CLASSICAL AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF WORLD HARMONY

Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung"

Part I

By LEO SPITZER

Die Sonne tönt, nach alter Weise
In Brudersphären Wettgesang. . . (Goethe, *Faust*)

Und so ist wieder jede Kreatur nur ein Ton, eine Schattierung einer grossen Harmonie, die man auch im Ganzen und Grossen studieren muss, sonst ist jedes Einzelne nur ein toter Buchstabe.
(Goethe to Knebel, November 17, 1789)

In the following study I propose to reconstruct the many-layered Occidental background for a German word: the concept of world harmony which underlies the word *Stimmung*. This task implies a survey of the whole semantic "field", as it was developed in different epochs and literatures: the concept and the words expressing it had to be brought face to face, and in the words, in turn, the semantic kernel and the emotional connotations with their variations and fluctuations in time had to be considered. A "Stimmungsgeschichte" of the word *Stimmung* was necessary. I hope that this historical development will spontaneously, if gradually, emerge from the mosaic of texts to which I wished my running text to be subordinated: the consistency of the texture of verbal and conceptual associations and motifs through the centuries seems to me to be herewith established. "Avez-vous un texte?" was the insistent question which the famous positivist Fustel de Coulanges was wont to address to his pupils when they made a historical statement. The student in historical semantics must ask: "Have you *many* texts?", for only with a great number of them is one enabled to visualize their ever-recurrent pattern. I realize that the medieval art of tapestry (which Péguy has revived in literature), with its possibility of showing a constant motif along with the labyrinth of interwoven ramifications, would be a more adequate medium of treatment than is the necessarily linear run of the words of language. And, in any case, I shall be obliged, in the notes, to anticipate or recapitulate the events which cannot be treated at their historical place.

I came across the problem of *Stimmung* (which has been quite inadequately treated by Germanists) when working on that of "Milieu and Ambiance"—to which I consider it to be a parallel; it has been necessary, in some cases, to discuss the same expressions in both studies, though I have sought to avoid as much as possible any duplication. Here, as in the companion study, I "take the word seriously": the development of thought is always shown together with the development of word usage; in fact, it is development of thought which, I believe, provokes linguistic innovation while, on the other hand, preservation of thought betrays itself in linguistic conservatism. In both studies stress is laid more on preservation of word material than on its renewal: *Stimmung* ultimately echoes Greek words, just as *ambiente, ambiance* echo the Greek περιέχον—these

equations are no more astonishing than are those of French *il est—ils sont* = Indo-European **esti—*sonti*, although scholars in linguistics have hitherto shown more interest in the latter type, that is, in the morphological patterns into which the ideological contents of Occidental civilization have been poured, than in the expressions for the contents itself. It is a fact that the most current abstract words have a Greco-Latin philosophical and religious background, though they may look thoroughly German—a background which has not always been investigated as was done in the case of ἐλεημοσύνη > *misericordia* > *Barmherzigkeit*. Thus, on the concrete linguistico-historical continuity from ancient Greece and Rome via the Christian Middle Ages ("quella Roma onde Christo è Romano") to our modern secularized civilization, one can rather learn from historians of religion and philology than from "system-minded" linguistic comparatists who are little interested in the philosophical and religious ancestry of modern thinking. I shall always remember the words of a colleague of mine, a German historian of art, of atheistic convictions: one day, striding up and down his room as he discussed with his students the Christian elements of our civilization, he stopped short and, looking down at the antique rugs on which he had been treading, he confessed, with bad grace: "Christianity is like these good old rugs: the more you trample them the less they fade." And somewhat similar must be the experience of a linguist devoted to historical semantics: he will always discover an ancient "religious tapestry" of Greco-Roman-Christian origin. The continuity of our inheritance in the philosophical field, nay the continuity of philosophical style itself in the last 2500 years, is a miracle no less astounding than are the equations of the comparatists.

One of the main dangers involved in the treatment of the theme of World Music through the ages is the harmonizing habit of thought which is historically at the bottom of this very conception: this habit may encroach upon the mental processes of the historical semanticist who seeks to study the conception, and who, as he follows the track of the words, may be tempted to assume semantic developments to be *already*, or *still* present at a particular moment—only because he knows the whole curve, the before and the after, of the development. To diagnose the vitality, the emotional force in a conception at a particular historical moment is not easy (the words may be petrified reminiscences). An historical analyst such as Professor Lovejoy, for example, would perhaps tend to distinguish many more *differences* in word usage than I have been able to see, who would, by natural habit, rather emphasize the bridges connecting the seventeen meanings of "nature" in the eighteenth century, than the abysses between them. I readily admit that the synthetic attitude may be a serious danger, and doubly so in a study on *musica mundana* to which no mortal ear can ever boast to be coldly objective: for World Music is, perhaps, what a German coinage could express: *der Seelenheimatlaut*: the music of man's nostalgia yearning homeward—heavenward! And yet, too intellectual an attitude toward one of the most heart-inspiring cosmic conceptions ever imagined, would be an unnecessary, if not an impossible sacrifice to scholarly impassibility. We have in our republic of letters too many scholars whose abstract coolness is due largely to their lack of belief in

what they have chosen to study, and I feel that the scholar cannot adequately portray what he does not love with all the fibres of his heart (and even a "hating love" would be better than indifference): I side with Phaidros in the Symposium, speaking of Eros: ὅ γὰρ χρὴ ἀνθρώποις ἡγεῖσθαι παντὸς τοῦ βίου.

I must express my gratefulness to the editors of *Traditio* for their acceptance of an article which, with its emphasis on the linguistic, and with the prolongation entailed by treating the continuation of the Christian concept of World Harmony into that of the modern *Stimmung*, manifestly exceeds the program of their review. They must have shared with me the belief that words are not *flatus vocis* but *vultus animi*, and that in tradition there is also included the potential self-renewal of a tradition, the auto-ignition by which old conceptions can ever be revived in later periods—even in periods of secularized thought.

In addition to the different scholars who contributed information to this article and whom I shall mention in due place, I want to thank my old friend Hans Sperber for handing over to me his cards on *Stimmung*, and Dr. Anna Granville Hatcher for the keen criticism which is for her a necessity and for the criticized a marvelous help—and for having sensed first that what originally was a note in my article on MA[1] should rather become an article in its own right.

It is a fact that the German word "Stimmung" as such is untranslatable. This does not mean that phrases such as *in guter (schlechter) Stimmung sein* could not easily be rendered by Fr. *être en bonne (mauvaise) humeur*, Eng. *to be in a good (bad) humor, in a good (bad) mood*; *die Stimmung in diesem Bilde (Zimmer)* by *l'atmosphère de ce tableau (cette chambre)*,[2] or *l'ambiance . . .* ; *Stimmung hervorrufen* by *to create, to give atmosphere, créer une atmosphère*; *die Stimmung der Börse* by *l'humeur, le climat de la bourse; für etwas Stimmung machen* by *to promote*; *die Seele zu Traurigkeit stimmen* by *disposer l'âme à la tristesse* etc. But what is missing in the main European languages is a term that would express

[1] Abbreviations:

NED = *New English Dictionary*
DWb = *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Grimm)
REW = Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
FEW = von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
Bloch = Bloch-von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*
Gode(froy) = F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*
ThLL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
ZRPh = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association*
MA = my article on "Milieu and Ambiance" in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* III, 1–42; 169–218
Reese = G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York 1940.
OF = Old French, O Sp = Old Spanish etc.

[2] Cf. for example Léon Vallas, *Claude Debussy* (English translation 1933, p. 104): "To use a phrase which has become stereotyped because of its exactness and truth—they [the new expressive mediums] enable Debussy to *create an atmosphere* unprecedented in its fluidity and vibration."

the unity of feelings experienced by man face to face with his environment (a landscape, Nature, one's fellow-man), and would comprehend and weld together the objective (factual) and the subjective (psychological) into one harmonious unity. The oft-quoted saying of the French-Swiss Amiel: "Le paysage est un état d'âme",[3] rather reveals by analysis than succeeds in bridging the fundamental dualism prescribed to him by his Romance language and which his Germanate pantheistic soul wished to overcome: for a German, *Stimmung* is fused with the landscape, which in turn is animated by the feeling of man—it is an indissoluble unit into which man and nature are integrated. The Frenchman can neither say **l'humeur d'un paysage* nor **mon atmosphère* (at least not without expressed justification), whereas the German has at his disposal both "the Stimmung of a landscape" and "my Stimmung". And there is also in the German word a constant relationship with *gestimmt sein*, "to be tuned", which, with its inference of a relative solidarity or agreement with something more comprehensive (a man, a landscape, must be tuned *to* "something"), differentiates it from *state of mind*, *état d'âme*, *Gemütszustand*, and presupposes a whole of the soul in its richness and variability; when Hegel, in his *Vorlesungen über Ästhetik* (published in *Werke*, Berlin, 1842–3) 10, 3, p. 424, defines the contents of lyric poetry, in the statement:

> Die *flüchtigste Stimmung des Augenblicks*, das Aufjauchzen des Herzens, die schnell vorüberfahrenden Blitze sorgloser Heiterkeiten und Scherze, Trübsinn und Schwermuth, Klage, genug *die gan e Stufenleiter der Empfindung* wird hier in ihren momentanen Bewegungen oder einzelnen Einfällen über die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände festgehalten und durch das Aussprechen dauernd gemacht,

the word *Stimmung* evokes the most fugitive of moods, but within the framework of the "whole scale of feelings".[4] Similarly, Schopenhauer (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, I, 3, 51) may write: "die Stimmung des Augenblickes zu ergreifen und im Liede zu verkörpern ist die ganze Leistung dieser poetischen Gattung" [i.e. of lyric poetry]; again (*ibid.* I, 3, 38), when ascribing the feeling of harmony to the elimination of man's *Wille* and its replacement by *Erkennen*, he uses the same word to denote a general *Gestimmtsein*:

[3] Romain Rolland, in his *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* (1908), p. 188, uses the German word wrongly, since for him it is only the German equivalent (used because he is dealing with things German) of *état d'âme*, this expression of such precise connotations: " . . . il n'est pas douteux qu'elle [the music of G. Mahler] ne soit toujours l'expression d'une *Stimmung* qui fait l'intérêt de sa musique." Conversely, when Stendhal lists, as he did so often, the possible *états d'âme* of man, he is always thinking of the more permanent states of mind (hatred, envy), not of the *Stimmungen* of the moment.

[4] When Guido Errante, *Sulla lirica romanza delle origini* (New York, 1943) quotes this sentence, he renders the phrase in question by "la 'Stimmung' fuggitiva del momento", retaining this word throughout the book—where occasionally it alternates with *tonalità*—when he wishes to emphasize the general tone of a poem. We find, for example (p. 387): "Si tratta di tendenza, di tonalità, di 'Stimmung', non certo di imitazione precisa e circonscritta . . . è impulso che eccita a creare. Il temperamento del nostro poeta lo porta ad attingere di preferenza nella acque irruenti e tempestuose. . . . " Similarly, *Stimmung* is rendered in Spanish today by *umor*, *temple*, *tonalidad*: three words instead of one.

Innere Stimmung, Übergewicht des Erkennens über das Wollen, kann unter jeder Umgebung diesen Zustand hervorrufen . . . aber erleichtert und von aussen befördert wird jene rein *objektive Gemüthsstimmung* durch entgegenkommende Objekte.[5]

Such is the range of the German word: from fugitive emotionalism to an objective understanding of the world. Moreover, there is a constant musical connotation with the word, due to its origin, as we shall point out, which can be revived at any moment in modern writing: E. R. Curtius, writing in his *Frankreich*, p. 152, on Paris, will say:

Alle diese Kontraste sind . . . befasst in einer *Einheit von Atmosphäre und Stimmung*, worin die Anmut heiterer Gärten, das naive Kleinleben der Strasse, die geschwungene Folge der Seinebrücken, . . . die so verschiedene Eigenart der einzelnen Stadtviertel *zusammenklingen*. Paris ist nicht nur eine Stadt, es ist auch eine *Landschaft* aus Wasser, Bäumen, Rasen, und sie hat ihren eigenen Himmel, dessen zart *abgetönte* Farben mit den blassen grauen und gelblichen *Tönen* der Häuser *zusammenstimmen*.

The potential musicality in the word family is like a *basso ostinato* accompanying the intellectual connotation of "unity of the landscape and feelings prompted by it".

If we are to delve now into the historic foundations of *Stimmung*, we find the surprising fact that the German word, however individual may be its use today, and however wide its semantic range, is simply and clearly indebted to the all-embracing ancient and Christian tradition which is at the bottom of all the main European languages: the German has made his original talent (in the Biblical sense) fructify in an individual manner, but the talent itself which he has inherited is identical with that of the other peoples of the Occident. It is significant that *Stimmung* in its current meaning of "changing mood of the moment" is most easily translatable into other languages (Eng. *mood*, *humor*, *temper* etc.), whereas the *Stimmung* which extends over, and unites, a landscape and man, finds no full equivalent: it is precisely the latter, the so "specifically German" semantic development which originates in the all-embracing and international European tradition. Originally the word did not suggest a changing, temporary condition, but rather a stable "tunedness" of the soul, and in this meaning—although neither S. Singer (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, III and IV) nor F. Mauthner (*Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, preface) mention it in their lists, nor the *Deutsche Wörterbuch* in its treatment of *Stimmung*—it was evidently a loan translation (*Bedeutungslehnwort*) from Latin words such as *temperamentum* (*temperatura*) and *consonantia* (*concordia*), which mean a "harmonious state of mind." We have to deal here with an ancient semantic texture consisting mainly

[5] The (*innere*) *Stimmung* = *Gestimmtheit* (already extant in the first edition of 1819) is evidently the older meaning. It is significant that the passage on lyric poetry is still missing in the 1819 edition, and appears only in that of 1844. In the former we find only the phrase *lyrische Stimmung*: "Darum geht im Liede und der *lyrischen Stimmung* das Wollen . . . und das reine Anschauen . . . wundersam gemischt durch einander . . . von diesem ganzen so gemischten und getheilten *Genüthszustande* ist das ächte Lied der Ausdruck." It is clear that the *lyrische Stimmung* is something between a passing mood and a *Gestimmtsein*.

of two threads; in the following lines we shall try to unravel what in ancient and medieval thought was woven together: the ideas of the "well-tempered mixture" and of the "harmonious consonance", which fuse into the one all-embracing unit of the World Harmony.

It is to the harmonizing thought of the Greeks (which, instead of being blamed by modern critics as a lack of analysis impeding progress in natural sciences, should be understood in its poetic quality, in its power of making the world poetic) that we owe the first picture of the world seen in a harmony patterned on music, a world resembling Apollo's lute—*seen* because ἰδέα and εἶδος, *Denken* and *Anschauung* were one for the Greek: this, of course, was in contrast to the imagination of the Jews as expressed in the Scriptures: there, though things seen abound, they are immediately put into the service of the invisible God Himself. It was probably not only the "so-called Pythagoreans" (to use the expression which E. Frank, in his book, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer*, Halle 1929, borrowed from Aristotle to designate later scientists of about 400 B.C. who attributed their scientific discoveries to the mythical Pythagoras)—but Pythagoras himself who assumed a fourfold harmony in the world: this had to be fourfold since the "holy τετρακτύς" pervaded his thinking: the harmony of the strings (and of the string), of the body and soul, of the state, of the starry sky; and this idea has been alive wherever the influence of Pythagoras was felt, from Plato and Ptolemy and Cicero to Kepler, Athanasius Kircher and Leibniz. Less than the other thinkers of the earliest age of Greek philosophy and science (6th–5th cent. B.C.), did the Pythagoreans keep science clear of mythology, and it is this "theological" approach which later endeared their speculations to the Christian age. It has been suggested that the cult of Apollo, the god with the lute as his attribute, has inspired the musical simile of Pythagoras, and that the "real Pythagoreans" were probably an Orphic sect. Observing the wondrous regularity of the movement of the stars, they may have come to imagine a musical harmony in them: the seven planets were comparable to the seven strings of the heptachord of Terpandros (ca. 644 B.C.) and the (assumed) sounds of the spheres revolving around the central fire at different distances to the seven intervals of this lute—the distances between the spheres themselves were "tones". World harmony appeared as a musical harmony, inaccessible to human ears, but comparable to human music and, since reducible to numbers (τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀριθμόν), to some degree accessible to human reason. In spite of the fact that the simile: world harmony—musical harmony was derived (historically speaking) from a human instrument, the Pythagoreans inverted the order by admitting that the human lute (as imagined in the hands of the god Apollo) was an imitation of the music of the stars; human activities had to be patterned on godly activities, i.e. on the processes in nature: human art, especially, had to be an imitation of the gods, i.e. of reasonable Nature. Thus we will witness a continuous flow of metaphors from the human (and divine) sphere to Nature and back again to human activities which are considered as imitating the artistic orderliness and harmony of Nature. A clearly idealistic conception of the world, opposing the materialism of Ionian natural philosophy, had taken hold

of a visual (and acoustic) symbol in order to make itself understood with the Pythagoreans.

It was a later dialectic complication when the whole world, according to Heraclitus, was thought to be built on integrated contrasts: *παλίντροπος* (*var.* *παλίντονος*) *ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξον καὶ λύρα*; harmony dominates, but, a harmony which comprehends strife and antagonism as a synthesis is beyond thesis and antithesis (an idea for which Hegel is indebted to Heraclitus). The lute and the arrow are alike in form; this fact, and the fact that both are attributes of Apollo, are for Heraclitus symptomatic of the ease with which strife (the arrow) can turn into harmony: for the name of the bow (*βιός*) is life (*βίος*) and its work, death. The Greek mind has been able to see harmony in discord, to see the triumph of "symphony" over the discordant voices. A sentence such as Philolaos' (Diels, n° 44, B 10): *ἁρμονία δὲ πάντων ἐξ ἐναντίων γίνεται, ἔστι γὰρ ἁρμονία πολυμιγέων ἕνωσις καὶ δίχα φρονεόντων συμφρόνησις* is typical in its theme of control imposed upon the discordant: the paradoxical expression *δίχα φρονεόντων συμφρόνησις*, "the making concordant of the discordant" (Diels translates, "des verschieden Gesinnten Sinnesverbindung") confronts us with the two antagonistic forces of harmonious unification and discordant manifoldness, but the *συμφρόνησις*, the "thinking-together" is triumphant, the discordant is made subject thereto (the linguistic expression itself portrays the wrestling with chaos and the triumph of cosmos). Small wonder that this felicitous linguistic analysis of cosmic life has been retained in the following centuries. With the Romans we find expressions of the type *concordia discors* (Pliny),[6] said of heat and humidity; *rerum*

[6] How genuine this concept must have appeared to the Romans, we may guess by the use of *symphonia discors* by Horace, who, in his *Ars Poetica*, wittily applies it to bad music played at a banquet; in this way he parodies what is most abhorrent to his (Grecian) aesthetics: lack of proportion = tastelessness: "Ut gratas inter mensas *symphonia discors* / Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver [evidently a *dyskrasia* or bad mixture] / Offendunt, poterat duci quae cena sine istis, / Sic animis natum inventumque poema juvandis, / Si paulum summa decessit, vergit ad imum." Du Bellay, imitating Horace in his invective *Contre les Pétrarquisants*, opposes poetic excesses by reference to cosmic harmony: "L'un meurt de froid et l'autre meurt de chaud, / L'un vole bas et l'autre vole haut, / L'un est chétif, l'autre a ce qu'il faut, / L'un sur l'esprit se fonde, / L'autre s'arrête à la beauté du corps. / On ne vit onc si *horribles discords* / En ce *chaos* qui troubloit *les accords* / *Dont fu bâti le monde*."

The *symphonia discors* as a principle of World Harmony is found with Pontus de Tyard, the poet of the Pléïade and theoretician of music, in a bacchanal song from his *Erreurs amoureuses*: "Quel accord discordant bruit, / S'entremêle s'entrefuit, / Qui mes esprits épouvante! [the music of the baccanalian Evoe]"; Bacchus himself appears as victor accompanied by integrated appositions such as *la discorde—l'amitié*. In this connection we must think of Pope's lines: "Not, chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd, / But, as the world, harmoniously confus'd: When order in variety we see, / And where, though all things differ, all agree."

In French Renaissance poetry, Catholic as well as Protestant, political discord is portrayed, after the manner of Cicero, as a perturbation of divine harmony: as an example of the former, cf. Ronsard, *Discours des misères de ce temps*, 1562, who uses against the Protestants the argument of the pernicious *variations* to which Bossuet will later resort: "Vous devriez, pour le moins, avant que nous troubler, / Etre ensemble *d'accord sans vous désas-*

concordia discors (Ovid, Horace), *dissimilium concordia quam vocant ἁρμονίαν* (Quintilian): things are made to "feel" also with the pupils of Greece. Nor are these isolated examples of the tendency to endow the universe with human feelings: sympathy (the human capacity of suffering with one's fellow man) is attributed to the stars in a kind of cosmic empathy ("kosmische Einfühlung" which Max Scheler, *Wesen und Formen der Sympathie*, p. 25, has termed characteristic of Occidental thought). With Poseidonius, if we are to believe K. Reinhardt (Kosmos und Sympathie, p. 54), sympathy (expressed in later writers by *συμπάθεια, συγγένεια, σύμπνοια*) becomes a cosmic principle of world-cohesion; and Dion of Prusa, in a political oration, the ideas of which have gone over to Augustine (cf. H. Fuchs, *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke*) contrasts the *ὁμόνοια*, the concord of the elements, of Nature, and the animals with the egotism (*πλεονεξία*) of petty man and his communities.

