus directs his mind to God. As so it happens that he hears [the words] as one who has failed to keep the commandment, or as one who has observed it, and they seem to pertain to his own disposition and deeds. And this [happens] to such an extent that the singer is able to use the sacred songs as a mirror by which he may regard the moods of his soul, and in regarding [them], may confess [them] in words. For a man who hears sacred songs, and believes that they speak of him, is either pricked and rebuked by his conscience, or hearing of hope in God and of the reward of believers, exults in none other than his own reward, and begins to give thanks to God, etc., and to sing the words of God as if [they were] his own.

In summary, each psalm was conceived by the Holy Spirit in such a form of words, and so regulated, that in it we perceive the changes of our own emotions, and we believe that all this pertains to us, and that it is our very own. Thus it happens that, being mindful of our own emotions, we change them for the better. For those things which are sung in the psalms may be our patterns and models. In saying this, I am in agreement with Athanasius.

Thus also, whenever we sing or preach, it happens

that we are afflicted publicly by so many difficulties and troubles, and privately, each of us bears his own punishment. This is what happens in those psalms which proclaim the divine wrath against the impious, and those who break the law of God. And [also] of this type is the song which they dying Moses wrote at the command of God (Deuteronomy 31), [a song] to be read publicly and to be sung by each man alone to bear witness to the benevolence of God toward the Israelites, and to the ingratitude of their souls, in order that, being challenged by the perception of punishment, they would assign to themselves the guilt and blame, and to God, the omniscience and justice, and pardoning God, [they] would arouse themselves, and led by penitence, would amend their lives for the better. For thus we read of God's commandment (Deuteronomy 31:19):

Now write for yourselves this song, which you shall teach to the sons of Israel, placing it on their lips, that this song may be for me in the place of a witness against the sons of Israel.

God solemnly impressed on them the use of the song, in these words (verse 21):

It shall be, therefore, when evil times and troubles come upon them, that this song will bear witness in their face in the place of a witness, etc.

Verse 22 shows the institution of Moses:

So on that same day, Moses wrote out this song, and taught it to the sons of Israel.

And [according to] verse 30:

Then in the hearing of Israel's full

assembly Moses spoke the words of this song to the end.

The song itself, which is very full of warning and consolation, is preserved and solemnly commended in the following chapter 32.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>The attribution of this hymn to Moses is discounted by modern Biblical commentators. It is a summary of the faith of Israel, dating from a much later period.

## Chapter IX

On the use of psalmody for courage [tharrhētikō] in [time of] persecution, for the assertion of the oppressed truth, to goad Satan and tyrants, and at the same time, to encourage the oppressed and to convince heretics.

Great power for the destruction of tyrants and heretics has also been inspired in choral music and psalmody. Ecclesiastical history bears witness to this, the manner in which Christians formerly, in the primitive church, using psalm-tunes, courageously scorned and conquered the cruelty of tyrants.

First of all, Theodoret made a remarkable observation in his Ecclesiastical History 3.10: Pythias Daphneus in the presence of Julian the Apostate, who was inquiring what the outcome of his expedition into Persia would be, pretended that the bones of Babylas and the [other] martyrs prevented him from giving an oracle. Having heard this, Julian, who had long revered the power of the martyrs, refrained henceforth from moving [their] bodies, and gave the relics of the martyrs to be carried away by the worshippers of Christ, who came eagerly to the place, putting the reliquary on a cart, preceded by throngs [of people], who sounded the Davidic melody with dances and songs, with

all joining in the singing from Psalm 96 [recte 97]:

All worshippers of images are put to shame.<sup>84</sup> Nothing could have been spoken more correctly or more fittingly against a tyrant and his burning wrath. The whole church sang this with exultation into the ears of the wicked prince (as Rufinus recalls in Book I),<sup>85</sup> during the six-mile [journey], so that the heavens resounded with their cries. Therefore, he fell into such a furious rage that, the next day he ordered the Christians to be arrested at random, jailed and tortured. Rufinus, in the same place, Chapter 36, adds the noteworthy story of the youth Theodorus.<sup>86</sup> The prefect Sallustius, although he was a pagan, carried out the tyrant's orders against the Christians unwillingly, and did not approve at all of his cruelty. Having arrested a certain youth named Theodorus, the first one he encountered, he tortured him from daybreak until the tenth hour, with such cruelty, and with so many changes of executioner, that no age recalls any similar happening. But when hoisted on the equuleus, and threatened with torture from every direction, he merely repeated, with a serene and happy countenance, the ninety-sixth Psalm,

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<sup>84</sup>Theodoret, Ecclesiastica Historia 3.6, PG 82.1098.

<sup>85</sup>Rufinus Aquiliensis, Ecclesiastica Historia 1.35, PL 21.503.

<sup>86</sup>ibid., 1.36, PL 21.504.

which the whole church had sung the day before. When Sallustius saw that all the cruelty he had dealt out had accomplished nothing, he is said to have gone to the emperor, and to have warned him not to try any such thing again, lest it redound to their glory and to the emperor's infamy.

Rufinus adds that he later saw this youth in Antioch, and asked him whether he had felt the tortures of his tormentors; but he replied that he had felt hardly any pain at all, and that a certain youth had stood by him to wipe away the sweat with a white cloth when he perspired, constantly pouring cold water on him. [And he said] that this was so delightful that he became sad when the torture ceased.<sup>87</sup> Augustine recalls the same story in the City of God 18.52.<sup>88</sup>

Worthy of great admiration is the manly and rare bravery of the woman Publia, [the bravery] which she drew from the Psalms of David. There lived at the time of Julian the Apostate, Publia, a noble woman, famous for her outstanding virtue. Since she carried out faithfully the office of deaconess in the church of Antioch, she had with her a group of maidens sworn to a chaste life, and she constantly celebrated God, the Creator and Savior. As the emperor was

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<sup>87</sup> ibid. 1.36, PL 21.504.

<sup>88</sup> Augustine, De Civitate Dei 18.52, PL 41.615.



passing by, they sang their common song more loudly, no doubt out of contempt and derision for his anger. To be specific, they were singing [the psalms] in which the feebleness of idols is attacked, when they sang from David's Psalm 115:

Their idols are silver and gold,  
the work of men's hands.

And when the [emperor's] speech, which they had heard not at all, was finished, they added:

Those who make them are like them;  
so are all who trust in them.

Julian, vexed at hearing this, ordered them to be silent when they passed by. But Publia, caring little for his laws and threats, established and ordered with greater care, that when he came the choirs should sing Psalm 67 [recte 68]:

Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered.

But Julian was angry, and ordered the mistress [of the choir] to be brought to him, and when he saw the venerable matron, being moved to pity neither by her speech nor by the honor in which her virtue was held, ordered his attendants to redden her cheeks with blows. But she, taking this abuse as a great honor, returned to her little home after this, and attacked him with spiritual songs, as had been her previous custom, in imitation of those authors and doctors who had driven out an evil spirit from Saul in this way (Theodoret 3.19).<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Theodoret, Ecclesiastica Historia 3.19, PG 82.1110-11.

During the time of persecution, a custom grew up in Milan, because of the singular consoling power of the Psalms, as Augustine comments in many places, saying:

Not long ago, the Milanese church had begun to celebrate this type of consolation and exhortation with great zeal of the brethren, who sang with voices and hearts. No doubt it was the year, or not much later, when Justina, the mother of the boy king Valentian, was persecuting your man Ambrose on account of her heresy, into which she had been drawn by the Arians. The pious folk kept watch in the church, ready to die with their bishop, your servant. Then my mother, your servant, taking the lead in solitary vigils, lived on prayers, and we, who were cold until then, were roused by the heat of your spirit, and the city was amazed and disturbed. Then it was established that hymns and psalms be sung according to the manner of the Eastern regions, so that people would not waste away through their weariness of sorrow. And from this [beginning], retained to this day, many have already imitated [this custom], including almost all of your flocks, in all parts of the world.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Augustine, Confessiones 9.7, PL 32.770.

## Chapter X

On the use of psalmody for correction and restoration [epanorthotikō kai to pros palingenesian], (in prolepsis, or anticipation, of objection from Augustine), to convert to the faith those in error and [those who are] catechumens.

Only by a great impulse of the Holy Spirit could choral music and psalmody assert so strongly the dogmas of Christian truth against heretical opinions, and often correct those imbued [with heresy], and illuminate them with the true faith. And this is the principal reason why they assiduously cultivated choral music in the primitive church, and [following] the example of David, composed their psalms and hymns in honor of Christ.

Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, book 5, last chapter) sets the psalms of the faithful against the impious heresy of Artemon and the others of his sect, who denied the divinity of Christ. He writes as follows:

How many psalms and songs there are [which have been] written from the beginning by the faithful brethren, celebrating and praising as God, Christ, the Word of God.<sup>91</sup>

Although Augustine, as he admits in his Confessions

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<sup>91</sup>Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica 5.28, PG 20.511-14.

(10.33) was such a rigid judge of music that he wished every melody of sweet songs, with which the psalter of David is filled, to be removed from his ears, nevertheless, he concludes in the same chapter that choral music ought to be retained in church, saying:

Nevertheless, when I recall my tears, which I shed at the songs of your church when I first recovered my faith, I am moved even now, not by the song, but by that which is sung with a flowing voice and an agreeable melody; again I acknowledge the usefulness of this institution.<sup>92</sup>

Likewise, Augustine (Confessions 9.6-7) relates how he was received into the church in Milan by the washing of baptism (together with Alipius and his son, a boy of sixteen years, whom he calls Adeodatus), and how greatly he was roused to zeal for the divine word by hymns and spiritual songs:

Nor was I satisfied in those days with considering the marvelous sweetness of the depth of your plan for the salvation of the human race. How much I wept at your hymns and songs, keenly moved by the sounds of your church sweetly singing. Those sounds flowed into my ears, and your truth was distilled in my heart, and from it boiled up a feeling of piety, and tears flowed, and I rejoiced in them.<sup>93</sup>

And Augustine draws our attention (Confessions 9.4) to the way in which, after his conversion from the Manichean heresy to the true knowledge of Christ, he sang hymns to God, not hesitating to confess freely his error, repentance, and conversion:

What cries I uttered to you, my God, when I read

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<sup>92</sup>Augustine, Confessiones 10.33, PL 32.799-800.

<sup>93</sup>ibid., 9.6-7, PL 32.769-70.

the psalms of David, faithful songs, and sounds of piety, shutting out the spirit swollen [with pride], [I], a rude catechumen in your faithful love, on holiday in a country house with the catechumen Alipius, etc.

What cries I uttered to you in those psalms, and how I was inflamed and kindled toward you from them, etc.

With what strong and bitter anguish I scorned the Manichees, etc.

I shuddered with fear and blazed with hope and exultation in your mercy, O Father. And all these things happened by [the power of] my eyes and my voice, when your good Spirit turned to us and said: "O men, how long shall my honor suffer shame? How long will you love vain words, and seek after lies?" [Psalm 4], etc. I heard and trembled, for I remembered that I had been a man like the one being described, for in my dreams, which I believed to be true, were vanity and falsehood. I uttered deep and loud cries in the sorrow of my recollection. Would that those who still love vain words and seek after lies would hear this, and perhaps be troubled, and vomit up [their vain words], and you would hear them when they cried to you, etc.<sup>94</sup>

Thus far Augustine.

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<sup>94</sup>ibid., 9.4, PL 32.766-67.

## Chapter XI

On the illustrious use of psalmody in the chambers of the emperors, by way of transition from ecclesiastical and scholastic use to domestic and private.

The courtly and domestic or private use of psalmody [in those places] where hymnology was practiced contains and reveals a power of choral music and psalmody no less efficacious than the scholastic and ecclesiastical use which has been described up to this point, not only in life, but also in death and suffering.

The outstanding virute of courtly music appears in the examples of Theodosius and Constantine. When the emperor Theodosius was enraged against the people of Antioch because his statues had been seditiously pulled down, and [when] he threatened them with the most horrible torture and carnage, Flavian, bishop of the church of Antioch, wished God to be invoked, not only in public and private gatherings of the Christian people, to soothe the rage of the emperor; but he gave the same mournful songs which entreated the everlasting God to the youths who were accustomed to sing at the emperor's dinner table, in order that they might sing them in the emperor's presence. And the emperor was so moved by these mournful [songs] that [even] as he held his drinking-glass

in his hands, he could not hold back the tears. And by this scheme, he was reconciled to the city against which he had held a grudge on account of the denial of tribute and of the seditious pulling down of the statue of his wife Placilla, and at once he put away all anger from his soul (told by Sozomen 7.23).<sup>95</sup>

And just as the emperor Theodosius did not hesitate to hear the psalms of David at table, so Eusebius, in his Life of the emperor Constantine, recalls that, in his chamber, he encouraged his ministers always to take time for supplications on behalf of the emperor, and for the perpetual safety and well-being of the empire, and to sing sacred psalms in honor of the divine Majesty. He himself first began to sing psalms at gatherings of the church.<sup>96</sup>

And Solomon himself, the son of David, sang the Song of Songs in the manner of a drama in his dardens at Engadda, in the midst of the arduous affairs of his reign. Nothing in the Hebrew language sounds sweeter than this; nothing is holier when allegorically interpreted.

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<sup>95</sup>Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica 7.23, PG 67.1487-90.

<sup>96</sup>Eusebius, Vita Constantini 1. 17, PG 20.954.

## Chapter XII

On the use of psalmody at meals and drinking-parties [deipnologō kai sumpotikō], at banquets, at which one was obliged to sing the customary psalms.

At feasts, even at table, Christians took their food and drink with hymns of praise [doxologikois], as Clement of Alexandria eloquently reports (Paedagogus 2.4), speaking solemnly against the lascivious music of impure songs:

Let our cheerfulness [philophrosunē] in drink be twofold, the striving for modesty according to the Law, which commands: "Love the Lord, your God," and then: "[Love] your neighbor." But first, let there be modest mirth toward God, with thanksgiving and psalmody. And second, let there be mirth toward your neighbor, with honest and sober behavior.<sup>97</sup>

The Apostle [Paul] says (Colossians 3[:16]):

Let the word of the Lord dwell in you richly...

For this word adapts itself and conforms to various times, persons, and places, and is in use even now at banquets.

And again, the Apostle adds:

...teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God.

And again:

And whatever you do, in word or deed, do

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<sup>97</sup> Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus 2.4, PG 8.443.



everything in the name of the Lord Jesus,  
giving thanks to God the Father through him.<sup>98</sup>

This is our pleasing and joyful banquet.

And furthermore, Clement likewise bears witness that  
the ancients received their drink with psalms:

Just as we should praise the Maker of all  
things before taking our food, so should we  
sing psalms to him even when drinking, when  
we become partakers of his creation.<sup>99</sup>

Even Christ himself, our Savior, whenever he wished  
to take food and offer it, began with praise [eulogia]  
and thanksgiving [eucharistia]. As soon as he had added  
prayer to the breaking of bread, those setting out for  
Emmaus recognized him from his infallible character and  
constant behavior; their eyes were opened, and they asserted  
confidently that he was the Lord.<sup>100</sup> And Saint Matthew's  
account of the passion (Matthew 26) clearly asserts that  
Christ our Savior, with his disciples at the meal of the  
Paschal lamb, either sung or said a hymn. For it was the  
custom of the Jews at all solemn feasts, and especially at  
the Passover meal, to pass around a cup after dinner, called  
"coe hallel," that is, "potērion humnēseōs," "the cup of  
blessing." It was called this because, after the cup had  
been passed around the table, one of the psalms of David

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<sup>98</sup>Colossians 3:16-17.

<sup>99</sup>Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus 2.4, PG 8.443.

<sup>100</sup>Luke 24:30-31.

which began with the word "Hallelujah," that is, "Praise the LORD". There are a good many of these in the psalter, and it is believed that Psalm 113 is the one which the Lord sang at the end of the Last Supper. In this [psalm] the following noteworthy verses are found, among others:

Who is like the LORD our God, who is seated on high?

This is preserved in the ritual codex.<sup>101</sup>

And the First Letter to the Corinthians provides evidence that, at the time of the Apostles, psalms were sung and recited at table; [here] is given the rule at table:

So, whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.<sup>102</sup>

And in the Letter to the Ephesians 5[:18], he says:

And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart.

And James 5:13:

Is any merry? Let him sing praise.

Euthumei tis psalleto.

Ist jemand guts Muths, der singe Psalmen.

The Egyptian hermits also practiced this custom, of Apostolic sanction, at [their] feasts, as the Fathers impressed upon us.

Saint Ambrose, On the Sacraments, book six, last

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<sup>101</sup> See Alfred Sendrey, Music in Ancient Israel (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), p. 175.

<sup>102</sup> I Corinthians 10:31.

chapter, writes as follows about that laudable ceremony:

Do not begin to eat like a starving man,  
but first praise God.<sup>103</sup>

And Saint Jerome, in his Letter to Eustochium:

Neither let the meal begin until a prayer  
has been said, nor rise from the table with-  
out giving thanks to the Creator.<sup>104</sup>

And Aquinas, observing the example of Christ, says, following  
Chrysostom:

Those who eat until they are stuffed, and  
rise without giving thanks, are called pigs.<sup>105</sup>

From Cassian, whose monument is joined with the books  
of Damascenus, one finds that the eremitical brothers in  
Egypt, such as they were then, forced into the woods, not  
through vain ambition for sanctity, but by the persecution of  
tyrants, sang psalms at solemn gatherings, before and after  
the meal. Among these, Psalm 145 was not the last:

The eyes of all look to thee, etc.

Thus [he] recalls [in] book three, last chapter:

At solemn banquets or refectations after canon-  
ical fasts, it was their custom to sing the  
usual psalms before and after.<sup>106</sup>

In regard to the usual psalms used by the Egyptian  
hermits, mentioned above in passing, Cassian recounts in

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<sup>103</sup> Ambrose, De Sacramentis 6.5, PL 16.479.

<sup>104</sup> Jerome, Epistola ad Eustochium, PL 22.421.

<sup>105</sup> John Chrysostom, De Lazaro Cancro 1.8, PG 48, 974.  
The citation by Aquinas cannot be traced.

<sup>106</sup> John Cassian, De Coenobiorum Institutis 3.12, PL 49.150-51.

book two, "On the Manner of Prayers and Psalms":

The brethren in Egypt were deliberating among themselves how many psalms they should say at their gatherings. Some wished to sing fifty, some more, some fewer. But their controversy was interrupted by an angelic apparition. For when they were all seated, concentrating on the words of the psalms with all their hearts, someone (who they later agreed was an angel) sang eleven psalms, completing the twelfth under the response "Alleluia," and suddenly disappeared from before their eyes, thus putting to an end both the question and the ceremonies. They agreed, on the basis of his disappearance, that he was an angel.<sup>107</sup>

Let the account of the angelic apparition and the custom, thereby established, of singing twelve psalms, be left to their authors. It is pleasing, at any rate, to know from this that they recited or sang psalms at their gatherings and solemn feasts, especially those which have [the refrain] "Alleluia," which are the [psalms] from 145 to the end of the psalter, and a few preceding these.

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<sup>107</sup> ibid., 2.5, PL 49.86-87.

## Chapter XIII

On the use of psalmody in the morning and in the evening [eothinō kai hesperinō], for those going to bed at night, and rising from sleep in the morning.

The pious ancients neither went to bed nor arose without Christian music to beseech the gracious protection of God, beginning the day and the night with psalmody.

The above-mentioned Paedagogus by Clement recalls the psalmody [used] at bedtime:

First of all, before sleep overtakes us, it is pious and holy for us to give thanks to God, so that we, who have obtained his favor and grace, may go to sleep with a certain divine inspiration. And confess to him in the songs of your lips, that whatever seems good to him may be done by his command, and that there is nothing incomplete or lacking in his Word, according, indeed, to the testimony of Psalm 62 and Psalm 118.<sup>108</sup>

Saint Ambrose (Hexaameron 5.12) puts before us the example of the birds, so that we may learn from them to sing psalms, and to extol God in unending songs:

Who is there with human senses who would not blush, either to begin the day, or to end it, without the solemnity of psalms, when even the wild birds follow the beginning of day and night with solemn devotion and sweet song?<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus 2.9, PG 8.443-44.

<sup>109</sup> Ambrose, Hexaameron 5.12, PL 14.237.

Likewise in book fifteen of On Elijah or On Fasting, he solemnly chastises those who begin the day, not with psalms, but with wine-guzzling and gluttony:

Woe to them, and justly so, who in the morning need alcoholic drink, when they should have given praise to God, risen before dawn, and taken time for prayer to meet the Sun of justice, which visits us and rouses us [from sleep]. Let us, therefore, arise to Christ, not to wine and to intoxicating drink. Are hymns being sung (by the pious and sober, that is) while you are playing the kithara? Are psalms being sung, while you are playing the psaltery or tambourine?

He is speaking of the abuse of instruments for drunken and lascivious pleasure.

Woe to you, and rightly so, who neglect salvation and choose death.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ambrose, Liber de Elia et Jejunio, 15, PL 14.751.

## Chapter XIV

On the extemporaneous [prosakeleutikō] use of psalmody, for driving away the tedium of labor.

With a great abundance of piety, with a sure expectation of divine blessing, Christians sang pious songs in the midst of labors at home, hummed them outdoors, carried them about in the field; and their labors were lightened, as if by divine command, as Basil and Augustine said above (chapter six). And what Jerome says (chapter seventeen) is also pertinent here:

Here the ploughman holding the handle of his plough sings Alleluia; the sweating reaper diverts himself with psalms; and the vine-dresser, cutting the vines with a curved sickle, sings some of the songs of David. These are the songs of this province, these (as one commonly says) are the love songs, these are the shepherds' whistlings, these are the tools of husbandry.<sup>lll</sup>

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<sup>lll</sup>No work cited.

## Chapter XV

On the inspired [prosaklētikō] use of psalmody in hardship and suffering, against the fear of death and torture under tyrants.

At the last, as in every calamity, both of body and of soul, the pious strengthened themselves to resist and to bear [their burdens] with the help of sacred music. Thus, in the very hour of death, the martyrs especially, when about to die, urged on by the impulses of the Holy Spirit, inspired by the power of sacred music, and the recollection of psalms and hymns, put aside all fear of death, so courageously that, fearlessly laying down their lives, they despised all the threats of tyrants, and the horrible torments of punishment, and calmly gave up the ghost.

Socrates (2.16) and Nicephorus (6.34) write about the martyrdom of Babylas, bishop of Antioch.<sup>112</sup> Theodoret, moreover, comments in his Catalogue on his outstanding greatness of soul, that Babylas, standing in the doorway, blocked the emperor Numerianus (or as some say, Decius), who was trying to enter the holy church against the crowd

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<sup>112</sup>Socrates Scholasticus, Ecclesiastica Historia 3.17, PG 67.426; Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 10.28, PG 146.519-27



of people, saying that he would not allow the wolf to attack his sheep. Afterwards, when he had been condemned for treason for having refused to sacrifice to the gods on the emperor's command, he was taken away in chains, and the prince ordered him to be beheaded. Then, as Babylas was being led away, he sang with great courage from Psalm 116:

Return, O my soul, to your rest;  
for the LORD has dealt bountifully with you.  
Precious in the sight of the LORD  
is the death of his saints.

Thus, with the hope of eternal rest and happiness, he overcame all the cruelty of his punishment.<sup>113</sup>

Likewise Gordius, the centurion in Caesarea, who was handed over to punishment on account of his confession of Christ, in the midst of the great crowd of people which had gathered that day for the games of Mars, could not be disquieted by the terrors of torture, the threats of the tyrant, the shouts of the people, or the insults of his enemies, so as not to remember the psalter, and sing the notes which were impressed inwardly on his soul. For when the tyrant, burning with rage, gave the order: "Let the lictors make ready, the whips laden with knots of lead, let him be bound on the rack, let every manner of torture be devised, let wild beasts be brought, let him be cast into the fire, let him be run through with a sword, let him be thrown into

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<sup>113</sup>The only reference by Theodoret to Babylas occurs in Ecclesiastica Historia 3.6 (PG 82.1098).

a deep pit," the soldier of Christ, calm in the face of all this, turned his eyes toward heaven and sang psalms:

The LORD is my helper;  
I shall not fear what man may do to me.<sup>114</sup>

and Psalm 23:

I shall fear no evil,  
for thou art with me.

(Basil, On the Martyr Gordius).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Psalm 118:6.

<sup>115</sup>Basil, Homilia in Gordium Martyrem, PG 31.499.

## Chapter XVI

On the use of psalmody for eulogy and mourning, for an easy death [euthanasian], for those ill and in misery, and for mourning at funerals. And here a concluding [anakephalaiodos] epilogue summarizes the points made in the chapters on psalmody, which will be continued here and there.

Vincent (23.108) relates that not only the reading of the Gospels, but also the singing of psalms, was common among the sick, who awaited, not without a struggle, a quiet end to their lives, or the placid hour of death.<sup>116</sup> Thus Jeremiah (II Chronicles 35[:25]) wept in public mourning at the death of the great king Josiah. For, among other psalms, the Song of Moses, Psalm 90 (written down, according to tradition, by Moses) impresses on those about to die the brevity and swift flight of human life. This psalm was written when, after the return of the scouts (Numbers 13), the people murmured against God, who pronounced a death sentence on those older than twenty, that at last they should have this, and proclaim the proof of their repentance, and of the salvation which they had re-

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<sup>116</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Quadruplex, Pars Quarta: Speculum Historiale (1624; facsimile ed., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965), 23.108.

jected.<sup>116</sup> For in that song is contained the saving practice of death [meletēma thanatou], and the true good death [euthanasia] of a Christian man is described, so that we may depart happily with Simeon, and set upon the path to the eternal seat.<sup>117</sup>

Here we may recall the consul of Budovicium, outstanding in piety, who, lying down solemnly and already close to death, summoned a cantor from the schola, together with his disciples, so that they might sing at his command, the story of the passion, fitted to the dramatic melodies of the characters, with tears and groans, so that he might end his life with it. He gave up the ghost and fell peacefully asleep, lulled by the sweetness of the swan-song.

Because, according to the argument which Gregory of Nyssa uses at the beginning of a certain address on the assumption of our Lord Jesus Christ, David is commended as the most pleasant companion for human life, as well as consolation in mourning and grief,<sup>118</sup> Epiphanius mentions (Heresies 3.71) that the sacred odes of David were properly sung at funerals, to lessen grief and sadness.<sup>119</sup> Nazianzen also praises them in his funeral oration for Saint Basil.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Luke 2:25-32.

<sup>118</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, In Ascensionem Christi, PG 46.690.

<sup>119</sup> Epiphanius, Adversus Haereses 3.71, PG 42.373-382.

<sup>120</sup> Gregory of Nazianzen, Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni, PG 36.602.

I have said enough about [these] things, from the monuments of ancient and modern authors, as was previously discussed, in the discourse "On Choral Music and the Psalmody of the Ancients." From this, we may observe that sacred music was invented by pious precept, appointed and distinguished by pious melodies and turns of phrase, filled with pious benefit, and secured by pious rules and means of singing, and that it clearly came into use by the handiwork of the Holy Spirit. Its grace and efficacy [were] marvelously inspired in schools, churches, at court, at home and away, at feasts, among labors by day and by night, in life and death, in agony and mourning, or at a burial, always employed for a useful and pious purpose.

And for us also, with the Church Militant on earth, it is fitting to cultivate and practice it piously, until with the Church Triumphant in heaven, having been admitted to the choirs of angels, we shall sing and celebrate without end, singing together and celebrating the eternal sabbath in the sight of the triune God: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Hallelujah. Glory to our God for ever. Amen.

**SECTION II**

## Part I

## Section II:

HUPONNĒMATA

or

Commentaries

on

the most important Liturgy

or

missody, suited to the rites of the Mass, or the most important liturgy. Based on Guillaume Durand, Sigebert, Platina, Volaterranus, Polydore Vergil, Peter Martyr, and others among the ancient fathers, as well as more recent authors.<sup>1</sup>

## On the etymology of "missody"

1.

In order to designate and include all the songs of the morning service under a special name, I have supplied this title ("missody") with the permission and indulgence of the learned, [a word] composed from words in various languages, as the lack of terms [in Latin] makes necessary. The latter part, the Greek "ōdē," means "song;" the other part, that is, "missa," is of varied origin and meaning.

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<sup>1</sup>For biographical sketches of these authors, see my Introduction.

2. For there are those who believe that "missa" was derived from the Hebrew "mās," which means "tribute;" and from Deuteronomy 16:10, they interpret this to mean "an oblation." However, some prefer to believe that [the word] is not of Hebrew origin, since the Latin church could only have borrowed the Hebrew term from the Greek church, which is totally ignorant of the word "Mass." Reuchlin, Kybertus, [and] Polydorus (5.12) attribute the form of the Mass to Chrysostom, who, nevertheless, is also ignorant of the word "Mass;" and [according to them] the title was given by a more recent [author].<sup>2</sup>

3. Many derive [the word] from the Latin "missio," which denotes the oblation in which things offered by the faithful, such as alms, etc., are said to be sent [mitti]. But that reckoning of the name to signify the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ for the living and the dead is a distortion of the Papists.

4. More correctly, just as one may read that the fathers called remission "remissa," the Latin church seems to have used the term "missa" for "missio," to refer to that liturgy in which not only a meeting [concio] is held, but the Eucharistic sacrament is also celebrated after the dismissal of the catechumens, who are accordingly called "audientes" or "auditores" by Tertullian. (Tertullian says

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<sup>2</sup>Johann Reuchlin, De Rudimentis Hebraicis (Pforzheim: Thomas Anselm, 1506), bk. 2 (289); Kybertus (David Kyber, fl. 1550, no work cited); Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.12.



"remissa peccatorum" [in] Against Marcion; Cyprian, On the Good of Patience and in Epistle 14, book 3).<sup>3</sup>

5. For one may conclude from the liturgies of the ancients (Dionysius recalls these orders)<sup>4</sup> that the catechumens [katechumenoi], who had not yet been regenerated by the washing of baptism, and likewise the energumens [energoumenoi], who were troubled by evil spirits, [and] the excommunicate, deserters, and penitents [all] departed at the deacon's words: "Let the catechumens depart" (Cyril On John 12.50).<sup>5</sup> So the Greeks also said: "Holy things for the holy" [hagia tois hagiois]. Chrysostom speaks thus of the catechumens (chapter 1, To the Ephesians):

Later you will be allowed to approach and see the mysteries performed, but from the present mysteries, depart. There is nothing more here permitted to the catechumens.

[He speaks] of the penitents is this way:

You hear the herald stand and say: "As many of you as are undergoing penance, keep back."<sup>6</sup>

And indeed, it was proclaimed in the age of Gregory:

If anyone will not take communion, let

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<sup>3</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 4.18, PL 2.403; Cyprian, De Bono Patientiae, 6, PL 4.626; Cyprian constantly uses the phrase "remissa peccatorum," but it does not occur in Epistle 14, PL 4.268-70.

<sup>4</sup>Dionysius Areopagiticus, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.6-7, PG 3.459-62.

<sup>5</sup>Cyril, In Joannis Evangelium Libri XII, PG 74.607-756.

<sup>6</sup>John Chrysostom, Homilia III in Epistolam ad Ephesios, 1.4-5, PG 62.29-30.

him depart.<sup>7</sup>

(Gregory, Dialogue 2.3). For this reason, Ambrose once said "missas facere," and from his sense and use, the Roman Catholics add to the end [of the Mass] "Ite, missa est."

6. When Ambrose (Epistle 38.5) says "missam facere," he does not mean "to say the Papist Mass," but "to dismiss some people from the gathering.":

I remained at my post; I began to make the dismissal [missam facere].<sup>8</sup>

So [says] Suetonius in Caligula, chapter twenty-five [and] Augustine, Sermon of the Season 237.<sup>9</sup> So you see that, after the sermon, the catechumens are dismissed and the faithful remain. From this the communion was called "missa" by metonymy, because for six hundred years [it was customary] to make the dismissal when [communion] began, as Isidore testifies (Origins 6.19).<sup>10</sup>

7. In general, we celebrate our Masses with the pious fathers, and leave the fourfold meanings of the Mass to their authors (Gabriel Biel, lectio 15, 89).<sup>11</sup> And let the word "missa" in the title "missody," if you please, be taken to

<sup>7</sup>Gregory, Dialogorum Libri IV 2.23, PL 66.178.

<sup>8</sup>Ambrose, Epistle 20.4 (olim 38), PL 16.1037.

<sup>9</sup>Suetonius De Vita Caesarum Libri VIII 25.2; Augustine, Sermo de Tempore 237, 3, PL 38.1123.

<sup>10</sup>Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 6.19, PL 82.252.

<sup>11</sup>Gabriel Biel, Canonis Missae Expositio, ed. by Hecko A. Oberman and William J. Courtenay (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), I, 119-28; IV, 172-183.

signify the oblation by which we offer and convey to the most High the glorifications included in the songs of the liturgy, prayers, and meditations on the anamnēsis and remembrance of Christ [who was] offered for us, as acceptable sacrifices from the lips and souls of the faithful.

8. For indeed, "to sacrifice" and "to offer" are used metaphorically in the writings of the fathers [to mean] "to celebrate," "to perform," "to carry out the ecclesiastical actions pertaining to the worship of God." Origen (On the Epistle to the Romans, book 2) says "for the blood of the circumcision to be offered" instead of "to circumcize."<sup>12</sup> Tertullian (Against Marcion, book 4) calls thanksgiving an oblation; in [the Letter] to Scapula, he says that "to pray for Caesar" is "to sacrifice to the emperor."<sup>13</sup> Eusebius (Demonstration 1.10) says that "to honor God" is the same as "to sacrifice hymns and prayers."<sup>14</sup> Cyprian (Epistle 3, 2) says "to offer the sacrifice of the Passion" instead of "to celebrate communion."<sup>15</sup> Epiphanius (Heresies 79) [says] "to sacrifice the Gospel" instead of "to preach the Gospel."<sup>16</sup> Cyprian (Epistle 13, 3 and Sermon 5 On the

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<sup>12</sup>Origen, Commentarium in Epistolam ad Romanos, 2, PG 14.911.

<sup>13</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 4.9, PL 2.405; Liber ad Scapulam, 2, PL 1.778.

<sup>14</sup>Eusebius, Demonstratio Evangelica 1.10, PG 22.93-94.

<sup>15</sup>Cyprian, Epistle 63, 17, Migne, PL 4.398-99.

<sup>16</sup>Epiphanius, Adversus Haereses 3.2 (heresy 79), PG 42.744.

Lapsed) calls the celebration of the Eucharist an offering of the bread and the cup.<sup>17</sup>

9. Or, [as it has been] adapted to the liturgical rites of our church, missody is nothing other than the musical settings of the odes, or all the sacred songs of the morning liturgy, intended for the Sabbath and for feast days, so that, at the solemnities of the Word and the Lord's Supper (on account of which it is called extraordinary [kat' exochen], the highest office), the church may piously gather with public glorification of God, supplication and confession; and when these solemnities have been completed, may properly be dismissed.

10. For indeed, since the Mass is called "liturgy" by the Greeks. (Polydorus, De Inventoribus 5.12),<sup>18</sup> and [since] Cassian (who lived at the time of Honorius, and came to Marseilles when driven out of the church of Jerusalem by heretics) said "...to wait for the dismissal of the congregation" [praestolari congregationis missam], that is, for the gathering of the congregation to be completed and finished, and [since] he understands missa vigiliarum to be the time at which the vigils are ended,<sup>19</sup> surely this

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<sup>17</sup>Cyprian does not mention the Eucharist in this letter; Liber de Lapsis, 25, PL 4.500.

<sup>18</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel; Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

<sup>19</sup>John Cassian, De Coenobiorum Institutis 3.7-8, PL 49.137-143.

missody corresponds to the sacred songs of the Mass or Liturgy, brought to perfection according to the custom of our churches, both in the presence even of the catechumens (among us the baptized, later to be confirmed) and of the others, who, together with the communicants in the memorial of Christ, see the initiation into the mysteries [mustagogiam] and await the completion. And, according to this reasoning, missody includes the beginning, middle, and end of all this liturgy, as a perfection, completion, and fulfilment of the office, or leitourgia, of music. (Acts 13:2).<sup>20</sup> For indeed, "leitourgein theō," "to minister to God," means "to carry out a public office" (Szegezenus, Confession of the Trinity).<sup>21</sup> And this may be done by teaching and preaching, likewise by singing and celebrating, either with the voice or with instruments.