In a universe thus animated by human feelings (patterned on godly ones), music seemed to express best the inner depths of human and cosmic nature. The central position of music in Greek thought (an art much neglected by students in the Antiquities in comparison with the plastic arts of the Greeks, of which so many remnants have come to us), has been described by E. Frank: the *ποιητής* was for the Greeks the type of the Creator, who was poet and composer (i.e. musician) at the same time, whereas the sculptor was merely a *δημιουργός*, an artisan, dangerously close to the mere technician, the *βάναυσος*. E. Frank gives the history of Greek music from its liturgic, classically measured period of *melos* (linear development of melody) and enharmony (the distinction of fourth-tones, a refinement which our ears, trained only for diatonic music, can no longer appreciate) to chromatism, later diatonism, and to absolute music, i.e. music without words that is descriptive of human emotions. After Damon (5th cent.), a mathematician and statesman, had recognized in music the main pillar of the state (any musical innovation can shake it from top to bottom), the first philoso-

---

sembler; / Car Christ n'est pas un dieu de noise ni de *discorde*; / Christ n'est que charité, qu'amour et que *concorde*. / Et monstrez clairement par votre division / Que Dieu n'est point auteur de votre opinion . . . " An example of the latter is found in the *Tragiques* of D'Aubigné, who compares France, torn by religious wars, with the body of a giant, hitherto invincible, now affiicted with dropsy and *discrasie*: "Son corps est *combattu à soi-mesme contraire*, / Le sang pur ha le moins [= "the poor blood is conquered (by the impure)"; the explanation of the editors, Garnier-Plattard, is wrong], le flegme & la colere / Rendent le sang non sang . . . / La masse degenere en la melancholie; / Ce vieil corps tout infect, plein de sa *discrasie*, / Hydropique, fait l'eau, si bien que ce geant, / Qui alloit de ses nerfs ses voisins outrageant, / Aussi foible que grand n'enfle plus que son ventre." Similarly, Maurice Scève in *Le microcosme* writes, according to A.-M. Schmidt, *La poésie scientifique en France au XVI^e siècle* (1938), p. 153: "deux des plus beaux vers qu'il ait jamais imaginés", on the discordant accord in music: "Musique, accent des cieux, plaisante symfonie, / Par contraires aspects formant son harmonie", and describes as follows the effect of the invention of the musical modes: "De *discordant accord* mélodieux tesmoins / Par les proportions des monuments celestes / Soulageons ici bas nos cures plus molestes". The classical-minded Austrian poet Grillparzer, seeking to define the music of Liszt, who came into this world of passions "with an eye as though from Eden", states the principle of all art in the same terms: "*Eintracht in Zwietracht* ist das Reich der Künste".

pher to take note of the increased importance of music is Democritos (ca. 430–400), who, by placing it as a separate discipline together with arithmetic, astronomy and geometry, became, so to speak, the founder of the medieval *quadrivium*. Democritos expressed the feeling of his time when he stated that the essence and the happiness of mankind consists in "harmony". Archytas, Plato's Pythagorean friend, sought (after 400 B.C.) to find the essence of the individual soul, as of the world-soul, in the tones of music, as well as to establish the exact physical laws underlying this art (the relationship between the length of strings and the pitch of tones: the proportion 2:1 gives the octave, 3:2 the quint, 4:3 the quart etc.). In his theory we find an explanation not only of the difference of sounds but also of the movement, determined by mathematics, of quantitative celestial bodies; it originated, according to Frank, not with Pythagoras or the older Pythagoreans, but with the "so-called Pythagoreans", probably from Archytas himself, who, like any modern scientist, *proved* his mathematical harmony of the celestial bodies. Though inspired originally by theology, this constitutes one of the greatest among scientific discoveries; centuries later it was exhumed by Kepler, who, in 1618, found it in the *Harmonice* of Ptolemy, that is, in a late re-elaboration ("a Pythagorean dream", as he says) of the Archytan ideas compiled 1500 years before him and corroborating his own independent research of twenty-two years. Plato evidently knew and appreciated the greatness of this find, which had been realized probably at his time: at the end of *Nomoi* he states the two basic principles that the immortal soul is prior and superior to all bodily developments and that there is a Noῦς in the constellations: "man must therefore appropriate to himself the rigorous mathematical sciences whose close relationship with music he must have apprehended in order to learn their use in the harmonious education of his character, and of the moral and juridical conscience."

Plato, in the *Timaeus*, uses the exact schemes of Archytas to a purely speculative end, building a new cosmogony around these numerical speculations. How the world-soul (a religious concept), the regulation of the cosmos (a concept of physics), world harmony (a musical concept) and the soul of man (a psychological concept) are fused, can perhaps best be seen in this dialogue of *Timaeus* (cf. A. Rivaud's introduction to the Association Budé edition, X). According to this, since the soul is in general the cause of life and life manifests itself by regular movements ordered in view of a purpose, so the world-soul, the first and oldest creation of the Demiurgos, is the principle of orderly movement in the universe; thus the world-soul guarantees the order of the skies—and from theology we have gone forward to astronomy and physics. This world-soul, identified with the heavenly sphere and its moving force, is itself the result of a mixture, at the hands of the Demiurgos, of an indivisible, eternally stable essence (the One; the world of Ideas or Eternal Forms), and of the divisible and visible, transitory essence—a mixture of elements, to which has been added, in a second mixture, the very product, containing divisible and indivisible elements, of the first mixture: the three elements (they are three for Plato) are mixed in a proportion A, B, C $\left(= \frac{A}{2} + \frac{B}{2}\right)^2$, in which the divisible has been joined "forcibly" by the

Demiurgos with the indivisible to form a *harmony*. The compound thus formed was divided by Him into seven parts which have to each other the relationship either 1:2:4:8 or 1:3:9:27—by now we have turned from metaphysics to mathematics.[7] Out of the two progressions the Demiurgos has formed the series of seven members: 1,2,3,4,8,9,27: this is the "great tetraktys" which the ancients figured as the two branches of a *Lambda*:

8 27
4 9
2 3
1

The intervals between these members have been filled by applying two μεσότητες, the arithmetic and the harmonic mean. In order to define the interval between two consecutive members, Plato now uses music: every member is a sound (φθόγγος) of the scale. The higher number does not correspond to the number of vibrations as in modern acoustics, but to the location in the lute: the highest string (ὑπάτη) gives the lowest tone. The problem of harmony consists, then, of "unifying" or "filling" the intervals of the scale by terms which have definite relationships with the original series. This operation is called ἁρμόττειν, harmonization, and the result is a συμφωνία. The choice of the numbers determining the intervals is effected, not by observation, but by *a priori* reasoning. This series so deduced, and comprehending all possible scales, is much longer than the one used in the musical scale—it must be so since it represents the World Soul which surpasses in harmony all the limited scales produced by imperfect human instruments. The ἁρμονία or διὰ πασῶν, the octave interval of five tones and two λείμματα (residues), representing two tetrachords, uses only the proportion 2:1, whereas the celestial harmony goes up to 27. These *a priori* constructed intervals are not, let us remember, tones susceptible of sensuous apperception, but absolute numerical consonances (cf. also *Republic* 531 C). Thus the element of numbers, guaranteeing beauty, order and measure to the cosmos, is the one important and lasting element of the world-soul—consequently, of the human soul: a beauty hidden to mortal man, though graspable by the mathematically trained philosopher and musicologist. Man must regulate his senses to the *Nous* underlying the revolutions of the celestial spheres and make straight the irregularity and disorder in the view of attaining harmony.

"Harmony, having movements akin to the periodic revolutions (περιόδοις) of the soul, is, for him who has an intelligent relationship with the Muses, not useful for unreasonable

[7] Later the numerical speculations became still more complicated. Plutarch reports on the cosmology of Petronius of Himera, that, of his 183 "worlds" (κόσμοι), 60 were located on every side of an isosceles, with 3 in addition at the corners, all of them touching each other as in a χορεία. In the neo-Pythagorean school, about the time of the birth of Christ, old Pythagorean speculation was revived: the seven planets which cause the harmony of the spheres are identified with the Greek vowels αεηιουω, while Nestorius teaches that harmony originates from the consonance of 7 vowels and 17 consonants, which are roughly identified with the planets and the 12 signs of the zodiac, cf. H. Diels, *Elementum*, p. 45.

enjoyment as it appears today, but has been given by the Muses as an ally of the soul for the order (εἰς κατακόσμησιν καὶ συμφωνίαν) and unison in the periodic revolution of the soul which has become unorderly (ἀνάρμοστον)." (*Tim.* 47 d).

One must, in order adequately to grasp the full meaning of such sentences, realize the cosmic overtones of the key-words used by Plato to describe the musical harmony: περίοδοι are the periods in the life of the soul that are comparable to those celestial revolutions which produce the harmony of the spheres; συμφωνία is the order introduced into the soul by music, an order which re-establishes the order of the cosmos; ἁρμονία is the result of being well-joined, well fitted together ("Ebengesang" is Goethe's equivalent in *Satyros*) and the soul which really understands music, does not "enjoy" hedonistically alone, but understands the *Nous* of the Muses, the beauty of order. The whole cosmos is based upon numbers: the four elements are bound together in friendship by numbers ordained by God (32 b–c)—the forms are connected with numbers, since the four elements originate from triangles numerically determined: the corporality characteristic of matter is based on limitation of planes; from the triangles originate the geometrical forms which correspond to the elements (the cube to the earth, the pyramid to the fire, etc.). The numerical beauty of the Creation, and its origin, could not fail to appeal to Christians, who could read in the *Liber Sapientiae* (itself influenced by Greek thought): "Sed omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti" (11, 21).

In *Gorgias* 507 E, Socrates makes his own the Pythagorean theory that heaven and earth, God and man, are bound together by a geometrical proportion and "therefore" the universe is called a cosmos. In the *Republic* 616 B, we find the poetic explanation of the harmony of spheres by their revolving on the spindle of Necessity:[8] On each of the spheres there is a siren who utters her own sound (φωνὴν μίαν . . . ἕνα τόνον); and by the voices of the eight sirens singing together harmony is produced (μίαν ἁρμονίαν ξυμφωνεῖν). Plato assumes (and this concept was not to be found before him, and was rejected by Aristotle [v. Frank]) a world-soul as a general principle, outside of the particular corporeal beings, and having its seat in the midst of the universe which it pervades and embraces (thus it is the περιέχον from which *ambiente* originates, cf. MA, *passim*); this world-soul is also identifiable with light and with the good (ἀγαθόν)— hence later the emanationistic theories of the Neo-Platonists. With these theories a new myth is created, a myth resting on a scientific basis, but not identifiable with science: as Goethe has said (*Farbenlehre*, quoted by Frank, p. 15):

[8] Milton has put this part of the *Republic* into verse in his *Oreades*, line 61 seq.: " . . . in deep of night when drowsiness / Hath lock'd up mortal sense, then listen I / To the celestial Siren harmony, / That sit upon the nine infolded spheres, / And sing to those that hold the vital shears, / And turn the adamantine spindle round, / On which the fate of Gods and men is wound. / Such sweet compulsion doth in music lie, / To lull the daughters of Necessity, / And keep unsteady Nature to her law, / And the low world in measur'd motion draw / After the heavenly tune, which none can hear / Of human mold, with gross unpurged ear." Here we have the allusion to Ananke holding the spindle of adamant, while her three daughters wind the web about the spindle and sing along with the Sirens.

Plato verhält sich zur Welt wie ein seliger Geist, dem es beliebt auf ihr einige Zeit zu herbergen. Es ist ihm nicht sowohl darum zu tun *sie kennen zu lernen* . . . . Er dringt in die Tiefen, mehr um sie mit seinem Wesen auszufüllen, als um sie zu *erforschen*.

The myth prompted the identification of world-soul and world harmony: a harmony not to be found in the elements of the bodies (this would have been Democritic philosophy, which Plato opposes in the *Phaedon*), but incorporeal, mathematical harmony. The human soul could be patterned only on the world-soul, in this philosophy which projects human qualities into the cosmos only to have the cosmic forces guide things human: the regression from the macro- to the microcosmic was typical in Greek philosophy (Frank, p. 320); consequently, the human soul, too, must be based on numbers. The Pythagorean Simmias, in Plato's *Phaedon* (85 E)—and in this case he is refuted by Socrates—states that the soul is harmony: it has the same relation to the body as harmony, likewise invisible, has to the lute: the concept of "the lute of the soul" which we will find so often is here imminent.[9] In those fragments of Philolaos which are based on Plato (Diels, n°. 32, B 6–11; 22) we find such sentences as: "The soul is fitted to the body by number and by the immortal incorporeal harmony. . . . The soul loves the body because without it, it could not use the senses; separate from the body it leads an incorporeal life in the world" (this fragment is preserved only in the Latin of Claudianus Mamertus: "anima induitur corpori per numerum et immortalem . . . convenientiam"). The word *convenientia* is the equivalent of "harmony" (which we shall find in Cicero); number obtains within the human soul and "fits together all things with the perception thereof"; and all things divine, demoniac and human, more specifically human deeds, words, technical practices and music, are under the influence of that ἁρμονία in which there is no trace of deceit and envy, as in the unlimited and the unreasonable. It was logical to transfer this mathematico-harmonical approach to the life of man in the community: Archytas, after mathematical and musical speculations, came to see a "canon" of life in the finding of a (mathematical) yardstick: a way to prevent dissension and to increase concord between rich and poor. The transition to the life of the state is herewith achieved (Diels, l.c. n°. 35, B 3). Friendship is also a musical performance which consists of the tuning of two souls: Aristotle, in general so opposed to Platonism and Pythagoreanism, had to yield to the vogue of music and to use the musical simile: he thinks the perfect friendship to be with one other person rather than with two, because it is harder to attune three musical instruments together than two—and real friendship rests on the accord of souls and minds: this teaching will go over to Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (cf. A.D. Menut, PMLA LVII, 819) and to the whole

[9] Cf. in Philo Judaeus (ed. Cohn-Wendland, I, 196) the idea that the Creator made things to be consonant, as he made the tone of the lute consonant, in spite of the unequal sounds (λύρας τρόπον ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡρμοσμένης φθόγγων εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἐλθόντα συνηχήσειν ἔμελλε —this whole chapter being an anticipation of Panurge's speech on the principle of borrowing and lending in nature). The soul is fitted together in a musical manner (II, 61: ὥσπερ τινὰ λύραν τὴν ψυχὴν μουσικῶς ἁρμοσάμενον) so that contrasts do not jar.

Renaissance as well as to the enthusiastic cult of friendship of the eighteenth century which dwelt on the tuning ("sich stimmen") of two brother souls.

It was only logical that music was considered by the Pythagoreans to have a curative effect on body and soul.

> "It is clear that in such a theory bodily and psychic factors are blended in a peculiar way. At the same time there is a moral element involved: unhealthy desire is uncontrolled desire. . . . The same considerations for body and soul, the same combination of precepts and prohibitions seem to be characteristic of the Pythagorean treatment of diseases. . . . If health, the retention of the form, changes into disease, the destruction of the form, the body needs purification through medicine just as the sick soul needs purification through music."

With his concept of holy purity and harmony (which must have appealed later to the Christians), the Pythagorean physician cured the soul as well as the body; health to him is harmony, the proper "attunement" of body and soul (L. Edelstein, *Bull. of the Hist. of Medicine*, V, 234 and *Suppl.* I to this Bulletin, I, 23). Theophrastus states that gouty pains in the hip, as well as snakebites, are cured by playing the flute; to Democritos the flute is the remedy for many of the ills that flesh is heir to. Gellius, who reports these statements, adds: "So very close is the connection between the bodies and the minds of men, and therefore between physical and mental ailments and their remedies." Diocles holds that one has to understand friendly consolation as incantation (*προσαοιδή*), for it stops the flowing of the blood when the wounded man is attentive and, as it were, connected with the man who speaks to him. It is by such theories that we may understand the frequent scenes in Shakespeare or Lope, where a sad mood (melancholy) is consoled through the efficacy of music arranged by an understanding friend or servant.

The healthy soul is "symphonic", i.e. harmonious: Stobaeus explains the *ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν* of the stoic Zeno: *τοῦτο δ' ἔστι καθ' ἕνα λόγον καὶ σύμφωνον ζῆν, ὡς τῶν μαχομένων ζώντων κακοδαιμονούντων*, translated by Cicero: "congruenter naturae convenienterque vivere", cf. Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, I, n° 179.

The Pythagorean theory of the harmony of the spheres was retained by the Romans and, by their mediation, transmitted to the Christians: the most important document in this connection is the one so dear to Dante (cf. *Par.* I, 18): the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, which contains the following dialogue between Scipio Aemilianus and Scipio Africanus (V, 10):

> Quid? hic . . . quis est, qui complet aures meas tantus et tam dulcis sonus? Hic . . . ille, qui intervallis disiunctus imparibus, sed tamen pro rata parte, ratione distinctis, impulsu et motu ipsorum orbium efficitur et acuta cum gravibus *temperans* varies aequabiliter *concentus* efficit . . . Illi autem octo cursus, in quibus eadem vis est duorum, septem efficiunt distinctis intervallis sonos, qui numerus rerum omnium fere nodus est. Quod docti homines nervis imitati atque cantibus aperuerunt sibi reditum in hunc locum, sicut alii, qui praestantibus ingeniis in vita humana divina studia coluerunt. Hoc sonitu oppletae aures hominum obsurduerunt. Nec est ullus hebetior sensus in vobis, sicut ubi Nilus ad illa.

quae Catadupea nominantur, praecipitatur ex altissimis montibus, ea gens, quae illum locum accolit, propter magnitudinem sonitus sensu audiendi caret. Hic vero tantus est totius mundi incitatissima conversione sonitus, ut eum aures hominum capere non possint, sicut intueri solem adversum nequitis eisque radiis acies vestra sensusque vincitur.

Similarly, Quintilian, *Instit.* 1, 10, 12 says:

Cum Pythagoras et eum secuti acceptam sine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverint, mundum ipsum ratione esse compositum quam postea sit lyra imitata, nec illa modo contenti dissimilium *concordia* quam vocant *ἁρμονίαν*, sonum quoque his motibus dederunt.

And now passages on the musical world-soul and its cohesive and sympathetic power from Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 7, 19 and 12, 28 (commented by Reinhardt, p. 111, who speaks of a "Weltsensorium"):

Quid vero tanta rerum *consentiens conspirans continuata*[10] *co*gnatio quem non *co*get ea quae dicuntur a me *com*probare? possetne una tempore florere, dein vicissim horrere terra,

[10] Such an accumulation of terms insisting, by means of the prefix, on a theme,—perhaps they may be called "prefixal leitmotifs" and they may be placed within the more comprehensive "symphonic clusters"—illustrate clearly the importance which the writer in question attaches to a concept. Any translation which would render *convenientia* by "harmony" and *consensus* by "agreement", and would omit the anaphoric *co-* appearing in the rest of the passage, would detract thereby from the full force of the "hammering". I may add that "symphonic clusters" are also a help in determining historically the presence of a *topos* or theme in a particular writer; in other words, history of ideas, as applied to a text, can greatly profit from the study of words. This is not sufficiently realized by editors and critics: when Dante (*Convivio*, 3.14.15) says in unison with Cicero: "Quelle Atene celestiali dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici e Epicurii per l'altre [virtù] de la veritade etterna in uno volere *concordevolmente concordano*," the commentators fail to insist on the presence of the *topos* indicated by the prefix. Again, the *dis-* cluster portrays disharmony: Agrippa d'Aubigné, describing in his *Tragiques* the *mère non mère* (i.e. France) torn by religious intestinal war, emphasizes the state of a nature *se desnaturant*, of a *mère desnaturée* (as embodied in Catherine dei Medici [I, 501, ed. Garnier]: "La mère du berceau son cher enfant *deslie*; / L'enfant qu'on desbandoit autres-fois pout sa vie / Se desveloppe ici par les barbares doigts / Qui s'en vont *destacher de nature* les lois / La mère deffaisant, pitoyable et farouche." (Disharmony floods everything, attracting into its whirlpool even such harmless verbs as *deslier*, *desbander*, *desvelopper*).

Again, in George Herbert's *Cambridge Poems* (III: "The Church," ii), the harmony of the Bible is brought together with the harmony of the spheres: as the starry sky is a book written by God, so the book of God is also a starry sky: "Oh that I knew how all thy lights *combine*, / And the *con*figurations of their glorie! / Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine, / But all the *constellations* of the storie . . . / This book of starres lights to eternal blisse." The edition Boston-New York, 1915 (II, 189) comments: "All Truth being *consonant* [italics mine] in itself, an industrious and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures . . . To emphasize the theme, the prefix *con-* is used three times in the first four lines." There is no mention, however, of the fact that these prefixes in themselves are historically connected with the *consonare-harmonia*-topos: that they themselves form a linguistic topos, inherited from antiquity—not a feature of style particular to Herbert.

Our stylistic *topos* of *co-* clusters is also important for historical linguistics: several Romance words, which long defied explanation, contain a *com-* indicative of (Christian) "harmony"; one example is that of *contropare* "to harmonize" (Biblical texts), "to interpret figuratively" (in Cassiodorus), which, according to me (cf. *Romania*, 1938), is under-

aut tot rebus ipsis se immutantibus solis accessus discessusque solstitiis brumisque cognosci, aut aestus maritimi fretorum angustiae ortu aut obitu lunae commoveri, aut una totius coeli conversione sursus astrorum dispari conservari? haec ita fieri omnibus *inter se concinentibus* mundi partibus profecto non possent, nisi ea uno divino et continuato spiritu contineretur. (II, 12, 28): Itaque illa mihi placebat oratio *de convenientia consensuque* naturae, quam quasi *co*gnatione *con*tinuata *con*spirare dicebas . . . illa vero *co*haeret et permanet naturae viribus . . . estque in ea iste quasi *consensus,* quam *συμπάθειαν* Graeci vocant.

One is struck by the accumulation of alliterations (*co-*) and of formations with the prefix *con-* (rendering such Greek terms as *συμπάθεια, συγγένεια, σύμπνοια*), whereby Cicero would impress upon us the cohesion of the world by sympathy. And, in such expressions as *convenentia consensuque*, we may note the same fact pointed out in my study on "milieu": where the Greeks used *one* firmly established, circumscribed term at a time, the Romans resorted to *copia verborum* and the accumulation of assonant terms. In these passages I have underlined particularly (along with *temperans* of which we shall speak later) *concentus* (*concinere*), *convenientia*, *consensus* (*consentiens*) because of the anthropomorphic terminology. And now the reader may listen to the broad sweep of a Ciceronian period which is itself a picture of the balance and the harmony of the world, a world built on the equation: well-balanced, just state = life = harmony (*De re publica*, II, 69):

Ut enim in fidibus aut tibiis atque ut in cantu ipso ac vocibus *concentus* est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem immutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt, ipse concentus ex dissimillimarum vocum moderatione *concors* tamen efficitur et *congruens*, sic e summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus ut sonis moderata ratione civitas *consensu* dissimillimorum *concinit*; et quae *harmonia* a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate *concordia*, artissimum atque optimum omni in re publica vinculum incolumitatis, eaque sine iustitia nullo pacto esse potest.

The idea of musical world harmony gained favor in Christian Latin literature: the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres could be inferred also from the Scriptures (*Job* 38, 7): "cum me laudarent simul astra matutina et jubilarent omnes filii dei"; Erigena applies this interpretation to "Et concentum caeli quis mirefaciat", where this cosmic music becomes angelic choirs.[11] But more character-

---

lying the word family of French (*con*)*trouver*, and is a late outgrowth of the *consonare-concordare-consentiri* family. The Romance (*cum*)*initiare* "to begin", which Jaberg, *Revue de Linguistique Romane* I,128, rightly refers to the Christian "initiation" (though he fails to justify the *cum-* prefix), is to be explained, I believe, by the "togetherness" of the initiated; for the *cum-* prefix in Christian Latin, as an indication of Christian solidarity and fraternity, cf. a treatise of Erik Ahlman, Helsinki (1916), which I know only from a quotation by Y. Malkiel. The Italian *congratularsi* (Eng. *to congratulate*), and the words for "condolence" are rooted in an atmosphere of Catholicism, as this is expressed in the medieval trope: "*Congaudeant* Catholici / Laetentur cives celici / Die ista . . . ".

[11] Cf. in the *Cambridge Songs*, ed. Strecker nº 3: "Voces laudis humane / curis carneis rauce / non divine maeiestati / cantu sufficiunt. // Que angelicam sibi militiam in excelsis psallere / *sanctam* iussit / *symphoniam*. // Necnon variam / mundi discordiam / se movendo *concordem* dare fecit / *armoniam*".

istic, perhaps, of the Christians than their interest in the dogmatic harmonizing of ancient and Christian thought, was their emphasis on *feeling*. This emphasis, as we shall see later, brought about the marvelous development of Occidental music, a development which represented the vigorous impetus toward "musicalizing" a universe in which the Christian believer could feel his God present. The *tam dulcis sonus* of other spheres which Scipio Aemilianus heard in his vision, the Christian believer in God could also hear in the universe. Some of the earliest Greek Christian writers coupled the intuition of the monotheistic God with Platonic supernaturalism and the vivid feeling of the Greeks for natural science—and this to a degree that at times casts doubt upon their orthodoxy. When Origen (*Comm.* to John 5, 5) wishes to state that God is transcendent, not immanent to his creation, and that he is incorporeal and, consequently, is not to be identified with either a part or the whole of the world, he says: *οὐδαμοῦ γάρ ἡ μονὰς καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ σύμφωνον καὶ ἓν* (quoted by Gilson-Böhner, *Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie*, p. 51): the One, the Monad is the *σύμφωνον*, the in itself Harmonizing Consonant. The "world-soul", or God, holds the different created minds together as the soul within us hold together the different parts of our body. He is enthroned above all the created beings whose different movements he has tuned in such a way as to fit into the harmony of the world: since the ones need help, the others are able to offer help, while others again offer to the "forward developing" ones an opportunity for struggle and rivalry [= *ἔρις καὶ φιλία*] (*De principiis*, II, 1, 2: quoted *loc. cit.* p. 64). Gregory of Nyssa states that the soul of man is present everywhere in the body "just as an artist is present in his musical instrument"; the soul informs the different organs like a musician eliciting different tones from different strings. The soul living in, and endowing with life, the whole of the body is the microcosmic analogy to the soul of God in the world; this is everywhere present as is shown by the all-binding, invisible harmony of the contrasting elements in this world (*De hominis opificio* 12; dialogue with Macrina, *loc. cit.* p. 95). Below we have an explicit and doubtless orthodox Christian version of the idea of World Harmony as treated by Saint Ambrose in his *Hexaemeron* (III, 5, 21–3: concerning the creation of the sea by God on the third day):

Et vidit Deus quia bonum (Gen. I, 10) . . . Vidit ergo Deus quia bonum mare. Etsi pulchra sit species hujus elementi, vel cum albescit cumulis ac verticibus undarum, et cautes nivea rorant aspergine . . . vel cum aequore crispanti, clementioribus auris et blando serenae tranquillitatis purpurascentem praefert colorem, quando non violentis fluctibus vicina tundit littora, sed velut pacificis ambit et salutat amplexibus, *quam dulcis sonus*, quam jucundus fragor, quam *grata et consona resultatio* ('echo'), ego tamen non oculis aestimatum creaturae decorem arbitror: sed secundum rationem operationis judicio operatoris *convenire*, et *congruere* definitum. Bonum igitur mare, primum quia terras necessario suffulcit humore. . . . Bonum mare, tanquam hospitium fluviorum, fons imbrium, derivatio alluvionum, invectio commeatuum . . ., subsidium in necessitatibus, refugium in periculis, gratia in voluptatibus, salubritas valetudinis, separatorum conjunctio, itineris compendium [through the islands, in which man may find refuge from the *intemperantiae saecularis illecebris*]. . . . Mare est ergo secretum temperantiae, exercitium continentiae, gravitatis secessus, portus securitatis, tranquillitas saeculi, mundi hujus sobrietas, tum fidelibus viris atque devotis incentivum devotionis, ut cum undarum leniter alluentium *sono certent cantus*

psallentium, plaudant insulae *tranquillo fluctuum sanctorum choro, hymnis sanctorum personent.* Unde mihi ut omnem pelagi pulchritudinem comprehendam quam vidit operator? Et quid plura? Quid aliud ille *concentus undarum* nisi quidam *concentus est plebis*? Unde bene mari plerumque comparatur Ecclesia, quae primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas vomit: deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus stridet, cum responsoriis psalmorum, cantus virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, *consonus undarum fragor* resultat. Nam illud quid dicam, quod unda peccatum abluit, et Sancti Spiritus aura salutaris aspirat?

In this prose hymn, where theological exegesis gives way, first slowly and then resoundingly, to lyricism, the Greek concept of World Harmony is rejuvenated by the enthusiasm and awe at the wonders of the creation; this Christian knows how to weave into the "goodness" of the Biblical text the Greek καλοκαγαθία without letting his community forget the Creator: indeed this beautiful and good world leads toward the transcendental God. Ancient ideas are everywhere in this text, ready at hand: the sea which *veluti pacificis ambit et salutat amplexibus* reflects the Oceanos and the περιέχον (v. MA); with the picture of the sea nourishing the earth with its waters and thereby fostering the harmony of the elements, we have the Greek idea of the κρᾶσις to which we shall return later; the substantial epithets of praise, which seem the more deserved because of the adverse conditions to which they are related (*subsidium in necessitatibus*, *refugium in periculis* etc.), could have been taken from panegyrics or *exempla* extolling the moral integrity and poise of ancient sages in adversity; and, last but not least, in every line there is the presence of World Harmony and of the harmonizing tendency (and the Ciceronian reminiscences are patent everywhere). The peculiarly Christian trend in this passage is the upward striving from the visible World Harmony to the invisible will of the Creator, which only reason, not the senses, can grasp: "ego tamen non oculis aestimatum creaturae decorem arbitror." The description of the sea in its manifold aspects and in its pictorial richness, culminates first in a musical World Harmony ("*sonus* . . . grata et *consona* resultatio"); then the "harmonious echo" answers to the reasonable will of the Creator-Artist ("secundum rationem operationis judicio operatoris *convenire*, et *congruere* definitum"—the echo of the creation to the Creator is also marked by the repetition of the word stem of *operare*). The creation is good and beautiful as is the Creator-Artist, and now the *bonum* of the Biblical text is expanded into a picture of moral behavior, of temperance ("mare est ergo secretum temperantiae"). E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (1928), p. 98, who quotes this passage in an abbreviated form, recognizes the transition to allegory ("there is a spiritual sea, which the eye of allegory can behold"), but the moral implications reach farther back in our text (i.e. not only to *subsidium in necessitatibus*, but to the very text glossed *Et vidit Deus quia bonum*), and we glide almost imperceptibly from the visible to the transcendental. Indeed, the sea does not "mean something else", as Mr. Rand would have us believe: it *is* at the same time a visible and an invisible sea: the numerous equations characteristic of allegory ($a = a$, $b = \beta$, $c = \gamma$) are missing here. How much Ambrose, not only interprets, but *sees*—with Greek eyes!: in one glance he embraces the sea and its island; only in seeing sea and islands as a unit can he

unite the contrasting ideas of the Infinite, in which we can lose ourselves, and of the harbor, which is temperance and retreat from the *saeculum*. Once his glance has taken in the islands, he can see the Christian sanctuary on them (island churches?: the traveller in Southern Europe is reminded of Palma de Mallorca or of Byzantine island sanctuaries in the Black Sea); Nature and man meet and unite in a concert of softly singing waves and pious songs ("cum undarum leniter alludentium sono certent cantus psallentium")—both of them "sacred".

At this point Ambrose feels that the Christian beauty of the scene has become so far beyond expression that only God, the *operator*, might really describe it; a human simile (*plerumque comparatur*) can give only a slight reflection of the consonance of the *concentus undarum* with the *concentus plebis*; the *concentus*, "harmony", is one, and in it Nature and community are fused. The "waves" of the flocking believers and the "waves" of the responses are again unified by one simile which points to the purification by grace, wrought through the Holy Ghost: the waters of baptism wash away the stain of sin. We have been led, imperceptibly, with a Horatian *suavitas*, from one picture (and concept) to another, from the musical harmony of the sea to the harmonious agreement between Creator and creation, to the harmony between sacred nature and pious mankind, to the harmony of the divine service, of grace, of purification from sin: the first phrase *consona resultatio* contained potentially already the "consonant response"; the last, *consonus undarum fragor*, only repeats it after its whole content has been unveiled. The "poetic" flavor of the passage had been felt by the sensitive scholar that Professor Rand is (although I can but find his definition of St. Ambrose as "a mystic" rather vague); but I would say that his poetry rests precisely in the imperceptible transformation of one picture into the other, as in a "transparent". It is the essence of the poetic to free us from the one accepted and firmly aggregated reality of the world we believe to live in, opening up before us multivalent relationships and other worlds—possible even if evanescent: with Ambrose the convergence of the different pictures is only symbolic of the true beauty of God: the Christian world harmony makes possible the shift from one picture to the other, since they all converge in the transcendental. In Christian art, earthly images may easily appear, to melt away and vanish, since to the Christian no single phenomenon has the importance that it did to the pagan. Here we have not the dualistic device of the Ciceronian simile, but metaphoric fusion; we are offered a parallel with the modern "poetics by alchemy", exemplified by the practise of a Góngora, who may lead us by metaphors from a maid adorning herself for marriage to Egyptian tombstones; or we may think of the famous passage in which Proust, by the use of metaphors, transforms lilac into fountain,—or of Valéry's *Cimetière marin*, that "sea cemetery" reminiscent of the Ambrosian landscape which becomes successively a roof covered with white pigeons, a temple of Time, a flock of sheep with a shepherd dog, a multi-colored hydra; all this is based on the same Christian poetics of kaleidoscopic transformation of symbols. Synaesthetic apperception always bears witness to the idea of World Harmony as we shall repeatedly state in the following chapters: all the senses converge into one harmonious feeling.

It is easily understandable—though nonetheless forever a subject of admiration—that Ambrose, who thought World Harmony to be reflected by earthly music, was logically led to invent the Christian hymn: for what else is the hymn but a response in sounds and thoughts to divine Grace? In the most famous of the Ambrosian hymns:

> Aeterne rerum conditor, / . . . Hoc [by the cock's crowing] excitatus Lucifer / Solvit polum caligine, / Hoc *omnis errorum chorus* / Viam nocendi deserit. // Hoc nauta vires colligit, / Pontique mitescunt freta, / Hoc ipsa *petra Ecclesiae* / *Canente,* culpam diluit . . . / Te nostra vox prinum sonet, / Et vota solvamus tibi,

we have the same fusion of images as in the *Hexaemeron*: night and day are the evil and the good which sing choruses; the sea is calmed when facing the "singing stone" of the Church; there is action and reaction, a musical echo to sin and purification—and the latter brings World Harmony. The time factor is transformed into a synchronic singing of Nature and Man and Grace. Vossler, *Hist. Jahrbuch* 1940, p. 623, describes the "revolutionary restauration" involved in the Ambrosian creation: a restoration insofar as language, which had become rhetorical, polemic, aggressive, propagandistic with the earlier Fathers (Tertullian etc.), was forced back again into the inwardness of the soul ("Innerlichkeit des Gemüts")—or, what is here the same, into the inwardness of the community: the absence of rhyme, the nobility of the words, the fixed metrical scheme being conservative features with the Ambrosian hymns, while the introduction of a bizarre, Oriental music (which must have inspired the words) was a revolutionary deed. We can understand now that the idea of World Harmony asked for representation in sounds echoing like the rock of the Church to the waves of the sea under the "applause of Nature". Ambrose, whom Professor Rand has humorously described as an efficient "executive", had the productive idea of having world harmony "performed", as it were, *hic et nunc,* in his Milan community—which would thus become representative of the whole of Christianity responding to God: each community hymn henceforth becomes thus an active proof of that harmony of Grace which embraces Man and Nature. It is the immortal merit of Ambrose to have assigned to Christian music the task of embodying the Greek World Harmony: music's assignment henceforth is to perform what is in its very nature to express: the praise of the Creator of musical World Harmony. The Psalms were full of musical elation in praise of God, but the idea of World Harmony was only potentially present; their radiant and resounding similes were symbolic only of the inner wealth of a religious feeling: pictures conjured up to figure the unspeakable. Renan in his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* has characterized the Jewish spirit as that of inward meditation: "Cet esprit se résume dans les nuances diverses du mot *siah*, signifiant à la fois méditer, parler bas, parler avec soi-même, s'entretenir avec Dieu, se perdre dans les vagues rêveries de l'infini"—there was no sound but that of the soul.[12] With

[12] I do not forget the poetry of the Psalms which praises the earth in order to praise God, or the song of the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, which is inserted into Daniel XXIII (this is now a part of the *Laudes* in the Roman Breviary) by a Jew in the first cen-

the Greeks, on the other hand, the highest place in the universe was ascribed to music, as in the *Timaeus*, but they offered philosophical reflections about music, obviously not musical performance which should illustrate this philosophy. In the hymns of Ambrose, the Church echoes the music of the universe, and to the charm of the audible the beauty of the visible was added: the Church was the theatre of the performance (and later the medieval theatre developed out of the Church). Thanks to Ambrose, music came to be *performed*, a thing of every day, a perennial affirmation of, and response to world music; the triumph of this achievement continues undiminished until today: when Renan, the sceptical humanist, admires on the Acropolis the spirit of pure reason of the Pallas Athene, one thing makes him waver in accepting the Hellenic creed: the hymns he had heard in his childhood in the land of the Cymmerians (Brittany), those songs which had been imported by "foreign Syriac priests" (an allusion to the Syriac music introduced by Ambrose):

> Tiens, déesse, quand je me rappelle ces chants, mon coeur se fond, je deviens presque apostat. Pardonne-moi ce ridicule, tu ne peux te figurer le charme que les magiciens barbares ont mis dans ces vers. . . .

The visible in Grace, the θεᾶτρον in the literal sense of the word, and the all-accessible "catholic" in the mysteries of faith, are what the "Greek eye" of Ambrose, combined with an insistence on the practical and liturgic, were able to demonstrate; these truths can be *shown* to *all* people: "Veni, redemptor gentium, *Ostende* partum virginis, *Miretur omne saeculum*: Talis decet partus deum". Note the expressions of totality[13] reaching to the outmost boundaries of the world, in the hymn attributed to Ambrose, *A solis ortus cardine* (Migne, 17, 1210):

> "*A solis ortus cardine / Et usque terrae limitem* / Christum canamus principem, / Natum Mariae Virginis. // Gaudete *quidquid gentium* / Judaea, Roma et Graecia / Aegypti, Thrax, Persa, Scytha, / Rex unus *omnes* posside. // Laudete vestrum principem / *Omnes* beati ac perditi . . . / Fit porta Christi *pervia* / Referta plena gratia / Transitque rex et permanet / Clausa ut fuit per saecula . . . // Lapis de monte veniens, / *Mundumque* replens gratia . . . // . . . *Patens* excepti Dominum / Terra salutem generans. // . . . Exsultet *omnis* anima, / Nunc redemptorem *gentium* / *Mundi* venisse Dominum . . . // Creator *cuncti* generis / Orbis quem *totus* non capit / In tua, sancta Genetrix, / Sese reclusit vis-

---

tury B.C., whose "jubilant tone . . . is in marked contrast to the despondency of the Prayer of Azariah", and whose mention of the "holy and glorious Temple" seems to indicate a flourishing condition of religious services—as has been pointed out by R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphica of the Old Testament*, p. 629. The litany of *benedicite's* comprises the whole creation, and an introductory line contains an allusion to the unanimity of this chant in praise of God and His wondrous creation, uttered in the midst of deadly peril ("Tunc hi tres quasi *et uno ore* laudabant et glorificabant et benedicebant Deum in furnace").—A Benjamin Franklin, belonging to a civilization with a bent for visual apperception and rationalism, could only dismiss the manifold "repetitions" of the Psalms (cf. Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 438).

[13] These expressions have remained characteristic of the religious hymn, cf. *Cambridge Songs*, nº 23: "Vestiunt silve tenera ramorum / virgulta . . . , / canunt de celsis sedibus palumbes / carmina cunctis. // [after the enumeration of all kinds of birds] aves sic *cunctae* celebrant estivum *undique* carmen."

cera" [the birth of the Savior from the narrow womb of the Virgin is opposed to the world-wideness of this praise].[14]

Just as there is, in the hymns of Ambrose, a union of conservative traits of style with innovations, so, in his handling of World Harmony we find the pagan idea combined with a new Christian enthusiasm; the Christian Church has thus become a stage for the "Gesamtkunstwerk" of the hymn, in which music, words, the echo of the stone, perhaps even gesture and dance, collaborate. All the colorfulness and opulence of paganism is contained therein, but forced into the will of the one God. There is *in nuce* the aesthetics of Jesuit art: *omnia in majorem Dei gloriam*.[15] I insist on dance being virtually included in this art:

[14] The world-embracingness of Ambrose's religious musicality is narrowed and adulterated by Maurice Barrès in his *Amitiés françaises* (1903), in which he depicts the ideal education of a "little Lorrainer". He first proposes to act on the imagination of the child through music: the task of the educator is to bring up the child *in hymnis et canticis* (a phrase borrowed from Ambrosius), in order to adapt the melody of the child's soul, without adulteration, to the symphony of the community. But, in the child's genuine melody, it is, of course, according to Barrès, the French race that sings, and it behooves the educator to strengthen this innate, potential French music. What was World Music with Ambrose becomes Nationalistic Music with this would-be Christian of the twentieth century.

[15] In contradiction to the Christian "synaesthetic" liturgic performances, Jewish liturgy has remained austerely confined to monodic singing; there is a relative absence of mimics (an embryonic reminder of a mimic approach is the custom in the *Keduscha*—which corresponds to the *Sanctus* of the Catholic mass—to rise on one's toes thrice, at every utterance of the word "holy" in order to symbolize that "the mountains leapt like sheep").