11. Moreover, among the ancients, "Mass" meant a public gathering for the Lord's Supper, and for saying prayers, or even a rule for divine worship. Georgius Cassander, in the preface to his Prayers, uses the terms "missae" and "collectae." Thus, "to do collects" or "to make or celebrate Masses" means the same as "sunagein," "sunaxeis poien," and "ekklēziazein." And he adds:

Nor can a dismissal [missa] be made unless

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<sup>20</sup> Acts 13:2, "While they were worshipping the Lord..."; in Greek, "leitourountōn de autōn tō kuriō...".

<sup>21</sup> Stephanus Szegezenus, Theologiae Sincerae Loci Communes de Deo et Homine cum Confessione de Trinitate (Basel: Conrad Walkirch, 1599).

there is a gathering [collecta], nor can there be any gathering [collecta] in which no dismissal [missa] is made.<sup>22</sup>

Thus [says] Epiphanius (the translator of the Tripartite History); and again, he says that a collect is a prayer which is recited at some gathering collected together, and [that it is called a] "Mass" because dismissals were made.<sup>23</sup> And at the Council of Milevis, chapter twelve, prayers [orationes] and Masses [missae] are accepted as the same.<sup>24</sup>

12. Some people even think that the word "missa" can be derived from "musa," for the Greek word "moussa" (or in the Aeolian dialect, "moisa") is of Hebrew origin, and it draws its origin from a Hebrew thema, or root, since in this the designation of both the name and of the thing [itself] agree. For "moisa" or "musa" is the same as the Hebrew "ma'aseh," "composition" or "a deed perfected and finished," thought of and invented to the glory of God. Indeed, "ma'aseh," which means "invention" or "work" is a verbal noun derived from the word "asah," that is, "he discovered, made, composed," with the letter "m" prefixed, which is one of the heamantic letters (h, ' , m, n, t, i) by means of which verbal nouns are derived from verbs. And thence the words "moussa" or "moisa," "musa," "misa" or "missa," and thence, "musica,"

<sup>22</sup>Georgius Cassander, Preces Ecclesiasticae quae Vulgo Collectae Dicuntur (Cologne: heredes Andreae Birckmanni 1560).

<sup>23</sup>Cassiodorus, Historia Tripartita 9.38, PL 69.1155.

<sup>24</sup>Council of Milevis (416 A.D.), canon 12, in Concilia Generalia et Provincialia, ed. by Severinus Binius (Cologne: Ioan. Gymnic. and Anton Hierat., 1606), II, 416.

have their origin. For thus Moses, as the most ancient and reliable of historians, writers, and authors, not only made the word "ma'asēh," and celebrates the great benevolence and work of God, and the Mass of Masses and muse of muses, and music of musics, as the most high glory of God; but he also refers to God himself, whence it was derived (Genesis 1:26). There he writes, "And God said, '[Let us make...] 'na'asēh'..." from "'asāh." Prefixing the heamantic letter "m" and changing that "m" to "p" (on account of the relationship between the labial letters b, w, m, [and] p), the Septuagint said: "poiēsomen,"

Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness.

And as Wisdom 2:23 explains:

kai eikona tēs idias idiotētos epoiēsēn  
ho theos anthrōpon.

For God created man for incorruption, and made him in the image of his own eternity [,]

God made man the image of his own nature and identity, a work much greater and more marvelous than heaven and earth, which were made, with all their inhabitants, for man.

Moses, in the description of the origin of things, preaches and sings this first Mass, muse, or music, and ma'asēh to the one God in the words "he said," and to the Triune in the word[s] "let us make;" and also in the first word of the book of Genesis, "bērē'sīt," especially invented by the Holy Spirit. And this muse, Mass, music, and word of God is later continued by David in his musical work of the psalms,

for in the psalm which bears the complete number 100, ordained especially [kat' exochēn] for that Mass, he continues thus:

Know that the LORD is God!  
It is he that made (fecit, composuit,  
lāsānû) us (in the Septuagint, epoiēsen  
hēmas), and we are his.

Thus also Christ, in the New Testament, looking to the Old Testament ma'aseh, that is, the work of God in the creation of man, the leading of the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the giving of thanks, praise, and glory through the various sacrifices which represented the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world, and instituting the sacred Feast, a wonderful act, said, among other things:

Do this in remembrance of me.<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, in Matthew 23[:23] he said:

This you ought to have done.

From this most sacred ma'aseh of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the word "Mass" was derived, and it has remained in the church from the Apostles' time up to the present day, which, from the golden song of the German saint Luther,

Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein  
und lasst uns fröhlich springen.  
Dass wir getrost und all in ein  
mit Lust und Liebe singen.

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<sup>25</sup>I Corinthians 11:25, the Pauline account of the institution of the Eucharist.



sings:

Was Gott an uns gewendet hat.  
und seine süsse Wunderthat  
gar theu'r hat er's erworben.

And in this song, all the merit of Christ, etc., is contained.

And although these things which I have collected in regard to the etymology and derivation of the words "musa," "mousa," "moisa," and "musica" to "Massa" seem rather far-fetched, nevertheless, I wished to relate them. And enough has been shown about the meaning of the Mass and missody.

On the rites and parts of the Mass and missody among the ancients, which were later adapted by us to our liturgy.

### I. Introit

[Pope] Celestine established the antiphonal singing of the psalms and prophecies of the Old Testament in the Latin church (especially [the prophecies] of the coming of Christ into the world, [which had been] awaited by the peophets and the saints), [which were] suitable either to the feast or to the Epistle which was to be read.<sup>26</sup> [These] were sung while the people entered the house of the Lord, and came together as a congregation. Thus this song was called "introitus" (Polydorus).<sup>27</sup> The Chronicle of Sigebert relates that graduals, tracts, offertories before the sacrifice of the communion [and during] communion, and likewise introits, had come into being by the institution of Gelasius, in the year 426 A.D.<sup>28</sup> And Gregory I established the singing of the antiphons commonly called introits, so that there might be no lack of ornate and harmonious [singing] during the sacrifice (Platina and Sigebert).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 426, PL 160.78.

<sup>27</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

<sup>28</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 426, PL 160.78.

<sup>29</sup> Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), fol. 63; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 592, PL 160.111.

## II. Kurie eleēson

Lord, have mercy

The Greeks seem to have begun their Liturgy with kurie eleēson, which was a formula for the confession of sins and petition for the divine mercy, taken from the litanies of the Greeks into the office of the Mass, in order to obtain the divine benevolence, so that, [thus] reconciled, they might more favorably offer the sacrifice of praise to all three Persons of the Divinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Latin church took this phrase and prayer, written by Sylvester, from the Greeks, and Gregory I established the ninefold repetition, to be sung immediately after the introit (Polydorus, Platina, and Sigebert).<sup>30</sup> And we read that in England, kyrie eleison was brought into use in the year of Christ 957.<sup>31</sup>

## III. The angelic hymn,

with doxologia of the Trinity

After kurie eleēson, the church, somewhat joyful because it has obtained pardon for its sins in Christ, who was born in Bethlehem, and hoping to take part in the heavenly harmony with the angels, sings the angelic hymn (in order that men may worship on earth him whom the angels worship in heaven,

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<sup>30</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.13; Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 64; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 592, PL 160.111

<sup>31</sup>This date is obviously wrong; the correct date is 597, the year of St. Augustine's mission to England.

wishing one another joy because [according to the Apostle, Ephesians 1(:10)] Christ has restored all things in heaven and on earth). The priest begins, [turning] to the east and singing: "Glory to God in the highest," [and the choir continues:] "and on earth peace....," with the following doxologia: "we praise you, etc." (Durand).<sup>32</sup> These words are said to have been added by the blessed Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, although Innocent attributes their institution to Pope Telesphorus, others, to Symmachus. Indeed, Telesphorus wishes "Glory to God in the highest" to be proclaimed at Mass (Volaterranus, book 22; Sigebert, anno 129).<sup>33</sup> In the year 493 Pope Symmachus ordered that on every Sunday and feast of a martyr "Glory to God in the highest" should be sung at Mass. And Telesphorus (that is, the seventh Pope after Peter, as they say) ordered this hymn to be sung only on the night of the Nativity of the Lord, at the Masses which he himself established on that same night, adding to the angelic words those which follow (Sigebert).<sup>34</sup>

The doxologia, which I shall unhesitatingly transcribe as a favor to the philhellenes [philhellēnōn], sounds like this in the horologion of the Greek Christians [living] among

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<sup>32</sup>Guillaume Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Lyons: Jacobus Giunti, 1539), 4.13.

<sup>33</sup>Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 493, PL 160.93-94.

<sup>34</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 493, PL 160.93-94.

the barbarians or Mohammedans (the horologion [is the book] containing the psalms, prayers, and hymns of the Greeks):

doxa en hupsistois theō, kai epi gēs  
 eirēnē en anthrōpois eudokia. humnoumen  
 se, eulougoumen se, proskeuoumen se, doxo-  
 logoumen se, eucharistomen soi tēn megalēn  
 sou doxan, kurie basileu, epouranie panto-  
 kratōr. kurie huie monogenēs Iēsou Christe,  
 kai hagion pneuma. kurie ho theos amnos  
 tou theou, ho huios tou patros ho airōn  
 tēn namartian tou kosmou, prosdexai tēn  
 dcēsīn hēmin, ho kathēmenos en dexion tou  
 patros, eleēson hēmas. hoti su ei monos  
 hagios, su ei monos kurios, Iēsous Christos  
 eis doxan theou patros. Amēn.

This clearly agrees with our Latin hymn of praise:

Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax,  
 hominibus bona voluntas. Laudamus te,  
 benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorifi-  
 camus te, gratias agimus tibi propter  
 magnam gloriam tuam: Domine Rex coeles-  
 tis Deus Pater omnipotens: Domine Fili  
 unigenite, Iesu Christe et Spiritus Sanc-  
 te. Dominus Deus agnus dei, Filius Patris,  
 qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe depreca-  
 tionem nostram: Qui sedes ad dexteram  
 patris, miserere nostri: Quoniam tu solus  
 sanctus, tu solus Dominus Iesus Christus,  
 in gloriam Dei Patris, Amen.

#### IV. The Versicle

V. The Lord be with you

R. And with your spirit

#### The Collects

When [the priest] has saluted the people with the  
 angelic salutation: "The Lord be with you" (Judges 6[:12];  
 Luke 1[:28]) and the church has replied: "And with your  
 spirit" (II Timothy 4[:22]), both [priest and people],  
 promising and desiring with equally strong faith that their  
 mutual vow should be heard, and when the command of Christ

that we should pray (Matthew 26[:41]) has been impressed, the collects or collected petitions of all the people are joined into one by the priest, presented, and put into words, and the people, in certain faith that they will be heard, approve and conclude with assurance [plērophoria], with the Christian epilogue "Amen" (I Corinthians 14:16; Matthew 6:13). The Greeks falsely translate this in the optative [euktikōs]: "genoito," "[so] be it." Aquila, according to Jerome and Augustine, [translated it as] "pepisōmenōs," "truly," "certainly," [or as] "bebaiōtikōs," "assuredly," which is a better translation.<sup>35</sup> This manner of placing the collects before the reading of the Epistle is ascribed to Gelasius (The Use of Collects at the Supper).<sup>36</sup>

But Chrysostom, in his homily on the forms of this sort of prayer, [which was] taken over also into the Supper, writes as follows:

In these same mysteries the priest rightly beseeches the people, and the people, the priest. For [the response], "And with your spirit" [means] merely this, that those things which pertain to the Eucharist, that is, to the giving of thanks, are all in common. For [the priest] does not give thanks alone, but also the whole people. Only when their voices have been heard and they are gathered together, that he may worthily and justly take his place, does he begin the Eucharist.

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<sup>35</sup>The surviving fragments of Aquila's translation of the Bible may be found in Origenis Hexaplorum quae Super-sunt, 2 vols., ed. by Frederick Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871-75).

<sup>36</sup>Liber Pontificalis, ed. by Louis Duchesne (Paris: Boccard, 1955), I, 255.

(The alternate singing of priest and people).

Furthermore, Chrysostom writes thus concerning some alternations in singing, or questions and answers between the minister and the people:

Why are you surprised if the people converse with the priest, when in fact they also sing those sacred hymns with the cherubim and the heavenly powers?

Likewise, Chrysostom says:

Along with all the other gifts is the gift of prayer, which is itself called "the Spirit," and he who had this gift prayed for the whole congregation. Since we, who are ignorant of those things which are profitable, pray for useless things, this gift of prayer came to one who, in place of all, prayed for that which was advantageous to the whole church, and at the same time, told others what they should pray for.<sup>37</sup>

For here he calls this gift of prayer, given at that time, "the Spirit," and likewise, "the soul," which, having received this sort of gift, besought God with groans. For the one honored with this gift would stand, and making supplication to God with great compunction and many sighs, according to the intention of his mind, would pray for those things which were beneficial to all. But now the symbol of this matter is the deacon, who offers prayers for the people in church.

What Chrysostom recalled in these very words about the peculiar gift of prayer, namely, that the Holy Spirit bestowed it on some more than on others in the primitive

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<sup>37</sup>This homily cannot be found in the Opera Omnia of Chrysostom (PG 47-64).

church in the New Testament, is most certain, as Saint Paul specifies (I Corinthians 14:14; James 5:14). This practice, which was observed in the Greek churches at the time of Chrysostom, has flowed down to the present, and is retained by us today, [that is], that the deacon, gathering together words for the entire church, leads the prayers. And this is pleasant to know, and useful against the enemies of ecclesiastical ceremonies.

There is no sense in that rule of Anacletus which says that a priest, like the Papists, should not sacrifice unless two are present (Gratian and Volaterranus, book 22, attribute this [rule] to Soter, who perhaps renewed that trifling safeguard).<sup>38</sup> Polydorus says:

The reason for this, I believe, is to prevent [the priest from] saying in vain when praying: "The Lord be with you" when fewer than two are present at the mysteries.

(Polydorus 5.12). Likewise, Polydorus adds the following:

The priest, when saying: "The Lord be with you," usually turns at the altar toward the people. Thus the Hebrew priest at the sacred rites turned around, sprinkling the blood of the animal which had been sacrificed.<sup>39</sup>

V. The Reading of the Epistle,  
then of the Gospel

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<sup>38</sup> Gratian presumably refers to canon law; Praetorius does not cite a specific canon; Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.12.



To continue, then, there are some readings from the Holy Scriptures, either from the Old Testament, or from the Acts, or from the letters of the Apostles. (formerly [these were read] by lectors, but today [they are read] by priests [according to a reading of canon law, Distinctio 25;<sup>40</sup> in this regard, they are called "anagiōstai" by Duarenus. In this regard, see his [book] On the Sacred Ministries of the Church, where he relates that the emperor Julian the Apostate once carried out this duty.])<sup>41</sup> When these [readings] had been heard, there remained the reading of some portion of the story of the Gospels. For faith and the actions of faith were stirred up by the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, so that whatever was lacking in this respect might be restored in the penitents by the [reading], and a whole new man might be made by the Spirit of Christ. Platina, in his life of [Pope] Sixtus, recalls the ambo in the church, which, as he writes, is the same as a platform. And [he recalls] that, by [the orders of] the same [Sixtus], they were decorated with purple-red stones. He established this custom because the Gospel and the Epistle were sung there.<sup>42</sup>

Jerome is believed to have originated the singing of the Epistle and the Gospel at Mass (Volaterranus, book 22),

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<sup>40</sup> CIC, Decretum, Dist. 25.

<sup>41</sup> Franciscus Duarenus, De Sacris Ecclesiae Ministeriis (Paris: Matthaeus David, 1551), 1.14.

<sup>42</sup> Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 30r.

and Pope Anastasius decreed in the year 409 that the people should stand to listen to the Gospel in church (Platina and Volaterranus).<sup>43</sup> The same Anastasius decreed that neither priests nor laymen should by any means sit, but should stand attentively and reverently when the Holy Gospel was either sung or read in the church of God (Platina).<sup>44</sup>

At the sacred rites, the Polish knights draw their swords in defense of the Gospel when it is sung.<sup>45</sup> It is useful to mention here the august liturgical office fulfilled by the Emperor Sigismund, for once, coming to Constance on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, he read the Gospel like a deacon at the rite of Mass: "There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus..." (Carion, Chronicles, book 3).<sup>46</sup> The odes which are sung before the sermon, but after the Epistle, may be called "euangeliōdiai" or "leitourgōdiai euangelikai," that is, "Gospel hymns," since they rouse the people to hear the Gospel with devotion. A description of their nature follows.

#### VI. Gradual, Alleluia, and Sermon

While the lectors read the preceding lessons of the

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<sup>43</sup>Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 30r; Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>44</sup>Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 26.

<sup>45</sup>See Jungmann, MRR I, 449.

<sup>46</sup>Ioannes Carion, Chronicorum Libri III (Basel, 1564), bk. 4 (525).

church, that which was to be presented from the Gospel was pronounced by the deacon from a lofty place and platform, no doubt in order that all might see and understand him. As he went to ascend the steps, it was the custom for the people to sing some psalm-verses, commonly called "graduals." Likewise, greeting the joyful announcement of the Gospel with a festive acclamation, they inserted "Alleluia," a Hebrew word which signifies, rather than expresses, ineffable joy, both angelic and human. Jerome explains:

"Alleluia" means, "Sing the praise of the Lord."<sup>47</sup>

Innocent and others say [that it means]: "Praise the Lord," the sort of sound which is heard in Revelation 19[:1] from the angelic choir in heaven, and which is read in the titles of some psalms.<sup>48</sup>

Then, after the Gospel had been read, the bishop or pastor of the church added his interpretation and exhortation, reprov'd vices, dealt with those to be excommunicated, and so forth. And in this way, "Alleluia" seems to have been adopted from the [church of] Jerusalem. Thus Gregory, Ambrose, and Gelasius composed graduals, for one reads that collects and graduals were instituted by Pope Gelasius,

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<sup>47</sup>Jerome, Epistola XXII ad Marcellam, PL 22.430.

<sup>48</sup>The definition by Innocent cannot be traced: Psalms 113-118 bear the superscription "Hallelujah," which in English translations is usually rendered "Praise the LORD."

A.D. 495.<sup>49</sup>

VII. Another Use of Graduals and Alleluias,  
also Tracts and Sequences.

In the works of other [authors], one may read about a different method and custom of singing graduals and Alleluias, which different singers sang before the Gospel, with other songs in between. For the graduals, which were taken for the most part from the Old Testament, were sung by boys [standing] on the steps, so that, in accordance with the solemnity of the Gospel, the spirit of the assembled people might arise gradually from the Epistle to preceive the reading of the Gospel. After this, the men in the pulpits sang together: "Alleluia." This was done with joy and approbation through almost the entire year, except that from Septuagesima until the Vigil of Easter, since these were days and offices of mourning and fasting, a tract was substituted for the Alleluia, according to the institution of Telesphorus. [The tract] was created by Gelasius, and drawn from the psalms and the Prophets. It was sung slowly, and with few words and many ornamental notes.<sup>50</sup> [Its purpose] was to draw speech from the inmost parts of the heart, for the remission of sins, and to beseech [God for] the mitigation of punishment, both public and private, making suppli-

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<sup>49</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

<sup>50</sup>See Jungmann, MRR I, 430-31.

cation with many groans and sighs.

For those who thus used the graduals and Alleluias also added sequences, as they are called, or proses. Sequences are songs named after the preface to the following lesson: "A continuation [sequentia] of the Holy Gospel according to Saint Matthew, etc." By sequences of this sort, they wished to prepare and stir the people to hear the following reading from the Gospel, which adheres to the previous context from which it was broken off. It is called "prose" according to Isidore, as a style of speech which is profuse and free from metrical law.<sup>51</sup>

Notker, the abbot of Saint Gall in Germany, was the first to compose sequences, and Pope Nicholas introduced them and allowed them to be sung (Martin, Chronicle).<sup>52</sup>

The occasion and origin of the composition and singing of the sequence intended for Palm Sunday is worthy of remembrance and admiration. It brought to [its] author a great abundance of piety. Let it seem pious to commemorate and observe it here. Many bishops were involved in the conspiracy of the sons of the Emperor Louis against [their] father. Theodulph, abbot of Fleury, bishop of Orléans, was suspected to be among them. On their advice and at their urging, Louis the Pious, the emperor and king of France, was expelled from his rule, captured and thrown into prison

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<sup>51</sup>Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 1.38, PL 82.117.

<sup>52</sup>Source unknown.

by Lothar, [his] impious son. When he was set free and restored to the throne, he imprisoned Theodulph at Amiens because he was under suspicion of conspiracy. And when the emperor, who was going to celebrate the pasch in that place, was in the midst of the public procession which represented Christ's entry into Jerusalem, as the procession passed near the tower where Theodulph was held imprisoned, [the bishop] then, seeing what was about to happen, opened the window and sang in a loud voice, so that all could hear him, the outstanding hymn which he had composed and dictated in prison in honor of the procession: "Gloria, Laus et Honor Tibi Sit, Rex Christe Redemptor, etc." The emperor, amazed, asked what voice it was that he heard, and whose. [He] was told that it was [the voice of] Theodulph, the bishop of Orléans, who was held imprisoned there. It is said that, when he had considered carefully the meaning of the poem, the emperor was so delighted that he ordered the song written and sung by the bishop's voice to be given the sign of approval [signari], and, moved by [its] sweetness, he pardoned Theodulph, who had conspired against his life, and let him go free (Krantz, Metropolis 1.27, 40).<sup>53</sup>

Among the other elegant proses for feasts, noteworthy is that sequence for Pentecost which Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the first king of France, from the most illustrious

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<sup>53</sup> Albert Krantz, Rerum Germanicarum Historici Clarissimi Ecclesiastica Historia, sive Metropolis (Frankfurt: apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioannem Aubrium), 1.27, 40.

house of the elector of Saxony, [himself] the second king of France of this line, devoutly composed: "Sancti Spiritus Adsit Nobis Gratia, etc." That prose prompts a story which must be recalled, not without purpose (Albert Krantz, in 6.46, on the Emperor Frederick and the king's son Henry, and the archbishop of Cologne, refers to the year 1184; the author of the catalogue of the bishops of Hildesheim in German verse [refers] to Hezlio, the seventeenth bishop, in the year 1064).<sup>54</sup> A tragic thing, indeed, happened on the day of Pentecost in Goslar (some say in Mainz), when the servants of the bishop of Hildesheim and [those of] the abbot of Fulda quarreled over a place in the royal church, drew their swords, and created such a slaughter that the blood of the wounded flowed from the church and covered the steps, and the king himself was in peril as he drew near. When the slaughter had been quelled, the chorus was ordered, nevertheless, to celebrate this feast day. And when, during the singing, the end of the first sequence was reached, in which these words are sung: "Thou hast made this day glorious," a voice was heard resounding and spewing forth these words in the midst of the church: "I have made this day bloody." Since the crowds were terrified by this voice, the king began to say publicly: "You wicked scoundrel, who made this day bloody, you shall pay the penalty to God and to

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<sup>54</sup> Albert Krantz, Rerum Germanicarum Historici Clarissimi Saxoniam (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechellius, 1580), 6.46; the chronicler of Hildesheim is unknown.

us, and we shall make this day glorious again." And at the same time, he ordered [the choir] to add and sing in a loud voice "Veni, Sancte Spiritus, et Emitte Caelitus Lucis Tuae Radium, etc." Thus it clearly appears, how hostile and hateful the liturgical song [leitourgōdia] of the church is to an evil and bloody spirit, and how friendly and welcome to the Holy and peaceful Spirit and to the gathering of the pious, and how joyful [it] sounds.

VIII. Glory to you, O Lord

I believe in One God:

The Nicene Creed, etc.

Furthermore, those who use graduals, Alleluias, tracts, and sequences in the manner described, immediately before the reading of the continuation of the Gospel, glorify God in song for the manifestation of the Gospel, [saying]: "Glory to you, O Lord." For the Gospel is the head and origin of all things which are said, sung, and read at the office of the Mass. When the Gospel reading is finished, in order that all may confess with one voice for salvation that which they believe in their hearts for righteousness (Romans 10[:10]; Psalm 119[:13]), the priest intones in a loud voice and begins the premise of agreement [protasin homologias]: "I believe in one God," and the church continues to sing the rest of the confession of the Nicene Creed. By "Nicene Creed" let us understand the Creed promulgated on June 19 in the city of Bithynia by the Synod of Nicaea, which began in the year 328 A.D., and which had already condemned the



dogmas of [Paul] of Samosata, and Arrius, and Novatian. The Synod of Antioch (344 A.D.) later corrupted the same Creed (Socrates, book 2, chapter 8.10),<sup>55</sup> but the pious [Synod] of Sofia approved and confirmed [the Creed] in the year 350 A.D., which the four following synods of Sirmio (355 A.D.), Armenia and Seleucis (363 A.D.), and Antioch (365 A.D.) distorted in many ways. In the year 555 A.D., the universal Synod of Constantinople repeated and clarified it.<sup>56</sup> But [the Creed] is recited with the following wording by Socrates and Athanasius (To Jovinian, volume 4): "Pisteuomen eis hena theon, etc.," "We believe in one God."<sup>57</sup> Athanasius (Epistle to the Monks) names Hosius as the author of this.<sup>58</sup> This is called the Great Creed, surely because it was conceived at the Great Synod, that is, the synod of the 318 fathers, in the year 325 (Brentz, On Hosea, 8; Polydorus, 5.11).<sup>59</sup> The institution of the public singing [of the Creed] on solemn days is attributed to [Pope] Damasus, by the decree of the famous synod of 150 bishops, held in

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<sup>55</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, Ecclesiastica Historia 2.8.10, PG 67.195-98.

<sup>56</sup> See J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 3rd Ed. (New York: Mc Kay, 1972), pp. 205-331.

<sup>57</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, Ecclesiastica Historia 2.41, PG 67.347; Athanasius, Epistola ad Jovinianum, 3, PG 26.818.

<sup>58</sup> Athanasius, Historia Arianorum ad Monachos, 42, PG 25.743.

<sup>59</sup> Johann Brentz, Expositio Osee, ch. 8, in Operum... Ioannis Brentii... Tomus Quartus (Tübingen: Georgius Gruppenbachius, 1580), p. 1035; Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

Constantinople (Sigebert, Chronicle).<sup>60</sup> Others ascribe it to Marcus, the first Pope of that name, the successor to Sylvester I, around the year of Christ 330, since he is believed to have renewed this decree.<sup>61</sup> But today the people sing the Apostles' Creed in a known language. Formerly, the Romans did not sing the Apostles' Creed after the Gospel, because the Roman Church had never been infected by heresy, but had persisted in confession of the faith. But the Emperor Henry II persuaded Pope Benedict VIII that it should be sung publicly at Mass (Berno).<sup>62</sup> I shall soon remark that in other churches, the Creed is postponed until communion.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, see the melody used for the Creed at the canonical hours in the Supplement attached to the liturgy [Section III]. Thus far [I have discussed] the liturgy and music of the Mass before the sermon; that which is celebrated after the sermon is discussed below.

IX. The Dismissal of the Primitive Church,

[which was] Moved by the Papists:

"Ite, Missa Est"

In the way expressed in the book of Nehemiah 8[:10],

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<sup>60</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 386, PL 160.67.

<sup>61</sup> See Jungmann, MRR I, 468.

<sup>62</sup> Berno, Libellus de quibus Rebus ad Missae Officium Pertinentibus, 1, PL 142.1058.

<sup>63</sup> See Alan Richardson, "Creed," in Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship, ed. by J. G. Davis (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 156.

and elsewhere, in Luke 4[:16-30], when the text of the Gospel had been explained [in the homily], according to the practice of the ancients, the catechumens and those who did not intend to communicate were dismissed, so that they might not be present at the celebration of the Eucharist (Socrates, 6.5, recalls that sermons [were delivered] from the pulpit; Sozomen 8.5; see above on the term "missody").<sup>64</sup> This dismissal does not take place today among our countrymen, since in our churches, the catechumens are regarded differently, as being regenerate, and even those who do not communicate are permitted to be present at the Eucharist with faithful meditation. The Papists, however, even when no one communicates at all except the celebrant, pronounce the dismissal in a loud voice: "Ite, missa est," which is the same as "ilicet," that is, "ire licet" [it is permitted to depart]. (Polydorus, 5.12; a different explanation in the works of Gabriel Biel, lectio 89).<sup>65</sup> Contrary to the dismissal of the ancients, [the Papists] transposed this formula far away, to the end of the Mass, thus toying with an imitation of the pagan rite of the priest of Isis, who, after the celebration of the mysteries said "laois aphēsis," dis-

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<sup>64</sup>Socrates Scholasticus, Historia Ecclesiastica 6.5, PG 67.674; Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica 8.5, PG 67.1527.

<sup>65</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11; Gabriel Biel, Canonis Missae Expositio, ed. by Heiko A. Oberman and William J. Courtenay (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), IV, 176.

missal to the people" (Apuleius, The Golden Ass 11).<sup>66</sup>

#### X. The Symbol of Faith

But in ancient times, when those things pertaining to the dismissal of the catechumens had been completed, those who were to take part in the Sacred Banquet sang the Symbol of Faith, to admonish one another diligently of the content of the main articles of religion of which they agreed. Indeed, the Creeds contain a summary of the faith, whose inclusion or summary was called "tradition" by the ancient fathers. This is taken from the holy books, and [is] believed to be necessary to salvation, and can be brought forth against heretics who deny the holy books (Tertullian).<sup>67</sup> And Theodore Lector (Collectanea, book 2) specifically names Peter Gnapheus, the bishop of the church in Antioch, as the originator of the singing of the Creed at every synaxis.<sup>68</sup>

#### XI. The Offering, of Threefold Use,

with Songs and Collects

Then, when they had sung the Creed standing, they made an offering according to their ability. And the offering had three uses: part was bequeathed to those frugal banquets which Christians celebrated religiously among themselves, commonly called "agapai," "Liebmahl;" part of what

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<sup>66</sup> Apuleius Metamorphoseon Libri XI 11.17.

<sup>67</sup> Tertullian, Praescriptio adversus Haereses 13.14, PL 2.26-27.

<sup>68</sup> Theodore Lector, Ecclesiastica Historia 2.48, PG 86.207-10.

remained was distributed to the poor; and finally, some of the bread and wine were set aside for use at the Sacred Feast. And the following proofs exist that this offering of goods was in use at that time: first, certain [psalm]-verses [were] sung by the people while the offering was being made, which were named after it: "offertorium." The same thing may be deduced, moreover, from those collects which exist in that part of the Mass. Indeed, Justin, the most ancient martyr, mentions this offering in his Apology.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, Cyprian and a good many of the ancient fathers [mention it].<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, Pope Hadrian added what was added in the offertory and offertory verses in the year 772 (Sigebert, Chronicle).<sup>71</sup> Pope Gelasius wishes collections to take place in the Mass (Volaterranus, book 22).<sup>72</sup>

## XII. Sursum Corda

After this, they said to those who came to attend the Sacred Feast: "Lift up your hearts." And Christians did this quite rightly and at the proper time, to warn each other to think of nothing carnal or earthly, but to lift their hearts to heavenly things. For it is not enough for

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<sup>69</sup> Justin Martyr, Apologia I pro Christianis, 65, PL 6.427.

<sup>70</sup> Cyprian, Liber de Unitate Ecclesiae, 26, PL 4.535.

<sup>71</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 772, PL 160.147.

<sup>72</sup> Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

us at any time to show [merely] external discipline at the gatherings of the church and the synaxis, but first of all, [we must] open our hearts to the Lord and allow our hearts and minds to go to him. Thus the Apostle Paul admonishes us (Colossians 3[:1-2]):

If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth.

Thence the fathers instituted that the priest, in the Eucharistic preface should thus speak the words of Paul to the people: "Lift up your hearts," and that the people should reply: "We lift them up to the Lord." And the fathers and ecclesiastical writers have handed down pious and noteworthy commentaries on this most ancient custom. Cyprian (in his Sermon on the Lord's Prayer) says:

Therefore, when we stand for prayer, beloved brethren, we should be watchful and devote all our attention to our prayers. Let every carnal and secular thought depart, and let the soul think of nothing then but what it is praying. Thus the priest also, before the prayer, having said the preface, prepares the minds of the brethren, saying: "Lift up your hearts," so that, when the people reply: "We lift them up to the Lord," he may admonish [them] to think only of the Lord. Let your breast be closed to the adversary, and remain open to God alone, lest you allow the enemy of God to approach at the time of prayer.<sup>73</sup>

Chrysostom (in his sermon on the Eucharist at dedications) says:

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<sup>73</sup>Cyprian, Liber de Oratione Dominica, 21, PL 4.557.

What are you doing, O man? Did you not make a promise to the priest who said: "Lift up your hearts" and minds, and you said: "We lift them up to the Lord"? Do you not stand in awe and blush? That very hour you are discovered to be a liar. Good heavens! The table is spread for the mysteries, and the Lamb of God is immolated for you. The priest is tormented for you, the spiritual blood overflows the Holy Table. Seraphim stand by, covering their faces with six wings. All the incorporeal virtues intercede with the priest for you. The spiritual fire descends from heaven. The blood in the chalice has been drained from the immaculate side for your purification. And do you not blush, are you not awestruck, do you not make God propitious to you?<sup>74</sup>

Augustine (On the Good of Widowhood, chapter 16), says:

In the sacraments of the faithful, it is said: "Lift up your hearts," which is a gift of the Lord and not in our power, for who may know what things are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God?<sup>75</sup>

The same (on Psalm 39):

Since, at the Holy Mysteries, we are bidden to lift up our hearts, we desire the help of the One who thus bids us.<sup>76</sup>

The same (on Psalm 85):

We must lift up our hearts, and not dwell here in our hearts. This is the evil place; it is enough that we must dwell here in the flesh.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> John Chrysostom, De Poenitentia Homilia IX, PG 49.345.

<sup>75</sup> Augustine, De Bono Viduitatis, 16, PL 40.443.

<sup>76</sup> Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum XXXIX, 28, PL 36.452.

<sup>77</sup> This passage is not found in Augustine's Enarratio in Psalmum LXXV, PL 956-70.

But we have lifted up our hearts, so that "if you have been raised with Christ," said the Apostle to the faithful recipients of the Body and Blood of the Lord, "If you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God." (Colossians 3:1).

#### XIII. We Give Thanks

Thanks are then given as we say: "We give thanks to you, O Lord, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God; through Christ our Lord, etc." These [words] are very ancient, and are to be found in many places in the ancient writers. Indeed, the very mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ is called "eucharistia," because its completion depends entirely on thanksgiving.

#### XIV. The Words of the Supper and the Lord's Prayer

And when the bishop had said: "through Christ our Lord," he came to the words of the Supper themselves, which they call the consecration. When these had been recited, the Lord's Prayer was added. The Papists themselves reckon simply these two as necessary among [the words] of the action. Gregory the Great ordered the Lord's Prayer to be recited over the Host after the canon, A.D. 592 (Sigebert, Chronicle, and Volaterranus, book 22; Szegedenus, De Summa Doctrina Pontificiae).<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 592, PL 160.111;



## XV. Sanctus

## Benedictus

But Xystus or Sixtus wanted the people to sing the trisagion: "Holy, holy, holy" before [the canon]. But Urspergensis says that Celestine originated the singing of this hymn (Peter Martyr; Nauclerus, generation 9; Polydorus 5.11; Isaiah 6[:3]; Revelation 4[:8]; Urspergensis).<sup>79</sup>

Then it was customary to sing: "Blessed is he, etc," so that, with the angelic and evangelical words of praise, the people in the congregation might be bidden to await with reverence the consecration of the tremendous Supper of the Lord (Psalm 118[:26]). For the first part contains the praise of the angels, the latter, the [praise] of men, as is read in Isaiah 6[:3]:

And one [seraph] called to another and said: "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts."

And in the Gospel according to Matthew 21[:9], those who preceded and followed [Jesus] cried out, saying:

Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.

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Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22; Stephanus Szege-  
denus, Theologiae Sincerae Loci Communes de Deo et Homine cum Confessione de Trinitate (Basel: Conrad Walkirch, 1599).

<sup>79</sup>Peter Martyr, Loci Communes (London: Ioannes King-  
ston, 1576), p. 1009; Joannes Nauclerus, Memorabilium Omnis Aetatis et Omnium Gentium Chronici Commentarii (Tübingen, 1516), f. 23r; Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11; Chronicon Abbatis Urspergen[is] Augsburg, 1515), anno 432.

Indeed, the words of angels, that is, "Hosanna in the highest," commend the mystery of the Trinity and Unity in God. The words of men, that is, "Hosanna to the Son of David," point out the sacrament of divinity and humanity in the person of Christ. It should be noticed that the word "holy" is repeated three times in order to denote the distinction of Persons, but "Lord God of hosts" is said only once, to denote the unity of the divine Essence. Likewise, "holy" [sanctus] is said three times in the singular number, and not in the plural [sancti]. One holiness is understood in these three Persons, and one eternity, and one equality. Not only did the seraphim cry this (Revelation 4[:8]) at the foot of the lofty throne of God, in the writings of the prophet [Isaiah 6:3], but the four creatures sang day and night:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.