I should think that Spanke's investigations on the origin of the dance-song *rondeau* would have been more fruitful if he had not posited the question in terms of "which is first: the lay or the liturgic dance-song?" For the idea of the Christian World Harmony must have been as well ecclesiastic as lay in the early Middle Ages—a civilization pervaded by Christian feelings: the relative earlier date of a *rondeau* in Latin or in a vulgar language proves little: it is the common background we must reckon with. Even if Abaelard knew the metrical form of the lay *rondeau* we do not know whether the lay *rondeau* is not an outgrowth of religious feelings. In such cases, the *Volkslied* approach is more apt to obscure than to enlighten. In the Provençal epic poem on Saint Fides written as late as the eleventh century, we see a cleric listening to a (Latin) hagiologic *canczon . . . qu'es bella'n tresca* ("a song beautiful for a dance"), and singing its Provençal paraphrase (probable also *bella'n tresca*) in one of the ecclesiastic "tones" (*l primers tons*). In the imaginative picture of this performance as visualized by Alfaric: "Replaçons-la par la pensée, au temps des croisades, en une des églises de la région pyrénéenne . . ., devant une assistance très-croyante, qui s'est réunie en une nuit d'octobre, à la lueur des cierges, pour célébrer les vigiles de sa Sainte préférée, patronne des croyants, et à qui de pieux chanteurs font entendre, en des choeurs alternés (?), le récit émouvant du martyre, tandis que des acteurs bénévoles (?), dans un but religieux, en miment les scènes avec des gestes cadencés", I have introduced question marks in accordance with Spanke's doubts about factual attestation; I do not, however, wish to imply that I believe that this poetic picture is not *basically* true: poetry may sometimes be truer to the spirit of an epoch than so-called history. A saint was celebrated by dances and hymns according to the principle of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

It is interesting to note the influence of the Ambrosian hymn on the narrative genre of the Christian legend, which became thereby a lyrical and musical genre: a specimen of such an "Ambrosian" hagiographical narrative is the Latin model of the *chanson de sainte Eulalie*, a sequence which is preserved along with that first poetic document of France in the same ninth-century manuscript: "Cantica virginis Eulalie / concine, suavis-

in Ambrose we have seen Nature "applaud" to the hymns like an audience to a theatre performance: for this, it was only a step to include in the performance gestures, mimics, dance, expressing supernatural beauty: the ritual dance of the priests and, consequently, a rhythmic response by the audience, is as logical in early Christian impersonations of World Harmony as is the χορεία in the Platonic music of the spheres.[16]

---

sona cithara! / Est opere quoniam precium / clangere carmine martyrium, / tuam ego voce sequor melodiam / atque laudem imitabor Ambrosiam. / Fidibus cane melos eximium, / vocibus ministrabo suffragium. / Sic pietate[m], sic humanum ingenium / fudisse fletum compellamus ingenitum." This relatively long *exordium* (10 lines) of the poem (29 lines) states the literary descent of the poem (Ambrose), and insists deliberately on its audible qualities (*concine, suavissona cithara, clangere* etc.); music is emphasized (the human voice will only "follow, give suffrage to, the instrument"), and this music is "praise", therefore "worthy", and its emotional content will be "love" and sympathy ("tears") for the saint: the idea of the last couple of lines seems to be that music (with its order, probably the *numeri*) restrains (*compellamus*) the free flow of feeling. The narrative itself takes up only eight lines: because of her godly deeds, Eulalia, in a Christianized Ovidian metamorphosis, ascends to the sky (*idcirco stellis caeli se miscuit*). This feature seems to be the pivotal point of the poem: the last part of eleven lines is dedicated to the hope that the intercessor saint will protect those who joyfully sing her praise—and thereby do good deeds (*qui sibi laeti pangunt armoniam* and *devoto corde modos demus innocuos*)—and who would propitiate the Lord of the sky by placing in the sky the good deeds of His servants (e.g. the singing of this hymn). We may also note in passing the presence of synaesthetics: Eulalia's soul is *lacteolus*; our deeds shall "scintillate" among the stars. (Prudentius' hymn, on the contrary, dwells nearly exclusively on colors).—I believe that the idea of the harmony of the spheres, though not explicitly referred to, is implicit in the poem. The link connecting the parts of the poem (the "sonorous" praise of the saint, the "sympathy" for her martyrdom, the description of the heavenly abode of the saint, and the imploration of her intercession for the pious singers) is evidently to be sought in music = piety = heavenly exultation. It is the deed of love of Eulalia which provokes the music, and the musical praise is itself a good deed. The French Eulalia sequence has omitted all musicality and lyricism, presenting an epic account centered around the καλοκαγαθία, the moral beauty of the saint; her character which is first defined in the opening lines (beauty of soul) and elaborated (as in a French classical drama) in the subsequent ones; her concentration of will power on the acceptance of martyrdom and conquest of death—with Christ's aid; and the link with the intercessional prayer for the believers is the idea that we may be able to gain support from the Beyond for our hour of death, as she has done. Since, here, it is character which is stressed, there is a greater emphasis on logical development than on exultant feeling. The epic narrative is demusicalized, although it has retained the metrical (and perhaps also the musical) form; and instead of the ornate form of the Latin poetry, there has entered a note of devout simplicity and dogmatic precision.

[16] There are listed in Margot Sahlin's work (*Études sur la carole médiévale,* Uppsala, 1940) many medieval expressions of "unanimism", of the will to spiritual unity on the part of a congregation, manifested by responds,—were they only such simple words as *kyrie eleison, gloria tibi domine,* which *simpliciores et idiotae* may be able to utter (p. 101): cf. from Paderborn (ca. 836): "Cumque clerus in hymnis et confessionibus Deum benediceret, et spiritualium carminum melodiam . . . concineret, populus vero Kyrie eleison ingeminaret, *cum ineffabili jubilo erectis ad Deum mentibus singulorum*" (p. 100); at the funeral of Saint Wunebaldus (+777): "cumque illi psallentes, *caelestia* modulantes portabant eum ad sepulchrum, omnis plebs comitantes cyrieleizabant, qui *consonantis* canentium vocibus, qui iocundis iuvenum iubilantionibus . . . *multis vocibus quasi uno ore psallentes glorificabant*

In this connection we may note a passage which Diels, *Elementum*, p. 59 claims to be a not clear translation "from some Greek":

ignis quoque cum sit calidus et siccus natura, colori aer is adnectitur, siccitate autem in communionem terrae ac societatem refunditur atque ita sibi *per circuitum et chorum quendam concordiae societatisque conveniunt*: unde et graece στοιχεία dicuntur quae latine elementa dicimus, quod sibi *conveniant et concinant*.

Evidently we change here from Polyhymnia to Terpsichore: the harmony between the four elements is revealed by qualities which every two of them have in common (e.g. fire with earth etc.), and in this passage dancing is introduced. The Greek source is, in fact, Saint Basil (4th cent.) who, in his homilies on the *Hexaemeron* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 29, c. 89), states of the elements which dance together (συστοιχούντων) that their name στοιχεῖα is well chosen (στοιχεῖα is the Greek word for "elements" and "letters"; κατὰ στοιχεῖον, "in order, in step"; the poet Alcman speaks of girls dancing in order as ὁμοστοίχους). But, when faced with remnants of Greek thought, we should rather think of the words engendered by a sensuous picture than the reverse: as the Greeks heard the ἁρμονία in the universe, they saw the χορεία of elements. The Christians will replace the dances of the spheres by the dances of angels; and thus it was logical, especially in the case of the Greek Fathers, that ritual dances were introduced into the Church: the apocryphal *Acta Johannis*[17] represent Christ, after the Last Supper,

---

Deum" (p. 109); a vision of the angels in Paradise who sing *Kyrie eleison*: "et ego *eorum vocibus vocem adjunxi, et eadem laetabundus deprompsi*" (p. 102); a German preacher (ca. 1300) describes among the six species of songs distinguished, the *cantus jubilancium, vreodenlied* thus: "hoc cantant angeli et sancte virgines coram deo et agno, *chorizantes alterutrum ad leticiam se provocantes*"—it is the *certamen* of musical elation over the paradisiac World Harmony which will lead to the "concert" (cf. below). In a vita of St. Heribertus of Cologne (+1200), a procession composed of Frenchmen and Germans, undertaken to avert drought is thus described: "ex omni ordine utriusque sexus, *lingua quidem diversa, sed una intentione et eodem sensu concrepando*, Kyrie eleïson, altitudo caeli pulsabatur"—the Latin of the liturgy, the supernational language, even in its minimum phrases, guarantees the *concordia*, the unanimity in the discord of languages.

[17] I take these quotations from the synthetic chapter on medieval ritual dances, in Miss Sahlin's book, a chapter which resumes the investigations of Dom L. Gougaud, *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* XV (1914), of Alfaric, "La chanson de Sainte Foy" II, 71, and of H. Spanke, *Neuphil. Mitt.* XXXI, 143; XXXIII, 1. But the next example which she gives, from Saint Paulinus, has been misinterpreted by Miss Sahlin: "Hinc senior sociae congaudet turba catervae: / Alleluia novis balat ovile choris"—*balat* is surely not a Romance *baler, ballare, bailar*, "to dance", but *balare* = Fr. *bêler*, "to bleat" (*ovile!*). Thus the Paulinus passage testifies rather to the Alleluja respond. Miss Sahlin's rich collection of medieval texts shows that very often a choir is combined with dancing: thus the modern interpreter may hesitate whether to translate a *ducere choream* with the one or the other—or with both at a time: this is also the case with the O.Fr. *caroler, carole* word family itself whose semantic kernel is "to sing songs with a refrain, while marching in procession" (note also Dante's use of *carole: Par.* XXV, 97: "E prima, appresso al fin d'este *parole* / "Sperent in te" di sopra noi s'udi; / A che *rispuoser* tutte le *carole*": = dances + words?). As for the etymology of *caroler, carole*, Miss Sahlin proposes the refrain *kyrie éleison* (> Fr. *kyrielle*), which seems to me inacceptable for phonetic reasons, cf. MLN 56,222. We must needs go back to that *coraulis* (p. 76) in the line of Venantius Fortunatus (*clericus ecce choris resonat, plebs inde*

inviting the apostles to form a circle around him, joining hands; then he sings to them a hymn with lines such as "Grace leads the chorus . . . I will play the flute [the pagan instrument!][18], dance ye all!"[19] Saint Basil writes: "Quid itaque beatius esse poterit quam in terra tripudium angelorum imitari"; Clement of Alexandria: "Idcirco et caput et manus in coelum extendimus et pedes excitamus in ultima acclamatione orationis"; and Saint Paulinus, likewise: "Ferte Deo, pueri, laudem; pia solvite vota, / et pariter castis date festa choreis" (though Saint Augustine castigated the liturgic dances of the neophytes for their pagan implications). Thus the dance, in the oldest Church, was a means of proclaiming, by imitation, the harmony of the world: had not David sung and danced in praise of God?

The feeling of World Harmony is conceived quite differently with Saint Augustine: whereas it is the practise of Ambrose to show the ordered richness and plenitude of the world, and his choirs are the polyphonic responses of a spatially immense universe filled with Grace, with Augustine the emphasis is on the monodic, on the one pervading *order* of the richness as it reveals itself in the linear succession of *time*. Borrowing the laws of numbers (*numeri*)[20] from the

---

coraulis); whatever the word may mean, there is in that line the clear idea of a "respond" sung.—It has perhaps as yet not been observed that the current O.Fr. epic phrases *mener joie, mener duel,* "to show exhilaration, grief" etc., must be explained by this *ducere chorum,* "to conduct a choir of jubilation or lamentation", said of the conductor of a choir. These phrases meant originally *solemn* or *formal* (public) manifestations of sentiments.

[18] We find a reference to the flute as a pagan instrument used to tame and soothe, in the lines of Milton from *Paradise Lost,* I, 54: "Anon they move / In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood / Of flutes and soft recorders, such as rais'd / To heighth of noblest temper heroes old / Arming to battle, and instead of rage / Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd / With dread of death to flight or foul retreat, / Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage / With solemn touches, troubl'd thought, and chase / Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain / From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they / Breathing united force with fixed thoughts / Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes that charm'd / Their painful steps o'r burnt soul." The same theme also appears in the text of Mozart's *Magic Flute* (by Schikaneder-Giesecke), which offers a combination of heathen mysteries with the medieval atmosphere of Wieland's *Oberon.*

[19] This scene is reflected by that in the German mystic Seuse's *Des Dieners Leben,* ch. 5, where the servant (of God) sees a *himelscher spilman* resembling an archangel at the head of a group of similar heavenly youths, who invite him to join the dance ("er muste mit in och himelschlich tanzen"), to the merry tune ("froelichez gesengeli von dem kindlin Jesus"), *In dulci jubilo*: "dis tanzen waz nit geschafen in der wise, als man in diser welt tanzet, ez waz neiswi ein himelscher uswal und ein widerinwal in daz wilt abgrund der goetlichen togenheit" (with order and numbers in the midst of the wild abyss of God's grace). This quotation I have found in E. Benz' article "Christliche Mystik und christliche Kunst", *Deutsche Vierteljahrschr.* XII, 34 (Benz quotes also a contemporary anonymous poem with the lines: "Jesus der tanzer maister ist . . . er wendeth sich hin, er wendeth sich her, si tanzet alle nach siner leye").

[20] Hence Boethius, *Inst. Arithm.* I, 2: "omnia quaecumque a primeva natura constructa sunt, numerorum videntur ratione formata"; Alanus ab Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*: "[arithmetic] Muta tamen totam numerandi praedicat artem: / Quae numeri virtus, quae lex, quis nexus et ordo, / Nodus amor, ratio foedus, concordia limes. / Quomodo *concordi numerus ligat omnia nexu,* / Singula componit, mundum regit, ordinat orbem / Astra movens,

Pythagoreans, he, experienced as he was in the succession of civilizations which he himself had seen rise and fall, thought in terms of a creation created in a certain time and developing in time: his creation has a beginning, a middle and an end, it moves on the line of history. Who thinks of time thinks of memory, as we see it again in Bergson; over a millenium before Bergson had given his explanation of the *durée intérieure*[21] which can be grasped as a whole only by the simile of a poem, Augustine showed the part played by memory in the rhythm or musical apperception of the unit of a poetic line: his example is the characteristic Ambrosian line *Deus creator omnium* with its indication of space and world-wideness; sensitive as he is to succession in time, he shows how the understanding of the line is conditioned by memory (since the syllables in the moment are still retained by memory after they have ceased to sound). The

---

elementa ligans, animasque maritans. / Corporibus, terras caelis, caeleste caducis" (this is a sentence reminiscent of Archytas: *στάσιν μὲν ἔπαυσεν, ὁμόνοιαν αὔξησεν λογισμὸς εὑρεθείς.* Karl Fiehn, who quotes these texts in his article "Zum Troilus Alberts von Stade" (in *Ehrengabe Karl Strecker*, 1931), shows how, in the medieval Latin epic poem, Philosophy holds in her hands the numbers 27 and 8, i.e. the geometric forms which correspond to the elements (27 = 3x3x3 [i.e. the figures developing from the triangle] is the pyramid or tetrahedron, corresponding to fire; 8 = 2x2x2 is the cube, arising from the square, which corresponds to earth). In other words, Philosophy is represented as dominating the elements.

[21] It is in fact unbelievable that Bergson should have stated, for example in the survey which he gave of his philosophy in 1934, in *La pensée et le mouvement*, that "no" philosopher before him had looked upon time as anything else than a spatial succession of states without any liaison between them—i.e. as having positive attributes. Did he not think of Augustine, whose very musical metaphors he uses, as, for example, when he states that a future event is unpredictable in its development because, precisely at the moment we think of it, we are separated from it by a lapse of time? As he says: "Pouvez-vous, sans la dénaturer, raccourcir la durée d'une mélodie? La vie intérieure est cette mélodie même"—the last sentence is purely Augustinian. But, evidently, Augustine was a Christian Platonist, as Bergson is not, and he thought that God, the divine artist, was able to have at least the idea of what would happen in time, before this time had come, while Bergson says: "on se figure que toute chose qui se produit aurait pu être aperçue d'avance par quelque esprit suffisamment informé, et qu'elle préexistait ainsi, sous forme d'idée, à sa réalisation;—conception absurde [!] dans le cas d'une oeuvre d'art, car dès que le musicien a l'idée précise et complète de la symphonie qu'il fera, sa symphonie est faite. Ni dans la pensée de l'artiste, ni, à plus forte raison, dans aucune pensée comparable à la nôtre, fût-elle impersonelle, fût-elle même simplement virtuelle, la symphonie ne résidait en qualité de possible avant d'être réelle. Mais n'en peut-on pas dire autant d'un état quelconque de l'univers pris avec tous les êtres conscients et vivants? N'est-il pas plus riche de nouveauté, d'imprévisibilité radicale, que la symphonie du plus grand maître?" The analogy of the *musicum carmen* of the world is retained with Bergson—without the *archimusicus* God, and without the Platonic idea of the Perfect Being who could have in his mind the vision of the whole creation yet to be created. At this period, Platonism was an absurdity to the evolution-minded French philosopher—who, however, at the end of his life, when he wrote *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion* (1932), had learned to understand it: the transcendental God can be understood, he finally realizes, only by the saint and the mystic. It has been said (e.g. by Léon Dujovne in *Logos* [Buenos Aires], I, 116) that Bergson's philosophy began as Neo-Platonic pantheism seen through the lens of biological evolutionism, but ended in transcendentalism; thus he came closer to Plato—and to his final conversion, shortly before his death.

laws of numbers are important to Augustine because only by their objective, mathematical certainty can we demonstrate the certainty of God—and by applying the numbers to a stretch of time he succeeds in making man conscious of himself as a being living in time. Man can find only in himself the *numeri* testifying to the existence of God. Music (and metrical poetry)[22] is based on numbers and develops in time: how could music not bear witness of God?[23] In one of his letters (Migne, 33, 527) Augustine speaks of World Harmony, of the *universi saeculi pulchritudo*, the *magnum carmen creatoris et moderatoris*, as conceived in terms of time: it is a hymn scanned by God, since God allots the convenient things to the convenient time: no wonder that he expresses the continuous "moderations" or interventions of God by a series of verbs, the "Zeitwörter" par excellence:

> [God] qui multo magis quam homo novit quid cuique tempori accomodate adhibeatur; quid quando impertiat, addat, auferat, detrahat, augeat, minuatve, immutabilis immutabilium, sicut creator, ita moderator, donec universi saeculi pulchritudo, cujus particulae sunt quae suis quibusque temporibus apta sunt, velut *magnum carmen* [variant: *musicum carmen*] cujusdam ineffabilis modulatoris excurrat, atque inde transeant in aeternam contemplationem speciei qui Deum rite colunt, etiam cum tempus est fidei.

"Debout dans l'ère successive!": this ending of Valéry's *Cimetière marin* is nothing else but the consciousness of modern European man of his Augustinian time-conditioned nature.

How can the *numeri* that rule over man in history be brought into contact with God? By showing that the history of man and the history of the God-man agree through "numbers": there is the one historical fact, the death and resurrection of Christ, which is in "musical" harmony with the parallel event in the history of men. "Simplum eius [Christ's death and resurrection] congruit duplo nostro [death and resurrection of the two elements of which man consists: body and spirit]".

And now let us watch the well-known Ciceronian *con*-pattern expand its

[22] Augustine, in line with the whole of antiquity, includes poetry under music: Arion and Orpheus are conceived of as singers and poets at the same time.

[23] Ortega y Gasset, in his enlightening treatise "Apuntes sobre el pensamiento" (in *Logos* [Buenos Aires], I, 11 seq.), opposes to the presupposition of Greek philosophy (i.e. the axiomatic belief in a resting truth which exists since eternity and whose stable rules [numbers] must be unveiled by man: ἀλήθεια, "truth" = the state of not being hidden), the Jewish-Christian conception of God as the only reality, of a God who has once *in time* created the universe and can change its rules whenever He will; important in this connection is for Ortega the Hebrew *emunah*, "truth" = security, confidence (i.e. of something which will work out in the future). Thus it may be said that Augustine has adapted the *numeri*, which, with the Greeks, represented eternal manifestations of the *natura rerum*, to the Jewish-Christian belief in a temporal creation of the universe; thus his "numbers" are more abstract evidences (as in the Trinity) than numbers underlying Nature. Augustine sought to transplant something of the Greek search for cognizance (for the discovery of the eternally given, as Ortega says) into a climate of thought in which the universe was considered not as in Eleatic rest, but in a perpetual historical development willed by Providence. He created "temporal numbers".

synonyms in the expression of Augustinian world harmony determined by numbers:

Haec enim *congruentia*, sive *convenientia*, vel *concinentia*, vel *consonantia*, vel si quod commodius dicitur, quod unum est ad duo, in omni *compaginatione*, vel, si melius dicitur, *coaptatione* creaturae, valet plurimum. Hanc enim *coaptationem*, sicut mihi nunc occurrit, dicere volui, quam Graeci ἁρμονίαν vocant. Neque nunc locus est, ut ostendam quantum valeat *consonantia* simpli ad duplum, quae maxima in nobis reperitur, et sic nobis insita naturaliter (a quo utique, nisi ab eo qui nos creavit?), ut nec imperiti possint eam non sentire, sivi ipsi cantantes, sive alios audientes: per hanc quippe voces acutiores gravioresque *concordant*, ita ut quisquis ab ea dissonuerit, non scientiam, cujus expertes sunt plurimi, sed ipsum sensum auditus nostri vehementer offendat. . . . ipsis autem auribus exhiberi potest ab eo qui novit in regulari monochordo. . . . Huic ergo duplae morti nostrae Salvator noster impendit simplam suam: et ad faciendum utramque resuscitationem nostram in sacramento et exemplo praeposuit et proposuit unam suam. . . . [He was no sinner] indutus carne mortali, et sola moriens, sola resurgens, ea sola nobis ad utrumque *concinuit*, cum in ea fieret interioris hominis sacramentum, exterioris exemplum.