For God is called holy, that is, sanctifying, and it is he who admonishes us [Leviticus 20:7]:

Be holy, for I, the LORD your God, am holy.

The Father is called holy when the Son says:

Father, sanctify them in thy truth whom thou hast given me, for thou art holy.<sup>80</sup>

The Son is called holy by the witness of an angel (Luke 1[:35]):

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<sup>80</sup>This is a translation from the Latin; the RSV reads: "Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth."

Therefore the child to be born will be called holy.

The Holy Spirit is called holy when Christ says (John 20 [:22]):

Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven.

Also the expression is used, "Lord God of Sabaoth," that is "[Lord God] of armies of angels and of men," about which it is said in Psalm 24[:10] by the angels:

Who is the King of glory?  
The LORD of hosts, he is the  
King of glory!

Therefore, when we say: "Heaven and earth are full of your glory," we give thanks to the Creator for all his benefits, but when we say: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord," we give thanks especially for the gift of redemption. For since it is necessary for salvation to confess the mystery of the Incarnation, we rightly add: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."

#### XVI. The Prefaces before the Consecration

to which the Canon was Added On

Moreover, we see that certain prefaces were inserted in order to give a fitting approach to another song, [and] to excite trembling and fear of God in the listeners. Even today, by commemorating the benefits of the feast, they connect the preaching of the Word and the celebration of the Sacrament, preparing our souls for thanksgiving. For God not only increases faith in us by the promise of the Word, but also stamps and confirms [it] with the seal

of the Sacrament. Gelasius composed, in elegant song and speech, the prefaces which precede the canon, which, according to the testimony of Pelagius, are nine in number. Urban added the tenth in honor of the Virgin Mother of God.<sup>81</sup> And the illustrious pontiff Pelagius decreed in the year 581 that they daily prefaces of the sacraments should be reduced to nine only, according to the ancient Roman ordo, that is: the Nativity of the Lord, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Holy Trinity, the Apostles, the Holy Cross, and Lent (Sigebert, Chronicle).<sup>82</sup>

And there was a remarkable tumult when Theodosius ordered the whole world not to omit this hymn of the church [called] "trisagion." In the thirtieth year of [the reign of] the Emperor Theodosius, there were earthquakes in Constantinople for four months, such that the Byzantines, terror-struck, withdrew to the fields outside the city, together with their bishop, who was then Proclus, beseeching God with prayers for deliverance from the impending disaster. One day, then, as the earth was shaking, and all the people were crying out intently: "kurie eleēson," at about the third hour, it happened that a certain youth was snatched up into the air by divine power, right before their eyes, and a divine voice was heard admonishing the bishop to announce to the people that they should make litanies and say:

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<sup>81</sup>See Jungmann, MRR II, 120.

<sup>82</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 581, PL 160.109.

"hagios ho theos  
 hagios ho ischuros  
 hagios ho athanatos  
 eleēson hēmas"  
 "Holy God,  
 Holy and Mighty,  
 Holy and Immortal,  
 Have mercy on us."

adding nothing more. When Bishop Proclus had ordered the people to do this, the earthquake ceased. From then on, Theodosius commended this trisagion to the churches of the whole world (Paul the Deacon, book 14; Nicephorus 14.46; Cedrenus).<sup>83</sup>

The preface (which is also called the preparation) is sung before the altar by the priest alone, because in it the priest offers praise and thanks to God, and prepares the minds of the faithful to revere the coming consecration, that they may lift up their hearts to heavenly things, and not [think of] earthly things.

It is called the "angelic hymn" because it is full of angelic praises, and in it men and angels come together to sing to the King. Therefore, it is sung in a loud and sweet voice, for in it the proclamation of the angels is

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<sup>83</sup> Paul the Deacon, Historia Miscella, 14, PL 95.960; Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 14.46, PG 146.1215-18; Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium, PG 121.651.

represented. After the priest has finished the preface, "...for it is meet and right, fitting and salutary, to give thanks to Almighty God...", the whole choir sings the hymn which contains in part, the words of the angels, in part, the words of men, that is: "Holy, holy, holy," which [I have discussed] in the preceding chapter.

To the consecration, which follows the songs of the preface, [the Papists] have affixed their own canon, not hesitating to place it among those things strictly necessary to the action, on an equal level with the Words of the Supper and the Lord's Prayer, nay, on a higher level, as if it constituted the essence of the consecration and the chief part of the Mass, although they fittingly recite it in silence among those things which are essential (Szege-  
denus, De Summa Doctrina Pontificiae).<sup>84</sup>

A certain scholar composed it, as Gregory recalls (in his Register),<sup>85</sup> but Gregory himself surely did not approve of his desire to insert his own [words] and neglect the Lord's Prayer (Polydorus 5.11; Brigomensis on Theodosius; Platina; Sigebert; Sabellicus, Enneades 8.1; Nauclerus).<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Stephanus Szegedenus, Theologiae Sincerae Loci Communes de Deo et Homine cum Confessione de Trinitate (Basel: Conrad Walkirch, 1599).

<sup>85</sup>No such work is found among the authentic writings of Gregory, PL 75-78.

<sup>86</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11; Brigomensis, source unknown; Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 64; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 592, PL 160.111;

But one may gather from the collectors [of information in] this matter what each of the craftsmen added to the making of [this] idol, from Alexander, who reigned about 360 years before Gelasius, and especially Leo.<sup>87</sup>

#### XVII. The Kiss of Peace

After the consecration was completed, they said: "The peace of the Lord [be always with you]" (Polydorus 5.11),<sup>88</sup> and in regard to the greeting of peace, Chrysostom says:

In church, at prayers, in supplications, in public speaking, once and again, and a third time, and always, the one who leads the church communicates the same peace, saying: "Peace be with you."

And a little later, [Chrysostom says]:

But the bishop of the church says not merely: "Peace be with you," but "Peace be to all." Likewise, as soon as the bishop enters the church, he says: "Peace be to all." When he gives a sermon, when he blesses, when he bids [us] to choose salvation, when he offers the sacrifice, and meanwhile again, [he says]: "Grace to you and peace."<sup>89</sup>

(Colossians 1[:2]).

Thus the kiss of peace was given by the priests to one another, [a custom] of which Innocent III is thought to

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Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades, 8.1, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Ioannes Hervagius, 1560), II, 245; Joannes Nauclerus, Memorabilium Omnis Aetatis et Omnium Gentium Chronici (Tübingen, 1516), II, f. 90v.

<sup>87</sup> See Jungmann, MRR II, 101-259.

<sup>88</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

<sup>89</sup> No work cited.

be the inventor, but Leo II originated the passing of the peace among the people [who were] present at the sacred rites. And both, according to the opinion of Polydorus (5.11)<sup>90</sup> were derived from the kiss of Judas, in imitation of the Savior, who was accustomed to kiss his disciples, especially when they were departing from him or returning to him (Sigebert; Volaterranus, book 22).<sup>91</sup>

But in the primitive church, for the sake of charity, those present at the time of the Lord's Supper kissed one another (Benedictus Aretius).<sup>92</sup> And what they professed in action, they wished to confirm with a symbol, [namely], that the religious kiss was a testimony of communion and consent in the same religion, bearing witness to brotherly affection. For among the pious, particular care was taken for sanctity and charity, first, in living rightly toward God, not polluting themselves with any impiety; second, in living with one's neighbor as befits the Christian profession. Saint Paul commended the kiss of holiness again and again to the Corinthian church, admonishing in a friendly manner:

Greet one another with a holy kiss.

(I Corinthians 16[:20]; II Corinthians 13[:12]).

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<sup>90</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

<sup>91</sup> Sigebert's Chronicle mentions Leo II (PL 160.129), but does not refer to the kiss of peace; Volaterranus; Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>92</sup> Benedictus Aretius, S. S. Theologiae Problemata



And to the Thessalonians he said (I Thessalonians 5[:26]):

Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss.

Peter (I Peter 5[:14]) commends the kiss of charity, saying:

Greet one another with the kiss of love.

The psalmists also greeted one another with kisses of justice and peace (Psalm 85[:106]).

And with this kiss, those who kiss warn [each other] not to pollute their mouths with the hypocritical kiss of Absalom, Joab, and Judas, by blaspheming, talking nonsense, [and] wrangling, since in receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord, they obtained the highest honor, because when Christ enters through the gate and door of the mouth, the participants in the Mysteries communicate with him. Finally, this meditation might be added to that warning: that Christ kissed him in penitence and faith, in love of neighbor, and in mercy, and will kiss him again with a kiss from his mouth, like the father receiving the prodigal son with a kiss (Psalm 2[:11]; Song of Songs 1[:2]; Luke 15[:20]). That is, according to the interpretations of Jerome (To Dardanus) and Augustine (Questions on the Gospel 2.33), the Savior, shown and manifested in the flesh by faith, consoles converted sinners with the sure hope of the forgiveness of sins and of eternal grace.<sup>93</sup> Tertullian (Apol-

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(Berne: Ioannes le Preux, 1607), pp. 309-311.

<sup>93</sup>Jerome, Epistola ad Dardanum, PL 22.1099-1107; Augustine, Quaestiones Evangelicae 2.33, PL 35.1346.

ogy) makes mention of this kiss of peace,<sup>94</sup> and Justin Martyr (Second Apology) says most elegantly, among other things:

allēlous philēmati aspazometha

[Greet one another with a kiss].<sup>95</sup>

XVIII. Agnus Dei

Discubuit

During the distribution of the Body and Blood, for which we have come, while this is being done, the song Agnus Dei (John 1[:29]) is to be sung. It is said that this was introduced by a certain Innocent (Volaterranus, book 22), although one may read elsewhere that Pope Sergius (A.C. 688) added the Agnus Dei to the Mass.<sup>96</sup> Today the church also sings the responsory "Discubuit Jesus," or other songs about the institution of the Supper.<sup>97</sup> These songs are discourses announcing the death of the Lord (I Corinthians 11[:26]), so that the communicant may be firmly convinced that nothing other than the sacrifice of the innocent Lamb, which was sufficient for the sins of the whole world, is sufficient for his [sins], and that not only may he pray

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<sup>94</sup>Praetorius is wrong; the passage occurs in Tertullian's De Oratione, 18, PL 1.1280-85.

<sup>95</sup>Justin Martyr, Apologia I pro Christianis, 65, PG 6.427.

<sup>96</sup>Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>97</sup>An eight-voice setting of this appears in Praetorius' Missodia Sionia (1611), in Gesamtausgabe der Musikalischen Werke, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kall-

to Christ not to cease to have mercy on us, and to give peace and life, but that he may learn to express in steps of obedience and patience the gratitude due to Christ for such a redeeming and bitter death (I Peter 2[:11-25]). For whoever eats of this sacred Banquet rashly and thoughtlessly, without faith and good resolve, will be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord (I Corinthians 11[:27]).

#### XIX. Postcommunion

When the distribution is finished, a song of thanksgiving was added, which they called the postcommunion.

#### XX. The Prayer or Benediction

When everything had been completed and done, the minister, having added a prayer for God's favor, dismissed the people (Numbers 6[:22-26]). Augustine (Epistle 90), indicates that the ministers were in the habit of blessing the people.<sup>98</sup> He also says (volume 4, Questions on Both [Testaments] Combined):

The priestly blessing is to be highly esteemed.<sup>99</sup>

#### Epilogue

And although all these things have led Christian people away from that primitive simplicity of the Lord's Supper,

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mayer Verlag, 1934), XI, 176-82.

<sup>98</sup> Augustine, Epistola 175 (olim 90), PL 33.761.

<sup>99</sup> Augustine, Quaestiones ex Utroque [Testamento] Mixtim, PL 35.2213-2416.

by the addition of many other things, such as seemed right to various men. Nevertheless, they were tolerable to some degree, and could not rightly be accused of superstition or idolatry. But [these customs] did not exist in all churches, nor were things done in the same way [everywhere], for right up to the present day, things are done differently in the church in Milan, following the institution of Ambrose. For the rest, the Roman antichrists corrupted everything in later times (Peter Martyr).<sup>100</sup>

Supplement,

explaining many parts of the liturgy with quotations from the ancients.

It may be confirmed from the most ancient writers that, according to ancient custom, they used the things which they mentioned.

Tertullian (Apology) [said]:

We gather in a meeting and congregation, to beseech God in prayers, [we] who are his handywork, saying: "This gathering is pleasing to God." We pray also for the emperors, for their ministers and magistrates, for the state of the world, for tranquility, and for a delay of the end.

This indicates the content of the collects. [A discussion of] Scripture reading follows:

We gather for the recollection of Holy Scripture, if an [event] of the present times compels either warning or recognition. Certainly we ask for faith in holy

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<sup>100</sup> Peter Martyr, Loci Communes (London: Joannes Kingston, 1576), p. 1010.

words, we rouse hope, we avoid obligation, nevertheless, we condense [our] teaching in the inculcations of the instructors. In the same place [there are] exhortations, punishments, and divine censure, for judgment is given with great seriousness, etc.<sup>101</sup>

These are the things which took place at the sacred gatherings. To these should be added those things which the author says elsewhere, that they were certainly accustomed to receive the Eucharist from the hand of the priests. We may recognize in these words the outstanding parts of the Mass which were mentioned.

Justin Martyr (Second Apology) writes that on Sunday, the Christians gathered, Holy Scripture was then read, and the praefectus later added his sermon. He says:

When this is done, we stand and pray.

Later he adds:

Bread and wine are brought to the praefectus, and he gives thanks over them according to his ability. To this prayer all respond: "Amen."

These words indicate two things not to be passed over carelessly: first, thanks were given, not perfunctorily, but to the best of his ability, that is, with great feeling. Then, it is apparent that all this was said aloud, since the people replied: "Amen." He says:

There followed the distribution of the Eucharist, then the general thanksgiving, and the offering of alms.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Tertullian, Apologeticus Adversus Gentes, 38, PL 1.532.

<sup>102</sup> Justin Martyr, Apologia I Pro Christianis, 67, PG 6.430.

Dionysius (Celestial Hierarchy) mentions almost exactly the same things: Scripture-reading, psalm-singing, and other things which require too much explanation here.<sup>103</sup> But what seems most noteworthy is that he makes no mention at all of the oblation of the Body of Christ.

Augustine, the [church] father, in Epistle 59 to Paulinus, in resolving the fifth question, explains the four words found in I Timothy 2[:1-2], which are "deēseis," "proseuchai," "enteuxeis," and "eucharistai."

1. And he ordered deēseis [supplications] to precede the celebration of the Sacrament.

2. He makes proseuchas [prayers], which are offered at the administration of the Sacrament itself, where we in some way dedicate ourselves to Christ.

3. Enteuchai are thought to be petitions and intercessions in which the minister of the church, standing before the people, makes good prayers.

4. And finally, he relates that eucharistai were the common thanksgivings.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Dionysius the Areopagite, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.5, PG 455-59.

<sup>104</sup> Augustine, Epistola 149 (olim 59), 2, PL 33.635-37.

**SECTION III**

## Part I

## SECTION III

Exēgēma

or

Explanation of the Liturgy

of Matins and Vespers

with a Supplement

on the Litanies,

the Canonical Hours,

and the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin

Just as, in the Old Testament, continual sacrifice was offered to the Lord morning and evening (Exodus 29; Numbers 28)<sup>1</sup>, so should Christians offer the prayers and liturgical songs of matins and vespers with the fragrant flame of faith in the sweet smell and odor of divine worship, as sacrifices pleasing to God.

Lord, open my lips.

And my mouth shall proclaim your praise.

It is customary to begin [the offices] with the mystical choral song in which the mysta, or priest, presents

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<sup>1</sup>Exodus 29 deals with the ordination of priests and the offering of sacrifices in the Temple; Numbers 28 deals with animal sacrifices.



[a verse] from Psalm 51:

Lord, open my lips.

and the choir replies:

And my mouth shall proclaim your praise.

Thus beginning the church's liturgy, the cantors and preachers first obtain the great benevolence of God, with a humble profession of men's feebleness, which is not worthy to invoke or to praise the Divine. For it is fitting that men should admit, as Origen [admits] (Homily 38 on Leviticus),<sup>2</sup> that they are mute before the Divine, and that, as sinners, their lips are closed, or that they are slow of speech, like Moses (Exodus 4[:10]). For they may enter into greater grace and favor with God by means of this confident invocation of God, who alone is able to open the closed lips and dumb mouth to proclaim the divine praise, as he promised to the tongue-tied Moses (Exodus 4[:12]):

I will be with your mouth...and teach you what you shall do.

And, as the psalm-singing liturgist [leitourgos] David also grasps in Psalm 40[:3]:

He put a new song into my mouth.

Finally, by beginning thus, they promise each other with faith, spontaneous attention to God in the performance of liturgical worship, and at the same time, they introduce docility into the church, along with attention, since they will surely sing and say with their lips and mouths only

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<sup>2</sup>Origen, Homilia 3 in Leviticum, PG 12.310-17.

that which is divine and pleasing to God, and inspired by him.

God, come to my assistance, etc.

And since the church is in great danger when carrying out the pious liturgies, which are hateful to Satan and his agents, [to] heretics, tyrants, and other troublemakers, enemies both visible and invisible, who often dared to invade and disturb the gathering of the pious with violence and clatter of arms, fires, or outcries, [for this reason], the liturgists fortify themselves against the onslaught of their enemies with the following mystical choral song, in which the priest presents:

God, come to my assistance.

and the choir is summoned to respond:

Lord, make haste to help me.

This prologue to the liturgy, taken from Psalm 69, is commended to our notice both by the Chaldean paraphrast, [who says]:

This psalm of David is like a pinch of incense in our hands.<sup>3</sup>

and also by the title of the psalm itself, which proclaims that the psalm of David was handed over to the victor, or to the choirmaster, for a remembrance, or in memory [mnēmosunēn] of the divine liberation and safekeeping. And

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<sup>3</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

the church should rejoice, publically recalling [anamnēsei] and proclaiming the benefits [of God] which it has obtained for the free and peaceful liturgical song of divine worship. The seventy Greeks expand and explain the title of Psalm 38, [which is] similar to this one, [saying] that it is a recollection of the sabbath day.<sup>4</sup> See below in the conclusion, under "Canonical Hours" [for a discussion of] who was the first to establish the singing of the initial words of Psalm 69, together with the glorification of the holy Trinity.

The doxology [doxologia] of the holy Trinity is added in the Gloria patri of liturgical song:

Glory to the Father, and to the Son,

and to the Holy Spirit:

As it was in the beginning, is now,

and will be for ever. Amen.

With this glorification, the liturgists declare their thankfulness to the Trinity, certain of being heard, as was promised in Isaiah 65[:24]:

...while they are yet speaking I will hear.

The Nicene Synod is said to have set forth the first versicle, and the Greek church in ancient times, on the advice of Basil, added this doxology [doxologian] to the psalms:

Glory to the Father, and to the Son,

and to the Holy Spirit.

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<sup>4</sup>LXX, "A psalm of David, in memory of the sabbath."

in order to avow publicly the Trinity and Unity [tēn triada kai homoousian] of the Persons. And, in order to prevent the Macedonians from declaring a further new dogma about the divinity of the Holy Spirit, this versicle was added:

As it was in the beginning, is now,

and will be for ever. Amen.

And it is believed that Jerome sent these two verses to Pope Damasus, who, at [Jerome's] request, ordered them to be sung at the end of the psalms.<sup>5</sup> Mention has been made above, in the first section of this part, [in] chapter one: "On Choral Music and the Psalmody of the Ancients," about the accepted manner of singing this doxology [doxologian] in the soloistic psalmody of the Egyptians.

#### Invitatory

But since it is not sufficient for the priest alone, or for the choir of singers alone, or for these in alternation, to praise God, the entire church is roused by the invitatory, taken from Psalm 96, in order to gather their praises, or to direct them with unanimous attention. In this [invitatory], the protropē and exhortation presents to the pious and grateful souls, many reasons to celebrate and rejoice in God and in his favor. The apotropē, or warning about hardness of heart, showing the sad example of the blind and obstinate multitude which perished in the desert,

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<sup>5</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

earnestly calls away the unfaithful. This invitation seems to have been added to the liturgy of matins by the warning [deēsis] and admirable prayer of the angel struggling with Israel:

Let me go, for day is breaking.

And the Jerusalem paraphrast adds:

For the hour approaches for the angels to worship God.<sup>6</sup>

(Genesis 32[:26]).

And the interpretation of Psalm 96 preserved in the Letter to the Hebrews, [chapters] three and four, is full of a violent movement of the Holy Spirit; [it says] that those who wish to enter into eternal rest should by no means despise Christ, but follow him with constant worship and veneration.

O come, let us sing to the LORD;  
 let us make a joyful noise to the rock  
 of our salvation!  
 For the LORD is a great God,  
 and a great king above all gods.  
 O that you would hearken to his voice!  
 Harden not your hearts, as at Meribah,  
 as on the day at Massah in the wilderness.

Thus the ancients used to begin their morning prayers on Sunday with this psalm, no doubt in order to rouse their souls to hear the heavenly Word, and to meditate on it, lest anyone dare to despise Christ and his Word, like the impious Israelites. For with the oath inserted [here], God warns the heathen who despise the Gospel, that they

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<sup>6</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

will not enter into eternal rest.

### Antiphon with Psalmody

Psalmody has already been sufficiently discussed in [the section on] choral music, but it remains to be noted that antiphons are sung with psalms (as decreed by Pope Celestine, A.C. 426).<sup>7</sup> [Antiphons are named] from two Greek words: "anti," which means "against," and "phōnē," which means "voice" or "sound," for, according to the tone of this melody, a psalm is intoned by one [singer] from one choir, and [then] sung by two choirs in alternation. When the end is reached, the entire antiphon is repeated and sung together by all. Polydorus (De Rerum Inventoribus, chapter 13) says that, according to the Greeks, antiphona is an alternating melody [vox reciproca] which is sung in turns [vicissim].<sup>8</sup> We mention in regard to this alternation in singing, Durandus' allegory on charity, which exists between no fewer than two. Having begun from one source, and consummated in all the members, it aims at unity, and rises toward common joy.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 426, PL 160.78.

<sup>8</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>9</sup>Guillaume Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Lugduni: Iacobus Giunti, 1539), 5.2.

## Major and Minor Psalms

Moreover, the types of psalms are generally divided, not according to art, but with the sanction of use, into major and minor. Minor are all the psalms of David and the canticles of the Old Testament; major are those taken from the Gospel, such as the canticles of Zacharias, Mary, and Simeon. The latter begin with an intonation, but the former, with a number of notes in unison; and in the minor psalms, when the half-verse ends with an indeclinable [word], a monosyllable, or a Hebrew or foreign word, then the last note usually rises.

## Psalm-tones

## EVOVAE

The ancients enumerated three categories of tropi of the tones: psalm-tones, introit-tones, and responsory-tones. Here, "tropus" is nothing other than a short melody, beginning with a repetition of each tone, which is added to the end of each psalm-verse. And this is signified by the expression EVOVAE placed after the end of the antiphon at the cadence. This signifies saeculorum amen, with the consonants omitted. The rules for the tropi of the major and minor psalms may be sought in the Psalmody of Lossius,<sup>10</sup> or in the works of other musicians.

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<sup>10</sup> Lucas Lossius, Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra Veteris Ecclesiae Selecta (Wittenberg, 1569).

[Pope] Damasus first decreed that choirs should sing the psalms in alternation, although a good many [authors] relate that [this practice] had previously been instituted by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, because in a dream, he had heard the angels singing the psalms thus, in alternation (Polydorus, De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2).<sup>11</sup>

One reads that Chrysostom first instituted the antiphonal method of singing (that is, singing in alternating choirs) in Constantinople, out of a certain rivalry with the Arians, who sang in that way while going in procession to their oratories outside the city, with the appearance of singular piety. In order that the simple folk might not be drawn away from the true church by that spectacle, he instituted a similar [practice], and indeed, a more splendid and magnificent one (Socrates 6.8; Sozomen 8.8).<sup>12</sup> One may infer from the Greek word "antiphona" that the Greeks were entirely responsible for the origin of the singing of antiphons with psalms, and that this practice spread to all the churches.

The antiphon melodies in the Latin churches are attributed by Sigebert to Ambrose.<sup>13</sup> And Ivo, in his Chron-

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<sup>11</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>12</sup>Socrates Scholasticus, Historia Ecclesiastica 6.8, PG 67.687-90; Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica 8.8, PG 67.1535-38.

<sup>13</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 387, PI, 160.68.



icle, under Valens, relates that vigils and antiphons, which were first begun in Milan by Ambrose, spread to all the provinces.<sup>14</sup> Siricius also mixed some antiphons with the psalms (Bale).<sup>15</sup> Siricius was a Roman citizen, whose father was Tiburtius. He succeeded Damasus in the episcopacy in the sixth year of the reign of Gratian and Valentinian, A.C. 387 (according to Prosper).<sup>16</sup> He was a friend of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, some of whose letters to Siricius are extant. In the forty-ninth and the fifty-fourth of the series, he names him as his father.<sup>17</sup> He died about the year of our Lord 400, after he had held the see of Rome for fifteen years (according to Socrates 7.9 and Sozomen 8.25, to Damasus), but twenty-six according to the Chronicle of Prosper.<sup>18</sup>

#### Responsory

The responsory is that song which is often sung in church after the Epistle or Gospel, a [choir]boy singing

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<sup>14</sup>The Chronicon of Ivo of Chartres (PL 162.611-16) does not mention Ambrose. Praetorius must have been using a late medieval chronicle erroneously attributed to Ivo.

<sup>15</sup>John Bale, Scriptorum Illustrum Majoris Brytanniae... Catalogus (Basel: Joannes Operinus, 1559), p. 85.

<sup>16</sup>Prosper of Aquitaine, Chronicon, PL 51.585.

<sup>17</sup>Ambrose, Epistolae 85, 86, PL 16.1338-39.

<sup>18</sup>Socrates Scholasticus, Historia Ecclesiastica 6.7, PG 67.755-58. Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica 8.24, PG 67.1579. Prosper of Aquitaine, Chronicon, PL 51.185.

or reciting, and the chorus joining in. [It is] so called because it fittingly responds to and agrees with the theme of the reading [which it follows], or its mystical interpretation, and coincides exactly with it in its text or imagery. Or else, it is called a responsory because the full choir responds to the verse sung by the boys. Polydorus recorded the following about responsories:

It is said, moreover, that the Italians first invented the responsories, which are called by a newly coined word. There are some who call the responsory "gradale," because it is sung next to the steps [gradus] of the pulpit.

(Polydorus, De Rerum Inventoribus 5.11).<sup>19</sup>

As the ancients ordered the psalm-melodies into tones from the cadence EVOVAE, so they ordered the introit and responsory tones from the melodies of the verses. But later generations judge only the psalm-tones by their intonations, and leave the introit- and responsory-tones to be recognized in other ways.

#### Te Deum Laudamus

When the church considers and deals with the matter of divine praises, it is called into the most glorious field [of battle] by Ambrose and Augustine, together with heavenly and earthly creatures, celebrating the Creator and Governor of all things, and the Redeemer of the human

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<sup>19</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.11.

race, together with prayer and thanksgiving for God's favor, in order that the church here [on earth], participating by faith in the benefits of Christ, may also be arrayed with the heritage of eternal salvation. And some say that when blessed Ambrose was baptizing Augustine, who had been converted from Manichaeism, he said:

We praise thee, O God.

And Augustine replied:

We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

And when he said:

All the earth doth worship thee.

The other replied:

The Father everlasting.

And thus the entire symbol was composed thus by Ambrose and Augustine alternately. In this manner, the symbol was customarily sung in alternation in some churches, by choirs in alternation, or by the choir and the congregation in alternation, changing sides for each verse.

#### Hymn

A hymn, which is usually sung after the responsory, is praise intended for God in song and verse, either rhythmic or metrical [verse], containing a fixed number of syllables.

Augustine, in [his commentary on] Psalm 52, thus defines [the word] "hymn":

Hymns are the praises of God with song.

Hymns are songs containing the praise of God. If praise is given, but not to God, it is not a hymn. If praise is given, and [it is] the praise of God, and it is not sung, it is not a hymn. It is fitting, therefore, if a hymn is made, that it have these three [things]: praise, God, and song.<sup>20</sup>

This description of a hymn is the same as that of a practical ode. The type of melody, as distinguished from others, was discussed in the section "On Choral Music and the Psalmody of the Ancients". More will be said about it in chapter nine of "Theoria Organices" which follows. And Saint Paul acknowledges that there was some difference between psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, recommending these holy exercises and enumerating them distinctly (Colossians 3[:6]). Interpreting that admonition of Paul, Chrysostom and Theophylactus, following him, ascribe hymns to angels, psalms to holy men, and they assert that both are contained in the category of spiritual songs.<sup>21</sup>

Polydorus explained simply, saying:

A psalm and a hymn are both Greek, but the one is called "song" [canticum], the other, "praise" [laus] by the Latins.

(De Rerum Inventoribus 5.13).<sup>22</sup>

Theophilus of Alexandria recalls the common rejoicing

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<sup>20</sup> Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum LXXI, 1, PL 36.914.

<sup>21</sup> John Chrysostom, Homilia IX in Epistolam ad Colossenses, 3, PG 62.362-64; Theophylactus, Expositio in Epistolam ad Colossenses 3.16, PG 124.1263.

<sup>22</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 5.13.

with hymns and songs in his first book of the Pascha.<sup>23</sup>

Epiphanius, in his Compendium of the Catholic Faith 3.2,

attests in regard to the separated churches:

The morning hymns are sung continually in the church, and the morning and evening prayers, likewise psalms and prayers.<sup>24</sup>

And Ephrem (On Penitence, chapter 2):

We honor our festivals in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.<sup>25</sup>

But Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who lived under Constantine, was the first to excel in the writing of hymns. And after him, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, established hymns, which are therefore called Ambrosian hymns, since it was in his time that they were first sung in the Milanese church. Augustine relates (Confessions) that when Ambrose was suffering persecution under the Empress Justina (who was condemned for the Arian heresy), he established the singing of hymns and psalms in the Eastern manner, so that the people would not waste away, wearied with grief: [and he says] that all [hymns] were later derived from this.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Theophilus Alexandrinus, trans. by Jerome, Epistola ad Totius Aegypti Episcopos 1.2, PL 22.774-75.

<sup>24</sup>Epiphanius, Expositio Fidei 3.2, PG 42.830.

<sup>25</sup>Not found in the Latin edition of Ephrem's works published in Rome by the Vatican Pontifical Press, 1743.

<sup>26</sup>Augustine, Confessiones 9.7, PL 32.770.

Ivo, in his Chronicle, recalls how the antiphon melodies and hymns in the Latin churches were attributed by Sigebert to Saint Ambrose, and that both hymns are antiphons first came into being in Milan by the efforts of Ambrose, under Valens.<sup>27</sup> And Saint Augustine affirms (Confessiones 9[.7]) that Ambrose, bishop of Milan, first established the practice of singing hymns and psalms among the Western peoples.<sup>28</sup> [This] does not differ much from the opinion of those who attribute [hymns] to Damasus; for, since both lived at the same time, and [since] what one had begun, the other had to approve, both might justly be called the authors of [the hymn] (Polydorus, De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2).<sup>29</sup>

Hilary mentions the vesper hymns in his commentary on Psalm 64:

The day is begun with prayers to God; the day is ended with hymns.<sup>30</sup>

And [in his commentary on] Psalm 65, he says:

Let anyone standing outside the church hear the voice of the people at prayer. Let him observe how frequently the hymns are sung, and also the response of devout confession in the service of the divine sacraments.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>See footnote 14.

<sup>28</sup>See footnote 26.

<sup>29</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>30</sup>Hilary of Poitiers, Tractatus in Psalmum 64, PL 9.420.

<sup>31</sup>Hilary of Poitiers, Tractatus in Psalmum 65, PL 9.425.

Saint Ambrose indicates that Christians sang both psalms and hymns in the morning, and censures some for not doing so (On Fasting, chapter 15).<sup>31</sup> And the Emperor Theodosius the Younger led the way in singing hymns, while he was parading in civilian dress, as Nicephorus attests (14.3).<sup>32</sup>

But Vitalian invented the most proper method of singing sacred hymns (although a good many attribute [this] to Gelasius and Gregory before him) and added to them musical instruments, according to Polydorus (De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2).<sup>33</sup> Durand relates that, by the institution of Pope Gelasius, and with the approval of the Councils of Toledo and Agde, hymns were sung in the divine offices.<sup>34</sup>

And it is certain that hymnody was established and originated thereafter by great men of outstanding liberality and singular devotion. For the Emperor Theophilus put great importance on the composition of song, composing some hymns and songs, and ordering them to be sung. Among these is the Benedicite in the fourth tone, which was adapted and derived by him from the Audi filia in the eighth tone, and sung in a loud voice in church, at his orders. And it is

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<sup>31</sup> Ambrose, Liber de Elia et Jejunio, 15, PL 14.751-52.

<sup>32</sup> Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 14.3, PG 146.1063.

<sup>33</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>34</sup> Guillaume Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Lugduni: Iacobus Giunti, 1539), 5.2.

said that he was so attached to the love of song that, even while at solemn assemblies in the great church, he could not stay his hand from the artful activity of song. [It is also said] that he gave a cleric one hundred pounds of silver for the practice of music (Cedrenus).<sup>35</sup> See the hymn of Theodulph in the section on the music of the Mass, under "Sequences".

On Palm Sunday, it was the custom of the Greek church to sing a song, embellished with musical harmonies by the Emperor Theophilus: "Exite Gentes, Exite Populi" (Zonaras, volume 3).<sup>36</sup>

Pope Leo II, a most learned man, as his writings indicate, [and] an experienced musician, composed psalm-melodies and reduced the hymns to better order, confirming his art by practicing it.<sup>37</sup>

Stephen, bishop of Laodicea, composed the nocturn of Saint Lambert the martyr (whose life and martyrdom he also described), as well as [the nocturns of] the Holy Trinity, and of the Finding of [the relics of] Saint Stephen Protomartyr. [All these] he composed with sweet and regular melody, and ordered them to be sung in church in his time,

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<sup>35</sup>Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium, PG 121.999.

<sup>36</sup>Joannes Zonaras, Annales 15.27, PG 134.1403.

<sup>37</sup>Liber Pontificalis, ed. by L. Duchesne (Paris: de Boccard, 1955), vol. I, p. 359.



A.D. 903 (Sigebert, Chronicle).<sup>38</sup>

Rathbodus XIV, bishop of Utrecht, composed various songs in honor of the saints about the Year of Grace 900 (Trithemius).<sup>39</sup>

Hybaldus, the nephew of the monk Milo, experienced in the seven liberal arts, shone especially in music, and composed songs of many saints with sweet melody (Sigebert, Chronicon, anno 879).<sup>40</sup>

And who is there who does not know many pious hymn-writing poets in addition to those commemorated above?

Moses, the lawgiver of the Hebrews, with his sister Miriam, first composed a hexameter, or heroic song to God, the most good, the most great, after he had led the people of Israel safely through the Red Sea (Exodus 15).

David appears to have been the author of lyric hymns, among the Greeks [was] Sido, the daughter of Pontius, according to Eusebius.<sup>41</sup>

Philo the Jew said that the therapeutae (for this is what he calls the Christian anchorites) were accustomed to sing hymns and compose sacred songs.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 903, PL 160.175.

<sup>39</sup>Johannes Trithemius, Opera Historica (1601; facsimile reprint, Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966), p. 128-29.

<sup>40</sup>Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 879, PL 160.169.

<sup>41</sup>Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica 1.10, PG 21.83.

<sup>42</sup>Philo the Jew, De Vita Contemplativa 3.29.

Synesius of Cyrene, bishop of Ptolemais, who lived under Theodosius the Younger, dedicated ten sacred hymns to the Divinity, which in elegance may contend with those of the ancients, but in piety, surpass them.<sup>43</sup> Learned men translated them into Latin (Gulielmus Canterus of Utrecht and thence Fr[anciscus] Portus of Crete).<sup>44</sup>

Gennadius Afer, Roman pontiff, wrote hymns which are still in use in the sacred rites.<sup>45</sup>

And not to be relegated to an inferior place are the [following] hymn-writers: Paulinus, bishop of Nola; Aurelius Prudentius; Clement the Spaniard under Theodosius the Younger; Licentius of Hippo, the friend of Augustine; the Venerable Bede, in the year 732; Paul the Deacon; Rabanus Maurus of Fulda, a disciple of Bede, the sixth bishop of Mainz, founder of the school of Paris; Theodulph, bishop of Orléans; Hydalbert, first bishop of Le Mans, later made bishop of Turin by Pope Honorius II; not to mention some hymn-writers of our own age, sweeter than Luscinia herself: Philip, Fabricius, Siberus, and others.<sup>46</sup>

Before the liturgy of hymns is concluded, one must

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<sup>43</sup>Synesius of Cyrene, Hymns, PG 66.1587-1616.

<sup>44</sup>Synesii De Dono ad Paeonium Concio Secunda...Nunc Primum Graece Simul et Latine Edita, Interprete G. Cantero (n.p., 1567): Synesiou Kyreniaou...Hymnoi...Lat. Interpretatio F. Porti (Paris, 1618).

<sup>45</sup>There has never been a Pope named Gennadius.

<sup>46</sup>See the appropriate entries in John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology (1907; reprint, New York: Dover, 1957).

mention, on account of its subse, the invention and composition of the hymn dedicated to the feast of Saint John the Baptist, which is more correctly sung in our churches, and [which] is known to all: "Ut queant laxis resonare fibris, etc.," from which the six musical tones were taken by the work of Guido d'Arezzo, who flourished under the emperors Conrad II and Henry III. But its idolatry is obvious, since a certain Paul, an historiographer of the Roman church, composed this hymn at one time before the presentation of the Paschal candle, der Osterketzen, to recover his full voice, since he was feeling a bit hoarse. For this reason, he invoked John, the patron of a clear voice, since on the day of his birth, his father Zacharias, [who had been] mute, had his voice restored, and because he is proclaimed in the encomium of Isaiah to be the voice crying in the wilderness, the forerunner and the herald of the Lord.<sup>47</sup>

Enough about hymns; the Magnificat follows.

#### Magnificat

The Magnificat of the Blessed Virgin Mary theophoros is a song named after its first word, an ode of thanksgiving, in which the mother of Christ celebrates, inwardly and from her heart, both the favor of bearing God [theotokia], [which was] granted to her, although she was despised and humble,

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<sup>47</sup> Isaiah 40:3; For the history of this hymn, see John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology (1907; reprint, New York, Dover, 1957), vol. 2, pp. 1202-03.

and also the benevolence brought to the church, freely and magnificently, from [God's] promise, contrary to the will of evil men.

Among the psalms which are called "greater" are enumerated this song of Mary, with the canticles of Zacharias and Simeon. For the greater psalms are those which the Holy Spirit inspired, with great enlightenment, at the time of the New Testament, when Christ had been revealed, and indeed, [they were inspired] in the greater, that is, the outstanding people in the church of that age, [those] who were closely related to Christ in flesh and spirit. People of this sort had greater joy than the ancients, because a bodily thing was brought forth from a shadowy hope. These celebrate a greater, that is, an outstanding benefit of God, that is to say, the Advent of Christ, who fulfilled the promise made to the ancients. Therefore, these psalms are most worthy to be called "greater," because they will be sung by the Catholic Church until the end of time, in the Greater, that is, the New Testament, with full voice and heart, at home and outside.

From these psalms is [taken] the megalunōdia, or the most outstanding and most frequently used part of the liturgy of the church. For pious antiquity so highly valued the Magnificat, that artful musicians, skilled in composition [melopoiias], ordered it to be sung after the antiphons, in all tones and all the differentiae of the tones for Sundays and feast days.

And Master Luther Megalander thought it fitting, in his private or domestic commentaries, to call the Magnificat a canticum magisterii, or Meistergesang, because, according to long-established and appropriate custom, it is worthy to be appointed as a perennial sacrifice for the liturgy of vespers.<sup>48</sup> In fact, just before the evening of the world, and in the last age, in the New Testament, the humble and unworthy church, with Mary, greeted the manifestation of the Messiah with this thanksgiving, giving humble thanks itself for the mercy of God toward the humble and the despised, for the power of Christ against the proud despisers, and finally, for the true faithfulness of God in keeping his promises.

And he impresses on all men of every class that this liturgy must be carried out assiduously, adapting to each one the proof which Simon Musaeus, the reverend man of pious memory, cleverly proposed:

"And his mercy is on those who fear him from generation to generation. He has shown strength with his arm, he has scattered the proud (heretics) in the imagination of their hearts."

Let these words be affixed on church doors and in schools. Those [words] which follow: "He has put down the mighty (tyrants) from their thrones, and has exalted those of low degree," should be hung up in princely apartments and courts. Finally: "He has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away," should be written on the gates

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<sup>48</sup> Martin Luther, Erste Predigt am Tage der Heimsuchung Mariä, in Sämtliche Schriften, ed. by Johann Georg Walch, XIII (St. Louis, Concordia, 1883), 2745.

of houses, on storerooms and bedrooms.<sup>49</sup>

Moreover, he wonderfully and wisely commends to us this memorable ode of blessed Mary, because it corresponds in unanimous accord to the songs on the same subject [sung] by the person of the same name in the Old Testament.

For the almah [virgin] Mary, the spouse whose virginity was undiminished, the Mother of Christ, first composed and sang this song in the New Testament, to designate the constant task of the choir and the church, to praise God together in chastity and integrity. Likewise, Miriam, the sister of Moses, an almah, or virgin singer, was the first in the Old Testament to raise an ode to God, [singing] with the other women and the virgins, in reply to the choir of men, which sang first. For it is agreed that the ancients added antiphons [antiphonas] and antichoruses [antichorias] to the strophes [strophais]. For it is fitting that God should be praised by all people, of both sexes, and of every rank (Psalm 148:10, 13).

And what of the fact that the illustrious Mary, daughter of the second Hannah, inspired by the same Spirit [which inspired] both the other Mary and Hannah, who sang in the Old Testament, composed this song, which agrees with them so closely in both words and meaning, that any sharp and sensitive ear would perceive clearly that the chorus of

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<sup>49</sup> Simon Musaeus, Postilla, das ist, Auslegung der Epistlen und Evangelien...durchs ganze Jar (Frankfurt am Main, 1579), p. 111.

these three, like the three graces, agrees eloquently,  
in incredible harmony, with sweet and solemn grace?

Do not both Mariens sing in the same way (Luke 1[:46-55]; Exodus 15)?

The latter:

My soul magnifies the Lord,  
and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior,  
for he has regarded the low estate  
of his handmaiden.

For behold, henceforth all generations  
will call me blessed;  
for he who is mighty  
has done great things for me,  
and holy is his name.

The former:

I will sing to the LORD  
for he has triumphed gloriously;  
the horse and his rider  
he has thrown into the sea.  
The LORD is my strength and my song,  
and he has become my salvation;  
this is my God, and I will praise him,  
my father's God, and I will exalt him.

The favor shown by God to the human race is also sung  
by both with one voice.

1. They proclaim his mercy,

the latter is this encomium:

And his mercy is on those who fear him  
from generation to generation.

and the former thus:

Thou hast led in thy steadfast love  
the people whom thou hast redeemed,  
thou hast guided them by thy strength  
to thy holy abode.

2. [They proclaim his] might and justice,

the latter:

He has shown strength with his arm,

he has scattered the proud  
in the imagination of their hearts.

the former:

Thy right hand, O LORD,  
glorious in power,  
thy right hand, O LORD,  
shatters the enemy.  
Terror and dread fall upon them;  
because of the greatness of thy arm...

And a little while before:

...for he has triumphed gloriously;  
the horse and his rider  
he has thrown into the sea.

3. [They proclaim his] truth:

the latter, Mary, in the New Testament:

He has helped his servant Israel,  
in remembrance of his mercy,  
as he spoke to our fathers,  
to Abraham and to his posterity for ever.

the former, Miriam, in the Old Testament:

Thou wilt bring them in,  
and plant them on thy own mountain,  
the place, O LORD,  
which thou hast made for thy abode,  
the sanctuary, O LORD,  
which thy hands have established.

Mary, the Mother of Christ, having diverged from the chorus of Miriam, the sister of Moses, seems to have joined at once in such unanimous agreement with [the chorus] of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, that one might well think that she had borrowed words, and a good many sentences from Hannah's ode (I Samuel 2[:1-10]), or that she had learned from it.

1. The latter said:

My soul magnifies the Lord,  
and my spirit rejoices, etc.



Hannah, likewise:

My heart exults in the LORD.

2. The latter said:

...he who is mighty has done great things for me.

and the former:

...there is no rock like our God.

3. The latter:

...and holy is his name.

The former:

There is none holy like the LORD.

4. The latter:

He has put down the mighty from their thrones,  
and exalted those of low degree;  
he has filled the hungry with good things.

The former:

Those who were full  
have hired themselves out for bread,  
but those who were hungry  
have ceased to hunger.

Finally, there are many similarities in both hymns; this is no surprise, since they both deal with a similar theme. In the latter, a virgin has conceived; in the former, a barren woman was made fertile.

O the sweet harmony of both Testaments!

O Saving concord!

The testimony and seal

most sure and most apparent  
of one Christ, one Spirit, one faith,  
which only great songs could fitly commend.

Benedicamus Domino

Deo Dicamus Gratias

As a finishing touch after the [concluding] prayer, a thanksgiving is sung by young boys: "Let us bless the Lord". Some say that this means that all our praise is childish and clearly imperfect, compared to the works and the favor of God, whom we praise. For whatever can be spoken is less than the praise of God, and by this childish song we are also admonished of the childlike simplicity and simple faith desired by Christ of all who strive for the kingdom of heaven (Mark 10[:14-15]). And when the whole chorus has imitated it, like the flourishing cherubim, it reverently and humbly extols the marvels of God to the very end, with fitting and grateful remembrance.

For the thanksgiving, the eucharistic [eucharistikē] close of the church's liturgy, must never be omitted on account of the forgetfulness of an ungrateful soul; for Christian piety requires that, after the liturgical rites have been publicly carried out, we should return the favors received from God by giving thanks, and likewise inviting [him] to give more. For God is munificent, [God] who, in accordance with his promise, comes to us in places of worship and oratories, blessing us (Exodus 20[:24]).

kai eulogētos ho theos, eulogēsas hēmas  
eulogia pneumatikē

that is,

Blessed be God...who has blessed us...

with every spiritual blessing.

(Ephesians 1[:3]). And since God blesses us from Zion (Psalm 127 [128:5]), and since the Lord is asked to bless his people, even his heritage (Psalm 28 [29:11]; Psalm 27 [28:9]), surely, since we have obtained such a gracious blessing, and out of gratitude for such a welcome blessing, we should be subject to one another, just as the three youths (from whose hymn the boys' hymn of blessing [eulogodia] was taken, as some believe), unharmed by the fire in the Babylonian furnace, honored God with every sort of eulogy [eulogias] in this hymn of blessing and thanksgiving [eulogodiâ istâ eucharisticâ]: "Let us bless the Lord" and "Let us give thanks to God".<sup>50</sup>

Even the royal psalmist [David] exhorts the assembly of the church to give thanks publicly in song, saying (Psalm 68[:26]):

Bless God in the great congregation,  
the LORD, o you who are of Israel's fountain.

And the pious are bound to offer that which Psalm 144 [145:10] promises in their name:

...all thy saints shall bless thee  
and the same [Psalm 145:21] again:

...let all flesh bless his holy name  
for ever and ever.

Praise to God, three and One.

Blessed for ever. Amen.

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<sup>50</sup>Song of the Three Young Men, vv. 28-68.

The temples were opened, the images of the gods were set up on couches on which bunches of sacred boughs (these are called "struppi" by Festus)<sup>51</sup> were strewn in the place of the pulvinaria. The senators and patricians, with their wives and children, were usually crowned, likewise all the tribes and classes together, with the pontifex maximus going before, and often the duumvirs, with crowds of young boys following on foot, and maidens whose fathers and mothers were living, crowned or carrying a laurel branch in their hands, singing songs in a measured voice. And thus the whole city turned out for solemn prayer, to ward off evil, or to pray for favorable omens, or to give thanks for some outstanding victory. From this it is apparent that even the pagans were convinced that common prayers, offered with one voice and consent, were more acceptable to God. Thus, among the fragments of Petronius Arbiter, this distich survives:

Nos quoque confusis feriemus sidera verbis,  
Et fama est junctas fortius ire preces.<sup>52</sup>

Many examples of supplications of this sort exist in the works of Cicero (Catiline 3), Caesar (Gallic War 4), Livy (books 21, 40), Lampridius (Commodus), Vopiscus (Tacitus).<sup>53</sup> See Augustine (City of God, book 3), Johannes

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<sup>51</sup>Sextus Pompeius Festus De Verborum Significatione 521.

<sup>52</sup>"We also shall besiege the stars with confused words, and tradition says that prayers [when] joined go more strongly." This does not appear among the authentic works of Petronius.

<sup>53</sup>Cicero In Catilinam 3.6; Caesar De Bello Gallico 4.38;

Garzias Gallecus (l. C. tract. de Expens. et meliorat., chapter 21, number 36), Peucer (On Divination, [chapter "On Augury and Auspices"]).<sup>54</sup>

Tertullian, in the second book to his wife, bears witness to the fact that processions were in use by Christians from the beginning.<sup>55</sup> And it is evident that the Christians borrowed these processions from the Jews, as if to represent mystically those who first hastened to meet Christ as he went from Bethany to Jerusalem.

There are greater and lesser litanies. Mamertus Claudianus, bishop of Vienne, established the lesser [litanies] in Gaul in the year of Salvation 458 (Volaterranus, with Ptolemy Lucensis, refers to the year 454).<sup>56</sup> They are proclaimed on the three days before the Ascension of our Lord. At that time, the Gauls were terrified by the brutality of events: wolves and other wild beasts entered the cities in broad daylight and pursued men, and every day there were earthquakes, places were struck from heaven and destroyed or burned. Aclimus Avitus, bishop of Vienne, said in a

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Livy Ab Urbe Condita 21.62, 40.16; Aelius Lampridius Commodus Antonius 8.8; Flavius Vopiscus Tacitus 12.1.

<sup>54</sup> Augustine, De Civitate Dei 3.17, PL 41.96; Johannes Garzias Gallecus, source unknown; Caspar Peucer, Commentarius de Praecipuis Divinationum Generibus (Frankfurt: Claudius Marnius et Heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1607), p. 389.

<sup>55</sup> Tertullian, Ad Uxorem 2.2, PL 1.1406-07.

<sup>56</sup> Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 17; Ptolemy Lucensis, Historia Ecclesiastica 8.6, in Rerum Itali-

certain homily that the three days before the Ascension were celebrated [thus], and that the custom spread throughout Gaul.<sup>57</sup> Sidonius also clearly recalls the same events as Avitus (Epistle 7 to Mamercus, also Epistle 5 to Aper).<sup>58</sup>

At the first Council of Orléans, in 515 A.D., around the time of Pope Hormisdas, who reigned nine years, the following definition was made of the litanies (chapter 29):

Rogations, that is, litanies, should be celebrated before the Ascension of our Lord, so that the fast of the preceding three days may be ended with the solemnity of the Ascension of our Lord. For these three days, menservants and maidservants should be released from all work, in order that the people may more easily gather. And for those three days, let all abstain and fast, as in Lent.<sup>59</sup>

This canon was transferred to canon 3, "Rogations..."

(De Consecratione, Distinctio III).<sup>60</sup> Thus there remained, and remain still in some reformed Lutheran churches those solemnities which are celebrated at about that time. They are commonly called the Week of Prayer [die Betwoche].

But afterwards, Pope Agapetus, who reigned in 534 A.D., was the first, so it is said, to order the singing of the litany

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carum Scriptores, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Milan, 1728), XI, 865.

<sup>57</sup> Alcimus Avitus, Homilia de Rogationibus, PL 59. 289-94.

<sup>58</sup> Sidonius Appollinaris, Epistola ad Aprum, 5, PL 58. 544-45; Epistola ad Mamertum, 7, PL 58.563-64.

<sup>59</sup> Council of Orléans, canon 27, in Concilia Antiqua Galliae, ed. by Iacobus Sirmondi (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1607), I, 182.

<sup>60</sup> CIC, Decreti Tertia Pars, De. Consec., Dist. III, c. 3.

on every Sunday, in church or [in procession] around the church. This sort of supplication was established for the universal church by Leo III at the next Council of Orleans (Fulgosus, 2.1 and Egnatius, 2.1).<sup>61</sup>

But Gregory the Great, in 591 A.D., established the greater litanies, and the psalm-melodies and processions, to be sung by the people of all classes, proceeding in seven-fold order, to celebrate the twenty-seventh of May as usual, because the people were afflicted at that time with a certain kind of disease of which many perished, with a sudden swelling of the groin. Paul the Deacon advances the opinion that the cause of the pestilence was a sudden rise of the Tiber.<sup>62</sup> When the waters receded, a great number of snakes invaded the city and so polluted the air that many died with a sudden swelling of the groin. And in an attempt to avert this disease by prayer, Pelagius II (in whose place Gregory was later substituted) decreed fasting and litanies, but even he perished with the others, A.C. 579. Therefore, Gregory exhorted the multitude to divine worship, and instituted that supplications should be made by the entire city in separate orders, the whole clergy [proceeding] from the Church of Saint John the Baptist, the laity from Saint Marcellus, the monks from Saint John and Saint Paul, the nuns from

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<sup>61</sup> Baptista Fulgosus, De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus Collectanea (Milan, 1509), 2.1; Egnatius, source unknown.

<sup>62</sup> Paul the Deacon, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita, PL 75. 59.

Saints Cosmas and Damian, the married matrons from [Saint Stephen] Protomartyr, the widows from Saint Vitalis, the choir of boys and girls from Saint Cecilia. [All these] would make supplications in procession, and when supplications had been made in all the churches, they would all return to the Church of the Virgin, called "New" [Santa Maria Novella]. It is said that, as preparations were being made for this, the pestilence was raging so fiercely that eighty of the people standing in the crowd expired. Nor were the prayers of Gregory and the people offered up in vain: the pestilence gradually subsided and was soon stamped out (Sabellicus, Enneades 8.5).<sup>63</sup>

Sigonius, [referring to] the year 590, told the story a bit differently: When a frightful pestilence was afflicting the city of Rome, Saint Gregory the Great, the Pope, is said to have instituted what is commonly called the greater litany, which was usually sung at the feast of Saint Mark. On Wednesday at daybreak, the clergy went forth from the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, with the priests of the sixth region; the abbots with their monks, from the Church of the Holy Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, with the priests of the fourth region; the abbesses with the congregations, from the Church of the Holy Martyrs Marcellinus and Peter, with the priests of the first region; all the

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<sup>63</sup> Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades 8.5, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Ioannes Hervagius, 1560), II, 522.



boys and girls, from the Church of the Holy Martyrs John and Paul, with the priests of the second region; all the laity, from the Church of Saint Stephen Protomartyr, with the priests of the seventh region; all unmarried women, from the Church of the Martyr Saint Clement, with the priests of the third region. Leaving each church in this manner, they gathered at the Church of Blessed Mary and, making supplications to God there with prolonged weeping and groaning, they implored [God's] mercy on their sins. He also ordered that the choirs of clerics should gather and sing psalms for three days, invoking the mercy of God. Thus, the tradition handed down from him still remains: that after the introit of the Mass, we ask nine times for the mercy of the Lord or of Christ.

Thus, at about the third hour, the choirs of singers came to the church through the fields of the city, imploring the mercy of God. But as the people were pouring out their words of supplication to God, eighty men in the crowd suddenly fell down lifeless. Gregory, not at all frightened, admonished the people at once not to stop their prayers, but to apply themselves all the more eagerly in zeal for divine prayer. Meanwhile, the pestilence was raging more severely each day. To the other calamities by which men were killed here and there, this evil was added: that many while snoring, many while yawning, suddenly gave up the ghost. And since this happened quite often, the custom grew up, which is observed even now, that one should seek protection

by praying for salvation when snoring, and making the sign of the cross on one's lips when yawning. Gregory, deeply moved by these events, instituted in the year 591, in addition to the other sacrifices to ward off the heavenly wrath, the religious supplication on the day of the Resurrection, and carried the image of the Virgin Mother of God in solemn procession. This [image], which, according to his writings, was artfully drawn from life by the hand of the Evangelist Luke, was still preserved in the Church of Blessed Mary, placed near the crib on the Esquiline, preserved through the outstanding devotion of the people. And it happened that, when the image was carried into any place, the severity of the pestilence from heaven ceased, and the awaited good health followed. Therefore, as they were giving thanks to God, behold, an angel was heard to address the Holy Virgin from heaven with these words:

Queen of heaven, rejoice. Alleluia!

For he whom thou wast meet to bear, Alleluia!

Hath arisen as he promised. Alleluia!

And when Gregory heard this prayer, he continued at once in this manner, divinely inspired by the Spirit:

Pray for us to God. Alleluia!

Thereafter, the solemn antiphon remained as the theme of the church's joy at Easter. And not long thereafter, an angel was seen standing over the wall of Hadrian, putting a drawn sword back into its sheath. When Gregory saw this, he rejoiced, and turned to the people with these words:

Be of good cheer, all of you; for the end of the divine wrath, and of the pestilence which has raged so long, has been manifested, as we hoped, by God's promise.

And thus, as he had sensed before, he himself fell ill.

From this sad affair the name Sant'Angelo was derived.

Sigonius, in book one of The Kingdom of Italy, recounts this from the rituales.<sup>64</sup> The prudent reader can readily discern how much of this is worthy to be believed and accepted.

Pope Stephen III is said to have marched along barefoot, [singing] the litany, A.D. 768. Hadrian, A.C. 800, instituted the litanies before the feast of the Ascension.

But there is a controversy among the experts in pontifical law, which is worth passing mention: whether all the clergy of the region are obliged to come to these litanies or public rogations, or merely (as they say) all from the territory of the baptismal church. And a certain arch-deacon, a famous interpreter of this law (Distinctio 38, canon "quando...") reckons that all the clergy of the diocese are bound to come each year to the litanies at the principal church.<sup>65</sup> He uses this argument: that in the canon "quando..." the litanies are compared to the council. But they are obliged to attend the councils twice a year (canon "propter...," canon "non oportet...," and all of

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<sup>64</sup> Carolus Sigonius, Historiarum de Regno Italiae Libri Quindecim (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1575), bk. 1.

<sup>65</sup> CIC, Decretum, Dist. XXXVIII.

Distinctio 18).<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand, Abbot Panormas (canon "nimis...," on the excesses of prelates), Felinus (canon "dilectus...," on the office of the ordinary), [and] the cardinal (Clementine, only [chapter] on relics and the veneration of the saints), differ with the archdeacon, giving the opinion that only those clergy who are in the territory of the baptismal church are bound to gather.<sup>67</sup> Their opinion, as it had previously been accepted, was recently confirmed by the Council of Trent (Session 25, Chapter 13 on reformation) [and by] Johannes Garzias (de expens. et melior., chapter 21, number 37 and following).<sup>68</sup> And these have to do with both the lesser and the greater litanies.

#### On the Canonical Hours

It is said by Eusebius of Cremona, and many others who lived at the same time, that Jerome was the first to institute the hourly, or as they are called, canonical prayers.<sup>69</sup> The fathers, then, accepted these, in imitation of the song

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<sup>66</sup>CIC, Decretum, Dist. XVIII.

<sup>67</sup>CIC, Decretal. Gregor. IX, V.31, c. 16; I.31, c. 18; Sexti Decretal. III.22.

<sup>68</sup>Council of Trent, Session 25, Chapter 13, in Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, ed. by H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis: Herder, 1960), p. 246; Johannes Garzias, source unknown.

<sup>69</sup>Eusebius of Cremona, Divi Hieronymi Vita, PL 22.235-38.

of David, who said [Psalm 119:164]:

Seven times a day I praise thee...

But there are some (and especially Saint Cyprian) who relate that the practice of observing the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours is taken from Daniel, for he was accustomed to pray three times a day, kneeling on the ground, according to the rite of his fathers, in the morning, and at the sixth and ninth hours.<sup>70</sup> Thus, according to Jerome, there are three times for prayer:<sup>71</sup> in the morning, that is, the third hour, when the Apostles were inspired by the Holy Spirit; the sixth [hour], when we must eat (thus the apostle Peter, wishing to take food, went up to the upper room to pray at about the sixth hour); the ninth [hour], when Peter and John, likewise, went to the Temple to pray.

Later, Pelagius II (according to Sigebert and Krantz, Metropolis 2.2) decreed that these same seven canonical hours were to be recited daily by priests, as a present remedy for human weakness, whereby, as a just man falls seven times a day, so by giving attention to prayer, he may rise again the same number of times (A.D. 555).<sup>72</sup>

God, come to my assistance, etc.

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<sup>70</sup> Cyprian, De Oratione Dominica, 34, PL 4.559.

<sup>71</sup> Jerome, Epistola 108, 9, PL 22.875.

<sup>72</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 581, PL 160. 109; Albert Krantz, Rerum Germanicarum Historici Clarissimi Ecclesiastica Historia, sive Metropolis (Frankfurt: apud Heredes Andreae Wecheli, Alcuadium Marnium et Ioannem Aubrium, 1590), 2.63.

Glory to the Father, etc.

Gregory prefixed to each hour the beginning of the Psalm [69] of David:

God, come to my assistance.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

and he added the hymn:

Glory to the Father, and to the Son,

and to the Holy Spirit.<sup>73</sup>

Urban II instituted at the council which he held in Gaul, in Clermont, that the same number of hours should be recited daily in honor of the Virgin Mother of God, and Jerome, at the request of Damasus, divided the psalter into seven parts, according to the number of days in one week, so that each day would have a certain number of psalms to be sung.<sup>74</sup> This division [of the psalter] is now read in every church, by decree of the same Damasus.

It is said that the same pontiff was the very first to add to the end of each psalm, at Jerome's suggestion (according to Sigebert),<sup>75</sup> that hymn which is offered to the three divine Persons; it is recalled that this was decreed at the Council of Nicaea. Damasus instituted the singing at each canonical hour (but in a low voice) of the

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<sup>73</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2.

<sup>74</sup> ibid., 6.2.

<sup>75</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, anno 382, PL 160.66.

creed which is commonly called the Shorter or Apostles' Creed, in order to distinguish it from the Nicene Creed. Many, however, say that the former was not the one produced by the Council of Nicaea (Polydorus, De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2).<sup>76</sup>

Enough about the canonical hours.

#### On the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin

The method of praying with wooden beads, which are commonly called rosaries or paternosters, was invented, so it is said, by Peter the Hermit, in Gaul, in Amiens. About the year of Salvation 1090, he, [together] with [Pope] Urban, urged the Christians in Clermont to undertake an Asian war to recapture Jerusalem. There are fifty-five [beads], pierced and arranged in such an order that, after each group of ten, a single large [bead] is affixed to the chain. For each large bead, one says the Our Father, and for each small bead, a Hail Mary, with three [Hail Marys] and three Small Creeds at the beginning.

Today such honor is paid to that manner of counting, that [rosaries] are made not only out of wood, amber, and coral, but of gold and silver, and [they] serve as jewelry to women (Polydorus, De Rerum Inventoribus 5.9).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2. Virtually this whole section has been paraphrased by Praetorius from Polydore Vergil.

<sup>77</sup> ibid., 5.9.

No doubt the reason [for this invention] was the military life, which was at the same time busy and idle, in order that as much leisure as was given by fleshly enemies might be spent in fighting spiritual enemies, since it was thought more fitting to while away time with a prayer, albeit a perfunctory one, than with games or storytelling.

But since the Knower of hearts [kardiognōsēs] is accustomed to consider the faith with which prayers are made, not their number, everyone in the universe, whatever his [state in] life, must always pray to Christ in such a way that his prayers are weighed, rather than numbered.



**SECTION IV**

## PART I

## SECTION IV

Observations on the Musical Instruments of Zion

that is

A survey of instrumental music used in the church, both in the Old Testament and in the New, gathered from the Bible, [from] ancient and modern ecclesiastical writers, and [from] other authors.

## Chapter I

On the composers of instrumental and sacred music, added to the psalm-verses by kings and by the people of God for divine worship; also, on the purpose and point of this survey.

In Genesis 4:21, it is recalled that Jubal was "the father of all who play the lyre and pipe." The name "yûbâl," which seems to have been given to Jubal by his father, comes from "yôbêl," [which means] "sound, clang, trumpet-playing, and merrymaking." For "yûbâl" is [derived] from the word "hôkîl," which means "to lead, to lead out, and to lead back." As the voices and the sound in music usually go high and low, remissè and submissè, so are trombones played, from which are derived the German word "fallen" and the Latin "intervallum."<sup>1</sup> From this it is evident that [Jubal's] father Lamech was

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<sup>1</sup>This sentence is in German.

the first musician, or at least [that he was] by no means ignorant of music. [In the passage from Genesis referred to above], Moses, under the names ["lyre and pipe"] includes by synecdoche all musical instruments, both plucked [psē-laphēta] or struck [krousa] (which Aristoxenus, in Athenaeus' Dipnosophistae, book 4, calls entaza),<sup>2</sup> and also the wind instruments [pneumatika] or empneusa, which are played with the fingers and the breath.

David first established the presence of instrumentalists in public worship, as is indicated in I Chronicles 15:16:

David also commanded the chiefs of the Levites to appoint their brethren as the singers who should play loudly on musical instruments, on harps and lyres and cymbals, to raise sounds of joy.

In II Chronicles 5[:11-12], it is indicated that Solomon subscribed to his father's decree:

Now when the priests came out of the holy place...and all the Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, their sons and kinsmen, stood east of the altar...

And out of a desire to sing poetically and musically, the psalms were written by David, not loosely and freely, but in strict and metrically regular speech. Not only does the title and superscription show this, when the psalms are called "songs" and "hymns," because they were based on a metrical manner of speech (for indeed, the Prophet did not use one type of song only, but various [types], and thus it happens that the entire rationale of that sacred poetry lies

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<sup>2</sup>Aristoxenus Dipnosophistae 4.174.

buried in oblivion, and so far, none has been found to draw it out), but [this] is also evident from the musical instruments to whose rhythm and melody the psalms were sung in the Tabernacle and the Temple. This could not have happened unless the psalms had meter.<sup>3</sup>

Josephus (Jewish Antiquities 7.10) bears witness to the same thing, writing as follows:

For the rest, David, having already suffered through wars and perils, living [then] in the greatest peace, composed poetic odes and hymns in honor of God, partly in trimeter, partly in pentameter; and he taught the Levites to sing the praises of God to the accompaniment of the musical instruments which he had assembled, both on the Sabbath, and on the other feast days.<sup>4</sup>

The opinions of the fathers vary in regard to the names, other than David's, prefixed to the psalms. For example, [we find the names of] Asaph, Ethan, Jeduthun, the sons of Cora, etc. Isidore (Book on Offices), Jerome (Letter to Sophronius), and Athanasius (Synopsis of Holy Scripture) say that they are the authors of these psalms, together with David, Moses, and Solomon.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, in II Chronicles 29[:30] the dibré, and words, or songs (as Luther renders the

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<sup>3</sup>See Paul Winter, "Book of Psalms," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, 946-47.

<sup>4</sup>Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae 7.10.

<sup>5</sup>Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 6.2, PL 82.231; Jerome, Praefatio in Librum Psalmorum, PL 28.1183; Athanasius, Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae, 13, PG 28.331.

word)<sup>6</sup> of the psalms, are assigned equally to Asaph and to David. And since what are called the Psalms of David seem to have been dictated to Saint David by the Holy Spirit, so, it is said, the Psalms of Asaph were divinely inspired by the Holy Spirit to libnei Corae, that is, divinely supplied to the sons of Cora. Nevertheless, Augustine (City of God 17.14) and Cassiodorus (Preface to the Psalter) declare that Asaph, Jeduthun, and the sons of Cora did not compose the psalms, but performed them with voices and instruments.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in I Chronicles 15, 16, 25, and II Chronicles 5, it is specifically written in regard to Asaph, Jeduthun, Heman, and the rest, that David gave them the ministry of singing, and entrusted them with the playing of musical instruments. And in I Chronicles 25[:1], one reads that the same men prophesied to the sound of the lyre. For it was their custom to sing the psalms aloud to the [accompaniment of] the lyre and other instruments, which did not happen without the special working of the Holy Spirit. For [the Holy Spirit] wished the people of that time to be roused and invited by this means, as the story of Elisha [in] II Kings 3 will make clearer than day.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Luther uses the word "Lieder" in II Chron. 25:30.

<sup>7</sup>Augustine, Civitas Dei 17.14, PL 41.547; Cassiodorus, Expositio in Psalterium, 2, PL 70.14.

<sup>8</sup>When Elisha was asked to prophesy, he called a minstrel to play and, inspired by his music, predicted the victory of Israel over the Moabites.

Sabellicus (Enneades 8.20) agrees with him:

King David, having brought peace to all the nations, embraced the practice of religion, and composed hymns in trimeter, and along with these, many verses in pentameter, which were sung on the Sabbath and on feast days at the sacred rites. He added to these the ten-stringed lyre, etc.<sup>9</sup>

But we cannot guess what the instruments of ancient times were like; nevertheless, it will be pleasant, and not unworthy of attention, to expose to view the main types of instruments taken from the workshop of David, and from that of Moses, the Prophets, and the other holy writers, and in some way to sketch and observe their use, [along] with [the writers of] Christian antiquity, from pious conjecture about literature, and from allegorical mysteries. But we believe that we should deal first of all with the varied circumstances of choral music as it existed under David and other pious Jewish rulers, and also [with] the titles prefixed to many psalms.

It is pleasant to contemplate and to hear from the monuments of the Old Testament how carefully the sacred choir was instructed, how splendidly it was clothed, and finally, how magnificently and liberally the singers were provided for in food and clothing.

Both the fixed age of the chorus of Levites and musicians, and their stable numbers, teach about their arrangement and

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<sup>9</sup>Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades 8.20, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Ioannes Hervagius, 1560), I, 185.

splendor.

## Chapter II

On the age of the Levites and the musicians, with a harmonization of diverse suppositions and an anagoge.

All the Levites who worked in the house of Jehovah began their ministry at a mature and flourishing age, and finished it at an advanced and feeble [age]. They were to be elected at the age of thirty and older, up to the age of fifty. This was directed in Numbers 4:3 and 43:4, [and] likewise shown my Moses, Aaron, and the princes of Israel in the passages mentioned, [and] also by David [in] I Chronicles 23:2.

But different [ages] seem to be prescribed for the beginning of the ministry, for the text in Numbers 8:24 and I Chronicles 23 reads thus:

This is what pertains to the Levites: from twenty-five years old and upward they shall go in to perform the work in the service of the tent of meeting...

that is, they shall stand at their posts with the others and carry out the plan of their ministry.

Here there is a difference of five years. Various people who [have attempted] to reconcile these numbers think that the period of five years from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth year was a period of apprenticeship, so that those who were twenty-five were assigned to minister



to the rest, but not until their thirtieth year did they begin the full exercise of their office. We understand that they were chosen for thirty years' ministry, counting the five years of the institution [of apprenticeship].

But in I Chronicles 23:23, 26 and II Chronicles 31:16, and Ezra 3:8, we read that those who exercised the office of the ministry were twenty years old and up. In this place, for example, Tremellius is numbering according to the usual Hebrew method, because children [liberi] up to that age were designated by the name "taph," that is, "children" [parvulorum] (I Chronicles 27:3).<sup>10</sup> It seems credible, however, by analogy from several passages, that the Levites were catechumens from childhood until the age of twenty; after the twentieth [year] they were admitted to the observance of the ministry into which they were instituted, but only as spectators [theōrikēn] until the age of twenty-five. From that time, they were occupied in some secondary service until they reached the age of thirty. And in this way, as the learned say, order was legitimately established from the word of God by David, Gade, and Nathan the prophet, and observed by Solomon and Hezekiah (II Chronicles 8:26, 29:25).

But let this comparison and reconciliation of divergence [of opinion] on the age of election to the ministry,

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<sup>10</sup> Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Janssonius Caesius, 1578), gloss on I Chron. 23:26.

whether at twenty, twenty-five, or thirty, suffice.

For the computation from the thirtieth or the twenty-fifth year, when duties were undertaken, to the fiftieth, when they were ended and put aside, is not without evident reason, for in this regard Theodoret (Question 13 on Numbers) clearly states:

Epeidē hē men prōtē hēlikia teleian ouk echei tōn agathōn kai kakōn tēn diakrisin, hē teleutaia de asthenesteron echei to sōma, apokrinei toinun kai tēn neotēta, kai to gēras, kai tēn men dia to ateles tēs psuchēs, to de dia to tou sōmatos asthenes.