The cithara of Augustine is a monochord, i.e. an instrument with one string—everything tends toward mono-theism: (*De civitate Dei*, XVII, xiv): "Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fideli voluntate dilexerit. . . . Diversorum enim sonorum rationabilis moderatusque *concentus concordi varietate compactam* bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem." In the *cum*-prefix Augustine sees more than the "togetherness" of the manifold (as does Ambrose): he sees rather the convergence, the *Übereinstimmung* in one proposed aim: *cum-* is to him, grammatically speaking, perfective (cf. the nuance of Latin *conficere* = *perficere*): *consonare*, *concinere* mean "to arrive at harmony, unity". The treatise *De musica* mounts upward like a gradual psalm in steep consistency and imperturbability toward the Oneness: (Book VI):

Numerus autem et ab uno incipit, et aequalitate ac similitudine pulcher est, et ordine copulatur. Quamobrem quisquis fatetur nullam esse naturam, quae non ut sit quicquid est, appetat *unitatem*, suique similis in quantum potest esse conetur atque ordinem proprium vel locis vel temporibus, vel in corpore quodam libramento salutem suam teneat: debet fateri *ab uno principio* per aequalem illi ac similem speciem divitiis bonitatis eius, qua *inter se unum et de uno unum* charissima, ut ita dicam, charitate junguntur, omnia facta esse condita quaecumque sunt, in quantumque sunt . . . ipsa species qua item a caeteris elementis terra discernitur, nonne et *unum* aliquid quantum accepit ostentat, et nulla pars eius a toto est dissimilis, et earundem partium *connexione atque concordia* suo genere saluberrimam sedem infimam tenet?

All numeral relationships, for example the *parilitas* in walking, eating etc., turn our understanding toward awareness of the One: "idipsum est judiciale nescio quid, quod conditorem animalis insinuat Deum: quem certe decet credere auctorem omnis *convenientiae* atque *concordiae*". The Augustinian hierarchy is a pyramid like the Platonic: at the bottom are the bodies which "tanto meliora sunt quanto numerosiora talibus numeris"; then come the souls which "divinis sapientiae numeris reformantur"—if they turn away from earthly sin toward the Creator: we may remember the Augustinian sentence: "de vitiis nobis scalam

nobis facimus, si vitia ipsa calcamus" and the scale of souls in *De quantitate animae* (a title explainable only by the awareness of *numeri* in things psychological). Self-improvement happens in time: "Ita coelestibus terrena subjecta, orbes temporum suorum *numerosa successione* quasi *carmina universitatis associant*"—the poem of the world, like any poem, can only be understood in time by a soul which endeavors to understand the action of Providence, which itself unfolds in time (*De ordine*, II, xvi, 50–51); only the "ordinate soul" (the soul which is aware of the *numeri*) can understand the harmony of God:

Cui numerorum vim atque potentiam diligentes intuenti nimis indignum videbitur et nimis flendum, per suam scientiam versum bene currere citharamque concinere, et suam vitam seque ipsam quae anima est, devium iter sequi et dominante sibi libidine, cum turpissimo se vitiorum strepitu dissonare. Cum autem se composuerit et ordinaverit, ac concinnam[24] pulchramque reddiderit, audebit jam Deum videre, atque ipsum fontem uden manat omne verum, ipsumque Patrem Veritatis. Deus magne, qui erunt illi oculi?

The God-Artist, creating in time, realizes his *idea*, his providential decisions like a musician:

. . . musica, id est scientia sensusve bene modulandi, ad admonitionem magnae rei, etiam mortalibus rationales habentibus animas Dei largitate concessa est. Unde si homo faciendi carminis artifex novit quas quidem moras vocibus tribuat, ut illud quod canitur decedentibus ac succedentibus sonis pulcherrime currat ac transeat; quanto magis Deus, cujus sapientia, per quam fecit omnia, longe omnibus artibus praeferenda est, nulla in naturis nascentibus et occidentibus temporum spatia, quae tanquam syllabae ac verba ad particulas hujus saeculi retinent, *in hoc labentium rerum tanquam mirabili cantico*, vel brevius, vel productius, quam modulatio praecognita et praefinita deposcit, praeterire permittit! Hoc cum etiam de arboris folio dixerim et de nostrorum numero capillorum; quanto magis de hominis ortu et occasu, cujus temporalis vita brevius productiusque non tenditur, quam Deus dispositor temporum novit universitatis moderamini *consonare*.

Even the hair and the foliage, generally images of luxuriant, wilful, undisciplined growth, are subjected to Augustine's intuition of a pre-ordained unitarian Platonic idea of God which realizes itself in time! God takes the shape of the *archimusicus*, who considers his subject matter under the aspect of rhythm and time (or of the history-minded philologian). Apart from the impetus given to history by the author of *De civitate Dei*, we must note that the self-consciousness of man rests on temporal-rhythmical grounds: music with its *durée réelle* becomes the field of investigation for the inner senses by which, and by which alone, World Harmony and God can be intuited: that the parts *aliqua copulatione ad unum rediguntur*, is to be understood only by the spiritual senses of a *vir intrinsecus oculatus et invisibiliter videns*, for seeing itself is foremost a mental, not a sensuous operation: "*mente* igitur *videmus*" (*De relig.* 32, 59–60).

[24] From *concinnus* is derived the verb *concinnare*, "to arrange" which is often glossed: *συμπλέκω*. In the Middle Ages, *concinnare* is confused with *concinere* (cf. Strecker, *Cambridger Lieder*, ad nº 2)—not only for phonetic reasons, but also because of the inner relationship of *συμπλοκή* and *συμφωνία*. Ernout-Meillet assume an etymological relationship between *concinnus*, *concinnare* and *cincinnus*, "lock, curl" (cf. Columella: *capitum et capillorum concinnatores*, "hairdressers"): the *concinnus* word family would thus quite literally correspond to *συμπλέκω*.

Different from Ambrose with his world choirs, Augustine forges the human soul together to a firm unit and hammers out of it the conscience of the monotheistic God. There is less of a universal theatre of the world before our eyes than a universal drama progressing to the end, appealing to the spectator's "time sense". There is no widening of the keyboard as with Ambrose, there is only the spiritualization of the instrument of the soul. The *lied* that rises from the Augustinian soul is linear and strives straightforward up to God: more of the lonely struggle of the soul ridding itself from the earth as in a Beethoven *largo*, than of the world-embracing Jesuitic baroque. Wherever Christians shall live in the cell of meditation (Pascal, Kierkegaard, Rilke), the "one clear harp of divers tones" of Augustine (to quote Tennyson) will resound; wherever, on the contrary, the "great theatre of the world" is displayed, in baroque or romantic art (Calderon,[25] Hofmannsthal, Wagner, the opera in general) we will meet with Ambrosian choirs and synaesthetics. Augustine, the encyclopedist, who, in all branches of human knowledge worked toward unity, is one Christian possibility; the width and fulness of Ambrose, another. Two ways open to Christianity: the one, inherited from Plato, turning its back on the *saeculum*, aspiring toward monotheistic monody; the other transforming pantheistic fullness into Catholic polyphony. When Norden writes: "Augustine was the greatest poet of the old Church, in spite of his having written as little verse as Plato", the lower rank which, by implication, he ascribes to Ambrose, strikes me as unjust—as being, perhaps, inspired by a too "Protestantic" definition of the poetic by the otherworldly: it would fit the aesthetics of the Jansenistic meditations of a Pascal, but not the Gallican baroque of a Bossuet, who sees and comprehends the world and whose poetry is not at a lower rung of the aesthetic ladder. Should poetry conform only to the poetic of the ear and not also include that of the eye? It seems to me wiser not to delimit poetry too narrowly, not to weaken the vigor of the basic polarity Augustine—Ambrose.

If, indeed, we think now of our problem of historical semantics: "World Harmony > Stimmung", we discover that Ambrose has done relatively more for

[25] The operatic Calderón, for example, opens an *auto sacramental* with a religious morning song: the spirits of Evil, Malice, and the *Lucero de la noche*, testify to the rejuvenating and unifying force of the morning in full accents and pictures of richness, quite similar to the Ambrosian morning hymns: *La viña del Señor* (1676), act I: "¿Qué misteriosas voces / Saludan hoy al día, / Alternando veloces / Del ritmo de su métrica armonía / Las cláusulas suaves / Con las hojas, las fuentes y las aves?" // *Lucero de la Noche*: "¿Qué misteriosa salva / Tan festiva hoy madruga, / Que al llorar de la aurora, al reir del alba, / Risas aumenta y lágrimas enjuga, / A cuyo acorde acento, / En aves, fuentes y hojas clama el viento?" // *Malicia*: "El orbe suspendido / Yace, al ver que en sus cóncavos más huecos / No hay parte en que no suene repetido / El balbuciente idioma de los coros." // *Lucero de la Noche:* "Aun los troncos más aridos, más secos / Rejuvenecen al templado canto?"—We shall see later how traditional are the phrases *templado canto, acorde acento*, and the reference to the choir formed of birds, fountains, leaves, echoes, salvoes etc.; suffice it here to note how the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Ambrose has survived, without change, until 1676! The Catholic art of Cervantes—just as so much of Catholic art which is well defined by Santayana as a *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*—perpetuates in modern times something of the Greco-Roman openness to the world of the senses.

the concept of World Harmony, Augustine for that of *Stimmung*—but without the former the latter is unthinkable. The dualism suggested by my title reflects indeed a historical and cultural succession: the (ancient) fullness of the world had to be present to the human soul before it could proceed toward its unification: a unification of richness, not of poverty. The spatial *cum-* had to be visualized before the perfective *cum-* could be conceived. On the other hand, *Stimmung*, with its stress on innerworldliness, has derived the most from Augustine; and the world-harmonic overtones, still present at the time of Luther, will fade out in modern times in German: it is no chance that the eighteenth century, when German *Stimmung* was lexicologically constituted, was among other things the period of a pietism of the *schöne Seele* which ultimately harks back to Augustinianism. Nor is the Ambrosian world harmony dead today: if the man of the nineteenth century leaves behind the cell of his *Stimmung*, he may perhaps see a *Stimmung* on the top of a mountain, at a seashore, or when he bathes in the waves of music (in Wagner), only the immediate life around him, his environment, has become unpoetic; it is only *ambiente*, a *milieu*, an *Umwelt*, spatial, yes, but narrow and not pervaded by the Idea of God; this is the situation which I studied in my parallel work, MA.

The Augustinian trend was continued into the Middle Ages by one of the "founders" of this age (as Rand calls them), Boethius. In regard to the problem discussed by the ancient Greeks—whether differences of sound are due to the physiological perception of the ear, of the senses (Aristoxenos), or to the *ratio* and *proportio* i.e. to mathematical data (Pythagoras)—Boethius, like Augustine, sides more with the latter school of thought: "Consonantiam vero licet aurium quoque sensus diiudicet, tamen ratio pependit"; "*consonantia* dissimilium inter se vocum in unum redacta *concordia*"[26] (and he coined the word *unisonus* after the pattern of *unanimis* etc.); "acuti soni gravisque mixtura suaviter uniformiterque auris accidens" (this is the *temperatura* of Aristoxenos who speaks of a mixture of two half-tones in any tone). The four strings of the tetrachord reflect the "music of the world", i.e. world harmony as portrayed in Plato's *Timaeus*: "ad imitationem [= μίμησις] musicae mundanae quae ex quattuor elementis constat"; Boethius emphasizes Plato's saying "*mundi animam* musica convenienda fuisse coniunctam": the world-soul is a musical, harmonious soul, and to this our human soul is tuned: "musicam naturaliter nobis coniunctam"; the *musica humana* sings the accord of body and soul and, with the application of the

[26] In medieval glossaries the identification of the two word families *concordia-consonantia* may be noted; compare, for example, the old French "Abavus" (M. Roques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du Moyen Age*, I): *Discordare-descorder*; *discordia-decorde*; *discors-decordable*; *dissonare-discorder*; *dissonus-descordable*. *Concordare-acorder*; *concordia-concorde*; *concors-acordant*. Also *discolus* (< Gr. δύσκολος) is glossed with *decordable*, the usual rendering of *discors*, *dissonus*, probably because of the phonetic assonance. The same tradition prevails also in the Spanish glosses, which A. Castro has edited: *discolus-cosa desacordable*; *discors-desacordable*; *disino* (probably to be corrected: *disuno* = *dissono*; Castro's suggestions are wrong) = *desacordar*.

concept of καλοκαγαθία, we come easily to the influence of music on human morals ("non solum speculationi, verum etiam moralitati coniuncta"). The purely speculative character of this musicology is revealed by the fact that vocal art is missing from the consideration of human music.[27] The *musica instrumentalis* tends to stress the mechanical and acoustic aspects of music; the study of these different aspects is not the reservation of the musical artist but the concern of any man that reflects about music—of the philosopher: hence the high place assigned to music in the medieval educational system of the *quadrivium*. The patterning of human and instrumental music upon the *musica mundana* and the *musica elementalis*, that is, upon the music of the world, had as a consequence the development of earthly music—to speak in Miltonian terms: "with heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds / In full harmonic number join'd".

The idea of World Harmony, in which music is seen as symbolizing the totality of the world, is an idea which was ever present to the mind of the Middle Ages. Bukofzer, *Speculum*, XVII, 165, who deals with the influence of speculative thought on music in the Middle Ages, quotes from the *Speculum musicae* (14th

[27] This predominance of instrumental over vocal music can still be seen as late as the seventeenth century in Spanish plays. In Mira de Amescua's *El harpa de David* it would really seem that the harp is the most important element, although for the public it is evidently the words of the song, destined to move King Saul, which make the greatest impression. It is stated clearly that David, the shepherd from Bethlehem, sings perfectly: "es tal la musica y armonía / de su arpa que podía / suspender la celestial" (i.e. his *musica humana* vies with the *musica mundana*). David himself concurs in the opinion that "mi arpa", since it is tuned to praise of God, must cure the king; and so he plays, singing to his accompaniment (this is managed in the theatre by off-stage singing). King Saul's first reaction is to attribute his relief from pain to "O poderosa armonía!/¡ O celestial instrumento!"; it is only later that he speaks of David himself, the "Pastor que sana si cura". Here there is precedence of the harp over the voice, which is theoretically purported to be *instrumentalis*. Another indication that the voice itself is conceived of as in instrument is found in the stage-directions, in which the off-stage singer is called *músico*, not *cantor*. Similarly in Shakespeare's stage directions (*Merchant of Venice*, III, 2) the singing of a song is indicated by the word *Music*.

In Ronsard's Pindaric ode to Michel de l'Hospital (1550), the Muses are defined as "Les filles qu'enfanta Mémoire, / En qui répandit le ciel / Une musique immortelle, / Comblant leur bouche nouvelle / Du jus d'un attique miel / Et à qui vraiment aussi / Les vers furent en souci; / Les vers dont flattés nous sommes, / Afin que leur doux chanter / Pût doucement enchanter / Le soin des dieux et des hommes": Juppiter desires to hear "[les chansons . . .] des neuf musiciennes. / Elles ouvrant leur bouche pleine / D'une douce arabe moisson, / Par l'esprit d'une vive haleine / Donnèrent l'âme à leur chanson; / Fredonnant sur la chanterelle de l'âme du Délien / La contentieuse querelle / De Minerve et du Cronien, / Puis d'une voix plus violente / Chantèrent l'enclume de fer . . . . / Après, sur la plus grosse corde, / D'un bruit qui tournait jusqu'aux cieux, / Le pouce des Muses accorde / L'assaut des Géants et des Dieux". The music of these *musiciennes* consists of singing to the accompaniment of an instrument whose different strings ("chanterelle—la plus grosse corde") are used according to the *Stimmung* of the contents. But the singing, even the poetry, is subordinated to music.

Ultimately, there may be, in the theory which includes the human voice with the musical instruments, a remainder of a Latin (and perhaps Indo-European) lexicological fact: that *canere* was said both of instrumental (cf. *fidibus canere, tibicen* etc.) and of vocal music (whereas *cantare* has been specialized in the meaning, "to sing").

cent.) the impressive sentence: "Musica generaliter sumpta objective quasi ad omnia se extendit"—*objective*: music is objective, world-representative, and—embracing. And, just as the world is full of mystery, so also is music. Divine Providence has "mix'd" the tones in such a manner that man cannot guess the result: thus, music, although rational, is mysterious, as Plato had said: "Cur namque aliqua tam dulci ad invicem *commixtione consentiant*, alii vero soni sibi misceri nolentes insuaviter discrepent, profundioris divinaeque est rationis et in aliquis inter abditissima naturae latentis" (*Musica enchiriadis*, 9th cent., apud Bukofzer). Mankind has no insight into the arcana of the God-ordained, pre-established musical harmony. But there always remains a tie between musical harmony and the harmony in Nature: Dana B. Durand resumes as follows the ideas of Nicole Oresme (14th cent.):

> "Precisely as some musical intervals are more consonant than others, so the pattern of natural qualities within a given species is susceptible of intension and remission in the degree of pulchritude and nobility. . . . Configurations of consonance, harmony and concord determine the pattern of joy and delectation eternally experienced by the blessed angels, precisely as the disposition of particles determines the degree of receptivity to heat in a tin basin."

The doctrine of the *musica enchiriadis*, according to which God alone knows the secret why certain musical configurations are harmonious, will finally lead to Leibniz' idea (*Letters*, ed. Kortholt, n° 154): "musica est exercitium arithmetices *occultum nescientis se numerare animi*"; it is to the *numeri* in music that we sub-consciously respond, though the soul of the listener does not know about its own (unconscious) arithmetical operations. This is aesthetics of the *je ne sais quoi* brand, ultimately of mystic origin and consonant with Augustine's idea of the "inner senses".

One aspect of the *musica mundana* of the world lute, as handed down by the Pythagoreans to the Middle Ages, was the idea of the completeness of the "instrument of the world", in which no string could be missing without impairing the whole harmony. Here we recognize the medieval idea of the finite, unified *summa*; thus it is hardly surprising to find the musical scale, or the totality of the strings of an instrument, considered as representative of the totality of the soul (the world-soul or the human soul), by which it is reflected: by means of the octave and of the two other main intervals, the quint and the quart, totality could be figuratively represented.[28] The Middle Ages preserved the Greek names of the octave, which had been transmitted by Vitruvius: "Concentus quos natura modulari potest, Graeceque συμφωνίαι dicuntur, sunt sex, Diatesseron, Diapente, Diapason, Diapason cum Diatesseron, Diapason cum Diapente, Disdiapason" (similar statements in Martianus Capella, v. DuCange and ThLL; *diapason* =

[28] It is in remembrance of the completeness and variety of tones of the Heptachord of antiquity (Philo Judaeus, I, 64, calls this the most powerful of the musical instruments, just as the seven vowels are the most powerful in "grammar"), that Ronsard, in his Pindaric ode on Michel l'Hospital, says: "Faisant parler sa grandeur / Aux sept langues de ma lyre", by which he would say that the wishes to celebrate his hero with *all* the strings of his lute—though he had shown us the Muses (cf. n. 27) using different strings for their different songs.

ἡ διὰ πασῶν [συμφωνία], diatesseron = ἡ διὰ τεσσέρων etc.). The Greeks, in line with their harmonizing thought, also used *diapente* and *diatesseron* in reference to mixtures in medicine of five or four elements, respectively; *diatesseron*, in addition, was the name of an order of columns in architecture. Modern musicologists will note that the third is missing from this list of intervals; E. Frank, *l.c.* p. 18, shows that this omission goes back to the Platonic numerical speculation, which, though attacked by Aristotle and his pupil Aristoxenos, was finally triumphant and became accepted as the "canonic" system. Plato could not accept the proportion 6:5, which had been discovered by Archytas, because 5 was an "unharmonic" number; and because of this metaphysical whim of Plato, the third was missing from the medieval scale, as determined by Boethius, and was explained away as dissonant. It was not until about 1200 that it was rediscovered—by Welsh musicologists, probably aided by the evidence of the Archytas fragment; this was a "renaissance" as important as was Kepler's rediscovery of the heliocentric system of Greek origin, and a triumph of the natural over the speculative: as a result the triple chord was made possible. Further developments took place in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries (in 1482 by the Spaniard Bartolomaeus Ramis; 1518 by Franchinus Gafurius, *De Harmonica Musicorum Instrumentorum*; 1529 by Ludovico Fogliani, *Musica Theoretica*); the triple chord was defended against Pythagorean authority—and modern music, based upon this chord, arose.

In the meantime medieval music was content with the three Platonic intervals, and medieval descriptions of religious music will insist upon them as guaranteeing an image of completeness: the "complete" music of the religious service is in unison with the completeness of God and his creation. In the *Cambridge Songs* (10th century) we find a poem *De Pythagora* (n° 12, ed. Strecker) in which the discovery of music is attributed to a Greek who, listening to the busy hammers in a blacksmith's shop, discerned, *per acumen mentis*, that hammers of different weight give forth different sounds (evidently Archytas' discovery is here attributed to Pythagoras): "Ad hanc [artem] simphonias [intervals] tres / *subplendam* istas fecit: / *diatesseron*, *diapente*, *diapason*, infra *quaternarium* / que *pleniter* armoniam sonant; / . . . et siderum motus / iussit continere, *ma ten tetradam* [cf. Mart. Cap. on μὰ τὴν τετράδα, *perfectae rationis numerum*], et nomine suo vocavit" (cf. also n° 45); in the same collection, n° 21 consists of the one single prose sentence: "Diapente et diatesseron simphonia et intenta et remissa pariter consonantia diapason modulatione consona reddunt." In Deguileville's French poem *Trois pelerinages* (13th cent., v. Godefroy) we read: "Souvent estoit repris sanctus / Devotement et sus et jus / *Musique de rien oublié* / *N'y avoit son* [= the becoming, the necessary] *diapanté*, / Non, n'y aussi *son diapason* / Ne *le doux diaptesseron*"; and in Pierre's *Roman de lumere* the completeness of God is openly revealed by the musical accord He has engineered in the world: "Que *Deus acorde* en diapason / E *deus* en diatessaron / E *deus* aussi en diapenté / Od semitons e toeus complenté": the idea of God's presence in the completeness of the world is hammered into the reader's brain as well by the anaphoric repetition

of His name as by the enumeration of the chords [I fail to understand the last two words of this quotation].