For the first age does not have full discretion of good and evil things. The last, however, is rather feeble physically; therefore, both youth and old age are rejected, the former on account of weakness of spirit, the latter, on account of bodily infirmity.<sup>11</sup>

In regard to the years from twenty-five to fifty, Isidore gives an allegorical interpretation [allegorizei] in the sixth chapter On Numbers, and [he] is quoted in the Decretum, Distinctio 77, Chapter 1, "On the old law."<sup>12</sup> What is signified by the twenty-fifth year, in which the flower of youth springs up, but war against every vice? And what [is meant by] bye fiftieth year, in which is contained rest from merrymaking, except internal quietness, when the battles of the spirit have been settled? And what

<sup>11</sup>Theodoret, Quaestiones in Numeros, 13, PG 80.366.

<sup>12</sup>Isidore of Seville, Liber Numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis Occurrunt, 6, PL 83.184; CIC, Decretum, Dist. 77, C. 1, 2, 4.

is signified by the vessels of the Tabernacle but the souls of the faithful? Therefore, the Levites serve the Tabernacle from the twenty-fifth year, and in the fiftieth, become guardians of the vessels, evidently so that those who are still suffering the onslaught of vices by consent to pleasure should not presume to take charge of others. But when they have won the wars against temptation, when they are finally secure in themselves, with inward tranquility, they obtain the cure of souls. But he who perfectly subdues these struggles may say with Paul (Romans 7:23):

...but I see in my members another law  
at war with the law of my mind and making  
me captive to the law of sin.

But it is one thing to endure wars courageously, another to suffer attack in weakness. In the former, virtue is put into practice, so that [wars] may not be taken away, in the latter [virtue] is altogether extinguished, that [wars] may not remain.

But this anagoge is more pleasing, especially in regard to the thirtieth to the fiftieth year:

1. Not just anyone, chosen indiscriminately, is to be put in charge of the priestly office; no one inexperienced or unfit, who offers only willingness (for the magistracy, as Biantes clearly seems to have said, reveals the man).<sup>13</sup> Thirty years, therefore, a number composed of three tens, signifies a certain perfection of manly strength,

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<sup>13</sup>Source unknown.

and up to that time, as Dionysius says, a man advances in vigor of mind and strength of body.<sup>14</sup>

God expressly requires maturity of age, which is joined with prudence and seriousness, and will not admit any to worship him who are not proven in judgement and experienced in practice, since the intemperate lasciviousness of impertinent youth, its headlong rashness, and its ignorance of the reverence due to sacred things, produce no little contempt and irreverence. And Christ himself did not wish to take on and undergo the ministry of teaching until he had entered his thirtieth year. By this, and by fulfilling the Law to the utmost, he restored and left to us by his obedience, a free choice of age for the ministry, and a Christian freedom in reckoning years, so that even those younger [than thirty] might rightly aspire to the ministry of the church, and be admitted. And it is certain that its efficacy does not depend on age, as the Apostle [Paul], writing in the New Testament, stipulates, among others (I Timothy 4:12):

Let no one despise your youth...

but also in the writings of Jeremiah [1:7] in the Old Testament, where God himself asserted:

Do not say, "I am only a youth," for to all to whom I send you you shall go, and whatever I command you you shall speak.

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<sup>14</sup>No work cited.

Therefore, we observe a reproach [kakazēlian] in the decretal which forbids anyone to be promoted to the priesthood before his thirtieth year, just as the canon says (Distinctio 78, Canon 1):

If anyone has not completed his thirtieth year, let him by no means be ordained a priest, even if he be most worthy.

and Canon 2:

Let no one be consecrated a priest who is less than thirty years old.

Canon 4:

Let a priest not be ordained before his thirtieth year, even if he be upright in life, but let him wait until the appointed time.<sup>15</sup>

For our Lord Jesus Christ was baptized in his thirtieth year, and then he preached. The Papists forgot the canons of this sort, or wished them to be abolished or surely effaced by their examples, seeing that Sixtus IV put the boy John, the son of Ferdinand, the king of Naples, at the head of the church in Tarentia; Innocent VIII made Leo X, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, a cardinal at the age of thirteen.<sup>16</sup>

2. From the diverse computations of ages for preparation for and exercise of the ministry, and on inspection, this anagoge also arises: no one should be admitted care-

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<sup>15</sup>CIC, Decretum, Distinctio 78, Canons 1, 2, 4.

<sup>16</sup>See Daniel MacGuire, "Age (Canon Law)," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Mc Graw-Hill, 1967), I, 197-98.

lessly by leap [per saltum] into any of the superior grades. Nazianzen, in his [Oration] in Praise of Basil, wishes the nautical law to be observed, which first hands over the oars to the helmsman, and then makes him a lookout. And likewise, the military law, which first appoints the soldier, then the centurion, then the general. A little later, [he says]:

Although no one obtains the name of physician or painter until he has considered the nature of diseases, or mixed many colors, and depicted many forms with the brush, a bishop, on the other hand, is easily created, with no effort, but immediately advanced to the fourth rank as soon as he is born, as the poets made giants. One day, we shall make saints, and shall bid them be wise and learned, although they have studied not at all, and have brought to the priesthood nothing but willingness.

plattomen authēmeron tous hagiois. kai sophous einai keleuomen tous ouden sophisthentas, oude tou bathmou proseisenenkentas ti, plē tou boulesthai.<sup>17</sup>

On the advice of Cyprian, [see] 4.2, on [the advice of] Aurelius, [see] Epistle 5, 2.<sup>18</sup>

It is also noteworthy that the aged are granted an exemption and release at the age of fifty, so that they may, nevertheless, be leaders in authority, learning, and counsel, as magistrates and leaders of the younger men. For the

<sup>17</sup>Gregory of Nazianzen, Oratio XLIII in Laudem Basilii Magni, PG 36.531-34.

<sup>18</sup>Cyprian, Liber ad Demetrianum, 4, PL 4.566-67; Marcus Aurelius, Letter to Fronto, 2, C. R. Haines, The Correspondance of Marcus Cornelius Fronto (London: William Heinemann, 1919), I, 51.

privilege was given to those who were fifty years old or older to retire from the exercise of the sacred ministry, so that they could oversee the others who were bound to serve in the tent of meeting. For since that type of laborious duty requires bodily strength, the old men who were already growing feeble or weak were given a timely dismissal, lest some part of the sacred ministry be neglected because of the infirmity of age, as was mentioned above from Theodoret. For bodily strength begins to decrease at about the age of fifty.

This anagoge may be drawn:

1. Those who apply themselves eagerly should not be pushed beyond the average, nor should more be demanded than they are obviously capable of.

2. Old men should not be removed at once, but put in positions of supervision over the younger. There are uncouth and inhuman people today who throw old men right off the bridge, and on account of some weakness, often hastily take away dignity, and nearly [take away] life from deserving men.

But enough about the age of the Levites and musicians for taking up the ministry and putting it down.

There follows [a discussion of] the size of the choir, and the fixed number of musicians.

## Chapter III

On the number of the musicians.

A substantial number of Davidic musicians is numbered and reckoned in the catalogue and thorough enumeration of the Levites (I Chronicles 23).

The number of the Levites, by families, was 38, 000. They are divided thus:

Those who were in charge of the work of the house of Jehovah	24, 000
Officers and Judges	6, 000
Gatekeepers	4, 000
Those who praised Jehovah with instruments	<u>4, 000</u>
	38, 000

To this complete catalogue of the Levites is added also the choir of musicians, of whom there were 4, 000, numbering 288 masters with their pupils. In this regard see I Chronicles 25:7 according to the division of Tremellius:<sup>19</sup>

The number of them along with their brethren, who were trained in singing to the LORD, all who were skillful, was two hundred and eighty-eight.

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<sup>19</sup> Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Julielmus Janssonius Caesius, 1578). The verse divisions in the Bible were an innovation of the sixteenth century.



The twenty-four orders of this huge choir greatly embellished and girded its orderliness [eutaxian]; the choice of these was left to God by the casting of lots, for both small and great, teachers and pupils, as is recounted, not only in I Chronicles 25[:8], but also mentioned in Nehemiah 12:9.

Furthermore, it is reported in the book of Ezra 2:41 that at the restoration of the Temple, when the people had returned from Babylon:

the singers: the sons of Asaph [numbered]  
one hundred and twenty-eight.

In the same chapter of Ezra, verse 65, we read that there were two hundred singing-men and singing-women, whom the Levites had brought together, when a source of income had been established, to restore sacred music to use (which had been consigned to oblivion in the seventy years of captivity).

## Chapter IV

On the separate and varied duties of the musicians, divided by families and classes, and their exquisite zeal in the performance [of their duties] in order.

The duties of the musicians were produced by the function established for the Levites, which was threefold. First, we read of those who ministered to the priests (I Chronicles 23:24); second, the musicians (I Chronicles 25); third, the gatekeepers (I Chronicles 26).

The distinction between the duties of the various musicians, [which was] sedulously observed, is faithfully preserved, both here and there in the Bible, and in I Chronicles 6, 15, 16, 25, etc.

For the singers whom David established for the ministry of music in the house of Jehovah, where the Ark rested, are recalled in I Chronicles 6: of the sons of Cora, of the line of the Kohathites, Heman the musician; of the line of Gershon, Asaph, who stood at the right side of the Ark (verse 39); of the line of Merari, Ethan (who, with Jeduthun, is mentioned in [I Chronicles] 9:16, and in various places), who stood at the left side [of the Ark] (verse 44). Here there is a clear indication, not only of the distinct place assigned to each man, and [of] the way

in which their duties varied among them, but also [of] the origin of the family or tribe by which the musicians were related to one another.

For the genealogy in I Chronicles 6 and Numbers 4:17 demonstrates that the Levites and the singers were descended from the tribe of Levi. For Levi had three sons: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Rabanus unfolds a mystery and an allegory involved in these names, for "gērāōn" means "stranger," "qāhāt" means "patience" or "molars," "mērārî" means "something bitter" or "bitterness."

Surely, anyone who is properly devoted to the divine ministry and sacred duty perceives that he is a wandering and traveling stranger in this world, and, being devoted to seeking patience, he endeavors to grind and reduce the sacred oracles with the tooth of discretion, in speech and song, according to the quality of the material and [of] the listeners. And indeed, attesting that the world grows bitter for him, he does not hesitate to call others back and draw them away from the pleasures of the world.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, in I Chronicles 15, for the moving of the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom into the tent pitched in his city, David

...commanded the chiefs of the Levites to appoint their brethren as singers who should play loudly on musical instruments, on harps and lyres and cymbals, to raise sounds of joy.

(verse 16)

So the Levites appointed Heman, the son of Joel; and of his brethren Asaph the son

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<sup>20</sup>Rabanus Maurus, Enarrationes in Librum Numerorum 1.5, PL 108.608.

of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari,  
their brethren, Ethan the son of Kushaiah.

(verse 17)

Later, at the solemnity of moving the Ark, the instrumentalists fulfilled their various duties carefully, singing and playing together a mixed ode (Habakuk 3:1; Psalm 7:10, composed, not in just one meter or another, but in various [meters] intermingled. This is called an "erratic ode" by the Hebrews, that is, a manifold [ode], which is sung to all the types of music at once. Tullius uses the Greek word synodiam.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan played bronze cymbals, that is, they practiced diatonic [diatonon] music (I Chronicles 15:19). And their relatives of the second rank, Zechariah, Aziel, Shemiramoth, Jehiel, Unni, Eliab, Maaseiah, and Benaiah, [played] high-pitched harps (in Hebrew, virginal [virgineis] [harps], as the virginal [partheneia] type of music is called by the Dorians) (verse 20), or, as the average musician says, alto and soprano harps, or, as the ancients called them, high-sounding [harps], synemmenis, diazeugmenis, and hyperboleis. These sounds are best performed by the voices of virgins. Moreover, these are generally placed in the second genus of music, that is, the chromatic.

And Mattathiah, Elipheleh, Mikenaiyah, Obed-Edom, and

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<sup>21</sup>No work cited.

Azariah were present with low-pitched lyres (Hebrew, "eighth," which musicians call diapason) (verse 21), that is, as they are commonly called, bass and tenor, or as the ancients said, hypatis and mesis, that is, low-pitched and medium-pitched. Songs of this type are usually placed in the third genus of music, that is, the harmonic.

When the Ark of Jehovah had been moved, David again appointed certain of the Levites to minister, both in preaching and in celebrating and praising Jehovah, the God of Israel (I Chronicles 16:4), Asaph the chief, playing cymbals, and his relatives of the second rank with harps and lyres (verse 5). And on this day, David first handed over to Asaph and his kinsmen Psalm 105, in celebration of Jehovah (verse 7).

So David left Asaph and his brethren there before the Ark of the Covenant.

(verse 37).

With them were Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest of those chosen and expressly named to give thanks to the LORD, for his steadfast loves endures for ever.

(verse 41). He left in their charge Heman and Jeduthun, [who]

...had trumpets and cymbals for the music and instruments of sacred song.

(verse 42). And it may be seen in the chapter entitled "The Trumpet," how the trumpets were to be played by the priests alone, according to I Chronicles 15:24 and 16:16, II Chronicles 5, 7, etc., [and] Numbers 10.

David and the chiefs of the service also set apart for the service certain of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals...

that is, should sing sacred songs (I Chronicles 25:1).

The duty of those who were organized in the first class of musicians, with Asaph as the supreme head of their families, was to prophesy under the direction of the king (verse 2), that is, to sing prophetic and didactic songs which had been written by David and accepted into the church.

[The duty] of those who were under Jeduthun [was] to prophesy with

...the lyre, in thanksgiving and praise to the LORD.

(verse 3), or to commemorate their past deliverances, as in Psalms 39 and 77, or generally, to proclaim the praise of God.

[The duty] of those who were under Heman, the king's seer in the word of God, [was] to prophesy in the words of God by lifting up the horn (verse 4 [recte, verse 5]), that is, [to sing] sacred hymns pertaining to either the strength or the greatness of the king. This is generally expressed in the sacred books by [the phrase] "to lift up the horn."

Having recounted how David ordered the choir, with distinct and fixed duties for the musicians, we should recall the care exercised by Solomon for the order of the

choir, and [the care] of other pious kings and leaders, and the faithfulness they required of the musicians.

And when Solomon was placing the Ark of Zion in the entrance to the Temple [which he had] built,

...all the Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, with cymbals, harps, and lyres, stood east of the altar with a hundred and twenty priests who were trumpeters; and it was the duty of the trumpeters and singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the LORD, and when this song was raised, with trumpets and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise of the LORD, "For he is good, for his steadfast love endures for ever," the house, the house of the LORD was filled with a cloud, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the LORD filled the house of God.

(II Chronicles 5:12-14).

O DIVINE MUSIC, most pleasing to God, which moves God himself, and brings him from heaven into the sanctuary, that he may give a visible sign of his presence!

Later, when Solomon was consecrating the house of God,

the priests stood at their posts; the Levites also with the instruments for music to the LORD which King David had made for giving thanks to the LORD--for his steadfast love endures for ever,

[singing] the hymn of David (Psa. 136) which had been handed over to them,

opposite them the priests sounded trumpets, and all Israel stood.

(II Chronicles 7:6).

And when the annual celebration of feasts had at last been ordained, Solomon also decreed, according to his father

David's plan, the distribution of the priests in the ministry, and of the Levites in [their] charge, to praise and minister before the priests (II Chronicles 8:26, in the division of Tremellius).<sup>22</sup>

And Jehoshaphat did not despise Jahaziel, the Levite of the line of Asaph, when he predicted victory against the Moabites, [inspired by] the spirit of the Lord, [a victory] aided to no small degree by the choir of musicians (II Chronicles 20:14, etc.).

And the Levites, of the Kohathites and the Korahites, stood up to praise the LORD, the God of Israel, with a very loud voice.

(verse 9). And Jehoshaphat

...appointed those who were to sing to the LORD and praise him in holy array, as they went before the army, and say, "Give thanks to the LORD, for his steadfast love endures for ever."

(verse 21).

And when they began to sing and praise, the LORD set an ambush against the men of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, who had come against Judah, so that they were routed.

(verse 22).

And when Jehoshaphat and his people had taken the spoils for three days, on the fourth day, they gathered in the Valley of Blessing, from which they had returned to Jerusalem, with harps and lyres and trumpets, to the house of the LORD.

(verses 22-27 [paraphrased]).

O DIVINE MUSIC, most pleasing to God, which brings

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<sup>22</sup>See Section IV, footnote 19.



God from heaven to the camp and the battlefield, that he might marvelously show himself, terrifying to the enemy, a victorious and glorious leader to his people!

After this, Hezekiah, returning to the worship of God, also restored the Levites in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, with harps, and with lyres (I Chronicles 23), according to the precept of David and of Gad, the king's seer, and of Nathan the prophet; for this had been commanded by the Lord through his prophets.

The Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets. Then Hezekiah commanded that the burnt offering be offered on the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song to the LORD began also, accompanied by the instruments of David king of Israel. The whole assembly worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpets sounded: all this continued until the burnt offering was finished. When the offering was finished, the king and all who were present with him bowed themselves and worshipped. And Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises to the LORD with the words of David and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed down and worshipped.

(II Chronicles 29:25 and following).

O DIVINE MUSIC, which kings and princes deigned to add to divine worship, with holy veneration, in humble and suppliant abasement!

Finally, at the great Passover of Josiah, to which no [Passover] since Samuel's day could be compared, the singers, the descendants of Asaph, whose turn it was when this Passover was celebrated,

...were in their place according to the command of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun, the king's seer.

(II Chronicles 35:15). Therefore, even Jeremiah lamented Josiah, the patron of music,

...and all the singing men and singing women have spoken of Josiah in their laments to this day. They made these an ordinance in Israel; behold, they are written in the Laments.

[II Chronicles 35:25].

After the return from Babylon, the work of the Levite singers was not lacking at the rebuilding of the Temple.

And when the builders laid the foundations of the temple of the LORD, the priests in their vestments came forward with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the LORD, according to the directions of David king of Israel... so that the people could not distinguish the sound of the joyful shout from the sound of the people's weeping, for the people shouted with a great shout, and the sound was heard afar.

(Ezra 3:10, etc.).

And at the restoration of the city of Jerusalem by Nehemiah,

...at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem they sought the Levites in all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem to celebrate the dedication with gladness, with thanksgiving, and with singing, with cymbals, harps, and lyres. And the sons of the singers gathered together from the circuit round Jerusalem and from the villages

and from the fields. Nehemiah said:

And I appointed two great companies which gave thanks and went in procession. One

went to the right upon the wall to the Dung Gate; and after them went Hoshaiah and half of the princes of Judah and the priests with trumpets. Zechariah from the sons of Asaph, and his kinsmen, with the instruments of David the man of God; and Erza the scribe went before them. The other company of those who gave thanks went to the left, and I followed them

said Nehemiah,

with half of the people, upon the wall, above the Tower of the Ovens, to the Broad Wall....So both companies of those who gave thanks stood in the house of God, and I and half of the officials with me; and the priests....And the singers sang with [Jezeriah] their leader...

(For brevity's sake, we refer the reader to the passage cited for the proper names) (Nehemiah 12:27, etc.).

Here even Nehemiah decrees the observance of the musicians according to the command of David and Solomon,

For in the days of David and Asaph of old there was a chief of the singers, and there were songs of praise and thanksgiving to God.

(verse 46).

O DIVINE MUSIC, used for the well-being of church and state, praising God at the dedication of the Temple and the walls!

Enough about the functions of the singers, individually established and set up. It remains to relate how honorably they were maintained and clothed.

## Chapter V

On the food and clothing of the singers.

Formerly, the pious authorities did not cheat the faithful students of choral music out of honor, reward, and adornment. They, as well as the rest of the Levites, received wages and tithes for their ministry (Numbers 18:26), and they were allowed to eat from [the tithes] (Numbers 18:31; Deuteronomy 18:8).

And it is agreed that not only after the times of Moses and Joshua were the large choirs decently and generously maintained by David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah; but even in the more difficult times of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, all the Israelites set aside portions for the singers, and daily allowances for each one (Nehemiah 10:40, 12:47 and 44):

On that day men were appointed over the chambers for the stores, the contributions, the first fruits, and the tithes, to gather into them the portions required by the law for the priests and for the Levites according to the fields of the towns...

For it was a joy to the Jews to establish the priests and Levites, who would henceforth remain in their ministry, and not wander through the fields as before. Thus Nehemiah, in a pious vow, proclaims his care and solicitude in gathering and supporting the singers (Nehemiah 13:10, and following):

I also found out that the portions of the Levites had not been given to them; so that the Levites and the singers, who did the work, had fled each to his own field. So I remonstrated with the officials and said, "Why is the house of God forsaken?" And I gathered them together and set them in their stations. Then all Judah brought the tithe of grain, wine, and oil into the storehouses. And I appointed as treasurers over the storehouses Shelemiah the priest, Zadok the scribe, and Pedaiah of the Levites, etc. For they were counted faithful; and their duty was to distribute to their brethren. Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God and for his service.

Listen now, I pray you, with attentive ears and willing hearts, and you who sit in judgement, consider the reward due to the musicians for their duties. And whoever among you withdraw or diminish or deny or take away the wages from musicians, so that they have nothing to live on (an act which is unworthy of the generosity of Nehemiah), [consider] how iniquitously and inhumanly you are most certainly drawing to yourselves an unfriendly remembrance from God, and weighty retribution, the ruin of your salvation, and the everlasting destruction of your souls.

Let him who is taught the word share all good things with him who teaches. Do not be deceived; God is not mocked.

(Galatians 6:6-7).

A few further remarks about the dress of the musicians: the singers were adorned with sacred vestments. They were dressed in cotton tunics, which distinguished them from the priests, who wore linen.

And all the Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, their sons and kinsmen, arrayed in fine linen, with cymbals, harps and lyres, stood east of the altar...

(II Chronicles 5:12).

And Josephus adds in book eight, that Solomon made 200, 000 cotton robes for the Levites who sang hymns, and in book twenty, that he procured for them, instead of the cotton robes, priestly robes of linen, at the time of Agrippa king of Judah. He says:

Those who were hymn-singers in the tribe persuaded the king to convene the council and to grant them linen robes just like the ones allowed the priests. The king, following the advice of those who were in his council, allowed them to put aside their old vestments, and to dress in linen. <sup>23</sup>

There has been sufficient discussion of and attention to the choir assembled in the Old Testament, and to the students of singing.

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<sup>23</sup> Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae 8.3; 20.9.

## Chapter VI

On the titles prefixed to many psalms, which seem to have indicated the general manner of performing the music.

Now, in regard to the titles prefixed to the psalms, we know that many of the Hebrew psalm-titles (which Jerome correctly calls keys to the psalms)<sup>24</sup> prefix the same word to the psalms: "lamēnasēah." Various interpretations of this [word] indicate either "end" [finem] or "form" [formam], or the principal aid to vocal and instrumental psalmody. "Nāsah" means either "to conquer" or "to finish" or "to continue." Thus in the Septuagint, "lamnazeach" is rendered "eis telos," "to the end," which Jerome explains allegorically in regard to Christ, who is the end of the Law, and the guardian and anchor of the faithful in adversity.<sup>25</sup> It is explained by Capnio as "in invitation,"<sup>26</sup> by others, "in continuation" or "to be sung continually and perpetually." Such a song is commended by this name to the master of concerted or choral music, to run continually the course of the psalms in the practice of piety and the exercise of

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<sup>24</sup>Jerome, Breviarium in Psalmos, Prologus, PL 26.871-72.

<sup>25</sup>ibid., Psalmum IV, PL 26.877.

<sup>26</sup>Johann Reuchlin (Capnio), no work cited.

religion: [this song] depends on the preceding [psalms] as if attached to them by the continuous succession of the doctrine of the highest good. By others [it is translated] "to victory" or "to conquer," by others, "to triumph," that is [to triumph] by prayers, which are the weapons of the church, by which it wins the victory. The Chaldean [paraphrast] [says]: "to praise,"<sup>27</sup> Luther, "to be sung before" or "to the precentor." Jerome [says]: "to the victor," that is, to the leader in the art of singing. The rabbis say, "to the one in charge of the singers," at whose orders the psalms were performed by singers and players.<sup>28</sup>

For just as those placed in authority over the bearers and carvers (II Chronicles 2[:2]; I Chronicles 23[:28]) appointed from the Levites [men] to carry forward the work of the house of the Lord, in order that those things pertaining to the worship of God, as prescribed by the Law, might be carried out at once and without ceasing; [these] are called and named menatzechim, so in the titles of the psalms, according to a fitting interpretation, the word is taken to mean the leader of choral music among the Levites, who was in authority over the rest, [who] precented, and [who] was in charge of work [ergodiōktēs], the Kappelmeister.

Hilary and Basil taught, in the prologue to the psalms,

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<sup>27</sup> See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

<sup>28</sup> For the traditional rabbinical exegesis, see Alfred Sendrey, Music in Ancient Israel (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), pp. 114-18.



how a psalm, psalm-song, and song-psalm were to be performed with voices and instruments, and what the musical differences [were], (see above), and [Hilary] adds:

Headings corresponding to these four types of the art of music are fitted to each psalm.<sup>29</sup>

All the psalms with the word "lamnazeach" in their titles have the prefix "in finem" in the Vulgate; in the German, "Vorzusingen." There are fifty-three of these.

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<sup>29</sup>Hilary, Prologus in Liber Psalmorum, PL 9.244.

## Chapter VII

On the various types of instruments which are elicited from the inscriptions to the psalms.

Now, finally, [I shall say a few words] about musical instruments, not a few of which are named in the titles of the psalms, and a good many of which are mentioned in the psalms themselves.

"Neginoth" indicates a musical instrument struck with the hand, or singing and striking (Psalm 69:13 [recte 69:12]):

...the drunkards make songs about me...

from "nagān," (like "ascensions" above, so "abominations" [in] Psalm 86[:14]), which means "to sing," "to make music," and "to strike an instrument with the hand" (I Samuel 16:16; II Kings 3:15). In exactly this way, "šār" means "to sing with the mouth." Vocal and instrumental musicians are joined in Psalm 68:26 [recte 68:25]:

šarîm ōahar, nogēnîm

that is,

the singers in front, the minstrels last...<sup>30</sup>

(Pagninus). But Luther translates this as "Spielleute."

Thus the word used in the title indicates that this

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<sup>30</sup> Santi Pagnino, trans., Biblia Hebraica eorundem Latina Interpretatio (Antwerp: Plantin, 1584), Ps. 68.

psalm was not only sung by voices, but was also played on musical instruments. Likewise, [it indicates] that this song was handed over to the leader of the minstrels for him to play on a stringed instrument. The interpreters [of this passage] are in agreement with each other and with Master Luther, that this word signifies instrumental music, or varied and pleasing melodies. The Septuagint translates it as: "en humnois," Saint Jerome, "in canticis."

But whether "neginah" (Schindler renders it "symphonia," like the Arabic)<sup>31</sup> are concerted [symphoniaca] instruments which are touched [psēlaphēta] or struck [krousa], which are only struck with the hand, or whether they are wind instruments [pneumatika], which give forth sound through tubes by the drawing of breath or air, cannot be said for certain, and it is useless to quarrel with anyone over it. [This word] is prefixed to Psalms 4, 16, [and] 53.

"Neginoth ʿal-haššēminî" ("on the octave"), which is added in the superscriptions to Psalms 6 and 12 (according to the Latin [numbering], 11), is described in various ways. Tremellius renders it: "for a low-pitched instrument,"<sup>32</sup> Arnobius understands it [to mean]: "for the eighth day of the week," which is the Lord's day, since on that festive

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<sup>31</sup>Valentin Schindler, Lexikon Pentaglotton (Hanover: Joannes Iacobus Hennaenus, 1612), cols. 1068-69.

<sup>32</sup>Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Ianssonius Caesius, 1578), Pss. 6, 12.

<sup>33</sup>Arnobius, Commentarium in Psalmum VI, PL 53.532.

day, more than the rest, men are to be stirred to repentance, etc., by such psalms.

"Scheminith," "the eighth," is a feminine number, and as Vatable would have it, indicates a melody and a certain type of tone which was the eighth tone in the order distinguished by musicians.<sup>34</sup> Thus it was to be sung by the chief musician in a very penetrating and clear voice. There is no lack of those who say that this word indicates the beginning of a certain other song to whose melody the psalm was to be adapted. The fathers interpret it allegorically, in reference to the day of the Last Judgement, which will take place after the completion of seven thousand years, at the beginning of the eighth millennium, which will put an end to the cycle of seven days and weeks.<sup>35</sup> To others, however, it is the harp, which is eighth in the order of instruments used on solemn occasions, or the eight-stringed plucked instrument [oktochordon], which the Chaldean paraphrast in Psalm 6 renders, "kinnārā' ditemanyā' nîmanyā' , "the eight-stringed harp."<sup>36</sup> Mention is made in Psalms 33:3 and 92:3 of the ten-stringed instrument, psaltery, and harps, of which [I shall speak] in its proper place.

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<sup>34</sup>Franciscus Vatablus, ed., Biblia Sacra (Heidelberg: ex officina Commeliniana, 1599), Ps. VI (p. 73).

<sup>35</sup>Jerome, Breviarium in Psalmos, PL 26.882; Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum VI, PL 36.90.

<sup>36</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

"Nechiloth" (in the inscription of Psalm 5: "to the victor Del hannēhîlôṭ," "on nechiloth"), although it has various meanings, nevertheless contains the designation of a musical instrument. For Wolder interprets it as "hannechiloth," that is, "hollow instruments and wind instruments," which make a humming sound when blown into.<sup>37</sup> They were invented to gather together and to call together the heritage of God, the church. The Septuagint renders it: "huper tēs klēromousēs," "for the one who obtains the inheritance;" Jerome and Luther understand "per hereditates" or "pro hereditatibus" to mean the church, gathered to Christ from the Jews and the Gentiles, derived from "nāhal," "he inherited" (Psalm 2[:8]). The Targum translates, "super choros," that is, "to be sung in choirs [choris] or at dances [tripudiis]." Tremellius translates, "to the master of the minstrels, with wind instruments."<sup>38</sup>

Rabbi David says that nechiloth were musical instruments of the type that were carved or hollowed out, such as the priests' trumpets and the Levites' horns. This type of instrument, which emits a sound when blown into, is called "pneumatic." The Hebrews derive this from "nehîl," which is the buzzing of bees, because the sound resembles the buzzing of bees. Rab[bi] Sal[omon] explains [this as],

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<sup>37</sup> Source unknown.

<sup>38</sup> Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Iansonius Caesius, 1578), Psalm 53.

"of the army," for this is what the swarm of bees is called. And [in] Psalm 18:5, [it means] "the army of the impious," for the singer in this song spoke against the armies of the enemy, who were besieging the Israelites with great numbers, like bees.<sup>39</sup>

"Machalath" (in the title of Psalm 53, according to the Latin, 52), "to the choirmaster (al mahālat, according to machalath." The Chaldean translates: "to praise on the choirs."<sup>40</sup> "Machalath" seems to be the same as "mahôl" and "mehôlāh," which signifies dancing [chorea et tripudium]. [See] Lamentations 5:15

Our dancing (mehôlānû) has been turned to mourning.

[This is derived] from the root "hwl," as Rabbi Jonah believes.<sup>41</sup> Schindler [translates]: "he played on wind instruments,"<sup>42</sup> whence [comes] the German "Hol," and conversely, "Loch," an instrument with holes, or "halal," as Kimhi would have it,<sup>43</sup> which means "to dance," "to lead a dance or dances," whence [comes] "mahôl," "dancing," in the plural, "mehôlôt." Tremellius renders this: "for a wind

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<sup>39</sup>The source of these rabbinic authorities is unknown.

<sup>40</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

<sup>41</sup>Source unknown.

<sup>42</sup>Valentin Schindler, Lexicon Pentaglotton (Hannover: Ioannes Iacobus Hennaeus, 1612), col. 1572.

<sup>43</sup>No work cited.

instrument."<sup>44</sup> And "machalath" is the name of a musical instrument which was used in performing psalms for spiritual exultation and joy. The Septuagint seems to have been in agreement with the Chaldean,<sup>45</sup> having retained the name "maeleth." The Latin codex, by metathesis, reads "amaleth," whereby, through the ineptitude of the scribes, [the form] "amalech" crept in. Likewise, "machalath" is preserved in the superscription to Psalm 88 (according to the Latin, 87): "(al mahalat lēcanot."

Just as words mean one thing at one time, another thing at another, so do the interpreters variously explain these two words. Luther [translates it]: "on the infirmity of the afflicted," since in this prayer, a suppliant, severely afflicted with an ailment of soul or body, implores divine aid.<sup>46</sup> For "conî" is "affliction." The Septuagint translates: "huper maeleth tou apokrithēnai," "for maeleth, to respond," the last being expressed by the word of responding, since "(ānāh" means "to respond" and "to hearken." Again, [the Septuagint] retained the previous word "maeleth," as if it were the name of a musical instrument, or of some particular thing. Others translate: "for the choir, for exul-

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<sup>44</sup>Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Iansonius Caesius, 1578), Psalm 5.

<sup>45</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

<sup>46</sup>Martin Luther, Scholae in Psalmum LXXXVII, in D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. by Gustav Kawerau (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1886), IV, 35-36.

tation. For "anot" is the voice of singers, merrymakers, and dancers (Exodus 32:18). A good many consider it to be a musical instrument. The Chaldean [says]: "according to the prayer, for praise."<sup>47</sup>

"Gittith," which is prefixed to the titles of Psalms 8, 81 (Latin 80), and 84 (Latin 83), [means] "to the choir-master" or "to be continued." "al haggittit" [means]: "according to haggithith." The Septuagint translates, "huper tōn lenōn," "for the winepress." For "gat" is a press in which the wine is squeezed out of the grapes. Some interpret this spiritually, as the evangelical ministry of Christ in the New Testament, who treads [out the grapes] (Isaiah 63[:3]), by whose grace the vines bear fruit.

It is thought that other psalms are so inscribed because they were intended to be sung in God's honor at the time of the grape harvest. Properly, moreover, the sequence [sunecheia] and succession of the psalms demands that, since the poem of Psalm 79 dealt with the vine, Psalm 80 should be dedicated to the winepress in which the fruits are separated.

Tremellius [says]: "to the choirmaster, at the (station) of Gittith. He believes that these three psalms which bear the same inscription were written and sung around the Ark when it was carried to Zion on the Gitthean road, with the implication of a delay for a commemoration or an observance,

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<sup>47</sup> See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.



or something else of this sort. Tremellius says:

There are, in total, three psalms with this inscription: eight, eighty-one, and eighty-four, all of which seem to have been written by David when he intended to move the Ark of God from Kirath-Jearim to Zion, and caused it to be set down at Obed-Edom, moved by the transgression of Uzzah. And he took occasion from the preceding events to write [these psalms]. For he sang the eighth Psalm, I believe, when he brought the Ark from the city in the forest to the house of Obed-Edom. Likewise, the eighty-first, when God bore witness to his glory and to the severity of his judgements, by striking down Uzzah, to urge the people to their religious duty. And the eighty-fourth Psalm [was written] when the Ark was finally to be carried to Zion.<sup>48</sup>

Others, with the Chaldean interpreter and Luther, consider it to be a musical instrument which was invented in the town of Gath, from which it bore its name and origin, such as "harp of Gath."<sup>49</sup>

And these are the musical instruments of David, and it will be pleasing to the devout singer to observe them in the titles, as they are variously interpreted.

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<sup>48</sup> Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Biblia Sacra (Amsterdam: Gulielmus Iansonius Caesius, 1578), marginal gloss on Psalm 8.

<sup>49</sup> See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

## Chapter VIII

On the various instruments in the psalms and in other sacred writings, and first of all, about the organum.

There follows [a discussion of] other things derived from the psalms themselves and from other sacred writings, defined by certain writers both literally and mystically.

The instruments included in David's choir, and later in Solomon's, which were commented on above from Chronicles, are also recalled by David, especially in the following psalms: Psalm 33[:2]:

Praise the LORD with the lyre,  
make melody to him with the harp  
of ten strings.

Psalm 81[:2] (according to the Latin, 80):

Raise a song, sound the timbrel,  
the sweet lyre with the harp.

Again, Psalm 92[:1,3] (according to the Latin, 91):

It is good to give thanks to the LORD...  
to the music of the lute and harp,  
to the melody of the lyre.

Psalm 98[:5-6] (according to the Latin, 97):

Sing praises to the LORD with the lyre,  
with the lyre and the sound of melody!  
With trumpets and the sound of the horn...

And Psalm 147:7 (according to the Latin, 146):

...make melody to our God upon the lyre.

Psalm 149[:2-3]:

Let them praise his name with dancing,  
making melody to him with timbrel and lyre.

Psalm 150[:3-5]:

Praise him with trumpet sound;  
praise him with lute and harp!  
Praise him with timbrel and dance;  
praise him with strings and pipe!  
Praise him with sounding cymbals;  
praise him with loud clashing cymbals!

One can hardly know what types of instruments were invented by the illustrious David, the prophet of God, and borrowed by others, except what their names indicate and suggest, and what the writers of antiquity hint at in some descriptions.

The organum, since it is extraordinary [kat' exochēn], on account of its superiority deserves the general name, and so obtains the highest place among instruments.

It is simply called "ugāb" and "ūgāb" (Genesis 4:21; Job 30:31; Psalm 150[:5], etc.), from "agāb," "to love," for by its sound it excites ardent emotions and loves, called "agābîm." Thus the Targum renders "agābîm" [as] "canticum organorum" (Ezekiel 33[:32]). Others wish it to be called "halîl," derived from "hōl" or "hālal," "he led the choir" or "he sang." In this regard, see above under "machalath." Thus, an instrument in the service of the choir and of joy is called "hālîl," "pipe;" this, however, is called "cornamusa" by Rab[bi] Sal[omon], because it is concave<sup>50</sup> (for "hālîl" is the same as "hōlēl," "let it de-

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<sup>50</sup> Source unknown.

part" or "hālāl," "to wound," "to kill," or "to carve and empty out.") [See] Isaiaħ 5:12 and 30:29, where some translate [using] the word "organ."

Following Josephus, Antiquities, chapter seven, some believe that the organs built by David were different from ours, which are now commonly used in church. For the former were plucked with a plectrum; ours are blown by bellows and produce sound and harmony from pipes of various lengths, blown by bellows through many channels. But Josephus, saying in this passage, "...diversa faciens organa, etc.," seems first of all to use the word "organum" for any musical instrument.<sup>51</sup> Augustine is of the same opinion, calling all musical instruments, especially the better ones, "organs"<sup>52</sup> (Polydorus, 1.5).<sup>53</sup> Then it is written by Josephus, that David taught diverse organs, not the same, that is, but different, so that the Levites could compose hymns to God according to [the various instruments], for the Sabbath days and other solemnities. Finally, Josephus, in the same passage, adds other types of instruments, which will soon be described.

It is credible that the word "organ," although it may be a general term for all the various musical instruments, was even then used specifically for the [instrument] which

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<sup>51</sup> Josephus Antiquitates Iudaicae 7.7.

<sup>52</sup> Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum CL, PL 37.1964.

<sup>53</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 1.5.

uses bellows, has wooden or tin pipes blown by air, and on which music is made by touching keys. Thus "organs" are defined: [instruments] which receive air under pressure from bellows swollen with wind; this is admitted into the closed confines of the pipe, according to the discretion of the master who plays it, and then sound is produced. In ancient times (as Jerome says) two elephant skins were joined to a hollow [vessel], and it produced such a sound from fifteen pipes and twelve ingeniously made bellows, that the noise resounded like thunder from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives.<sup>54</sup>

More will be said in the peoper place below (chapter XIV) about the church organs of our time.

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<sup>54</sup>Jerome, Epistola ad Dardanum, PL 30.213; this letter is now regarded as spurious.

## Chapter IX

On the lyre and stringed instruments; on the harp and cymbals, and on the harp of ten strings.

The harp, kinnôr, has both masculine and feminine [forms] in the plural: kinnôrîm and kinnôrôt. On account of its harplike shape, the Sea of Galilee (which is also called the Sea of Tiberias, and the Lake of Genessareth) is called "Iam-Ginesar" in the Chaldean paraphrase,<sup>55</sup> "Genesara" in Pliny 5.15,<sup>56</sup> and "Lacus Genesereticus" by Strabo, book sixteen.<sup>57</sup> It is believed that it is called "cinnoreth" from "cinnor," that is, the Harp Sea, das Harfenmeer (Numbers 34[:11]; Deuteronomy 3:17; Joshua 12:3). And the evangelical harp of Christ in the boat is well known (Luke 5[:1-11] and elsewhere). The joy of the faithful in church when the harp was played and the great sadness of the impious in Babylon when it ceased are indicated in Revelation 14[:2] [and] 18[:22].

We believe that the praise of God with stringed instruments, bĕminîm (Psalm 150:4) is derived from "mĕnî," a

<sup>55</sup>See Dedicatory Epistle, footnote 1.

<sup>56</sup>Pliny Historia Naturalis 5.15.

<sup>57</sup>Strabo Geographia 16.2.

Chaldee [word], from the son of Ashkenaz, following Berusun, whose descendants, according to the testimony of Rabbi Ben Ezra (Obadiah, chapter 1) possessed the land of Canaan until they were driven out by Joshua.<sup>58</sup> [Ashkenaz] was the father of the Tuisai, die Deutschen, ehnce it is believed that the Jews are called Ashkenazim, although [the word] is closer in sound to the [name] of the Saxons, or rather, the Ascanii. And, as the harp of Gath was named after Gittith (chapter VII above), so those called "Alemanni" use the minnim cithara, or lyre [testudo]. Jeremiah 51:27 [says]:

...blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations for war against her, summon against her the kingdoms, Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz.<sup>59</sup>

From this, we may see Luther, summoned against Babel, piping for Tetzal to dance, whereby Japhet comes to live in Shem's dwelling with his sons, Gomer, Ashkenaz, and Manni (Genesis 9[:18]). And if the passage is genuine, Jeremiah addressed these words to the enemies as agents of God's judgement to be carried out against Babylon through the Medes and the Persians, by Cyrus' army, in hope of restoring liberty to God's people. The prophet [Jeremiah 51:27] said:

Set up a standard on the earth, blow a trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations for war against her, summon against her the kingdoms Ararat (that is, Asia Minor), Minni (that is, Armenia Minor, whose name is composed of

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<sup>58</sup>The Biblical commentaries of Abraham ibn Ezra (1089-1164) appeared in many polyglot Bibles printed in the sixteenth century; Praetorius was probably using one of these.

<sup>59</sup>This passage is quoted in German.

"Aram" and its ancient appellation, "Minni," for Pliny asserts in Natural History 5.1<sup>60</sup> that Armenia was formerly included in Syria), and Ashkenaz (all those regions of both Armenias and Asia Minor are called "Ashkenaz" by synecdoche. All histories bear witness that they were previously occupied by Cyrus, when he invaded Babylon).

Rabbi David [Kimhi] explains [it] as a certain instrument among musical instruments,<sup>61</sup> some, as musical instruments of various types, R[abbi] Abrah[am], as many instruments which have the same music.<sup>62</sup>

"Nabulum" or "nabulum" [is derived from] "nebel," "to cut apart," whence [the word] "nabal," "wineskins," thus, "niblî sāmāyîm," "the wineskins of heaven," that is, the clouds cut up into wineskins. Jerome [translates]: "concentus coeli" (Job 38:37).

And the nabulum is that instrument of music which translators sometimes render as "psaltery," sometimes as "lyre." According to some [it is] the chorus, commonly called "cornamusa," which looks like a full wineskin. (I Samuel 10:5).

Cymbals, sesēlîm, [are named from] "sālal," "it made a jingling or rattling noise;" "sēlîl" [means] "sound" or "noise." For [cymbals] are two brass instruments (whence the dual form mesiltayyîm in I Chronicles 14:16, II Chronicles 5[:13], and elsewhere), which give forth a sound when

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<sup>60</sup>Pliny Historia Naturalis 5.12.

<sup>61</sup>David Kimhi, The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Psalms CXX-CL, ed. and trans. by Joshua Baker and Ernest W. Nicholson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 169.

<sup>62</sup>Source unknown.



struck together. The church is bidden to praise God (Psalm 150:5-6) bēsilsēlē sāmā, with sounding cymbals, that is, sonorous cymbals, bēsilsēlē tērūcāh, with cymbals of triumph, that is, high-sounding cymbals. Mēsîlôt (Zachariah 14:20), bells, which are hung from horses in mountainous regions, were previously said to have been kept in the treasury of the House of God, since henceforth they were to be used for holy purposes.

Josephus, in the place indicated, thus mentions and describes the instruments of this type used in the choir of David:

The types of instruments were the following: the cinnura or canora, the harp fitted with strings, which is stretched out and plucked with a plectrum. The nabla has a range of twelve tones and is plucked with the fingers. In addition to these, there were brass cymbals, quite large and wide.<sup>63</sup>

Sabellicus (Enneades 1.20) notes the same [instruments]:

David added to his hymns the harp of ten strings, the nabla with a range of twelve tones, [and] the brass cymbals, large and wide.<sup>64</sup>

Jerome, in his Letter to Dardanus on musical instruments, writes that, among the Hebrews, the harp had twenty-four strings, and was made in the shape of the letter delta.<sup>65</sup>

Polydore Vergil (De Rerum Inventoribus 1.15) cites the

<sup>63</sup>Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae 7.7.

<sup>64</sup>Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades 1.9, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Ioannes Hervagius, 1560), I, 185.

<sup>65</sup>Jerome, Epistola ad Dardanum, PL 30.214.

same from Josephus and Jerome.<sup>66</sup>

Even Augustine and Cassiodorus made some remarks on those instruments, but rather tangled in allegories.<sup>67</sup>

And indeed, Augustine comments as follows, wrapping his descriptions of the harp and psaltery, or ten-stringed [instrument] in allegories ([For the] eight-stringed instrument [oktochordon], see Psalm 6 above, under the title "Neginoth pro octava"):

A harp is a hollowed-out piece of wood, the frame hanging like a drum, to which strings are attached, resounding to the touch. I shall not describe the plectrum with which they are plucked, but I have [described] that hollow piece of wood on which they lie, resting in some manner, so that when [the strings] are touched, they tremble, and draw sound from that cavity, producing more sound. Thus, the harp has this [cavity] in the lower part, the psaltery, in the upper. This is the difference. We are bidden, then, to praise [God] on the harp, and to sing psalms to the ten-stringed psaltery. I did not say, "on the ten-stringed harp," nor [is this said] in the Psalm, or anywhere [else], if I am not mistaken.

A little later:

Remember that the harp draws its sound from the lower part, the psaltery, from the upper. From the lower life, that is, the earthly, we have prosperity and adversity, in order that we may praise God in both, that praise may be always on our lips, and that we may bless the Lord at all times. For there is some earthly prosperity, and some earthly adversity. In both, God is to be praised, in

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<sup>66</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 1.15.

<sup>67</sup> Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum XXXII, PL 36.280-82. Cassiodorus, Expositio in Psalmum XXXII, PL 70.225-26.

order that we may play on the harp. What is earthly prosperity? [The time] when we are in sound physical health, when all things which we need to live abound, when we are preserved in safety, when fruit comes forth abundantly, when he makes his sun rise on the just and the unjust. All these pertain to earthly life. Whoever, then, does not praise God, is ungrateful. But is it not true that, since these things are earthly, they are not of God? Or are we to believe that they are given by someone else because evil exists? For the mercy of God is great, patient, and long-suffering. Rather, it indicates what he desires for the good, since he has shown how many things he gives [even] to the bad. For adversity is from the lower part, or the frailty of human nature in sorrows, in misery, in afflictions, in tribulations, in temptations. In every place, let the one who plays the harp praise God. Let him pay no heed to lower things, which can be ruled and goverend only by that wisdom which attains boldly to the end, and disposes all things gently.

And in this manner, Augustine, in the same passage, adds the allegory of the psaltery, using the division of the Decalogue learned from his teachers. He says:

But now, when you turn your attention to the higher gifts of God, to the precepts he gave you in imbuing you with heavenly doctrine, and what he taught you, in addition, from that fountain of Truth, turn also to the psaltery, and sing to the Lord on the ten-stringed psaltery. For there are ten precepts of the Law; in the ten precepts of the Law, you have the psaltery. It is a perfect thing. There, you have the love of God in three [commandments], and the love of neighbor in seven. Moreover, you know, because the Lord has said it, that all the Law and the Prophets hang on these two precepts. God says to you from on high that "the Lord your God is one God." You have one string. "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain." You have the second string. "Keep the Sabbath day," not carnally, not with the luxuries of the Jews, who misuse their leisure time in idleness. Indeed, it would be better for them to dig the whole day than to dance the whole day.

But you, considering [your] rest in God, and doing all things on account of that rest, abstain from servile work. For everyone who sins is a slave to sin, and it would be better for him to be a slave of men, and not a slave of sin. These three [commandments] pertain to the love of God. Consider his unity, truth, and will, for there is a certain will in the Lord, where the true Sabbath is, the true rest. Thus it is said: "Delight in the Lord, and he will grant the requests of your heart." For who delights so much as he who made all things which give delight? In these three, the love of God is found, in the other seven, the love of neighbor, so that you may not do to another that which you do not wish done to yourself. "Honor your father and mother," because you wish to be honored by your own children. "You shall not commit adultery," because you do not wish your wife to commit adultery after you. "You shall not kill," because you do not wish to be killed. "You shall not steal," because you do not wish to be robbed. "You shall not bear false witness," because you hate a person who bears false witness against you. "You shall not covet your neighbor's wife," because you do not wish your own wife to be coveted by another. "You shall not covet anything which belongs to your neighbor," because you would be displeased if someone coveted anything of yours. Turn the saying against yourself when someone who does you harm displeases you. All these are the precepts of God, sounding from on high, given with the gift of wisdom. Touch the psaltery, fulfill the Law which the Lord your God came to fulfill, not to break. You shall fulfill it with love, because you cannot fulfill it with fear. For one who refrains from evil out of fear would prefer to do [evil] if he could. Thus, since the opportunity is not given, the will is restrained. "I do not do it," he said. "Why?" "Because I am afraid." Do you no longer love justice, are you still a slave? Be a son. But from a good slave, a good son is made. Meanwhile, do not act out of fear. You will learn, and by loving, you will not act [evilly].

Moreover, many of the instruments mentioned show at

one glance both a sacred use and [an] abuse; both of these may be considered in the discussion of the drum.

## Chapter X

On the drum, its use and abuse.

The drum, tôp, (plural, tuppîm and tâpap; "she strikes the drum, beats the drum" [in] Nahum 2:7,<sup>68</sup> "tôpêpôt," "the maidens playing timbrels" [in] Psalm 68:26 [recte 68:25]) is an instrument which is in one piece, flat, covered with a membrane, empty inside, and [which is] beaten with sticks or rods. From this [comes] "tympanizein," which in translation means the same as "to beat with sticks."

Hebrews 11:35:

alloi de etimpanisthēsan, ou prosdexamēnoi  
tēn apolutrōsin

Some were tortured, refusing to accept  
release.

There are some who prefer the translation: "they were split open" in regard to the persecution waged by Antiochus.

One may read here and there in the Bible that the drum, like other [objects] used on joyful occasions, had been used in many ways since ancient times. In bidding farewell, they dismissed their friends with drumbeats, so that no one's honest departure might be turned to the opprobrium of clan-

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<sup>68</sup> Nahum 2:7 in the RSV reads: "...her maidens lamenting... and beating their breasts."

destine flight. This was the objection levelled against Jacob by Laban:

Why did you flee secretly, and cheat me, and did not tell me, so that I might have sent you away with mirth and songs, with tambourine and lyre?

(Genesis 31:27).

And in rejoicing over a happy return, and a welcome arrival, they joyfully received both new guests and their own when they returned, with the drum. Thus Jephthah was met by his only daughter "with timbrels and with dances" when he returned victorious over the Ammonites (Judges 11:36 [recte 11:34]). Thus, when David, Saul, the people, and Saul's servants returned from some battle against the Philistines, the women from every town of Israel, and their choirs, came to meet them

with timbrels, with songs of joy, and with instruments of music,

singing in alternation the deeds of the heroes (I Samuel 18:6-7). And David and all the house of Israel gathered to bring in the Ark of the Covenant with solemn ceremonies, dancing for joy in the presence of Jehovah, with all sorts of instruments: castanets, harps, stringed instruments, timbrels, rattles, and cymbals (II Samuel 6:5; I Chronicles 14:8).

And those who received Holofernes carried before them a public sign of voluntary submission, acceptance, and subjection, and eagerness to curry favor "with garlands and dances and tambourines" (Judith 3:9).

Moreover, the drum does not seem to have been excluded from the instruments with which the ordinary musicians of David and Solomon celebrated the festive praises of God in the Temple, since drumbeats are called for here and there, to praise the beneficent deeds of God. Psalm 81:2

Raise a song, sound the timbrel,  
the sweet lyre with the harp.

Psalm 94:3 [recte 149:3]:

Let the sons of Zion...  
praise the name of the LORD in the dance,  
with timbrel and lyre.

Psalm 150[:4]:

Praise [the LORD] with timbrel and dance.

Thus Miriam, Aaron's sister, once joyfully celebrated the glorious defeat of Pharaoh, taking a timbrel in her hand, and after her all the women went out, with timbrels and pipes (Exodus 15:20). And in order to render acceptable to God through festivity the victory over Holofernes (who was killed by decapitation), Judith exhorted:

Begin a song to my God with tambourines...  
raise to him a new psalm.

(Judith 16:2).

And what of the fact that, in addition to the other instruments which had the power to excite the Spirit in the prophets (II Kings 3:15), the drum is specifically mentioned? (I Samuel 10:5). Here Samuel prophesies to Saul that a band of prophets would come down from the high place, that is, Gibha (which was destined to be the place of the synagogue and of the sacred assembly),



with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre  
before them, prophesying.

Furthermore, a certain devout joy and exultation to God is derived allegorically from that solemn use of the drum by the ancients, and is expressed by metonymy in the sound of the drum. There is a most elegant allegory connected with this (Psalm 68:25), which adds drummers to the other singers and instrumentalists:

The singers in front, the minstrels last,  
between them the maidens playing timbrels.

Here the psalm-writer names the leaders of the church choir, the prophets, who prophesied about Christ; the minstrels who followed, he calls evangelists and apostles, on account of the agreement among them, and in harmony with them; the maidens who were in the middle, playing timbrels, had not yet been tainted by the corruptions of the church, and are still the tender [shoots] which the Apostles planted throughout Samaria, Asia, and other lands, in various places.

By the same allegorical allusion, the wondrous judgment of God against the Assyrians is predicted, to be celebrated by the exultant Jews (Isaiah 30:32):

And every stroke of the staff of punishment  
which the LORD lays upon them will be to the  
sound of timbrels and lyres.

That is, there will be merrymaking for the liberation of God. And verse 29 indicates that they will have this solely as a gift, which they may enjoy, and from which they may glorify God:

You shall have a song as in the night when

a holy feast is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one sets out to the sound of the flute to go to the mountain of the LORD, to the Rock of Israel.

Likewise, the allegory of the promise of reparation by God, and of solemn thanksgiving by the church, agrees with this (Jeremiah 31:5):

Again I will build you, and you shall be built, O virgin Israel! Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels, and go forth in the dance of the merry-makers.

Furthermore, according to the testimony of the Bible, there are abuses of the timbrel and other instruments, and of the merry-making which they symbolize, both the worldly [abuse] of the Epicureans in luxury, feasting, and spitefulness [epichairekakia]; and also the diabolical and abominable [abuse] of the idolaters in their worship, sacrifices, and lack of affection [astorgia].

Job accuses Zophar and his friends, who are stupidly talking about the unhappiness of the impious, of the same abuses as the Epicureans (Job 21:7-12):

Why do the wicked live?...They sing to the tambourine and the lyre, and rejoice to the sound of the pipe.

Isaiah says:

Woe to those who tarry late into the evening till wine inflames them. They have lyre and harp, timbrel and flute at their feasts; but they do not regard the deeds of the LORD, or see the works of his hands.

(Isaiah 5:11-12).

In revenge against the spitefulness [epichairekakia] of the gentiles, who had oppressed the church, the same

prophet announces great mourning and sadness, when the instruments will be put down and silenced (Isaiah 24:8-9):

The mirth of the timbrels is stilled, the noise of the jubilant has ceased, the mirth of the lyre is stilled.

And Job (17:6) strengthens himself by his restoration to dignity against those who wish him evil, whom he reprimands:

It will come to pass that he will restore me to leadership of the people, although before the timbrel-players made songs about me.

Is is as if he were to say: "They made merry over me before, like those who rejoice to [the sound of] the timbrel."

Thus in Nahum 2:7 it is predicted that the Scythians, when they conquer Assyria, will hold the masters and mistresses of Nineveh in the same place as their menservants and maidservants, and that, just as the maidservants who played the psaltery, timbrel, and lyre, followed their mistresses, so all of them, when they departed into captivity, would bring forth mournful and lamentable sounds. The prophet says:

...she is carried off, her maidens lamenting, mourning like doves, beating the timbrel from their hearts.<sup>69</sup>

That use of the timbrel was idolatrous and clearly diabolical, and most alien to all loving affection [philostorgia], when they placed those to be burned in the Valley of Gehenna at Jerusalem (which faces south and east) near the shining idol of Moloch, and vowed their children to the spectacle of this abominable burning and conflagration,

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<sup>69</sup>See footnote 68.

accompanied by the sound of the timbrel and other musical instruments, in order that the cries of the children might not be heard by the parents. The statue was hollow, made of bronze in the likeness of a king, whence "molek," like "melek," "king," takes its name. It was so constructed that it stretched out its arms and glowed with the fire placed underneath (Leviticus 18 [recte 20:1-5]). From this arose the name of the place, "Topheth," for "tôp" means "drum" or "breadth," from "tâpâh." For it was a broad place, filled with idolaters (Jeremiah 7[:31] and 12[:19]). Isaiah alludes to this:

For a burning place [Topheth] has long  
been prepared.

With this word the prophet designates the singular judgment which God was to render against the king of Babylon. Indeed, those filthy sacrifices were carried out publicly, with great pomp, at the gate of Jerusalem. The burning and conflagration of those burned in the Valley of Hinnon is compared allegorically by Isaiah to the destruction of the king of Babylon, which was most remarkable in the eyes of the church.

On account of the unheard-of cruelty in that wide place, the name of this place means a broad and spacious Hell, or Gehenna, and is taken to signify the punishment of the wicked, and the place of torture prepared for the wicked throughout eternity, where Satan and his angels will be perpetually tormented (Matthew 5:22; Mark 9:43). That

cruelty by burning is prohibited on pain of stoning (Leviticus 18 and 20). The impiety committed [there] is mentioned in Joshua 15:8, Nehemiah 11:2, II Chronicles 28[:3], and elsewhere.

Finally, one may read that the evil imitation [kakozēlia] and wicked envy of Julian [the Apostate] dared to abuse the timbrel impiously. For, in order to make Christian churches like pagan temples, he not only ordered that altars and thrones for the dignitaries be built (Sozomen 5.16),<sup>70</sup> but also that pipes and timbrels, and cymbals and stringed instruments should be used in the churches, as is plain from Arnobius (Against the Heathen, book 7).<sup>71</sup>

Finally, let us be warned by the timbrel that we, who acknowledge ourselves to be sheep gathered into the flock of Christ, should remain hostile to the wolf, for the timbrel made of sheepskin will not play when the timbrel made of wolfskin is being played (Alciatus, Emblemata),<sup>72</sup> or after the death of one who is wicked (Albert Krantz, Wandalia 11.9, on Tzisch).<sup>73</sup>

Enough about the drum, which is counted among the sacred instruments. Its use will be discussed further in

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<sup>70</sup> Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica 5.16, PG 67.1259-62.

<sup>71</sup> Arnobius Afer, Adversus Gentes 7.32, PL 5.1262-64.

<sup>72</sup> Andreas Alciatus, Emblematum Liber (Augsburg: H. Steyner, 1531).

<sup>73</sup> Albert Krantz, Wandalia Alberti Krantzii (Cologne, 1519), 11.9.

the section on profane, liberal, and secular music.

## Chapter XI

On the trumpet and horn.

The trumpet or horn, whether [made] of silver or of bronze, must be counted among the sacred wind instruments. One type of trumpet is called "šôpar" ("tuba," "buccina cornea," Exodus 19:16), in the plural, "šopērôt" and "šopārôt" (Judges 7:10 and Joshua 6:4), from "šapar," "to become beautiful," for it is a fine instrument and pleasant to hear. [It is] often artfully finished and decorated. Another is "hässērāh" (Numbers 10:2, Hosea 5:8, II Chronicles 29:27, Psalm 98[:6], etc.), the war-trumpet. "Hāsar" [means] "the trumpet sounded" (according to the hiphil, the double [letter] "s" is not pronounced, although it is written).

The use of trumpets among the people of Israel is [dealt with] in various places, but at length in Numbers 10, where Moses is ordered by God to prepare and use trumpets, which were not lacking in mystery.

1. Two trumpets are indicated: "Make two trumpets" to denote mystically the two Testaments, or the trumpet of the Law and the trumpet of Grace, or, as it appears to Rupert, to prefigure the twofold Advent of Christ, one of

Grace, the other of Judgement.<sup>74</sup>

2. The material was pure silver; solid or hammered.

Make two silver trumpets; of hammered work  
you shall make them.

in order to signify most of all the purity of the heavenly  
Word, which is compared to the purest silver (Psalm 12:7).  
Mention will soon be made of trumpets made of brass or of  
horn.

3. Their use [was] twofold: political and ecclesi-  
astical. The former either brought the congregation to-  
gether or broke camp (verse 3); the latter either aroused  
faith in divine help against enemies (verse 9) or stirred  
up merriness and joy for [God's] beneficence on feast days,  
on the kalends or the first day of the month (verse 10),  
using these words:

On the day of your gladness also, and at  
your appointed feasts, and at the beginn-  
ings of your months, you shall blow the  
trumpets (behässērôt, tais salpinxin)  
over your burnt offerings and over the  
sacrifices of your peace offerings;

(śalmêken, hence the German "eine Schalmeyn," which was  
used at the time of the peace offering)

they shall serve you for remembrance before  
your God; I am the LORD your God.

Psalm 81[:3] refers to this:

Blow the trumpet at the new moon,  
at the full moon, on our feast day.

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<sup>74</sup>Rupert of Deutz, De Trinitate et Operibus ejus Libri  
XLII, "In Numeros, Lib. I, Cap. XXV," PL 167.861-62.



Here the time is designated at which the solemn worship of God is to be carried out. Although we should praise God every day, the feast days are intended for his public worship. Thus the psalmist wishes an anniversary of this sort to be established in praise [doxologian] of the divine goodness, at every new moon, but especially at the one at which the Jews celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles. For in the seventh month of each year the Jews celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, so that on the first day of the seventh month, they summoned the people with the sound of the trumpet, and a sacred assembly was held. Later, on the tenth of the month, [was] the Day of Atonement, and on the fifteenth, the Feast of Tabernacles, which they celebrated under tabernacles covered with foliage, recalling the camps in which they had been sustained for forty years in the desert by the marvelous mercy of God.

But since those three solemn days, the first, the Feast of Atonement, and finally, the Scenopegia, fell in one month, and were celebrated with one gathering of the people, they were often taken for one feast. For that month of Tizri, the first among the ancients, the seventh according to the order of feasts among the Jews, was almost entirely sacred and festive, like a Sabbath month, the most suitable for feasts, because the crops had already been gathered from the fields (Origen, Homily 23 on Numbers).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Origen, Homilia XXIII in Numeros, 8, PG 12.753.

Since the first day of that month also began the civil year, the Feast of Trumpets, or of Horn-sounds, was instituted, so called because in that [month], at the sacrifices described in Numbers 29, the sound and clangor of trumpets was heard (Leviticus 23, 24); or [it was so called] in memory of Isaac, who on this very day was saved from being sacrificed, as the rabbis believe, calling this the Feast of the Horn, recounting the commandment of God that a ram's horn be sounded because a ram, caught by its horns in a thicket, was offered and sacrificed instead of Isaac (Genesis 22:13). Or perhaps [it is so called] to recall the wars against the Amalekites and the other nations, when God was the leader and did great deeds.

Other observations about the Feast of Trumpets, dealing with human warfare and the like, must be classed as allegories. They are not at variance with the truth, however, since, on account of the many feasts falling in this month, it was fitting that its beginning be especially solemn, with leisure, and sound, and sacrifices, so that the whole month might be all the more noble and noteworthy [and] that the congregation might be stirred up by the solemn preparation [paraskeuē] for the observance of the coming feast days.

The celebration of the fiftieth, or jubilee year (Leviticus 25) also comes to mind here. That jubilee, which, as Eusebius of Caesarea writes in his Chronicles, is named

after the Hebrew number fifty,<sup>76</sup> is derived by Latin-speaking people from "jublius," as Augustine mentioned.<sup>77</sup> Some believe that the name is derived from Jubal, the first maker of musical instruments. The opinion of the Hebrews is that it is named after "jobel," an Arabic word which means "ram's horn." Thus Aquila<sup>78</sup> translates [this] into Greek as "keratinēn," either on account of the use of that horn, or as some would have it, merely on account of the shape of a ram's horn. The proclamation of the Jubilee took place on the tenth day of the seventh month, on the very [day of the] Feast of Atonement (Leviticus 25:9), when the appointed year of remission and liberty was to be proclaimed to all the people by the sound of trumpets. Abulensis (Questions 6 and 7 on Joshua, part I) asks whether the trumpets were made of horn or of silver, and concludes that they were of silver or metal, since they were preserved and carried into the desert,<sup>79</sup> but the Septuagint and Jerome disagree.

4. Various trumpet-calls are indicated in Numbers 10: a simple and even [call], in Greek, "diatonos," to

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<sup>76</sup>Eusebius, Canon Chronicus, PG 19.351.

<sup>77</sup>Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum XXXII, 8, PL 36.283.

<sup>78</sup>See Section II, footnote 35.

<sup>79</sup>Alfonsus Tostatus Abulensis, Commentaria in Primam [et] Secundam Partem Josue, in Opera Omnia (Venice: apud J. B. et J. B. Sessam, 1596), vol. V.

call the multitude, when two trumpets are to be sounded at once (verse 3), or to call the leaders, when only one is to be used (verse 4). [There was also an] uneven and varied [call], named "tērû(ah)" (Schindler [translates], "vociferatio," "ein Feldgeschrey;" Psalm 47[:5], "jubilatio")<sup>80</sup> after the broken or tremulous sound [used] to summon the troops or to sound the advance (verses 5, 6).

You shall sound an alarm with the trumpets... (verse 9). Here, the first line of battle is ordered to move at the first trumpet-call, the second [line], at the second (verses 5, 6). The Greeks, significantly, translate this as "samasian." According to Theodoret (Question 15), the Apostle [Paul] is believed to have alluded to this in I Corinthians 14:7-8:

homos ta apsucha phōnēn didonta, eite aulos  
eite kithara, ean didastolēn tois phthongois  
mē dō, pōs gnōsthēsetai to auloumenon ē to  
kitharizomenon? kai gar ean adēlon salpinx  
phōnēn dō, tis paraskeuasetai eis polemon?

If even lifeless instruments, such as the flute or harp, do not give distinct notes, how will anyone know what is played? And if the bugle gives an indistinct sound, who will get ready for battle?

Theodoret translates "adēlon phōnē" [an indistinct sound] as "mē eusēmon" [not clear].<sup>81</sup>

There was a special use [of the trumpet] in the pro-

<sup>80</sup> Valentin Schindler, Lexicon Pentaglotton (Hanover: Joannes Jacobus Hennaenus, 1612), cols. 1716-17.

<sup>81</sup> Theodoret, Quaestiones in Numeros, Quaestio 15, PG. 80. 367.

mulgation of the divine Law on Mount Sinai (Exodus 19:11). Men and beasts were allowed to go up on Mount Sinai (from which the Law was promulgated) when the trumpet sounded steadily, that is, when it sounded diatonos, or sounding a single pitch, which means that there will be a place for this prohibition of touching the mountain until that [sound] is heard which is observed in the songs near the end.

And for common use, God wished the people to know when the solemnity of that place was to depart, when God left, and ended that sacred action with such a sign. Nor was anyone allowed to ascend the mountain without some mystery, with a prolonged sound of the trumpet. It is mystically depicted here that a closer approach to God lies open to us when the Word, once enclosed in one place, is spread and drawn out by Christ, and becomes known throughout the world.

5. The trumpeters themselves are priests, whereby it is indicated beyond all doubt that in actions, the authority of the priests is paramount, and not to be yielded to the common rabble of the multitude, but that solemnity and modesty must be preserved, and that all actions must be begun by the sacred ministers, or by calling on the divine name (Colossians 3:17):

And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him.

#### Fourfold Allegory of Trumpets

Nor will it be inappropriate to observe here, piously

and joyfully, the fourfold allegory of the trumpet, drawn from its various uses and [from] the places where it is mentioned in the sacred writings.

1. It symbolizes the office of the priests, whose duty it is to blow the trumpet (Ezekiel 33:3, 6), that is, to terrify the hearers, and to comfort them at the same time. For those trumpeters are ordered to blow their trumpets either to give warning and to censure sins (in regard to which, see Isaiah 58:1:

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up your voice like a trumpet; declare to the people their transgressions...

Zephaniah 1:16:

...a day of trumpet blast and battle cry against the fortified cities and against their lofty battlements. I will bring distress on men, so that they shall walk like the blind, because they have sinned against the LORD.)

or to console and to proclaim the Gospel (in regard to which, see Isaiah 27:13:

And in that day a great trumpet will be blown, and those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship the LORD on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.)

Thus Augustine (volume 10, Sermon 106 of the Season):

What shall we believe to be prefigured by the priestly trumpets of that time but the preachings of the priests of this time, in which they incessantly proclaim, with a terrible sound, a severe judgement against sinners, preach grievous destruction in Hell, and lash the ears of the delinquent

with a harsh noise of reprimand?<sup>82</sup>

And in the promulgation of the Law, the sound of the trumpet (Exodus 19:16) signifies either the ministries of angels, by whose mediation the Law was given (Acts 7:35; Galatians 3:19), or the force of the Law, which penetrates all men's souls. When the people at the foot of the smoking mountain prayed in terror, amid thunderclaps and flashes of lightning, at the sound of the trumpet, that they might not again hear God speaking face to face, but only by the intervention and mediation of Moses (Exodus 20:18), not only was the terror of men at the presence of the divine Majesty, and at the severity of the divine will, made manifest, which was the function of the Law: to strike fear and terror into men's souls; but it was also anagogically indicated that, in the work of general redemption, the greater the indignation of God, who had been offended, the greater partaker [mesitēn] of our sins was required. Therefore, fulfilling the duty of a good shepherd, Moses encouraged the terrified people with consoling words.

Let those for whom the trumpeters play take care not to pass them by with a deaf ear, lest they be convicted by the proverb in which Christ accuses the Jews of perversity (Matthew 11:16-17):

But to what shall I compare this generation? It is like children sitting in

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<sup>82</sup>Augustine, Sermo de Tempore 35.6 (olim 106), PL 39. 1815.

the market places and calling to their playmates, "We piped to you, and you did not dance; we wailed, and you did not mourn."

The allusion is to the children of the Jews, who often sat in the marketplace or in the streets, playing in the open air (Zechariah 8:5), sometimes imitating wedding ceremonies, sometimes, funerals. In order to do this more often, they usually called their playmates to take part in the same game. But if any of them were so sad that they could not be persuaded to play, or if they cut [the game] short for little reason, they reproached them with misanthropy [mis-anthropian] and inhumanity in this song:

We piped to you, and you did not dance;  
we wailed, and you did not mourn.

This is applicable to the stubbornness of the Jews, who could not be moved to believe the Gospel, either by the teaching and the strict life of [John] the Baptist, nor by the humanity of Christ, but in the second, they missed gravity of manners. Some interpreted [John's] solitude and temperance as [evidence of] diabolical possession, and [Christ's] loving [philanthropian] and familiar behavior with them as drunkenness and intoxication, no doubt in order that they might have what they had acquired, and protect their hardness of heart. With this same adage we should reprove those who hear us, but cannot be moved by [our] words, [be they] kindly, harsh, hard, or soft. Here, by synecdoche, the funeral songs are taken to signify harsh and sad words which afflict the soul with sadness, the songs



on the pipe, the sweet words which are the marks of a gentle soul, and [which] gladden the hearts of the hearers. Let those who sound their trumpets in vain, who are unable to move [men's] souls, either by the clangor of the Law, or by that of the Gospel, console themselves with the examples of the great trumpeters, John and Christ.

2. "The word of the Gospel is as powerful as a trumpet" (Jerome, on chapter 7 of Exekiel).<sup>83</sup>

Their voice has gone out to all the earth.

(Psalm 18[:19], Romans 10:18). Thus says Clement of Alexandria in his Protreptic:

salpinx esti Christou to euangelion,  
ho men esalpisen, hēmeis de ēkousamen.

The Gospel of Christ is a trumpet, etc.<sup>84</sup>

And under the Feast of Trumpets, the image of the preaching of the Gospel is presented, whose sound is like that of a trumpet. (Zechariah 9:14).