Furthermore, the verse from the thirty-second Psalm: "Confitemini Domino in cithara: in psalteriis *decem chordarum*", suggested the idea of a *moral* world of harmony and completeness. Thus we find the inference, applied to the *psalterium decem chordarum*, that, just as every string of the psaltery must be in place, so not a single law of the moral code (or of the decalogue) may be missing (this explains the title of Joachim del Fiore). In Alanus ab Insulis, "*Distinctiones*", s. v. *chorda* (Migne, P.L. 210, 738) we find:

". . . Isaias: *Venter meus de Moab sicut cithara clamabit.* Sicut cithara sonum compositum non emittit, sic spiritualis venter prophetae dulce melos non resonabit si una chorda virtutum defuerit. Philosophorum quoque sententiae confirmant virtutes cohaerere, ut, si una defuerit, omnes deessent."

Curtius, ZRPh LIX, 143 quotes the much earlier text of Fulgentius, *Fabula de Novem Musis*, in which Apollo and the nine Muses appear as allegories of the ten *modulamina* of the human voice; they are evidently meant to harmonize ancient mythology with the ten-stringed psalter of David. The importance, for the problem of *Stimmung*, of all these attempts to allegorize the strings of the lute and to compare man's soul (and the world-soul) with a tuned instrument is evident. With the fourteenth-century Italian mystic Catherine of Siena, we find a comparison of the forces of the mind with the major strings, and those of the senses with the minor; if all these forces are used in the praise of God and in the service of our neighbor, "producono un suono simile a quello di un organo armonioso". Bertoni, *Lingua e pensiero* (1932), p. 92, who mentions this passage, points out Catherine's predilection for understatement (she will use the epithet "small" when she really means "great", e.g.: *con una santa piccola tenerezza*) which corresponds to her feeling that all virtues, great or small, concord "in the rhythm of an infinite symphony". It is as though the complete world organ of the harmonious soul included the soft pedal of modest self-improvement. In such sentences we are not far from the "tuning" of the soul, or from *Stimmung*. The importance of such passages lies in the resolute unification of the human soul: it was thus conceived of as a firmly delimited, well-circumscribed unit.[28a]

In this same Catherinian passage we find a mention of the polyphonic organ. From a musical apperception of the world as a polyphonic orchestra (an idea underlying Ambrose's and Augustine's feeling) to the modern symphony orchestra was no easy step: the yoke imposed by Greek monody upon the Middle Ages was not to be quickly shaken off. That a feeling for the orchestral was present at the time, however, would seem to be borne out by the fact that (ac-

[28a] The ideal completeness of a human being could be figuratively compared to a musical instrument: this has been done by Machant (14th cent.) in his *Dit de la harpe*, published by Karl Young in *Essays in Honor of A. Feuillerat* (New Haven, 1943); and the idea of the poem is by no means a "pleasant fancy of a graceful versifier," as its modern editor and commentator will have it.

cording to Groves) the organ made its appearance (in the Occident) in the fifth century (it had already been known to the Romans). In the description of the organ given by Julian Apostata in the *Greek Anthology* (quoted by DuCange), there is an emphasis on the fitness of this instrument, with its manifold stops and the variety of its sounds, for expressing the grandeur of the universe (the *συμφράδμονες κανόνες* = *concordes calami* indicate "collaboration" to a musical effect); we find the same insistance on variety in the description of the organ sent by the Emperor of Byzantium to Charlemagne: "rugitu quidem, tonitrui boatum, garrulitatem vero lyrae vel cymbali, dulcedine coaequat". The most interesting passage in this connection is found in Augustine's *Enarratio in psalmum XL*, an exegesis of the most "musical" of David's psalms; he questions the use of the word *organum* in the verse *laudate eum in chordis et organo*: why does the psalmist point to strings when speaking of the *organum*, just as he had in the previously mentioned *psalterium* and *cithara* mentioned strings? *Organum*, according to Augustine, may have two meanings: it is either, in the Greek sense, the designation of any musical instrument, or else, in a more genuinely Latin sense, it may refer to the "organ". Thus the psalmist has added *organum* to *chordae* because he had in mind, not a stringed instrument, but a concordance as of organ strings: "non ut singulae sonent [chordae], sed ut *diversitate concordissima consonant, sicut ordinantur in organo*".

There is still, according to Augustine, another implication in this passage, which was preceded by the verse: *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus* [*sancti* = "the Just" at the time of resurrection]: "Habebunt enim etiam tunc [at the time of resurrection] sancti Dei *differentias suas consonantes, non dissonantes, id est, consentientes, non dissentientes*: sicut fit *suavissimus concentus ex diversis* quidem, sed non inter se adversis sonis." Handschin, in his article "Die Musikanschauung des Johannes Scotus (Erigena)" in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschr.* V, 322, insists on the theme *concentus ex diversis . . . non inter se adversis sonis*; whereas the Stoics (like Heraclitus) had thought of harmony as forcing together the inimical, Augustine has in mind rather the ability of harmony to smooth out apparent discord—as the "inner ear" of the believer hears the unity underlying diversity. Thus the *concordia discors* foreshadows the differentiated harmony of the Saints—and the organ is a symbol of the *discordia concors* of world music. Again, in his commentary on I. *Cor.* XV, 41–42 ("Stella enim a stella *differt* in claritate; sic et resurrectio mortuorum") Augustine ends by enumerating, in a kind of anticipated "Calderonian résumé",[29] all the instruments mentioned in the psalm:

[29] This term has been coined by H. Hatzfeld for such summarizing descriptions as, for example, Calderon's resumé (*Mágico prodigioso*) of his description of a beautiful woman: "Al fin *cuna, grana, nieve, / Campo, sol, arroyo, rosa, / Ave* que canta amorosa. / *Risa* que . . . , / *Clavel* que . . . " etc. etc. Curtius, in his article "Mittelalterlicher und barokker Dichtungsstil" (*Mod. Phil.* XXXVIII, 325) has traced this baroque "Summationsschema" back to a poetic description of a landscape to be found with the contemporary of Constantine, Tiberianus: "Si euntem per virecta pulchra odora et musica / *Ales amnis aura lucus flos et umbra* juverat". For us it is interesting that this summary occurs first in poetry in a passage evidently inspired by World Harmony, which depicts, by means of

Vos enim sancti eius . . . virtus ejus estis, sed quam fecit in vobis: et potentatus ejus, et multitudo magnitudinis ejus, quam fecit et ostendit in vobis. *Vos estis tuba, psalterium, cithara, tympanum, chorus, chordae et organum, et cymbala jubilationis* bene sonantia, quia consonantia. Vos estis haec omnia . . .

Here we have clearly a symphonic world orchestra of the saints celebrating the almighty nature, the *multitudo magnitudinis* of God: the proto-type of such an orchestra must be the organ, the typically polyphonic instrument, projected back into David's time. Henceforth we find attested in medieval Latin and in Romance an *organare, organizare*, "to sing polyphonically as to the accompaniment of an organ" or "to sing in a way resembling the music of an organ with its different stops"—though musicologists are quite right in insisting that really polyphonic singing or music is not attested in the Middle Ages. In the ninth century we find the surprising definition of the *organum* (i.e. of polyphonic music, patterned on the many-voiced organ) with Johannes Scotus (Erigena):

Organum melos ex diversis quantitatibus et qualitatibus conficitur, dum *viritim separatimque* sentiuntur voces *a se discrepantibus* intensionis et remissionis proportionibus *segregatae* dumvero *sibi invicem coaptantur* secundum certas rationabilesque artis musicae per singulos tropos naturalem quandam dulcedinem reddentibus,

—a definition which this original philosopher, who stands quite isolated in his period,[30] compares to the concept of "discord in concord" in the whole creation;

---

enumeration, the riches of the created world, as is generally the case with Calderon (cf. my remarks in *Rev. de filología hisp.* III, 91). Today I should like to emphasize that Augustine, in the passage quoted in the text, offers essentially the same stylistic device long before Tiberianus; in fact the Calderonian résumé is in line with what Jean Bayet, *Littérature latine*, p. 733, finds characteristic of Augustine's style: "une prose harmonieuse allant d'un trait au but, mais revenant ensuite sur elle-même avant de repartir plus loin; cette suite de glissements et de reprises finit par produire une sorte d'incantation". (We shall see later the same qualities of incantation in his definition of peace.) The "Calderonian résumé", with all its richness, is already present in Augustine—with whom it represents the final peak (or better, abiding-place) attained after many a tentative, impatient forward and upward striving. With Calderon, this artist of the Counter Reformation, the impatience preparatory to the crowning effect has disappeared, so that what remains is really a "Summationsschema", a more schematic device.

[30] He has transmitted certain neo-Platonic ideas to the Middle Ages. For example Plotinus, *Enneads* IV,4,4, states that the prayer addressed by the astrologer to the stars, takes effect on them not by direct influence, but because of the sympathy ruling throughout the universe. World Harmony is comparable to a vibration which propagates itself from one part of the lute to the other, and from one lute to the other (a simile we shall meet with in the works of the Renaissance neo-Platonists, Marsilio Ficino, Donne etc.); World Harmony is based as well on *συγγενῆ* as on *ἐναντία*, "adverse elements" (as in Heraclitus' simile of the bow). And in III, 2, 16–18, Plotinus offers a theodicy based on the theory that the evil in the world is necessary because Intelligence acts with reason as to the plan of the whole world, but does not impart perfection to all the parts; on the contrary, *πόλεμος καὶ μάχη* obtain in the parts, just as in a play there are conflicts in the plot, though the whole of the play is one and harmonious. Just as the high sounds and the low (*ὀξὺ καὶ βαρύ*) become one and harmonious by numbers (*συνίασιν εἰς ἓν ὄντες ἁρμονίας λόγοι εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἁρμονίαν*), so the oneness of reason stems from the fact that the latter makes the parts not *διάφορα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία*—not only different but adverse (the black and the white, the cold and the hot

this would seem to point to the actual existence of polyphony at this time. Erigena's theodicy is based on world harmony, that is, on the musical proportions which are rooted in man's inner sense, in his transcendental sensitivity (this concept is derived from the Augustinian "inner senses": senses which make us feel the sweetness of harmony). And the different tones of the organ-stops, the strings of the lute, the holes of the flute etc., considered as deep, high and middle tones respectively (here we are back with the world-lute simile of Athanasius who inserted the middle tones between the Heraclitan extremes), form, in their proportions, a certain consonance and a complete gamut of tones. In the moral scale there is a similar completeness and harmony: the wickedness of man is just one dissonance introduced into harmony in order to bring about the final triumph of goodness and harmony. For Erigena, in accordance with the idea of man's creation, fall and redemption, and with the descendent-ascendent movement of Plotinus' neo-Platonic metaphysics, presents the discordant deviation present in man's history only as a sign of his ultimate return to his harmonious origin (the *finis* of the world being the return to the *principium*). Similarly, the seven liberal arts, in a circular movement, come from God and return to him: this is true particularly of music, which starts from its Principle, its *tonus* (primordial mode?), moving through consonances (*symphoniae*) only to return to the *tonus*, in which music is virtually comprehended. Whether we would be justified in interpreting this statement of Erigena as a clear indication of musical polyphony, as we did in the case of the Augustinian passage on the *organum* cited above, is not yet clear (cf. J. Handschin, *l.c.*); it is, however, unmistakably a beautiful manifestation of the musical conception of Nature as a diversified universe. Erigena insists on the original independence of the different voices which "non confunduntur sed solummodo adunantur": they are like unto the candles of a chandelier which (according to the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita) form one indivisible light; although any single candle can be removed, it will not take along with itself the light of the other candles. Since, in the *Musica enchiriadis* which Handschin considers contemporary with Erigena, there are similar allusions to polyphony, we may assume that at least theoretically the avenue to symphonic music was opened in the ninth century.

If we follow, in Dagobert Frey's synthetic history of all the arts, *Gotik und Renaissance* (Augsburg, 1929), the chapter (chap. 6) on the development of music from antiquity to the Renaissance, we may see how slow indeed was the progress of this art away from Greek monody: the Middle Ages persisted in appreciating music as a succession of tones and a succession on a horizontal line—we might call this the Augustinian approach. It is true that, in the tropes, where the *cantus firmus* was paraphrased by a second voice, we have the beginnings of polyphony—but only a parallelism of rhythm and of number of tones

---

etc.) . . . οὐδὲ ἐν σύριγγι φωνὴ μία . . . ἄνισοι μὲν οἱ φθόγγοι πάντες, ὁ δὲ τέλειος εἷς ἐκ πάντων. The flute of Pan, with its unequal tones, is the symbol of World Harmony. Along with the more famous symbolism of light there is, in Plotinus, a string of musical similes which has strongly influenced medieval and (particularly) Renaissance writers.

was permitted in these earliest attempts at *deschanter*, characterized by Frey as "akkordische Beziehungslosigkeit" and explained by him as connected with the lack of interrelation in Romanic art, with its purely enumerative, isolated formal symbols. The Old French treatise on *deschant* insists on parallelism: "quiconques veut deschanter il doit premiers savoir qu'est quins et doubles" (i.e. follow the main voice in the fifth and in the octave—the fourth and, of course, the third are excluded). Guido of Arezzo[31] allows for a crossing of voices, inasmuch as the *cantus* can descend below the "original voice": in a *disjunctio vocum*, where the voices are relatively independent, the voices can proceed in different pitch so that "concorditer dissonant et dissonantes concordant" (here we recognize a "modern" [medieval] refinement logically derived from the ancient and Augustinian formula of the *concordia discors*). From now on the "original voice" becomes a more independent upper voice, and it is granted richer melisms: the polyphonic *motets*, in which every voice has its own rhythm, beat, and at times, even its own language, are the typically Gothic forms of thirteenth-century music—and yet here, too, the main principle is not the simultaneous, vertical consonance of the voices, but the melodious, horizontal succession. The *ars nova*, which flourished in Paris (and whose apex is Philippe de Vitry) favored three or four voices, equally important, an even flow of the melodious line, and the introduction of beats. The fourteenth century witnessed the invention of counterpoint, the essential of which is the possibility of distinguishing consonances and dissonances: e.g. the parallelism of fifths and octaves is prohibited because these represent complete consonances, in which the ear is unable to keep apart the two tones: the thirds (and sixths), on the contrary, are now tolerated because the consonance is not perfect—thus the independence of the voices has made considerable progress. The new *a cappella* singing of the fifteenth century is a development from the *rondeau* and *canon*: four voices enter one after the other, each imitating the preceding one. By now it is simultaneous, not successive apperception which prevails: this is the very time of the Renaissance when perspective and space are introduced into painting, so that the beholder of the painting must take in simultaneously the depicted figure, and the space around it which had been absent from medieval painting; now composer and painter alike compose vertically (not horizontally), two-dimensionally (not linearly). In medieval polyphony the development had always to be from individual to individual, never was there a supra-vocal principle: there could be

[31] It is this musical theorist of the eleventh century who took the decisive step of inventing the modern names for the tones of the hexachord (whereas the Greeks had known such names only for the tetrachord: τε τα τη τω): *ut re mi fa sol la*. He took these from the words of a hymn of Paulus Diaconus (eighth century) on St. John the Baptist, which were sung on an ever higher tone of the scale: "*Ut* queant laxis / *re*sonare fibris / *Mi*ra gestorum / *Fa*muli tuorum / *Sol*ve polluti / *La*bii rectum / Sancte Johannis." This historical fact, which made possible the preservation of musical composition in a manner unknown to the Greeks (who would have been unable to transmit to posterity the compositions of a Greek Mozart), is interesting to us for two reasons: the hymn on Saint John brings into relief the *junction* of music and grace; its ascension to the higher tones of the scale must evidently have depicted the gradual ascension of the soul from sin to grace.

unisons or parallelism, never the fusion of the particular (linear) voices in a totality. It is interesting to see how the idea of concordance of voices, so consistent with that of Christian World Harmony, could not, before the fifteenth century, lead to simultaneously apperceived polyphony: the Greek monodic trend dominated Western music for more than 1000 years; the shackles of a learned musical tradition checked what should have been the natural tendency of Christian music: any community gathered together in the name of God should, from the beginning, have celebrated by *discordia concors* the world music instituted by its creator.

Let us now follow the reflections of medieval, of pre-Renaissance musicology, in medieval poetry. With the concept (expressed by Boethius) of human music as a reflection of the *musica mundana* of the universe, all varieties of musical devices had to penetrate the other medieval arts.[32] We mentioned the fact

[32] Once we have realized the importance of *musica mundana* for the medieval world, we should not allow ourselves henceforth to take lightly any allusions to music in the literary works of the Middle Ages—to accept them as mere metaphors, or even as *topoi* in the sense of Curtius: there is always behind them a universal and transcendent meaning which reminds the reader of the whole, unsecularized complex of a world harmony accessible as well to feeling as to reason. When, for example, the Spanish Arcipreste de Hita, in his *Libro de buen amor* (fourteenth century), has his book say (str. 70): "De todos instrumentos yo, libro, soy pariente, / bien o mal cual puntares, tal te dirá ciertamente . . . / si me puntar supieres, siempre me habrás en miente", the musical term *puntar*, "to sing according to notes" > "to interpret" (as we would say, "Toscanini interprets Mozart excellently"), has the function of suggesting not only the glossing technique applied to Biblical texts, but the variation of a musical motif, which was conceived as a glossing—cf. Bukofzer, *loc. cit.*, and the present writer, ZRPh, LIV, 37 and *Modern Philology*, 41, 96: the reader is thus asked to collaborate with the author at the "musical interpretation" of a text which is supposedly susceptible of various meanings, but offers an ordered whole shaped in unison with World Harmony. To give another example, Suolahti, *Neuphil. Mitt.* (Helsinki) XXXIII, 207, has explained the MHG *salfisiren*, "to discuss (a problem)", and the O.Fr. *solfier*, "to discuss a juridical case", by solfeggio-singing (medieval Latin *solfizare*, "to sing the notes *sol, fa* according to the system of Guido de Arezzo"): here a rational procedure is thought of in terms of the singing of a musical scale, and through the comparison with music, it is disintellectualized; at the same time, the particular discussion takes its place within an ordered whole (as does the gloss within the frame of the totality of the artistic work). Since the universe is a *musicum carmen* shaped by the Divine Artist, any intellectual work of man, whether artistic or not, participates somewhat in the orderedness and completeness of this universe (and we may also mention the parallel offered by medieval *declinare*, "to explain", drawn from grammatical declension which places the particular intellectual work within the frame of a whole, cf. MA p. 30).—

How much the audible prevailed in the Middle Ages is apparent not only from what knowledge we have of the way that books that would be read today were recited in that period (accompanied by music, as, for example, in the case of the epic poems), but also from such casual remarks as that which opens the Alexander fragment of Albéric de Besançon: "Dit Salomon al primer pas / quant de son libre *mot lo clas*" (the German version of Lamprecht says similarly of Alberic, "Dû Elberich daz liet erhub"): according to the medieval author Solomon *sang* his "Vanitas vanitatum," he "fit résonner la voix de son livre", as P. Meyer rightly translates. Here, *clas* < *classicum*, "trumpet signal"; perhaps we could even think of the Fr. *sonner le glas*: "he rings the death-knell for the vanity of life." On the other hand, since the Bible was a written text, it was possible to conceive of something oral as also "written": in the Old French *Mystère d'Adam* (which is evidently destined for

that, in the hymns of Ambrose with their conservative-revolutionary style, rhyme was not yet used. With the exception of some traces in Ennius, rhyme was never to be found in ancient poetry: to the Greek and Roman this massive phonetic device would have appeared to be a barbarism in poetry: a "drum beat", as Vossler says, in comparison with the fine "flute effects" of their quantitative prosody and musical accent. To the traditional interpretation of the new rhyme technique as due to the decay of ancient quantity and the rise of stress in the Romance language, I should like to add a further explanation based on the different function of phonetic consonance in the ancient and modern languages respectively: the device of *homoioteleuton* was used in the ancient languages to express intellectual correspondences, e.g. in order to emphasize similarity of meaning in roots: *nect-*, *flect-*, *plect-* or, especially, in the endings of the declension: *omnia praeclara rara*; *abiit, fugit, evasit.* A language which has established the principle of rhyme as a basis of grammatical accord can draw from it little poetic effect (in French the scanty remainders of grammatical consonance *-é, -er, -ais* are never poetic). Rhyme as a poetic device has originated in our modern languages because it is no longer used for grammatical concordance: it serves to link words which precisely are not easily connected, and therein lies its charm. The Latin sentence quoted above appears in modern languages without grammatical rhyme (*toutes les belles choses sont rares*), and we may assume that the decay of the Latin nominal and verbal declension system must have contributed to the development of rhyme as a poetic device: while the inflectional system was still in full vigor, the poetic flavor of language could be enhanced only by quantitative prosody. That the disappearance of grammatical rhyme opened the way to poetic rhyme is also suggested by the fact that in late Antiquity (and later, through the Middle Ages in the so-called *Reimprosa*) rhyme was used, in prose alone, as a device for underlining intellectual parallelism (*cola*):[33] it was employed by Tertullian (according to Vossler) because it belonged

performance, as is shown by the carefully-worded *rubricae*), to Abel's admonitions that God should be given the title which is his due, Cain replies that Abel has well preached and well written: *bien escrit*: obviously, since Abel is a character of the Scriptures, any word of his partakes of the "It is written".—Otfrid (9th cent.) justifies his German translation of the Gospels in *Ad Liutbertum* by his intention, "ut aliquantulum huius *cantus* lectionis ludum secularium vocum deleret et in evangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine *sonum inutilium rerum* noverint declinare." Cf. F. P. Magoun jr. in PMLA, LVIII, 873.