The LORD God will sound the trumpet (Isaiah 58:1), which [John], the forerunner of Christ, the voice crying [in the wilderness] sounded before that feast of great expiation in the New Testament. But Rodolphus on Leviticus 1 says that this was in fact a symbol of joy at the conversion of the heathen:

Our chief solemnity, like the first day

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<sup>83</sup>Jerome, Commentarium in Ezechielem 2.8, PL 25.63.

<sup>84</sup>Clement of Alexandria, Cohortatio ad Gentes, 11, PG 8. 235.

of the seventh month, took place at the time of the Apostles, when the heathen were first summoned by trumpet sounds, that is, when the thunder of divine preaching shone throughout the world.<sup>85</sup>

Thus Origen (Homily 23 on Numbers) refers allegorically to the one who derives joy from the inward sound of the sacred writings, saying:

Who is there who can make festivity in memory of trumpets, unless he can commit to memory and hide in the treasury of his heart the prophetic and evangelical Scriptures, and the apostolic, which resound like heavenly trumpets? Therefore, he who does these things, and meditates on the Law of God day and night, makes a festival to the memory of trumpets. etc.<sup>86</sup>

What does it mean, mystically interpreted, that the jubilee year is announced with fanfares of trumpets, but that the coming of Christ, whose ministry fell in the thirtieth Mosaic jubilee, is being depicted as if in a few notes, and that the true jubilee of the Gospel is being foreshadowed, [in which] remission [of sins], liberty, and the return of heavenly goods, once lost, are announced with a joyful and sonorous sound? (Acts 3:38; John 8:36; Galatians 3:3).

Joshua 6[:13]:

...seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD passed on, blowing the trumpets continually

until the city of Jericho was captured and its walls fell,

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<sup>85</sup>Source unknown.

<sup>86</sup>Origen, Homilia XXIII in Numeros, 9, PG 12.753.

as the sound of trumpets was heard for the seventh time, with the clamor of the people. Thus Christ sounded, not only through the sonorous preaching of the twelve apostles, but also through the seventy disciples, since he was the author of reconciliation with God, brought for the whole world, by whose silence on the seventh day the kingdom of the world collapsed and the gates of Hell were destroyed.

In Judges 7, we read that [those in] the camps of the Midianites, running to and fro, slew one another at the beginning of the middle watch, when Gideon and thirty men, divided into three columns, blew trumpets [held] in their right hands, and at the same time, broke the hollow jars which held the torches in their left hands. Thus also, the clangor of the Gospel about the Messiah, sounding in the feeble church out of the mouths of the infirm, as morning emerges into life out of the dead shadows, in which the torch of Deity shone splendidly, will miraculously put to flight the Stygian enemies.

And when, immediately upon the ascension of Christ and his session at the right hand of the Father, the Holy Spirit was poured forth, the sound of the Gospel resounded throughout the world, [preached] by the Apostles, Evangelists, Doctors, and Pastors who were given (Ephesians 4[:11]).

All the people are bidden:

Clap your hands, all peoples!

Shout to God with loud songs of joy.

He chose out a heritage for us...

God has gone up with a shout,

the LORD with the sound of a trumpet (Psalm 46[47]).

For, just as pipers and trumpet-sounds and all sorts of musical instruments were used at the solemn rite in which David brought the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem (II Samuel 6), so, when the blessing had been imparted to the disciples in the midst of festivity, the victory-feast [epikinia] of the angels, the ascension of Christ, who first broke through into the Ark of heaven, was manifested and glorified as if with the jubilant sound of a trumpet, not without vows and proclamations by the disciples, indeed, with prayers and thanksgiving by the church, both militant on earth and triumphant in heaven.

Meanwhile, since the life of a Christian man is nothing other than that of a soldier [following] the sound of the trumpet of the Gospel, under the banner of Christ (John 7), we must look out carefully, as if from the watchtowers of the churches, and take notice of the seven trumpets given by God to the seven angels (Revelation 8). We are forewarned by the sound of the trumpets of the heresies established in the church, and the corruption of true doctrine, and the weighty struggle against impious teachers, [all of] which are pointed out so that we, wary of the imminent danger, may send forth the loyal scouts to do battle for the truth with sincere speech and ardent invocation.

There is disagreement in fitting the seven trumpets to individual heresies. Luther, in his preface to the German [translation of] Revelation, says that the first trumpet announced the Tatianists and Encratites; to the

second trumpet, he ascribed Marcion; he fits the third to Origen; he attributed the fourth trumpet to Novatian and to the Cathars, who had their origin in him.<sup>87</sup> Others, following chronological order, fit the first trumpet to the Nazarenes and Ebionites, or as Jerome calls them, the Minei (volume 3);<sup>88</sup> the second, to the Gnostic madness; they reckon the third trumpet to belong to Samosatenus and Arius; they attribute the fourth to Pelagius; the fifth is compared to Abbadon, the son of perdition, the Roman anti-christ ([Revelation] 9[:11]); the sixth trumpet, likewise, depicts the Mohammedans and the Saracen and Turkish armies and [their] blasphemies. [More will be said] about the seventh angel's trumpet (Revelation 10) under [number 4 of] the allegory of trumpets.

3. Any one of the faithful who sounds the praise of God with grateful lips, and bears witness to constancy of faith, may be called a trumpet or a trumpeter. Certainly it is fitting for all Christians in the church militant, who follow the leadership of Gideon, and regard him, to sound the trumpet of public confession, and with willing hearts to tell of the many great benefits of God, until the time when the mass of this body will be broken, and we may pierce

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<sup>87</sup> Martin Luther, "Vorredung auf der Offenbarung S. Johannis," in D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1931), VII, 410-13.

<sup>88</sup> No work cited.

and shatter death, and death-dealing enemies, carrying the torch of burning faith and the hope of blessed immortality.

Origen (Homily 23 on Numbers) shows how each person can celebrate the feast of trumpets:

And anyone who can be moved to that thankfulness of the Holy Spirit by which the prophets were inspired, and sing this Psalm: "Blow the trumpet at the new moon... on our feast day." (Psalm 80), and whoever is able to rejoice in him with psalms, worthily keeps the Feast of Trumpets.<sup>89</sup>

It is to this that Psalm 97 [98:6] alludes:

psalate en salpinxin elatais

psallite in tubis ductilibus

[praise with trumpets of hammered-work]<sup>90</sup>

For Ambrose says (volume 3, Book on the Faith of the Resurrection):

Let the friend of God make two spiritual trumpets of hammered-work, made of suitable silver, that is, of the precious Word, and decorated, between which no hoarse murmuring or rumbling may sound with terrible noise, but by which the lofty praises of God may be established, in continuous rejoicing.<sup>91</sup>

And Augustine (volume 8, On Psalm 97) believes that "tuba ductilis" means "a troubled spirit":

Trumpets of hammered-work are produced by beating. If [trumpets are made by] beat-

<sup>89</sup>Origen, Homilia XXIII in Numeros, 9, PG 12.753.

<sup>90</sup>The RSV reads: "With trumpets and the sound of the horn."

<sup>91</sup>Ambrose, De Fide Resurrectionis, 110, PL 16.1406.

ing, then by being flogged, you will be made trumpets of hammered-work, made for the praise of God. If you make progress when you are troubled, the tribulation is a beating, [and] the progress, a hammering-out. Job was a trumpet of hammered-work through the pounding of such tribulation, and he proclaimed: "The Lord has given, and the Lord has taken away, etc."<sup>92</sup>

See Gregory the Great, Moralia 30.4:

Moreover, let the faithful take care not to present and give alms and other works out of desire for public glory, blowing the trumpet of the Pharisees (Matthew 6). For by undertaking these works, obedience to faith is altogether restricted when the trumpet of the Law sounds.<sup>93</sup>

4. The trumpet warns of the day of judgement, horrible and fearful for the impious, triumphant and long-awaited by the pious, [the day] when the Son of Man will come on the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, and will send his angels with the sound of a great trumpet (Matthew 24; I Thessalonians 4). The Lord himself will descend from heaven with a warning sound and the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God. And [this will happen]

in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet (en tē eschatē salpingi),

(salpisei gar, for he [himself] will sound the trumpet)

and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed. (I Corinthians 15[:52]).

Then, surely, the world will fall into ruins, like Jericho

<sup>92</sup>Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum XCVII, 6, PL 37.1255.

<sup>93</sup>Gregory, Moralia 30.4, PL 76.533.

(Joshua 6), at the seven trumpets, that is, [the trumpets] of the infinite numbers of angels. And the Ark of the Covenant will be seen gloriously revealed in the promised land, and the seventh cycle of the ages will return, when six thousand years have passed, and we may finally celebrate the eternal Sabbath, the Feast of Trumpets, and the jubilee year, in unending festivity.

Chrysostom's explanation to the people of Antioch refers to this (Homily 47), as does Homily 77 on Matthew:

kai ti boulontai hai salpinges, kai hē  
ēchē? pros dianastasin, pros euphrosunēn,  
pros parastasin tēs tōn genomenōn ekplexeōs.

What does that sound of trumpets signify?  
An awakening from sleep, an expression of  
wonder at things to come.<sup>94</sup>

Nor did it happen without reason that the likeness of a trumpet appeared from time to time in the sky. Nicephorus (15.20) relates that it served as a portent:

A cloud shaped like a trumpet was seen  
for fifty days.<sup>95</sup>

And, to be sure, trumpets and pipes were once used at funerals, as when Jairus' daughter was committed to the earth (Matthew 9[:23]), not only to assuage the sorrow and grief of the mourners, but to rouse that courage by which we, in the church militant, shall shatter the Stygian Midianites,

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<sup>94</sup>There are only 21 homilies to the people of Antioch (PG 49.15-222): John Chrysostom, Homilia 76 in Matthaeum, PG 58.699.

<sup>95</sup>Nicephorus, Ecclesiastica Historia 15.20, PG 147.59-62.



to the sound of the trumpet [played by our] Gideon, Christ, or to the joyous sound of the Gospel, when the mass of this body has been broken, with the torch of faith shining (Judges 7), having struggled by hope in the Resurrection from death to life eternal, when, at the last coming of Christ, at the sound of the last trumpet, the pious will triumph with their heads held high. To find out what that trumpet will be like, See Chrysologus (Sermon 103).<sup>96</sup>

But let the scornful Epicureans beware, [those] who, like the flute-players at the funeral of Jairus' daughter, have openly derogated the power of Christ, the Lord of life, to raise the dead so easily, and to rouse the sleepers from their slumbers. They will be expelled from the house of the illustrious and trusting Jairus, that is, [from] the church of the believers, and will be shrouded in eternal darkness, where they will endlessly fill their mouths with the cry, "Woe, woe."

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<sup>96</sup>Peter Chrysologus, Sermo 103, PL 52.487-90.

## Chapter XII

On bells [tintinnabulis, nolis, et campanis].

Now let us direct our attention to bells [tintinnabulum, nola, et campana] which are rung in church.

The tintinnabulum is an instrument of brass, whose name is made up, or pepoiēsamenon, from the sound, "tintin" which it makes. The Greek [word] is "ho kōdōn," the Hebrew, "pa'aman," (Exodus 28:33-34, 39:26), named from [the word for] striking, for "pā'am" means "to strike," "to beat," or "to hit," and "to make a sound like a bell."

The use of bells was most sacred in the church in the Old Testament. Then, the high priest's pallium, or ephod (tunica superhumeralis in Jerome's translation) was decorated with pomegranates, mostly of three colors, and with golden bells which gave forth a sound when the priest went in or out. In this regard, we read the following, dealing with the description of the ecclesiastical duties set down by Moses (Exodus 28:33-35):

On [the] skirts [of the ephod] you shall make pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet stuff, with bells of gold between them. a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, round about the skirts of the robe. And it shall be upon Aaron when he ministers, and its sound shall be heard when he goes into the holy place before the LORD, and when he comes out, lest he die.

And [the way in which] this description was carried out is found in Exodus 39:24-26:

On the skirts of the robe they made pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet stuff and fine twined linen. They also made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates, a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate round about the skirts of the robe for ministering; as the LORD had commanded Moses.

The same thing is repeated in Ecclesiasticus 45:11

[recte 45:9]:

And he encircled him with pomegranates, and with very many golden bells round about, to send forth a sound as he walked, to make their ringing heard in the temple, as a reminder to the sons of his people...

The pomegranates suspended from the edge symbolize the sweet smell [euōdian] by which we are made acceptable to God through Christ. The bells [symbolize] the preaching of the heavenly Word, sounding far and wide. Like pomegranates which contain and cover many seeds under one skin, the bells are joined here. So, in the gathering of the catholic church, minds gathered in one accord [homothumadon] join by the harmony of one heart and mouth in the confession of and faith in one and the same God, and the benefits of the one priest.

God's threat of death against Aaron, if he did not wear this vestment in his presence, is interpreted as follows by Gregory (Pastoral Care, part 2, chapter 4, and Epistle 24, book 1):

The priest dies when he goes in or out if a sound is not heard from him to ward off

the wrath of the hidden judge against him, if he should approach without a warning sound. The bells are fastened to the vestment in order to join the way of life with the sound of the tongue, so that they may call out the good works of the priest.<sup>97</sup>

It is also worth recalling that Solomon's Temple had bells on the roof, which drove the birds away in terror. Eusebius (Praeparatio Evangelica 9.4) recalls that there were forty of these.<sup>98</sup>

In the modern church, as we shall mention here, the custom of calling bells "nolae" and "campanae" derives from Nola Campaniae. For Paulinus, the bishop of the city of Nola Campaniae, is said to have been the first in his church to discover how to found and use large bells, and to have them put to pious use, doubtless in order that the people who lived far away might be summoned to meetings and prayers by their sound (Gilbertus Cognatus, Narratio, book 2; Petrus Hispanus fil. 2: chapter 9).<sup>99</sup>

The name "campanula" is found even in a letter of Cyril of Jerusalem, among the letters of the blessed Augustine (206), in which place the author recalls that, according to the usage of Saint Magnus, bells then served to call

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<sup>97</sup>Gregory, Regulae Pastoralis Liber 2.4, PL 77.31; Epistola 25, PL 77.472-73.

<sup>98</sup>Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica 9.33, PG 21.754.

<sup>99</sup>Gilbertus Cognatus, Narrationum Sylva...Libri VIII (Basel: Henricipetri, 1567), bk. 3 (275-76); Petrus Hispanus is the name used by Pope John XXI (reg. 1276-77), but the work referred to cannot be identified.

the nuns to divine worship. Although many doubt that the letter is Saint Cyril's, nevertheless, it is believed that, if it is by someone else, it is by an author not at all inferior to him.<sup>100</sup> It is obvious that the function of trumpets, by which the Jews were called to assembly (Numbers 10; Matthew 9) was later taken over by bells, and that their public signaling of the worship of God, to urge the people to the public rites, is not merely tolerated, but also maintained for the sake of order [eutaxias heneka], in order that the gathering of Christ's church may not be considered Eleusini-an (Rupert, abbot of Deutz, On the Divine Offices 1.6).<sup>101</sup>

Pope Callistus III ordered a signal to be given to all the faithful to aid with their prayers those [men] who were soon to fight against the Turks, in order that God might be persuaded by constant prayer. Platina writes:

I should have thought that, [aided by] the prayers of all [the faithful], the Christians fighting against the Turks at Belgrade, under the leadership of Johannes Vaivoda, with Johannes Capistrano of the order of Friars Minor, would have won a great and bloody triumph in the siege of Belgrade, planting the cross as their standard against the enemy.<sup>102</sup>

And here I shall not hesitate to add what the pious constitution of the churches of Braunschweig, prescribed

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<sup>100</sup> The letter is spurious; it cannot be found in modern editions of either Cyril or Augustine.

<sup>101</sup> Rupert of Deutz, De Divinis Officiis 1.16, PL 170.19-20.

<sup>102</sup> Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 149v.

by the most Christian Duke Julius, provides and admonishes in regard to the ringing of bells (folio 50, under the title):

Church Order in the Villages

Since it is customary for the prayer-bell to be rung evening, morning, and noon, the people should be warned, when this happens, to make their prayers to the Lord God for peace, and all temporal and eternal well-being, and to make their servants do the same, whether they be at home, in the field, or wherever, and not to be ashamed [to pray], for it is a work pleasing to God and useful for them.

On the Prayer-Bell, or the

Ringing Pro Pace

In Papist countries there is a special ringing of the bells morning, noon, and evening, to admonish the people to invoke the Virgin Mary. But the people should be instructed that the most highly praised Virgin Mary does not wish to have the honor due to God alone, and [that this] is also contrary to God's Word.

But the bell-ringing characteristic of morning, noon, and evening for [God] himself may be retained even in the neighboring reformed churches, to show the people and to admonish them that they should pray in the morning, noon, and evening for common peace and good rule. In this prayer one should pray both for those in authority, and against all enemies of the common Christian peace. Thus, in the neighboring reformed churches, this is nicely called the "prayer-bell" or the "ringing pro pace," and it is Chris-

tian, good, and useful for the common folk to become used to remembering such necessary prayers. But since they are quite often forgotten, the bell-ringing can serve as a reminder that they should pray thus when they hear the ringing pro pace, whether they be at home, in the garden, in the street, or in the field. And then one can have the children at home sing "Erhalt' uns Herr bei deinem Wort," or likewise, "Verleih' uns Frieden gnädiglich." Such a prayer is very necessary in these recent dangerous times.<sup>103</sup>

A very joyful religion was the gift of the bells, and their theft was the grievous revenge for rebellion. Their removal turned out to be a cause for indignation in the metal, wondrous to Nature, if you wish to believe [this].

Ursus Particiacus, the Doge of Venice, defeated the Saracens at sea near Grado in the year of Salvation 865, aided by the Greek Emperor Basil, who later became Protopatharius. Thereupon, contending with Basil in gratitude of heart and in duty, he sent a gift of twelve bells, of great weight and no mean craftsmanship. Then the Greeks first used bronze bells, given by the Venetians (Sabellicus, Enneades 9.1, Decades 1.3; Bergomas on Pope Nicholas I).<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> This decree is quoted by Praetorius in the original German. Excerpts from it appear in Gesamtausgabe der Musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius, ed. by Walther Engelhardt (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler Verlag, 1960), XXI, 145-62.

<sup>104</sup> Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades 9.1, Decades 1.3, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Icanes Hervagius, 1560), II, 627, II, 1112; Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, Supplementum Chronicarum (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1483), bk. 11.

Boniface VIII Anagninus decorated the basilica of [Saint] Peter with fine bronze bells in the year 1300 (Volaterranus, book 22).<sup>105</sup>

And again, all the bells were taken away from the Burgundians because of their sedition: in the year 1547 they rebelled against Henry II, king of France, on account of the salt-mines and the taxes (Sleidan, book 25).<sup>106</sup> Many authors try to give credence to a prodigious miracle, saying that when bells were removed or taken away, Clothar, the king of France, appeared. For Saint Lupus, the bishop of Sens, had placed an unusual and fine-sounding bell in the church of Saint Stephen. When King Clothar heard that [the bell] had a very pleasing sound, he ordered it to be carried away to Paris, the royal city. As soon as it had been moved from its place, so they say, it lost its sound at once, although Bishop Lupus had no part in the matter. When the king became aware of this, he ordered [the bell] to be carried back to its original location, and when it was returned, it miraculously gave out its accustomed sound for seven miles around, as the people came to meet [it]. Therefore, it was the proper custom to dedicate church bells with sacred rites (unknown author in Surius, volume 5, September).<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>106</sup>Johannes Sleidanus, De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae... Commentarii (n.p., 1555), bk. 21 (f. 365v).

<sup>107</sup>Laurentius Surius, De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis (Cologne:



Pope Gregory IX ordered bells to be used at the consecration of the Eucharist, [a practice] not at all free from superstition (Krantz, Saxonia 8.9).<sup>108</sup> And Pope John XIV was the first to baptize bells and give them names in idolatrous ceremonies; he gave his own [name] to the bell of the Lateran (Balaeus, Scriptorum Britanniae, second century).<sup>109</sup>

The power of driving away Satan, which was attributed to baptized bells, reeks of open idolatry, and shows sacrilegious absurdities. Thus it is clear that those who had been consigned to Satan by the lightning of excommunication were forbidden to use bells, for Leo had a passionate anger against those wretched outcasts, etc. (Boniface, Canon "alma mater," [in the phrase beginning: " "adidicimus," on the sentence of excommunication]).<sup>110</sup>

But the Emperor Maximilian, in a public edict, ejected this sort of blasphemous profanation from the sanctuary of the church, as the divine Word demanded (Peter Martyr on I Kings 18).<sup>111</sup>

In fact, the authors easily believed in the hidden power of that bell which was often able to reveal a theft

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Ioannes Kreps et Hermann Mylius, 1618), IX, 3.

<sup>108</sup> Albert Krantz, Saxonia (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechelius, 1580), 8.9.

<sup>109</sup> Johannes Balaeus, Scriptorum Illustrorum Maioris Brytanniae...Catalogus (Basel: Joannes Operinus, 1559), p. 153.

<sup>110</sup> CIC, Sexti Decretal., V.11, cap. 24.

<sup>111</sup> Peter Martyr, Melachim, id est, Regum Libri Duo...

or murder, just as if it were a living creature. For it is said that someone stole from Saint Medard a bull which had a bell suspended from its neck. When the bull was safe at home, the thief took away the bell, lest it reveal his theft by its sound. A miracle took place: the bell gave forth its sound spontaneously, without being moved, in the bedroom, in his money-pouch, in his strongbox, in every hiding-place; and all the neighbors who heard the sound were amazed. Since the man's theft was obvious to everyone, goaded by his conscience, he revealed the matter to his friends, at whose urging he approached Medard, returned the bull, and was even forgiven (Fortunatus the Priest, in the "Life of Saint Medard," Surius, volume 3).<sup>112</sup>

Moreover, it is said that there existed a certain bronze bell in the monastery of Bütten in Saxony, a sonorous one indeed, and for that reason preserved with great reverence, which spontaneously gave forth a prodigious sound, without any human effort or aid, when one of the nuns was about to depart from the world (Gobillinus Persona in the "Life of Saint Meinulph the Deacon," Surius, volume 3, October).<sup>113</sup>

In [his] chalkēchōdeēsei, Caspar Hembergius Vezlariensis rejects as detestable the use of bells against the

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cum Commentariis (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1566), f. 70.

<sup>112</sup> Laurentius Surius, De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis (Cologne: Ioannes Kreps et Hermann Mylius, 1618), VI, 134.

<sup>113</sup> ibid., X, 86.

horrible crashing of thunder and the collision of clouds.<sup>114</sup>

Philosophers, without stain of impiety, retain their own methods of dispersing clouds with sound, and breaking up storms. On this, see Part II, "On Profane Music, etc." Indeed, the customary ringing of bells in church when the danger of lightning and thunder attack may be seen as a pious manner of eliciting prayers, by means of which clouds, as they pass by (Ecclesiasticus 35[:20]) may certainly be opened to the one who rings properly (Matthew 7[:7]; Luke 11[:9]), if the tongue of the one who prays is not kalkos ēchōn, ē kumbalon allalazon, a "noisy gong or a clanging cymbal," [I Corinthians 13:1], that is, a sound without thought, which, empty of faith in God and charity toward neighbor, gives forth a sound with empty and clamorous loquacity, unacceptable to God, just as a bell which calls others to worship cannot stir itself to that which it does not understand.

Moreover, there are bells worth recalling which are noteworthy for their size in Parma, Milan, and Loreto, and one which is famous throughout Germany, in Erfurt (in regard to this, [see] Ortelius, "Thuringia").<sup>115</sup>

Those who have travelled throughout the world say that the bronze bell made in the kingdom of Pega in eastern India

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<sup>114</sup>Source unknown.

<sup>115</sup>Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Antwerp: Plantin, 1584), p. 50.

is more remarkable, having a height of more than forty-five palms, and a diameter of seventeen; it is believed to surpass any bell in Europe (Fernandus Mendez the Jesuit, anno Domini 1554).<sup>116</sup>

A wonderful thing is connected with stone, namely, that in Ethiopia not only are temples, chapels, altars, stools, doors, cloisters, and whatever is seen above or below, carved out of a rock, as Franciscus Alvarez says (Res Aethiopicae, chapters 44, 55),<sup>117</sup> but even bells, which we make out of bronze, they always carve out of stones. This happens especially in Barra (Alvarez, 29 and 44; and Ortelius, on the furthest [regions]).<sup>118</sup> Iron [bells are scarcely found in the region of Argo (the same author, chapter 52)].<sup>119</sup>

Enough about bells [tintinnabula] used mystically in the Old Testament; likewise, about bells [nola et campana] in the modern church, and on their signals, both pious and superstitious, used, in my opinion, marvelously and almost divinely.

The discussion of the uses of tintinnabula and campana

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<sup>116</sup> Fernán Mendes-Pinto, Historia Oriental (Madrid: Diego Flamenco, 1627).

<sup>117</sup> Franciscus Alvarez, Historia de las cosas de Etiopia (n.p., 1561), f. 17v, 52-53v.

<sup>118</sup> ibid., f. 11v; Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Antwerp: Plantin, 1584), p. 99.

<sup>119</sup> Franciscus Alvarez, Historia de las cosas de Etiopia (n.p., 1561), f. 21.

in clocks will be reserved for the [part] on secular and civil, or liberal, instrumental music.

## Chapter XIII

Transition to the instrumental music in the New Testament, which was declared by the fathers.

In our discussion we have examined the instruments of the Old Testament, and undertaken a consideration of bells in towers and churches in more recent times. Let us next turn our attention to the role of instrumental music, which was known and used in the church in the New Testament, even in the most ancient times.

The fact that the ancients performed psalms and hymns, not only with the human voice (in this regard [see] the treatise "On Choral Music") but also with musical instruments, is attested in the most ancient times, I say, by literary monuments whose authors derived and introduced both their learned discrimination of music, and their public and private practice of [the art], from none other than the practice of the church. For the fathers distinguish accurately between psalm, song or ode, psalm-song, and song-psalm. The difference between these songs lies in their musical characteristics [modulatione].

The song which was performed by the organ and musical instruments alone was called "psalm" by the ancients.

That which was sung by the human voice alone, without

the organ, is called a "practical ode" by some, a "song" by others, a "hymn" by others (read about this in "The Liturgical Music of Matins and Vespers").

And a song which was sung by the human voice with instrumental accompaniment was sometimes called an "ode-psalm" or "song-psalm," at other times, a "psalm-ode" or "psalm-song," according to the manner of singing before or after. Basil the Great (Commentary on Psalm 29) views the matter thus, and gives this definition:

ho psalmos logos esti mousikos, hotan eurythmōs kata tous harmonikous logous pros to organon krouētai.

that is:

A psalm is a musical oration, which is elegantly played according to metrical rules, to [the accompaniment of] an instrument.

He gives two types of odes, the one theoretical, the other, practical. He defines the former as follows:

ōdē de esti, hosa theorias exetai psilēs, kai theologias.

that is:

An ode is that which contains a succinct discussion and discourse about God.

Therefore, any song which is not set to music, and [which] preserves a narrative composition, we know to be a theoretical ode, according to Basil's definition.

He defines a practical ode in this manner:

ōdē gar phōnē eumelēs apodidomenē anarmoniōs, chōris tēs sunēchēsēōs tou organou.

that is:

an ode (or song) is a pleasing sound, produced according to the meter, without instrumental accompaniment.

Moses, who liberated [Israel] from Egypt, sings and describes in these words (Exodus 15[:1]) the composition of the first song to the glory and everlasting praise of God:

Then Moses and the people of Israel sang (yāsîr, future for past; Septuagint ēsān) this song (et-hasîrāh, Septuagint tēn ōdēn) to the LORD, saying, "I will sing (asîrāh, Septuagint asōmen) to the LORD, for he has triumphed gloriously...

Whence [comes] the Latin word "gaudium," from "gaah."

[Basil] says:

Finally, we believe that a psalmos ōdēs (song-psalm) joins theory and practice [tēn akolouthon praxin tē theoria], that is, when a song, composed in meter, is sung by the living voice with instrumental accompaniment.<sup>120</sup>

Hilary renders this as follows in his Prologue to the

Psalms:

A psalm is when the voice rests, and the beat of the accompanying instrument is heard alone.

A song is when the choir of singers, using its freedom and unhampered by the harmonies of the instrument, rejoices in a hymn, with melodious voices alone.

A psalm-song is when the instrument plays a prelude, and the voice of the singing choir is heard afterwards in imitation, imitating the phrases of the psalter with the movement of the voice.

And a song-psalm is when the choir first sings hymns of human composition, and the art of the accompanying instrument is adap-

<sup>120</sup> Basil, Homilia in Psalmum XXIX, 1, PG 29.306.



ted to this, and the psaltery responds with equal sweetness to that which the voice has sung before.<sup>121</sup>

From this, according to some theologians, we may deduce that, in the time of Hilary and Basil the Great, when the distinction was introduced, it was the custom for the voices to rest, and for psalms and hymns to be performed in church by a musical instrument alone, since these could not have been taken from any place other than the practice of the church.

And just so, according to the Apostle's admonition (Colossians 3[:16]):

Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, musical instruments were added and taken over by Christians in their private psalmody in the conviviality [philophrosunē] of banquets, a practice both legitimate and pious (in regard to this, [see] the section "On Choral Music").

Clement of Alexandria, who flourished around the year of Christ 200, eloquently recalls (Paedagogus 2.4):

And if you are able to sing to the lyre or harp, no blame falls on you. You will be imitating the just king of the Jews, who is pleasing and acceptable to God. "Rejoice in the LORD, O you righteous! Praise befits the upright," says the Prophet in Psalm 32. "Praise the LORD with the lyre, make melody to him with the harp of ten strings."<sup>122</sup>

And the instrumental music which was allowed in private

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<sup>121</sup> Hilary, Prologus in Liber Psalmorum, PL 9.244-46.

<sup>122</sup> Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus 2.4, PG 8.443.

was not excluded from the public gatherings of the church by the ancients. Nor is this contradicted by what Justin Martyr says in this manner, in the Questions to the Orthodox, Question 107 "On Musical Instruments and the Manner of Psalm-Singing":

Since songs were composed by the infidels for deception, they were enjoined on those under the Law on account of the hardness of their hearts. Why should those who have received the Law of Grace, which is perfect, and foreign to the ways of those just mentioned, use songs in their churches in the manner of the children under the law?

And Justin replies:

Those who were under the Law were not satisfied merely to sing, but had to sing with instruments, with leaping and finger-snapping. Then, in the church, the use of such instruments, and others which suited the dull-witted, is taken away from the songs, and singing alone remains.<sup>123</sup>

For, although one might deduce and infer from these words that musical instruments were not in use at the public gatherings of the church at that time, nevertheless, what was said about the rejection of finger-snapping and dancing, [about] the instruments acquired for sinful and lascivious purposes only, such as were used in the Bacchic orgies, does not apply to all musical instruments without distinction.

The fact that the church, even at that time, did not lack the accompaniment of musical instruments, is shown by

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<sup>123</sup> Justin Martyr, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos, 107 (spurious), PG 6.1354.

Justin's list of the beautiful fruits of Psalmody:

hēdunei gar psalmodia tēn psuchēn, etc.

where he inserts these words:

rhēma gar esti theou to kai enthumoumenon  
kai edomenon kai anakrouomenon.

that is:

For this is the word of God, whether thought  
with the mind, or sung, or played on an  
instrument.<sup>124</sup>

Here Justin is evidently pointing out three ways of  
expressing a word: one is done kata tēn enthumēsin, when  
it is grasped by the intellect and expressed in speech;  
the second, di' asmaton, expressed by the songs of the human  
voice; and finally the third, di' anakrousin, by the playing  
of musical instruments. For [the playing of musical instru-  
ments] is properly designated by that word, especially in  
the present passage, where it is opposed to songs, ta asma-  
ta, unless you wish [to believe] that the author was estab-  
lishing an artificial distinction.

It has been expressly shown from the writings of Basil,  
Hilary, Clement of Alexandria, and Justin Martyr, that in-  
strumental music was not altogether rejected, but rather  
introduced and used among the ancients.

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<sup>124</sup> Justin Martyr, Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Ortho-  
doxos, 108 (spurious), PG 6.1354-55.

## Chapter XIV

On the church organ of our time.

Finally, the examination of instrumental music which we have undertaken will now turn directly to the church organs of the present time.

Many things are involved in the construction of the organ, organon, or prince of instruments, which wins admirable excellence and venerable authority in churches. For certainly more labor was undertaken by our ancestors in the artful building and erection of organs than in [building] other instruments. [Organs were built] not only out of bronze, silver, [and] gold, but even out of that sort of admirable material which Nature seems to have denied to the art of organ-building. It will soon be mentioned, where this was once done, and in whose memory.

The construction of the individual members which are required for the entire body of the organ seems to be so fittingly and securely arranged, that nothing is lacking; either in the outward appearance, or in the inner and living viscera, so to speak, even in the musical touch of the keys for each single pipe of unequal length, and the drawing of the registers, as they are called, suitable now to a bright sound, not to a quiet sound. And moreover, a far more power-

ful current of air may be blown constantly through the pipes than [in] those instruments which rely on the power of human breath (which is constantly interrupted on account of its fragility, and of the necessity of taking a breath).

And what of the fact that the many-toned syrinx, containing in itself the diatonic and the chromatic genus, shows forth large choirs and various melodies, and boys' and men's voices, with the gentle sounding of wind, and by itself imitates the sounds of all instruments. Whether you wish [to hear] the drum and cymbal, or horn and bombards, or dulzian and racketts, as they say, or lutes and sordunes, or trumpets and horns, or pipes and transverse flutes, or lyres and viols, all of these, and many others, are expressed with wondrous suavity by that work of sweetest ingenuity, which is controlled by hands and feet, so that anyone who has or hears this instrument alone seems to have and to hear all the others. I shall not mention that anyone, even moderately well trained, who plays [the organ] will easily surpass the greatest masters of the other instruments, for indeed his hands and feet are trained to undertake this task.

And it is certain that no science has spread itself more widely than this art of organ-building, for indeed, human industry has progressed so far that the art of organ-building must stand on the highest level, and one could hardly, if at all, find anything done abundantly, perfectly, artfully, [and] on the most skillful summit of brilliant

skill, which is yet lacking in the workmanship of the most artful, perfect, and imposing organ.

For if that most lofty player and maker of organs, the royal psalmist [David] could see, hear, and feel the sort of [organ] produced by the most excellent masters of this age, there is no doubt that he would place it far ahead of the praiseworthy organs of his own age, greatly stupefied by [the builders'] skill, and stirred by a burning fervor of the spirit.

The Italian Girolamo Diruta, in the Preface to his little book on music, presented to our eyes to see and to our ears to hear, what an excellent and many-sounding work the living instrument, the divine organ, is. I have unhesitatingly translated the author's words here from Italian into Latin:

All the arts and sciences which are perceived and recognized by human reason and intelligence, by the profound goodness of Divine Providence, return to one intelligent principal [person], as if to their teacher, who is understood and celebrated by all for the height of his eminence. Thus it is, in philosophy, when mention is simply made of "the philosopher," Aristotle is understood; in medicine, when [mention is made] of "the physician," Hippocrates; in poetry, among the Latins, Vergil is honored with the title of "poet," in the Italian language, Petrarch. In theological [writings], when one mentions simply "the prophet," David generally comes to mind, and Paul is commended with the name of "apostle." For indeed, the men just mentioned surpass all [others] in the same class, each at his own task. For this reason, on account of their excellence, they have obtained for themselves alone the name of the profession in which they excelled. This was formerly the case even in the art of music, where the title of eminence was ascribed to Orpheus and to Amphion. The same thing is

seen to happen at this time in the titles of musical instruments, so that the instrument which contains all the rest of the instruments of choral music in its embrace is called the "organ," on account of its excellence, seeing that it includes all those qualities by which the natural character and dignity of music are recognized in the sweetness of its tones. Therefore, the [instrument] called simply "organ" is rightly held to be the king of instruments, by which the Divine Majesty is usually celebrated and honored in the congregation of the faithful. For the same reason, the hand is called the "organ" or "instrument of instruments" in the human body, since it is the sort of organ which, in performing all the other duties which are required to carry out a task, leads and helps [the others] in its duty. I do not doubt that the name "organ" is not perceived in its true significance by all, [some of] whom hold this opinion: that this word denotes only the pneumatic organ which is in use in churches and in the choir, rather than the [instruments designated by different] names. It is mentioned in Psalm 150: "Laudate Dominum in cithara et organo." In just this way, the lute, the cittern, the lyra [da braccio], and other instruments which are plucked by quills, take the name "instrument," because the one who plays them artfully does this so as to perfect his power of singing and playing. Thus the organ, placed at the highest summit of eminence, includes all the instruments in its embrace. For it deserves the honor of nobility and excellence beyond the other instruments because it most closely approaches the human voice, by wind and the hand of the players. For the pipes, made of whatever material, represent the human windpipe, through which wind is drawn, and which forms the tone and sound. Indeed, the organ could be called an artificial animal on this account, because it nearly speaks, sounds, and sings with the help of art and of the human hand, and for this reason it is set up in churches, decorated so sumptuously, so that, erected with such honor and praise, it may praise the magnificent and admirable works of divine Power in sound and tone. Thus, the organ, so called on account of its excellence, is not inappropriately compared to the human body, because it is animated and directed by the spirit in carrying out its activities. For just as, as soon as it draws [our] eyes to it with the greatest

delight, it soothes the ears with its sweet sound; so also, when a man attracts the eyes of another to himself, he seizes the ears of his hearers by his charming speech, expressing the internal disposition and image of the spirit, which is like the soul of the organ. Besides, the bellows exactly resemble lungs, the pipes, the windpipe, the keys artfully represent teeth, and the one who plays the organ artfully takes the place of the tongue, since he creates sweet consonance by the artful agility of his hands, and in some ways speaks with sweetness. Therefore, the one who has undertaken the study [of the organ] should make every effort to arrive at the exact knowledge of playing the pneumatic organ with exquisite diligence. If it should happen otherwise, the dignity of this outstanding instrument will be spoiled, exactly like a man, quite handsome physically, but endowed with a lisping and stammering tongue, by which the other [members] are also deformed. But, just as beautiful and artfully painted pictures draw the eyes of the beholders, so does the sweet gentleness [of the organ] penetrate the secret thoughts and recesses of the emotions when it flows into the ears of the hearers. Therefore the organ occupies its seat in church on its own merit, so that, thanks to it, pious and devout hearts may be invited and attracted by its sweet resonance to listen to the praises sung to the most high, most good God. And it is certain that, among all others which deserve the name of "instrument," the organ holds the primacy, since it obtains for itself all the sweetness and gentleness which is produced from the ensemble of the other instruments, and [since] it reaches the highest step, because there is no instrument for singing on this earth by which the sweet harmony and song of the angels [who sing] in praise of God could be more nearly represented. This is expressed in the verse [found] on the organ of Saint Peter's in Perugia: "Haec si contingunt terris, quae gaudia coelo?" That is to say: If on this earth there is such sweetness and concord of harmony, how much joy and happiness will there be for the angelic choir and the blessed spirits above in heaven?

And thus far [Diruta].<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Diruta's preface, in Italian, may be found in Il



And who does not perceive that, of [all] instruments, the church rightly considered the admirable organ alone to be the best to be consecrated and preserved for the public praise of God and the cultivation of attention to religion, relegating the other instruments to human use?

But, although it would be highly desirable to know the inventor of our elegant organ, it is nowhere to be found, and its loss is great. Polydorus loudly laments this (De Rerum Inventoribus, 1.15, 3.18), saying:

Many musical instruments have been invented in recent times whose inventors have already fallen into oblivion. Of these, those [instruments] called organs are worthy of all admiration and praise, on account of the sweetness of their harmony. These are quite different from those [organs] which David, the king of the Jews, made, to whose accompaniment the Levites sang sacred hymns, just as we sing them to the accompaniment of ours. Likewise, there are [instruments] of the sort variously called "monochords" [and] "clavicembali," whose inventors likewise lie hidden in deepest night, to the great loss of their glory.<sup>126</sup>

(This [is] from Polydorus).

But the annals do not agree when the organ was first accepted for use in church. In Volaterranus (book 22, anno 652), we read that Pope Vitellianus, during the reign of Constantine III, ordered song and naula, called organa,

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Transilvano (1593; facsimile edition publ. Bologna: Forni, n.d.). What Praetorius gives, however, is not a strict translation; entire sections have been omitted, and the entire preface has been rearranged, with some interpolations by Praetorius.

<sup>126</sup> Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel:

in the churches.<sup>127</sup> And Polydorus (De Rerum Inventoribus 6.2) and Krantz (Metropolis, book 2) relate that Pope Vitellianus wrote the church rule and regulated the music, adding organs to the harmony [of the voices] (as some believe).<sup>128</sup> Or as William Perkins, the English theologian of Cambridge University recorded in his Problems of Catholicism, pneumatic instruments originated around the year 660 A.D.,<sup>129</sup> [citing] Platina on Vitellianus,<sup>130</sup> or the year 820 (Aimoinus, De Gestis Francorum 4.114).<sup>131</sup> Navarrus says (Liber de Oratione et Horis Canonicis, chapter 16) that at the time of Aquinas, the use of organs had not yet been accepted.<sup>132</sup> Thomas Aquinas died in the year of Christ 1274, according to the calculations of Chytraeus.<sup>133</sup>

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Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 1.15, 3.18.

<sup>127</sup>Volaterranus, Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani Octo et Triginta Libri (Basel, 1559), bk. 22.

<sup>128</sup>Polydore Vergil, De Rerum Inventoribus (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1575), 6.2; Albert Krantz, Rerum Germanicarum Historici Clarissimi Ecclesiastica Historia sive Metropolis (Frankfurt: apud Heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioannem Aubrium, 1590), 2.2.

<sup>129</sup>William Perkins, Problems of Catholicism, in Works (London: John Legatt, 1617), II, 565.

<sup>130</sup>Bartolomeo Platina, De Vitis Maximorum Pontificorum (n.p., n.d.), f. 44v.

<sup>131</sup>Aimoinus, Historia Francorum Libri V (Paris: Andreas Wechelus, 1567), 4.114.

<sup>132</sup>Martín de Azpilcueta (Navarrus), Commentarius de Oratione..., in Opera (Lugduni: apud Haeredes Gulielmi Rovillii, 1589), III, 470-71.

<sup>133</sup>Chytraeus (David Kochhaff, 1530-1600), no work cited.

But we may deduce from trustworthy historians, when and in whose memory organs of admirable workmanship were introduced into France and Germany, and into Italy and elsewhere.

Aventinus (Annals of the Bohemians, book 3) remarked that Constantine VI Copronymus, the son of Leo, sent to Pepin, the king of the Franks, the father of Charlemagne, ambassadors led by Stephen, bishop of Rome, [carrying] a large musical instrument, a thing heretofore unknown in Germany and France, made with pipes of pure lead, and at the same time blown by bellows and struck by fingers and toes. [This was] called "organon," the first to be seen in France.<sup>134</sup> Lambertus Schafnaburgensis remarked on this, together with Marianus Scotus, book three.<sup>135</sup> From this it is obvious that the type of musical instrument called the excellent organ [kat' exochēn organikēn] was not known until rather late in the churches of France and Germany.

In order to have confidence both in Aventinus, who says that the organ was unknown in France at the time of Pepin, and in Platina, who says that organs were placed in churches by Vitellianus, thirty years before, we must assume that Platina appears to understand that primitive musical instrument, which had fifteen pipes blown by twelve bellows, at

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<sup>134</sup> Joannes Aventinus, Annalium Boiorum Libri VII (Basel: ad Perream Lecythum, 1580), bk. 3 (222-23).

<sup>135</sup> Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, Annales, anno 757, PL 141. 472; Marianus Scotus, Chronicon, anno 757, PL 147.761.

the sound of which the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem shook, or that he is referring to the ancient hydraulic instrument specifically called by the name "organon" (Vitruvius Architecture 10.13).<sup>136</sup>

Leander, cited by Majolus (Colloquy 23) asserts that he saw a fine-sounding organ made of glass, but not only the organ itself, but all the keys which were touched, to give power and breath to the organ, seemed to be made of alabaster. For a Neapolitan craftsman made it and voiced it very sonorously, and carried it to Frederico, Duke of Mantua, as a gift. Leander affirms that he saw that astonishing work in Thusis, since that sort of stone is produced in the fields of Volaterra.<sup>137</sup>

There were memorable inventors of new devices among the Christians:

Georgius, a priest of Venetian descent, recommended to Louis the Pious by Baldric, count of Pannonia, manufactured a hydraulic instrument, which is called "organon," in Aachen (Aimoinus, De Francis 4.113; Aventinus, Annals, book 4).<sup>138</sup>

Gilbert, bishop of Rheims, who was later named Roman pontiff Sylvester II, constructed an organ by his own great

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<sup>136</sup> Vitruvius De Architectura 10.6.

<sup>137</sup> Simone Majolo, Dies Caniculares seu Colloquia (Rome: Typis Aloysii Zannetti, 1597), p. 1066.

<sup>138</sup> Aimoinus, Historia Francorum Libri V (Paris: Andreas Wechelus, 1567), 4.114; Joannes Aventinus, Annalium Boiorum Libri VII (Basel: ad Perream Lecythum, 1580), bk. 3 (294).

skill, which produced musical tones by the power of heated water, in A.D. 997 (this is attested by Erfordiensis and Genebrandus).<sup>139</sup>

And what of the fact that the noted martyr Boethius, at once a mathematician, a philosopher, and an outstanding poet, is said to have invented a musical instrument [called] the "chitarrino?" (So say Bergomas and Genebrandus).<sup>140</sup>

And we must not neglect to mention that Sabellicus (Enneades 10.8) relates that there lived in Venice, around the year of Salvation 1470, a man outstanding in the art of music, Bernard, called Teutonis (an indication of the race from which he sprung), who was the first to increase the range of the organ, so that the feet could help in the harmony, by the use of pull-downs.<sup>141</sup>

But whether the so-called excellent [kat' exochēn] organ existed in the ancient churches of Greece, Italy, Asia, and Africa, can hardly be affirmed or known for sure.

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<sup>139</sup> Erfordiensis, source unknown; Gilbertus Genebrandus, Chronographiae Libri Quatuor (Paris: Guillaume Chaudiere, 1600), bk. 5 (564).

<sup>140</sup> Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, Supplementum Chronicarum (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1483), bk. 9 (f. 65v); Gilbertus Genebrandus, Chronographiae Libri Quatuor (Paris: Guillaume Chaudiere, 1600), bk. 3 (455).

<sup>141</sup> Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Enneades 10.8, in Opera Omnia (Basel: Joannes Hervagius, 1560), II, 999.

## Chapter XV

An epilogue, prosainetikos, or exhorting the patrons and performers of music not to abolish organs in church, but to preserve them and to use them properly in the worship of God.

Finally, in order that the epilogue [epilogos] may not seem foolish [mataiologos], but useful [chrēsologos], let it be accepted, not joined with boasting, but with the clear utility which has been pointed out and supplied in abundance, not only by the Bible, but by ancient and more recent theologians, worthy of belief, and other ancient writers. And let each good [person] who promotes and maintains instrumental music (whether he be destitute of the art and science of instruments, or learned), make use of this Theoria Organices, such as it is.

For if anyone is unable to play the harp or sound trumpets or horns, let him sing with his heart and soul, as Paul bids (Ephesians 5[:19]), and as the rule of Theodoret advises:

Let us use our bodies, [which] possess reason, as harps, and for stringed instruments, let us use our teeth, and for brass instruments, our lips. For the tongue in motion produces an agreeable sound; but let the mind move the tongue. This harp is more pleasing to God than one without a soul, and when stringed instruments [fides] are played without faith

[fide]; thus [God] himself is a witness against the Jews, exclaiming through his prophet: "Take away from me the noise of your songs; to the melody of your harps I will not listen." (Amos 5[:33])<sup>142</sup>

And if anyone devotes himself to the practice of playing instruments, which is the duty of organists, let him delight in and desire praise and honor for organ music, that he may be occupied and busied, both honestly in private homes, and piously in church.

For at banquets and parties, God does not frown on the joy of passing time with music, both natural and artificial, so long as it is done in the Lord (Psalm 33:1). This was proved above, in [the discussion of] the use of instruments at feasts, for

a ruby seal in a setting of gold is a concert of music at a banquet of wine.

(Sirach 32[:5]), and

wine and music gladden the heart...

(Sirach 41 [recte 40:20]), especially when happy times bring gladness, as is mentioned by Paul:

Rejoice with those who rejoice...

(Romans 12[:15]), and Ecclesiastes 7[:14]:

In the day of prosperity be joyful...

But the greatest care must be taken that organs, which many antimusical [misomousoi] and unmusical [amousoi] people unhesitatingly set aside and put out of churches, be kept,

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<sup>142</sup>Theodoret, no work cited.

set up for the public devotion of the church, and properly used.

Although that polyphonic music is rejected by some as harsh, because it distracts the bystander from hearing the words, and merely delights, titillates the ears, and pleases with empty sounds (Peter Martyr, clas. 3 cap. 15. B. Coll. Maul.),<sup>143</sup> nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, just as soldiers are stirred to arms by the sound of the trumpet, so in the congregation of the Church Militant here, and in spiritual combat, that variety of sounds and harmony of instruments powerfully stirs up pious minds to serious prayer and thanksgiving. Nor did the Holy Spirit himself vainly use the harmony of instruments when the evil spirit in Saul yielded to David's harp (I Samuel 16). And Elisha, called by the kings Jehoram and Jehoshaphat to prophesy the outcome of the war against the Moabites, called for a minstrel to play a musical instrument, and as [he] played, [Elisha] was filled with the divinity and the power of the Holy Spirit (II Kings 3). And the fact that God desires instrumental music in the worship of his Name, rather than denying it, is attested by many psalms (33, 98, 144, 149, 150, etc.).

And although the ceremonies of the Levites and singers were abolished, nevertheless, the sound of organs and the elegant harmony of instruments ordered in the Old Testament

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<sup>143</sup>Peter Martyr, Loci Communes (London: Ioannes Kingston, 1566), p. 761.



is certainly a matter of indifference [adiaphoros] in the New Testament, neither commanded nor forbidden, allowed to Christians as something pertaining to the external good appearance [euschemosunēn] and physical exercise [somatikēn gymnasian]

Moreover, organists should especially observe and take care to apply themselves in that direction in which [their] music, sounding the strings [chordis], does not resound without the heart [corde], or, to use the words of Theodoret, not to play on stringed instruments [fides] without faith [fide]. For it is vain to listen to the stringed instruments and to give up faith. When faith cries out in our hearts, then our stringed instruments sound in the ears of God. But how can faith be in our souls unless we perceive the arrangement of faith with our ears?

So faith comes from what is heard (Romans 10[:17]). Therefore, in order that faith may be formed inwardly in the heart, and that the string may be properly plucked with the plectrum, let all you love supplications and divine praises contemplate, meditate on, [and] follow, the use of the psalter of David, and of [his] instruments, both literal and mystical.

Knock [pulsate] and it shall be opened to you,

says Christ (Matthew 10, [recte 7:7]). But certainly we must strike with David's harp and David's plectrum. This happens when we

praise [the Lord] with trumpet sound;  
 praise him with lute and harp!  
 Praise him with timbrel and dance;  
 praise him with strings and pipe!  
 Praise him with sounding cymbals;  
 praise him with loud clashing cymbals!

What is meant by the frequent repetition of the same exhortation to praise the Lord, and the heaping up of so many instruments, joined together in so many psalms, but that we should praise the majesty of Christ with hope and faith, not slothfully and listlessly, but animatedly and ardently? And Saint Paul wants us to be "pneumati zeontas," "aglow with the Spirit" (Romans 12[:11]). And this must be declared, not only with the spirit and with the living voice, but also with musical instruments. And in order to sing rightly to the Lord and in the sight of the Lord (Psalm 98), let the harmony of faith and of all good works be joined to the voice and the instruments. For when Paul (I Corinthians 13[:1]) compares all other outstanding works to "a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal" if they lack charity and love for one's neighbor, let us remember that the trumpet of free confession, the lyre and harp, timbrel and psaltery of brotherly love, are recommended first of all to Christians.

For the rest, we must join our prayers to ask that the organs, which lack that same spirit, may move and animate pious spirits to the summit of devout faith, [being] sonorous and euphonious [entona kai euphōna], and, with bittersweet intensity and sound, may enter their ears, work upon their minds, and stir up the harmony of life with faith.

Therefore, may the merciful Giver of life, the Finger of God, the Spirit of the Father and of our Christ, grant our prayers; and may he benignly rule and direct, stir up and excite with his fingers, our hands and feet, our senses and minds, our hearts [corda] with his strings [chordis], and our faith [fidem] with his stringed instruments [fidibus], and our lives, until we join the heavenly choir of angels, in the salutiferous joy of the church of Zion, and in the everlasting glory of the Name and of the triune Godhead.

Amen.

**APPENDIX I**

## Omissions

from Section I, Chapter V:

## "On Psalmody"

When we dealt with Hebrew accents above, we touched on them in a rather restricted way; but, in order not to neglect the more curious, it has been pleasing to add here more abundantly, as a supplement, the following [remarks], collected from Munsierus, Avenarius, and Schindler (who deal with this more fully and professionally).<sup>1</sup>

Both the teaching of the grammarians, rhetoricians, and musicians, and the names of certain accents and their notation, indicate that the Jews in former times carefully observed the melody, even in the reading and pronunciation of the Biblical text. For it is the custom of the Jews to cantillate the Sabbath Biblical readings in the synagogue to a musical melody, according to the many forms of accents. Thus, a musical accent is called "negīnāh," "modulation" or "melody," or in Greek, "tropus." These are used for the notes of their songs.

And you may know that a grammatical accent is called "ta'am," "taste," which makes a reading, or any utterance of

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<sup>1</sup> Munsierus cannot be identified; Johannes Avenarius (1516-1590) and Valentin Schindler (d. 1610) were grammarians and lexicographers of the sixteenth century.

speech, sweeter, sharpening the syllables, and more flavorful, distinguishing phrases from others, in which the voice sounds higher.

And a rhetorical [accent] is otherwise called "meteg," "halter" or "bridle," or "resen," that is, "muzzle." For, as a horse is directed and restrained from entering by a halter and bridle, so does an upright descending stroke, placed to the left of the vowel point, restrain the reader, holding back the pronunciation like a bridle, so that [he] will not hurry over the syllable in speaking. Another is called "makkāp," "connection," that is, a stroke placed above, between two words, which it so connects that they are spoken with one accent, as if composite.

Grammatical accents have no peculiar figure or sign in the Bible, but they have been replaced by musical accents. Thus, wherever you see any syllable in a passage marked with a musical tropus, you may know that a grammatical accent had a place there. And it would suffice if this were expressed merely by an upright stroke placed above or below, if musical cantillation had not been added.

In addition to the other accents which mark the end of a verse or period, or a colon with a breathing-mark, or commas, many types of accents have taken their names from the type of sound which they signify.

Thus [the following] are named from Kings:

"Tiphā," "palm" or "palm-like," or "tarhā," "labor," that is, to be sung in a weak and low voice.

"Zargā," "the one who scatters," or, to be sung in a sparse voice.

"Gereš," "expulsion," or, to be sung with a pushed voice.

"Paštā," "extension," or, to be sung with an extended voice.

"Fāzēr qātōn," "the small one who scatters," or, to be sung with a sparse and trembling voice.

"Pāzēr gādōl," "the great one who scatters," because it is double.

From the Ministers:

"Mērkā," "production," or, to be sung with a drawn-out [producta] voice; and "mērkā kērūlāh," or doubled.

"Mēkarbēl," "the one who turns the voice."

"(illui(y))," "exalted," or, to be sung in a high voice.

It must be further learned from the grammarians, and observed from Hebrew printed Bibles, with what figure and on what syllables, and [in] what places these and other accents were written. Therefore, the musical use of accents rests on the fact that the Jews cantillate the Sabbath readings from Moses and the Prophets according to [these accents]. And on account of the variety of harmony, so the figures of Hebrew accents are varied and multiform, [such] that each phrase [dictio] has its own peculiar accent, just as it has its own melody.

And although Jewish music is mingled with poetry, it must be noted nevertheless, that at least thirty accents are found in twenty-one books of the Bible, In Job, the

Prophets, and the Psalter, not all are found, on account of the shortness of the verses.

It is uncertain by whose authority and offices the number of accents and figures was multiplied, except that many believe that vowel points and the signs for accents were invented by the same masters. For Elias,<sup>2</sup> (who believes that the Bible was punctuated with accents before vowel points were added) attributes this entire operation to the Jews of Tiberius who were called "ha'klê hammâsôret," "the masters masoreth," that is, "of the tradition," who lived in Moseia Paphlagonias. [He believes this] because formerly, according to the witness of the Cabala, the entire law was like pasuc, or one sentence, and everything ran together without verse divisions. [The Masoretes] corrected everything in the Biblical corpus; they arose in the four hundred thirty-sixth year after the destruction of the second Temple, which is the year of Christ 476.

This should be enough here about Hebrew accents.

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<sup>2</sup>Source unknown.



APPENDIX II

## Omissions

Since Johann Walther was mentioned in the first volume, first part, first section, fourth chapter, on page 15, and [since] his effort and industry in emending faulty choral song were commended, it would have been fitting, then, to supply that reverend old man's own words at once, and from them, to get to know [him] from his own mind. But since they were omitted in that place, it has been pleasing to add them here in this concluding appendix, as if in their proper place, rather than omit them altogether. The benevolent reader may easily join them in reading to the place mentioned above.

Of certain musical faults which occur in ancient choral songs, and their correction by Walther.

Five hundred years ago and more, certain ancient musicians, among these Beruo and Guido, complained about the corruption and faultiness of ecclesiastical psalmody. From that time forth, in almost every single church, there were triflers, shall I say, or craftsmen, who attempted to change and correct those songs which we call "choral," [which were] composed, for the most part, by men distinguished and learned in the art of music, and the fathers, Saints Gergory, Ambrose, and Augustine, [songs composed] artfully and carefully,

observing the prosody and the authentic pronunciation of the Latin language. And this [correction], although [done] in purity and sincerity, served to corrupt and adulterate the ancient psalms, and the corruption which is observed must properly be credited to this. Those [songs] which contain difficulties and require censorious reproof (and not a few require it), you may readily attribute to something of theirs (as if it were a source of pleasure to them to deceive the most wary).

For at some time the notes were confused and displaced, nor was the text suitably fitted to them. This is to be attributed to the scribes (for printing had not yet been invented). It was partly their stupidity, partly their hurried writing, and [the fact] that the letters, nearly obliterated by the dust of age, could not be read by their eyes, that gave birth to and left behind such faults [aphalmata]. At some time, the proper pronunciation was held to be of no importance, that is, syllables [which should have been] suppressed under a low pitch are sometimes sharpened and made prominent, sometimes twisted and extended, so to speak, by a series of many notes.

And, although this sort of thing occurs so frequently that to cure all [these faults] and to clean out this Augean stable would be nearly impossible, and would require not [only] one Hercules; nevertheless, Johann Walther, who was then master of choral music to the elector of Saxony, made somewhat of an attempt about eighty years ago. First of all,

he separated the notes accurately, and then showed to which words they should be joined, and also corrected and removed the principal faults committed in Latin pronunciation, and the barbarisms which abounded in the old psalmody. And that which seemed better left alone, considering carefully the quantity of the syllables, he believed that he should, of necessity, leave alone, lest the old and customary cadences, being disrupted, should sound quite new and strange, and offend the ears. It seemed even to Luther himself that this should be done; these are his words, from the Preface to his book of Funeral Songs:

It is not our intention that these notes must be sung just so in all churches. Each church has its notes and its book, according to its own use. For I myself do not like to hear when the notes in a responsory or a song are strangely sung, in a manner different from that which I sang in my youth, and was accustomed to, etc.<sup>1</sup>

It would have been highly desirable if those labors of Walther's had had greater success, and had seen the light in public. But that torch, which Walther was unable to carry unextinguished to the desired goal, has been taken up by Lucas Lossius. His psalm-melodies, no less correct and purified, appeared in public a little later, and were received with incredible acclaim.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, that work was

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<sup>1</sup>Martin Luther, "Vorrede zu der Sammlung der Begräbnislieder (1542)," in D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. by Karl Drescher (Weimar: Hermann Böhl-  
aus Nachfolger, 1923), XXXV, 480.

<sup>2</sup>Lucas Lossius, Psalmodia (Wittenberg, 1569).

helpful, not only to those who devote themselves to sacred music in schools and churches, who were assisted by its many careful labors of transcription, but at the same time, to all the pious, who are concerned for and love divine worship. Therefore, thanks are rightly owed to God in his name. For my part, I liked that book so much that I resolved, with God's grace and help, to set all of it in harmony. For, aside from the fact that, from my very youth, I was moved by an incredible and singular zeal for that sort of melody, I was persuaded by other reasons and arguments, but especially by those found in the abovementioned manuscript of Master Johann Walther, a pious man and a cultivated musician, and I was more and more confirmed in that intention. And I see no reason not to reproduce Walther's own words in the vulgar tongue.<sup>3</sup>

#### Words of Johann Walther the Elder

The reasons why I have corrected the choral song (which is textually pure, but musically quite debased) are these:

First, I was moved to do so by the beautiful, precious, clever, [and] artful Latin and German songs of our ancestors before our time, dear Christians and saints, who drew [these songs] out of the writings of the Prophets and the Apostles,

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<sup>3</sup>Praetorius' own remarks are given in Latin; the words of Walther are reproduced in the original German.

made them in honor of Christ, and sang them in their parishes in praise of God. In these songs, one feels and sees clearly from their joyful melodies the great joy and ardor of their spirits over the godly, inexpressibly lofty work of the Incarnation of Christ, and of our redemption. I must name some of them, such as:

"Verbum Caro Factum Est"

"Puer Natus Est Nobis"

"Grates Nunc Omnes Reddamus Domino Deo"

"Natus ante Secula Dei Filius"

"A Solis Ortus Cardine"

"Corde Natus ex Parentis ante Mundi Exordium"

"Dies Est Laetitiae"

"Ein Kindelein so Löbelich"

"Illuminare, Hierusalem"

Likewise, of the joyful Resurrection of Christ:

"Christus Resurgens"

"Victimae Paschali Laudes"

"Salve Festa Dies"

"Resurrexit Dominus"

"Ad Coenam Agni Providi"

"Pax Vobis Ego Sum, Hallelujah"

"Christ ist Erstanden"

Of the Ascension of Christ:

"Ascendo ad Patrem"

"Summi Triumphum Regis"

"Ite in Orbem Universum"

"Christ fuhr gen Himmel"

Of the Holy Spirit:

"Apparuerunt Apostolis"

"Veni Sancte Spiritus, et Emitte Caelitus"

"Sancti Spiritus Adsit Nobis Gratia"

"Veni Creator Spiritus"

"Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist"

Of the Holy Trinity:

"Summae Trinitati"

"Benedicta Semper Sit Trinitas"

"O Adoranda Trinitas, O Veneranda Unitas, etc."

"O Lux Beata Trinitas"

And there are many more such songs. All Christians must acknowledge in regard to these, that they contain a lofty [and] rich understanding of Holy Scripture, and when they are sung with devotion and attention, they powerfully stir men's hearts to God and stimulate [them] to praise him.

And, although one finds people who consider only the old German Christian songs good, and praise [them], calling the Latin songs [we] mentioned Popish, that seems unimportant to me. For, if the abovementioned Latin songs should be called Popish because they are sung by the Papists in their monasteries, so must the old German Christian songs be Popish, and be called [Popish], because the Papists sing them in their churches, just as we do.

2. Second, I have been enabled to do such work by commission and support from certain pious Christians, for

God's glory and praise, and for the honor of the precious Gospel of Christ, and I did not wish to bury the talent received from God.

3. Third, I know and bear true witness that the holy man of God, Luther, who has been Prophet and Apostle to the German nations, had a great love for music in plainsong and polyphony. I have sung for many precious hours with him, and often seen how the dear man became so merry and joyful in spirit from singing, that he could hardly become tired and weary of singing and of speaking so splendidly about music. For when he wished to establish the German Mass in Wittenberg, about forty years ago, he wrote to the elector of Saxony and Duke Johann, of praiseworthy memory, to have me and the old songmaster, the honorable Conrad Rupff (who was at the time in the service of his Electoral Grace), called to Wittenberg in order to discuss with us the choral notes and the manner of the eight tones. And finally, he appointed the eighth psalm-tone for the Epistle, and the sixth for the Gospel, saying:

Christ is a friendly Lord, and his sayings are gentle; therefore, we wished to take the sextum tonum for the Gospel. And since Saint Paul is a stern Apostle, we wished to order the octavum tonum for the Epistle.

He himself made the notes for the Epistles, Gospels, and the Words of Institution of the true Body and Blood of Christ; these he sang to me, wishing to hear my opinion of them. He kept me three weeks in Wittenberg to write in an orderly fashion the choral notes for certain Gospels and



Epistles, until the first German Mass was sung in the Pfarrkirche. Then I had to listen to the German Mass, and take a copy of it with me to Torgau, and hand it over to his Electoral Grace, on orders from the Doctor himself. Since he ordered vespers, as it is [sung] in many places, to be arranged with short, pure choral songs for the students and youths, likewise, [he ordered] that the poor students who go [begging] for bread should sing Latin songs, antiphonas and responsoria before the doors, as they had the opportunity. And it did not please him for the students to sing nothing but German songs at the doors. Therefore, those who cast out all Latin Christian songs from church are not to be praised, and do not do rightly if they believe that it is not evangelical or properly Lutheran when they sing or hear a Latin choral song in church. On the other hand, it is also incorrect to sing for the common people nothing but Latin songs, by which the common folk are not improved. Thus, the German, holy, pure, old, and Lutheran songs and psalms are most useful for ordinary houses, but the Latin, for the practice of the young and for the learned.

And let it be seen, heard, and understood, how the Holy Spirit himself collaborates, both with these authors of Latin [songs] and with Master Luther, who until now has written most of the German chorales and set them to music. Therefore, it may be observed in the German Sanctus ("Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah, etc." and in other places, how carefully he fitted all the notes so masterfully and so

well to the text, according to the right accent and harmony. And I also had the occasion to ask his Reverence how, or from what source, he had this teaching or instruction. Then the dear man laughed at my innocence and said:

The poet Vergil taught me this, who is also able to apply his poetry and vocabulary so artfully to the story he is writing. So should music adapt all its notes and songs to the text.

Let the benign reader look at the synopsis of all liturgical music or choral songs, which we have enumerated in the second section.

**APPENDIX III**

# SYNOPSIS seu TABELLA,

Universi operis LEITVRGODIARVM  
SIONIARVM partitionem expli-  
cans & exhibens.

LEITVRGO-  
DIA SIONIA,  
est in universum,  
vel

1. ειδιχη, & Speciali-  
or: in certis Eccle-  
siasticis Aulis &  
conventibus usita-  
ta: dividitur in

1. πρωιναδικα: per quam in  
horis seu precibus Matu-  
tinis canuntur, in

2. ΜΙΣΣΟΔΙΑΝ,  
qua subse compie-  
ritur.

ευαγγελικαδικα: per  
quam ante verbi  
Evangelici predica-  
tionem cantantur,  
in &

ισποδευναδικα: per  
quam circa Cane  
Dominice aduini-  
strat. cantantur, in

3. οβραδικα: per  
quam in horis seu pre-  
cibus Vespertinis  
canuntur, sub

Ingressu: -

Progressu: -

Egressu: - -

Ingressu: -

Progressu: -

Egressu: -

Ingressu: -

Progressu: -

Egressu: -

Ingressum: - - -

Progressum: - - -

Egressum: - - -

2. γενικη, & communior seu Generalior: in omnibus promiscue actibus  
& congregatis Ecclesiasticis usurpanda: vel tanquam

Psal. 95. vers. 19. εσπιασ ηει πρωινοι μεσδυβιασ, vespere & mane & Meridie per: re-  
pam. (in Hebr. eo heist es אשכחא, das ist so viel: als ein stilles/ vnd mit  
Creutzgedactes Einlein / von lauter achzen/ seuffzen/ stehen vnd klagen zuge-  
richtet / mit die gedachte Stimmen in der Drzeln quasi in silentio & spe, εο τ.σ. α.  
γεν geschlagen wird) meditabor & annuncio: & exaudiet vocem meam.

Veni sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum, &c.

*Invitatorium: Venite exultemus.*

*Antiphonæ cum Psalmis & Responsoriis, ex Vespertinarum precum officio mutuo petiti.*

*Symbolum Ambrosii & Augustini: Te Deum laudamus.*

*Canticum Zacharie: Bened. Dom. Deus.*

*Introitus.*

*Kyrie, Gloria, & in terra.*

*Gradualia, vel Halleluia.*

*Sequentiæ, vel Prose.*

*Symbologia, in qua Symbolum Nicen:*

*Credo in unum Deum, Patrem.*

*Præfationes & Sanctus.*

*Benedictus & Agnus Dei.*

*Responsorium Discubuit Jesus.*

*Antiphonæ cum Psalmis.*

*Responsoria, cum HYMNODIA.*

*Parthenodia, sive MEGALYNODIA:*

*in qua Magnificat, seu Canticum Virginis Marie.*

1. *Μεσσοχορδία: que est Ecclesiastice ad aram, & Cantoris in Choro, devotioni mutue, Versibus, Collectis, Præfationibus & Eucharistice benedictioni alternatim respondens Cantio: & repetitur Missodix, post Kyrie & Gloria in terris, inserta.*

2. *Εὐλογώδεια: ut sunt, Benedicamus, & Ode Completorii correctæ, quæ scorsim excusæ sunt in EVLOGODIA.*

3. *Ἐπιλογώδεια: ad quæ pertinent diversa Gloria & Amen, quæ in Collectarum & quarundam Lecturgiarum Conclusionibus promissive adhibentur: & inveniuntur Missodix in sine annexa.*

*Vocatur aliis*

OFFICIUM MATUTINUM.

*Vocatur aliis,*

OFFICIUM SYMMYUM: & comprehenduntur hæc Cantiones omnes in MISSODIA.

*Vocatur aliis,*

OFFICIUM VESPERTINUM.

APPENDIX IV

May it please the reader to hear the words of the supreme Pontiff John XXII (in the Extravagantes Communes on the life and behavior of clerics), in which he commends the simplicity of the melody used in choirs in ancient times, and condemns and punishes excessive zeal for innovation.

The authority of the holy fathers decreed that in the offices of divine praise, which are presented in compliance with the service owed [to God], everyone's mind should be alert, the text should not give offense, and the modest gravity of the psalm-singers should sing with placid modulation. Indeed, a very sweet sound surely resounds in the ears of the psalm-singers, since they receive God into their hearts while speaking [the] words, [and] in the same [way] also, they kindle devotion with songs. Hence, the singing of psalms in the churches of God is advised, so that the devotion of the faithful may be stirred up. In this, the celebration of the day and night offices and the Mass, there is constant singing by clergy and people, at the proper time and in the proper order, so that they may be pleased by the same order and delight in its perfection. But quite a few disciples of the new school, since they take pains to measure tempora, exert themselves over new notes, preferring to invent their own [notes] than to sing the old ones. [Songs] are sung in semibreves and minims, they are stuck with little notes, for they break up the melodies with hockets, make them smooth with discants, [and] often force

upon them vulgar tripla and moteti, to such a degree that they meanwhile despise the foundations of the antiphonary and graduale. They ignore that on which they are building, they do not know the tones. They not only fail to distinguish them, nay, they confuse them; for from the multitude of those notes the chaste ascents and temperate descents of the plainsong, by which the tones themselves are divided, are jumbled together. For they run and do not rest, they make [men's] ears drunk and do not heal them, they simulate in their deeds that which they draw forth, [and] by this the devotion to be sought is despised, and the lewdness to be avoided is displayed. It was not in vain that Boethius himself said that a lewd spirit is delighted by [even] more lewd modes, or in hearing them often, it is enervated and broken. Since we and our brethren perceived recently that this stood in need of correction, we are making haste to banish it, nay more, to cast it out and more effectively despatch it from the same church. In this regard, on the advice of the same brethren, we strictly order that no one should presume henceforth to attempt such or similar things in the said offices, especially the canonical hours, or when the solemnities of the Mass are celebrated. But if anyone shall act to the contrary, let him be punished by eight days' suspension from office on the authority of this canon, by the ordinaries of the places where these [things] have been committed, or by their deputies for those [foundations] not exempt, but in exempt [foundations], by their heads or



prelates, to whom the correction and punishment of sins and excesses of this kind or similar [kinds] is known to pertain. However, we do not intend by this to prohibit, from time to time, especially on feast days, whether at the solemnities of the Mass or in the previously-mentioned divine offices, the addition to the simple ecclesiastical chant of certain consonances, which are inspired by the melody, such as the octave, fifth, fourth, and the like, so long as the integrity of the same chant remains uninjured, and the good character of the music remains unchanged, especially since consonances of this sort soften that which is heard, provoke devotion, and do not allow the spirits of those singing psalms to God to grow torpid.

And here, with the insertion of those things [which were] omitted, let the first volume draw to its end.

M[ichael] P[raetorius]

C[reuzbergensis]

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