[33] Thus rhyme belonged to the *numerus* of prose. It is well known that the particular rhythm of prose is called ἀριθμός by Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, 3, 8) and *numerus* by Cicero (*De Oratore*, III); subsequently we find *nombre oratoire* used by Batteux, *Cours de belles lettres* (1753), 4, 114, and *numerus* by Sulzer and others. In general, the prose *numerus* is a looser or more flexible rhythm than is that applied to poetry: "Distinctio et aequalium aut saepe inaequalium intervallorum percussio numerum conficit", says Cicero (cf. Walzel, *Gehalt und Gestalt*, p. 207 seq.). Since both ἀριθμός and *numerus* are evidently echoes of the Pythagorean World Music, they must have been originally identical with ἁρμονία and *concentus*, being only secondarily specialized for prose rhythm. In the Ode to Michel l'Hospital, Ronsard says of his hero, who encourages the arts of the Muses: "Par lui leurs honneurs s'enbellissent, / Soit d'écrits rampant à deux pieds [= verse], / Ou soit *par des nombres* qui glissent / *De pas tout francs et dêliês* [= prose].

to the "sophistical and rhetorical apparatus of Greco-Latin artistic prose"—and Christian propaganda should not show a style inferior to that of the heathen. It is well known that Augustine, although in his discussion of metrics (*De Musica*) he fails to mention rhyme as a "musical" phenomenon, was the first to use the rhyme form in a poem; it is to be found in a psalm, reminiscent of later Romance tirades, *contra Donatianum*, which is somewhat in the middle between poetry and dogmatic propaganda. I would suggest that, in the rescue of rhyme from its prosaic commitments, nothing was more influential (in a Latin which had freed itself from the quantitative system and which—at least in the case of the spoken form, Vulgar Latin—was about to lose its declension system) than was the idea of (the musical) World Harmony. With the Romans, the expression *consonantia vocum* (which, as we have already seen, was a by-product of their World Harmony) was applied to grammatical accord, but now we find "consonance" used as the name for the rhyme ([*con*]*sonans*, *acordans* in the old Provençal *Lays d'Amors* etc.), since this, likewise, is an echo of the world harmony (the German word for rhyme meant originally "order" and may render the idea of the *numeri*). Rhyme as a musical device is in line with Ambrose's addition of Oriental music to the text of his hymns in praise of World Harmony—Oriental music that would have sounded as barbarous to the nice ear of the Greeks as the rhyme. The tremendous development of music is not thinkable without the Christian idea of World Harmony: as Ambros says in his *History of Music* (quoted by Vossler), music was "freed from the shackles of metrics": in words such as *Halleluja*, or in the final lines of psalms, music went its own way, apart from the text. Now rhyme itself is perhaps of a parallel "barbaric", Oriental origin (Lydia, v. Vossler; Syria, according to W. Meyer aus Speier); it is also a typically Christian device ("In the first six centuries there is hardly a single rhymed poem to be found in Latin that is not inspired by Christian sentiment": Vossler). Is it, then, too bold to assume, along with the introduction of a music joined with words and expanding beyond the range of words, the introduction also of a second music *within the words* themselves—i.e. rhyme, used as a device in unison with the idea of World Harmony and possessed of all the emotional, unintellectual impact of this idea?[34] The *Gesamtkunstwerk* technique

[34] The destiny of alliteration in Romance poetry is in contradistinction to that of rhyme: while the former originally appeared in late ancient prose and medieval *Reimprosa* along with the rhyme as an equally intellectual device, later penetrating into poetry (of which the O.Fr. *chanson de Roland* is a late witness), it began to disappear from the later medieval poetry (the pseudo-poetry of the late medieval *rhétoriqueurs* is no exception to this rule). In Germany, on the contrary, where it was probably genuine, it was retained in medieval poetry (*Stabreim*), and has been revived, if with dubious success, by Wagner, its deficiencies offset by the music with which it was bound up. In fact the similes used by Wilhelm Scherer and Wagner, who compare the vowels to the organic body and the consonants to the skeleton of language (Wagner speaks of the *Fellfleisch*, the visible skin), would suggest that the consonant is the characterizing, distinctive, limiting element, as compared with the organic and expansive element of the vowel; A. Heusler sees in alliteration a dynamic *Ausdrucksgebärde*, in rhyme, harmonious song. I would say that the consonant is more intellectually expressive, and thus it is only logical that it was alien to the Christian musicalization of language (and to the Italian *bel canto*). In Wagner's *Musikdrama* the

implies generally synaesthetic devices: the "musicalization" of poetry by the rhyme would be only another feature of the conception of art as musical art. The polyphony in which the manifoldness of the universe is brought to unity, is echoed within the poem by a device which holds together words that strive apart. Both polyphony and rhyme are Christian developments, patterned on World Harmony: in the ambiguity of the word *consonantia* in the Middle Ages ("chord" or "rhyme") we may grasp the fundamental kinship of the two meanings. Rhyme is now redeemed from intellectualism, it is an acoustic and emotional phenomenon responding to the harmony of the world.

There is another medieval art in which the concept of World Harmony played a part: this was hermeneutics or exegesis, which was destined to become most important to the Bible-minded Middle Ages, in which the authority of the Scriptures was as strong as the variety of interpretations was overwhelming.[34a] Agreement of the passages of Holy Writ with each other (involving a balancing of Old Testament and New Testament passages, or of the parts of the New Testament against each other) as well as agreement of the Bible with the documents of heathendom (Virgil etc.)—this was most eagerly sought. And how could this "concordance" appear otherwise than as a musical harmony: already Greek and Roman philology had used in a similar reference *συμφωνεῖν*, *σύμφωνον εἶναι*, *consonare*, *concordare* etc. I suggest that the *concordance* of the gospels (Germ. "Evangelien*harmonie*") was felt as a musical accord, reflecting godly peace, reflecting the order ruling in Nature and Man: surely this is suggested by the exegetical terms *concordia*, *consensus*, *convenientia*, *consortium* etc. (cf. Ambrosius: "De *Concordia* Matthaei et Lucae in Genealogia Christi"; Augustine: "De *Consensu* Evangelistarum"). In the latter treatise (I, 351, 84) we may read a simile in which the four Gospels are compared to the mystical (and, naturally, the harmoniously organized and unified—in spite of variety) body of Christ; our symphonic cluster, the *con-* words are rampant in the passage:

> Omnibus autem discipulis suis per hominem quem assumpsit [Christ], tanquam membris sui corporis caput est. Itaque cum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est quod ipse non scripserit; quandoquidem membra eius id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt. . . . Hoc *unitatis consortium* et in diversis officiis *concordium*[35]

---

intellectual element of the *Stabreim* poetry of the text is, so to speak, overwhelmed by the power (also the physical power) of his music: we could not, for example, imagine alliteration in a Mozart libretto. It is obviously wrong to declare, as does Julius von Schlosser, "Magistra Latinitas und Magistra Barbaritas" (*Bayr. Sitzgsber.* 1937), that alliteration (*Stabreim*) is the typically "barbarian" and rhyme (*Klangreim*) the typically classical, given the historical fact that the two are found together in late ancient prose and medieval *Reimprosa*.

[34a] [And see also the significant title of the work which first endeavored to bring the multi-layered sources of Canon law into a scholastic system by harmonizing thought, and thus became the basic text of ecclesiastical jurisprudence in the later Middle Ages: Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum* (c. 1140). Jurisprudence is an art, too, according to the Roman classical definition: *jurisprudentia est ars boni et aequi*. ED.]

[35] This *concordium* is evidently a coinage after the pattern of the *consortium* which occurs in the same sentence. The passage is not listed in ThLL, which contains only two passages

membrorum sub uno capite ministerium quisquis intellexerit, non aliter accipiet quod narrantibus discipulis Christi in Evangelis legerit, quam ipsam manum Domini, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, scribentem conspexerit . . . ex hoc appareat, illius capitis membra, non solum idem sentiendo, verum etiam *convententia* scribendo, in corporis ipsius unitate germanam servasse *concordiam*.

Cf. Rufinus: *consona scripturis* translating σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς, and the phrase in Venantius Fortunatus: *consono ore et concordi voto conclamare coeperunt* (ThLL s.v. *consonus*) which, with its accumulation of *con*-compounds, renews such classical expressions as *concordi dixere sono*: as is usual, συμφωνία (>*consonantia*) and συμπάθεια (>*concordia*)—the acoustic and the psychological harmony—coalesce (cf. the translations of συμφωνοῦσι, ἔστι σύμφωνα by *et huic concordant verba prophetarum* [Vulg.], of βιβλίων ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων by *volumina inter se . . . discordantia*, Rufinus).

Not only in the preponderance of music among the arts, and not only in the musicalization of poetry, does the concept of World Harmony make itself felt in the Middle Ages: it appears also in the treatment of music as a literary theme. Since the harmony of the cosmos, like that of music, is a gift of Grace, so, wherever we find one of these four terms, it will have a close association with the other three: Grace-Nature-Music-Harmony is a kind of tetrachord formed within the *musicum carmen* of the world. Since harmony and music can be conceived as one we may also find the triad Grace—Nature—Harmony. The same motif may be found with several variations, reminiscent of Ambrose, in the writings of Paulinus of Nola (cf. Curtius, ZRPh LIX,139 and 143): (XX, 32) "At nobis ars una fides et musica Christus; (43) "Ille igitur vero nobis est musicus auctor"; (59) "toto Christi chelys aurea mundi / Personat innumeris uno modulamine linguis / Respondentque Deo paribus nova carmina nervis." The equation "music (harmony) = God's Grace" is found with Clemens Al. (according to Eusebius, *H. E.* 6, 14, 7 [3]), where the tongue of the Evangelist John is said to move μετὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος, while his voice is πάσης μουσικῆς ἁρμονίας ἡδίων.

In the 5th-6th century *Acta* of the martyr Cecilia there is a passage describing Cecilia, touched by grace, at her prayers: *Cantantibus organis Caecilia decantabat in corde suo* (cf. *Encicl. Ital.* s.v. *Cecilia*). This expression was responsible for

---

from juridical texts. It is significant that in Romance it has been preserved: in O. Prov. *concordi*, "agreement" (coupled once with *patz* = *pax*). I cannot understand why *concordium* appears with an asterisk in A. Thomas, *Essais de philologie romane*, index, and in the REW (the former attests a *discordium* with the bucolic poet of the first century, Calpurnius). It is no chance that Provençal should have preserved the learned forms in *-i*: *concordi*, *discordi*, also *acordi*, *coveni* (<**convenium*), *termini* (<**terminium*), *tempori* (< **temporium*)—all of which are words related to our well-known idea of order (term). In general, historical grammarians who deal with word formations have a tendency to reason only on the basis of patterns of formation (e.g. the pattern *-i* in Prov. = *-ium* in Latin), without taking into consideration the ideological patterns: it is the first which bring about the development of the second. Without the emotional appeal of *consortium*, *concordium*, the Prov. *-i* < *-ium* word-formational pattern could probably not have crystallized. Language forms do not evolve and function without an emotional content (which may, of course, be connected with intellectual values).

the later conclusion that Cecilia had invented the organ. Since, however, *organum* has meant, ever since the time of Augustine, not only "organ" but "musical instrument" (cf. DuCange; Gerold, *La musique au moyen âge*, p. 65), it seems evident to me that the correct interpretation would be "tuned to instrumental sounds"; in this way, the passage of the *Acta* is seen as paralleling the inward musical prayer of the saint with an orchestration of the universe (in the Ambrosian manner).[36] The famous painting of Raphael, in which Cecilia, on hearing the angelic music of the Beyond, is shown as dropping, enraptured, her earthly *organetto*, while *vielle*, *tambourin* and other earthly instruments lie on the floor about her, has returned to the inwardness of the text of the *Acta*: she has "heard in her heart" heavenly music. By now vocal music, that is, the music of the human heart, is superior to instrumental music (according to Frey, p. 240, this was a contemporary tendency)—and, significantly enough, the equation "Music = Grace" is emphasized by the presence, in Raphael's painting, not only of Saint Augustine (the author of *De Musica*), but also of Saint Paul ("Si linguis hominum loquar, et angelorum, charitatem autem non haberem . . .") and of John the Evangelist (the representative of the invasion by Grace, cf. Benz, *Dtsch. Vierteljahrsschr.* XII, 46), and, especially of Mary Magdalen, a saint who has never been shown in any direct relationship with music, but only with that Grace-which-is-music. Schopenhauer (*Welt als Wille* etc. I, 3,§52) has correctly defined this painting as marking the transition from the artist to the saint, from the playful beholder of beauty to the lover whom "der Ernst ergreift". This "being grasped" by the transcendental music of Grace was described long before Raphael by the "father of English mysticism," Richard Rolle (14th cent.) in his *Incendium amoris* (ed. Deansly, p. 189):

> Dum enim in eadem capella sederem et in nocte ante cenam psalmos prout potui decantarem, quasi tinnitum psalmentium vel pocius canencium supra me ascultavi. Cumque celestibus eciam orando desiderio intenderem, nescio quomodo mox in me *concentum canorum* sensi et delectabilissimam armoniam celicus excepi mecum manentem in mente. Nam cogitacio mea continuo in carmen canorum commutabatur et quasi odas habui meditando et eciam orationibus ipsis et psalmodia eundem sonum edidi. Deinceps usque ad canendum que prius dixeram pro *affluentia suavitatis interne* prorupi, occulte quidem, quia tantummodo coram conditore meo.

There is the same inner experience of an individual being invaded by world music as we found in St. Cecilia's case: in this poem the *decantare*, the more or less mechanical recitation, gives way to a song of the soul (a soul attuned to heaven) in which liturgical texts are recited with their full divine impact. Grace-endowed song has pervaded a formalized psalm text, imbuing it with deepest meaning: the words are those prescribed by the Scriptures, but they "break forth" spontaneously from the ecstatic mystic. And once it had come to pass that a particular being was shown attuning his soul to the world harmony—

[36] Cf. Dryden's *Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1687): "From harmony, from heavenly harmony, / This universal frame began: / From harmony to harmony / Through all the compass of the notes it ran, / The diapason closing full in man"—here is the idea of *musica mundana* being completed by *musica humana*.

his voice being considered as one instrument more in the world concert of praise to God—there was nothing to prevent the acceptance of caroling birds as fellow-musicians: Fortunatus (sixth century) praises the nightingale ("Hinc philomena sonis adtemperat organa cannis, / Fitque repercusso dulcior aura melo"), which tunes its (vocal) "organs" or instruments to the music of man, awakening the response of the air (i.e. of Nature). Compare also the medieval song mentioned by Gerold, p. 77: "Philomele, demus laudes in voce organica", in which the nightingale sings religious hymns.

The Christian connection between divine grace and music (song) is also illustrated by the legend which Chaucer has inserted in his *Canterbury Tales* and put into the mouth of the Prioress. Here, the emphasis is on the singing ("loude and cleare") of the Marian antiphone, *Alma redemptoris*, by the seven-year old child, the "clergeon", on his martyrdom at the hands of the Jews, and on the miracle of his singing, after death, through the efficacy of the Virgin—that is, on the wonder-working power of religious song. Carlton Brown, *The Miracle of Our Lady* (1910), has pointed out Chaucer's close adherence to a particular group of previous versions of this legend, a legend also told by Caesarius of Heisterbach and Gautier de Coincy, but I have not the feeling that he has seen the reason for the poet's own additions. The most substantial variation involves the age of the "little clergeon", which is changed from 10 to 7 years; Brown explains "that the pathos of the story would be heightened thereby", and points out that this change in turn made it necessary to have the clergeon study the primer (by which children were taught "to singen and to rede") instead of the antiphoner, and to introduce an older "felaw" student, who teaches him to sing the anthem and explains to him vaguely, according to hear-say, the substance of the Latin song—which he himself has perhaps not quite understood. And Brown goes on to prove that Chaucer has portrayed the general grammar school life of that day—the purpose of which, as he shows, was to train all the pupils of a parish for participation in church services, particularly as regards the singing necessary therein.

It would seem that some of our most experienced scholars in English, so learned in *Kulturgeschichte*, are bereft of any organ for the medieval, catholic atmosphere of miracle and grace which informs such literature: according to the demonstration offered us, Chaucer's desire was to portray contemporary school life for portrayal's sake, that is, in order to give the famous "realistic touch". But who could fail to see that we are here in the presence of one of the basic motifs of Christian teaching, which must emphasize Grace as opposed to the law of the Old Dispensation, the spirit as against the letter—and the spirit of Grace utters itself through music: there is a direct communion of the divine with that simple, child-like, unintellectual faith formulated in the Sermon on the Mount (and embodied in other legends such as that of the *Tumbeör Nostre Dame*, or of the monk whose exclusive knowledge of Latin was *Ave Maria*). This point has been seen by W. R. Hart in his article "Some Old French Miracles of Our Lady and Chaucer's Prioresses Tale" (*Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Mod. Phil. XI*), an article which proves that Chaucer had fully understood the demands of the literary

genre of the *conte dévot*: "Like her French predecessors [in Gautier de Coincy etc.], the Prioress wishes to enforce and illustrate the view that Our Lady will not forsake those who serve her, no matter how naïvely or humbly". Hart does not, however, mention the importance of the musical element, although it is similarly emphasized in Gautier's account of the parallel miracle ("the boy . . . was already a miracle of perfection: he went young to school, but was so aided by Our Lady that he learned more in six months than others in four years. He supported his mother by his singing. His voice was so piteous, pleasant and delicious that it seemed an angel's to the crowds who gathered in public places to listen to him . . ."), and although, in another Gautier legend, we have the musical miracle which befell the minstrel Peter de Siglar, in the church of Roc-Amadour, who, after playing the viol so excellently in honor of Our Lady, prayed that one of her tapers might descend upon his instrument—and who is granted this earthly expression of supernatural Grace. Music is the natural expression of innocent belief.

This motif is expressly stated in the prologue of the Prioress' tale, who, herself, confesses her inadequacy for the task of conveighing to her story the sense of the divine: "For noght oonly thy laude precious / Perfourned is by men of dignitee, / But by the mouth of children thy bountee / Parfourned is . . .". It is echoed twice in the story itself: "O martir, sowded to virginitee, / Now maystow singen, folwynge evere in oon / The white Lamb celestial—quod she" [very important is this reminder by the poet that it is the Prioress who is speaking!], and "O grete God, that parfournest they laude / By mouth of innocents." Thus, the change in the age of the young martyr is due, not to any sentimental reason, but to a desire on the part of Chaucer to show a soul possessed by religious cravings at an age before he would be influenced by *book lernynge*: "nought wiste he this Latin was to saye, / For he so yong and tendre was of age." And the "felaw", too, is devoid of actual knowledge of Latin ("I lerne song, I can but smal grammere"): he is chosen by God only as an instrument through which the clergeon may receive the teaching which will become important in the hour of his death. The details of contemporary school life only serve to stress that plenitude of faith in souls of children. It is exactly the technique of the *Tumbeör de Nostre Dame*; in the words of Professor Hart: "To contrast his ignorance and inexperience with monkish learning and skill, there is inserted a singularly complete picture of the devotional side of life in a medieval monastery."

Thus, with the song of the clergeon, the emphasis is on his *singing* in honor of Mary, rather than on the words themselves:

> And thanne he sang it *wel and boldely*, / Fro word to word, acordynge with the note, / Twies a day *it passed* thurgh his throte, / To scoleward and homeward whan he wente; / On Christes morder set was his entente . . . / This litel child, as he came to and fro, / Ful *murily* than wolde he *synge* and *crie* / O alma redemptoris everemo. / *The swetness hath his herte perced so* / Of Christes moder that, to hire to preye, / Ho *kan nat stynte of synging* by the weye.

And it is this heartfelt *necessity* in him for singing which ultimately brings about the tragedy in the ghetto (not any resentment of his gay song on the part of the

Jews, as in some other versions of the legend). The acoustic display, so conspicuous in the poem, is the direct result of Grace, a Grace which works over the heads of men—and children. It is God who, through the agency of Satin, incites the "cursed folk of Herodes" to commit the murder, and to throw the corpse away into the "jakes", the spot from which later "th'onour of God shal sprede" (in the miraculous song of the martyr). The Jew of this time, like Shylock later, "hath no music in his heart"; and there is no reason for modern commentators to take exception to the Prioress' *conscience and tendre herte*, "unhappily [!] not incompatible with a bigoted hatred for the 'cursed Jewes' " (F. N. Robinson, ed. p. 12). Even Professor Hart, otherwise so understanding, speaks of the tender conception of Our Lady "curiously yet naturally enough" combined with "fanatic intolerance of the Jews", and of "ferocious invective" in Gautier. Such utterances show the fundamental misunderstanding of the inward form of medieval thinking on the part of the modern critic, who is shocked to find anti-semitism in an epoch which knew hatred only on dogmatic, not on racial, grounds (the hatred against the state-of-no-grace in itself), which, that is to say, knew nothing of anti-semitism as it is today. It is not to be wondered at, then, that such historians, with their feeling of cultural superiority of modern literature, when they turn by chance to medieval literature, find themselves disoriented; and their superior manner appears rather as naïveté, when they must confess, as did A. Schinz, when dealing with "L'art [!] dans les *Contes dévots* de Gautier de Coincy" (PMLA, XXII, 465): "au Moyen-âge il s'agit presque toujours de comprendre plutôt que d'admirer . . .".

One of the most interesting examples of the necessary relationship between Grace, Nature and Music (harmony) is offered by the tenth-century poem *De Luscinia* (easily accessible in Beeson's *Primer of Medieval Latin*, p. 344), whose attribution to Bishop Fulbert is questionable: the harmonious song of the nightingale ("philomela, dulcis vocis conscia, extendens modulando resultat talis consonantia": *resultare* is the word of Ambrose); oh that the bird would sing the whole year through ("daret suae vocis organa": his "organs" are the instruments in a polyphonic concert of Nature)! But now the time has come for man's voice to share in the praise of the harmony of the world ("tempus adest ut solvatur *nostra vox harmonica*"); his voice too is transformed into an instrument (he shall play upon the *plectra linguae*[37]). Then, after leading us from the Grace-

[37] The idea that language is a kind of music, and that the organs of human speech are comparable to the *plectron* is much older: Gregory of Nyssa (Migne's *Patr.gr.* 44, ch. 148–9, reprinted in Gilson-Boehner, p. 107) explains that, just as musicians play music in a manner adapted to their instruments (they do not, says Gregory, flute on the lute or lute on the flute), so the organs of human speech had to be created in view of their function: the human hands were developed in a manner unknown with the animals, thus freeing the organs of the mouth for the performance of speech: the human tongue would have had to be more fleshy and resistant, or wet and dissolving, in order to perform what the animal's tongue is called upon to do. God shaped man after his own image, endowing him with gifts reflecting Himself: his *Nous*, given as a spiritual principle, would have been unfit to manifest itself unless God had given man an "organic device" enabling this principle to manifest its movement to the outside world: πλήκτρου δίκην—that is, in the manner of the *plectron* of the cithara. Thus,

endowed bird to the song of man affirming God's gifts, the poem ends with the praise of Christian dogmas (trinity—resurrection). There is no rift between dogma and the natural, spring-time elation of bird and man: sincerely they partake of Grace: it is possible for a poem to begin with the nightingale's spring song and end with the renewal of mankind by resurrection—the Christian theme parallel (and contradistinctive) to the pagan idea of the rebirth of sexual life in the spring;[38] the most insignificant member of the world concert, the little bird, can stir up thoughts on the greatest mysteries revealed to Christianity. A non-comprehending attitude toward such a "theme of themes" of Christianity has led a sceptical philologist of the last generation, F. M. Warren (PMLA, XXIV, 71) to pronounce the following, all-too snide judgment[39] on our poem: "Fulbert's ode to the nightingale . . . works over a popular theme which the good bishop endeavors [!] to turn into a means of edification". Warren seems to be thinking of a spurious addition of religious thoughts to the "real" popular theme of the nightingale in spring—only because his own desperately worldly organs of feeling are not tuned to World Harmony! In reality, at the very beginning of the poem, the wording (*consonantia—vox harmonica—vocis organa*) points already to that World Harmony which is *the* subject matter of the poem as a whole, whose beauty rests in the gradual spreading of the praise of World Harmony from bird to man. I see no reason why the modern philologist should find it necessary to adopt such a patronizing attitude toward the pious poet of the tenth century—as if deprecat-

---

just as an expert musician who has lost his voice may, in order to show forth his art, lend the songs he has composed to the voices of his fellowmen, or practise his art on the flute or the lute, so the human mind, *καθάπερ τις ἁρμοστὴς ἔντεχνος*, like an expert musical performer, uses the "living organs" (*ἐμψύχων τούτων ὀργάνων*) in order to make manifest his secret thoughts to which he could not have given utterance by his "naked soul". It is evident that the *plectra linguae* metaphor with Fulbert grows out of Gregory of Nyssa's comparison of the human organs of articulation with the plucking of strings by human hands, and of the division of labor which he assumes between hands and articulatory organs. The mind at work in these analogies is that of a scientist who sees as well as thinks. Otfrid, *Ad Liutbertum* says that God has given man the *plectrum linguae* that he may praise his Creator. The phrase evidently is a patristic echo.

[38] In a goliardic song of the *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller, p. 137), the word *concinit* is used of the nightingale (as often = "sings [in a harmonious way]"), in a setting of pagan *Elementargeister*: it is not too rash to assume that this is the introduction of a Christian note (one may observe the discreet expression *his alludens*: only the slightest allusion to things pagan is permitted): "Estivantur Drayades, / colle sub umbroso / prodeunt Oreades, / cetu glorioso, / Satyrorum concio / psallit cum tripudio / Tempe peramena; / *his alludens concinit*, / cum jucundi meminit / veris, filomena." The Christianization is also effected by the use of the Biblical *psallere* in reference to satyrs.

[39] There is something of this, too, in Strecker's remark (which Errante makes his own, p. 261) in *Cambridge Songs* (p. 32), on the possible attribution of our poem to Fulbert: "was ich im Interesse des Bischofs von Chartres nicht hoffen möchte". I rather concur with P.S. Allen's judgment expressed in *The Romantic Lyric* (1928), chapter XIV, that, with the *De Musica*, "we have come into the fullness of a world of poetry that is our own"—and incidentally, ancient as well.—But it is important to emphasize, as do Strecker and Errante, that the whole collection of the *Cambridge Songs* is based on musical criteria (the insertion of *De Luscinia* between sequences may be due to its musicological *exordium*) which testify to the return to fervid belief—and, consequently, to music—in the tenth century.

ing an artistically unsuccessful religious treatment. In reality, given this religious theme, there could have been no better artistic treatment.

Artistic music and the music of Nature are one and the same for the Middle Ages: a bird sings like a learned organist (O. F. *orguener*, O. Sp. *organar* mean "to sing", originally "to sing as to the accompaniment of an organ"); in Old French we also read "cil oisel qui *estudient en lor latin*": the Middle Ages see no discrepancy in the combination "study", "Latin" and "birds"[40]); and saints may sing like birds, for both alike are inspired by Divine Grace or World Harmony. In the introduction to his *Milagros de nuestra Señora*, the thirteenth-Spanish religious poet Gonzalo de Berceo tells us how, lying in the shadow of a paradisiac garden which was traversed by four rivers, he heard the song of sweet and varied (*moduladas*) birds:

Nunqua udieron omnes *organos* mas *temprados* / Nin que formar pudiessen sones mas *acordados* [*organum*, the word of Fulbert; *temprados*, *acordados* = "tuned", "harmonic"], / Unas tenien *la quinta*, e las otras *doblaban* [the birds sang "chords", the quint and the octave, the *diapente* and the *diapason*], / Otras tenien el punto [they held the tenor or counterpoint], error no las dexavan / [these master singers admitted of no error], / Al posar, al mover todos se esperavan [every member of the band subordinates itself to the whole, there is a concert of "love and striving"], / Aves torpes nin roncas hi non se acostavan. / Non serie organista nin serie violero, / Nin giga, nin salterio, nin mano de rotero, / Nin estrument, nin lengua, nin tan claro vocero / Cuyo canto valiesse un dinero [this heavenly song is compared with the performance of human instruments].

Who are then these birds, musicians paradisiac-sweet and learned at once, performing in the wonderous garden? The following allegorical interpretation explains: the garden is the Virgin, the four rivers are the four evangelists whom the Virgin—become a schoolmistress in that didactic age—advised and corrected in their task of writing up the gospels:

Las aves que organan ["sing"] entre esos fructales, / Que an las dulzes voces, dicen cantos leales ["loyal" to the Virgin, who appears like a beloved lady of the troubadours: the birds' song is morally perfect], / Estos son Agustint, Gregorio, otros tales [the saints who sang the praise of the Virgin, but who are also the promoters of Christian music—faith and music are identified]. / El rosennor que canta por fina maestria ["Maestro Nightingale"], / Siquiere la calandria que faz grande melodia, / Mucho canta mejor el varon Ysaya, / E los otros prophetas, onrrada conpania. [Isaiah and the prophets surpass the birds in singing]. / Cantan los apostolos muedo mui natural [the "modus" of the singing apostles is "natural" although they are artists and sing better than birds in Nature!].

Gonzalo continues: and the confessors sing, too, and the martyrs, the eleven thousand virgins: in all the churches of the earth, and on every day, the praise

[40] Cf. the O.Fr. passage from *Romanzen und Pastourellen*, ed. Bartsch I, 30a: "An avril a tans paskour / Ke nest la fueille et la flour, / L'aluete / point dou jor / *chante e loie son signor*, / por la dousor / dou tans novel / si m'en entrai an un jardin, / s'oi chanteir sor l'arbrexel / les ozelez *an lour latin*"—how but in Latin could the birds sing the praise of the God who created Spring? Jaufré Rudel contends (III, 1): "Pro ai del chan *ensenhadors* / Entorn mi e *ensenhairitz*: / Pratz e vergiers, albres e flors, / Voutas d'auzelhs e lays e criz . . . ": birds (meadows and flowers) are the schoolmasters and mistresses in the spring. Teachers of what? Of music, forsooth—and with music the school element is given.

of the Virgin is sung: "Todos li façen cort a la Virgo Maria [everybody pays court to Our (courtly) Lady] / Estos son rossennoles de grand plaçenteria" [everyone who sings the praise of the Virgin is, ipso facto, a sweet nightingale]. The song of birds and of saints (the religious poets of long ago and the churchgoers of today), Nature and civilization, natural gifts and schooling, poetry and music, manifoldness and order, the beautiful and the moral, art and ethics, are integrated into one musical καλοκαγαθία, into one paradisiac harmony of Grace.

If now we turn to Augustine, *De Musica*, X, we learn quite a different theory (I quote the passage in the rendering of E. Chapman, *St. Augustine's Philosophy of Beauty* [1939], p. 68):

> If reason consists in observing harmonious proportions . . ., are not right proportions found in that which is made by rational creatures . . .? Birds and animals act with numbers in making. Man is superior to them, not in acting with numbers but in knowing numbers. . . . The nightingale whose springtime song is so harmoniously charming has no knowledge of art. Like the nightingales are the singers who instinctively sing with measure and charm yet have no knowledge of harmony. . . . Birds are intoxicated with their own songs which are rendered so well by the attraction of pleasure. Like the birds in this respect are the players of the flute, harp, or any other instrument, who do not possess the knowledge of their art but accomplish their effects . . . through memory or clever imitation. . . . Art depends on reason and cannot be confounded with imitation. Neither animals which cannot proceed with reason yet are capable of imitation, nor the virtuosi lacking knowledge, possess art whose generative principle is reason.

Thus, what with Augustine was opposed: the natural musical gift of birds (together with the naïve imitation of art by human performers) and conscious artistry, is united in Berceo.[41] There is a reminiscence here of the dualism of Augustine (the birds sing artistically, the saints naturally), but with Berceo, as with Fulbert (to whom the nightingale was a "conscious" artist), it is bridged. If we think that both poets were clerics (the former even boasts of his *clerecia*), we will realize how "integrated" the medieval artist was: he was indeed a *naïve savant* and he could conceive of the nightingale only as a "learned naïve"—so much of what falls into sections with us moderns (and with Augustine) is unified

[41] We may think of the classification by Isidore, *Etym.* III, 19, of birds' and human voices together: "vox hominum est seu inrationabilium animantium", an idea which appears also in *Cambridge Songs* nº 6: " . . . multimodis gutture canoro idem sonus redditur plurimarum faucium, *hominum volucrum animantiumque*" (incidentally, I do not find the *idem* surprising, as does Strecker: *multimodis . . . idem* renders the idea of unity *and* variety, which exist together in a chord). There may also be a reminiscence in Christian poetry of the ancient descriptions of natural phenomena as though they were works of art, figments: *Cambridge Songs* nº 23: " . . . milvus tremulaque voce *aethera pulsat*" is in this ancient vein. Huyzinga, in his treatise on Alanus de Insulis (*Mededeelingen S.K. akad. v. wet.* 74, B nº 6, p. 64), mentions such phrases as "the wood *mentitur* the shape of a wall", "the lark *mentitur* a cithara", the cithara "cantus varii faciem variando colorans / Nunc lacrymans in voce parit, *mentite* doloram / Nunc *falsi* risus sonitus mendacia pingit"; (p. 25) the lute *philomenat*, i.e. imitates the nightingale etc. As late as Góngora we may recognize this artificial bridging of the gap between the human artist and the bird artist: " . . . algún *culto ruiseñor* me cante / prodigio dulce que corona el viento / en unas mismas plumas escondido / el músico, la musa, el instrumento." The *cultismo* of Góngora applied to the birds is based on the conception of the "human artist in the bird".

in the Middle Ages. The Augustinian tradition has here become a kind of *Vulgärantike* (to use E. Auerbach's coinage), which retains the distinction of Augustine, only to insist that it has been abolished by true faith. Thus the nightingales of Fulbert and Berceo have gone to school, they have *estudié en lor latin*—and, what is more (for this much would have been admitted by Augustine), they sing like Church Fathers; all this the Middle Ages could see in a bird's song—in which a modern poet such as Hebbel can see only the activity of singing, without the achievement of the song. If the reader should object that the birds of the medieval poets (or, at least, of Berceo) are, from the start, allegorical beings which stand for saints, I would answer that precisely the ease with which the allegorical relationship is established is significant: would *we* symbolize Church Fathers by sweet birds? No, this allegory is possible only within the frame of a belief in a world harmony which encompasses both Nature and Art, of a Christian tendency to hear music wherever there is love and faith. Since religious worship is related to music, and music, in its turn, is connected with order, discipline and schooling, so, the idea of birds in the guise of scholars (which is in line with the general transformation imposed upon animals in allegorical treatment) offers nothing incongruous to the medieval mind. The song of the bird can be only praise of God, and in this, man and bird may easily concur. Only in a world estranged from God is there a gulf between the animal and the human kingdom. Similarly there is no conflict between the emotional and the intellectual: true love must needs follow the right doctrine, true love is wise as well as naïve. There often appear in medieval texts animals endowed with great wisdom—greater than that of their human masters (the dog Husdent who recognizes Tristan before Isolt is able to do so; the *bisclavret*—only half animal, it is true—who, in Marie de France's *lai*, distinguishes the good from the wicked). But more wise and more learned than any other animal must be the bird, since his "music" implies the *numeri*.—Similar to the old Spanish text is the episode in the Old French *Image du monde* dealing with Brandan (ed. Hilka in *Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte*, 13, chap. x): here the learned songsters are explained as angels fallen from heaven; since, however, they had had no part in the revolt against heaven, they were permitted to fly between heaven and earth. They offer responses when the Psalms are sung; concerned always with God's praise, they sing ("de bouche et d'eles") like canons at canonic hours: "Au main et a tierce chantoient, / A midi, a none et a vespre / Looient Dieu le roi celestre, / A chascune eure sa chanson / Toute propre et de mout dous son, / Et toutes leur chansons estoient / Dou sautier dont les vers chantoient." There is in such a passage the sweet and strong inspiration, at the same time worldly and divine, of Fra Angelico, himself a naive cleric.[41a]

The Gospel passages promising the joy of salvation to mankind, such as the scene of Christ's birth and the adoration of the shepherds (Luke 2, 8–14, esp. 13) offered to the medieval poet an invitation to shape a World Harmony in

[41a] Professor Allers mentions to me the legend, of late origin, of St. Rosa de Lima: she is reported to have sung the Psalms alternatively with the birds sitting on the trees before her window; however she alone could understand what the birds were responding.

whose music all animals (not only birds, but also fishes and serpents!) participate. The Franco-Italian *Ystoire de la Passion* (B.N. Ms. fr. 821), which Dr. Edith A. Wright has published in the Hopkins Series, offers a description of the event of Christ's birth, in which it is the shepherds' horns, not the nightingale, which bid the animal orchestra chime in; and all the animals are well-versed in the Christian doctrine of the "sweet", the "almighty" world Savior:

Et les pastors tuit *encornoie* / Por la grant leëce de Yhesu Christ. / . . . Tuit menoient joie et grant freor / Por la leëce du creatour. / Meïsement les *auselit* / Sus en les airs, grans et petit, / Cantoient vers mout doucement / Por la grand douçor del omnipotant, / Et toutes les bestes petiz et grant[42] / Aloient toutes mout corrant, / Gietent lor voises en grant douçor, / Toutes a sa guise et por amor / Del aute Deu, seignors et roi. / Mes je vos dirai ancor por foi / Q'entre la mer ne fu peison / Petit ne grant que a quest ton / Ne s'en joïst mout a sa guise / Por le doux roi et por sa franchise. / Et neïs sor la mer Noceant / I fu la joie demonstré grant, / Et droit en Inde Superior, / Et firent autre grant frebor / Cascuns serpent petit et grant / Tot por amor del omnipotent / Et tot le mondes fu en tiel joie / Que mais dir ne le poroie, / Trosqe Herodes fist decoller / Les enfant petit a son barner.

Herod's murderous act brings the idyll of world harmony to an abrupt end, as with a violent blow. Dr. Wright gives a parallel from Honorius d'Autun, *Speculum ecelesia*, who relates that "brute animals" are supposed to have spoken with a human voice at Christ's birth; she also cites such Biblical passages as Daniel, 3, 79–81 (cited earlier by me). I would mention also in this connection Revelations, 5, 13: "Et omnem creaturam quae in caelo est, et super terram, et sub terra, et quae sunt in mari, et quae in eo, omnes audivi dicentes: Sedenti in throno, et Agno, benedictio . . .". It is not, however, in any particular passage, so much as in the general motif of World Harmony, that the inspiration of such medieval treatments is to be sought.

It is probably from religious Latin poetry, such as that of Fortunatus and Fulbert, with its theme of the world harmony of spring, that must be derived the so-called *Natureingang* of Provençal (and French and German) troubadour poetry: the procedure of opening a love poem with a stereotyped description of Nature in Spring (birds singing, flowers blossoming etc.), a background from which the lover-poet is inspired to praise his love. Thus we would have a secular adaptation of the religious World Harmony: the unity of Grace—Love—Nature —Harmony—Music is still present, and, though secularized, something of the divine remains: the Beloved, although an earthly woman, spreads about her a heavenly enchantment. The development of the *Natureingang* in Provençal poetry has been treated by Scheludko, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache* LX, 261 and by M. Casella, *Arch. stor. ital.* II (1938: "Poesia e storia"); the latter explicitly mentions the theme of World Harmony. I shall quote some sentences from him,

[42] This passage reflects the *parva et magna pulchritudo of* Augustine. From the *parva pulchritudo* all the numerous attempts at apologetics for the small creatures in Nature branch off—from the glorification of the mosquito as a *milagro del mundo* by Luís de Granada, to the Loewe song of the monk and the cricket, which ends with the exclamation of the former: "Wie *gross* bist du, o Gott—im *Kleinen!*".

on Jaufre Rudel, in order to demonstrate to the reader how excellently they fit into our scheme:

Così come è musica—Sant' Agostino qui direbbe *numerus*—la vita che si dà la propria perfezione, in vista di una attività che si costruisce da se stessa. E questa attività è tanto l'azione immanente del vivente vegetativo che trascolora nel verde lucente o si schiude nel fiore, quanto l'azione transitiva dell' animale che cerca la sua compagna, mentre effonde il suo giubilo nel canto: "Quan lo rossinhols, el folhos / dona d'amor e'n quier e'n pren, / e mou son chan jauzent joyos / e remira sa par soven; / e.l riu son clar e.l prat son gen / por novel deport que renha; / mi ven al cor grans joys jazer" (J. Rudel, 1–7). E questa musica è l'infinità della vita che il poeta vive nel proprio intimo, nel momento più vivo della sua interiore realtà, quand' essa è realmente vita, perchè agisce spontaneamente in lui come spirito creatore, come *ordo amoris*. E l'infinita realtà delle cose con le quali il poeta si sente indivisibilmente unito; e con le quali coopera con gioia, per un fine che è già suo, perchè immanente e comune a tutte le singole creature. "Quan lo rius de la fontana / s'esclarzis, si cum far sol, / e par la flors aiglentina, / e.l rossignoletz el ram / volf e refranch ez aplana / son dous chantar et afina, / dreitz es qu'ieu lo mieu refranha: / —Amors de terra lonhdana . . ." . . . Il desiderio di una indicibile felicità lontana non è un' illusione. È una presenza invisibile. È una realtà operante. È l'occulta vita.

The "great delight" of the troubadour is the musical revelation of Divine Grace (Presence) in Spring, Nature and Love—the revelation, also, of order, of the *ordo amoris* (*Delectatio ordinat animam, delectatio quasi est pondus animae*, Augustine). And "it is right for him" to sing in unison with the birds, as an echo (*refranha*)[43] to World Harmony (cf. the *fragor resultat* of Ambrose), even

[43] It has not yet been remarked that the very word *refrain* for a repeated part of a poem has to do with our concept of World Harmony: the word referred originally to all kinds of echos, of response, especially to the response of the birds. As Schultz-Gora, ZRPh, XI, 240 points out, the Prov. *refranh* hardly occurs at all during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the meaning "refrain"; it means regularly "the birds' song"; O.Fr. *refrait* (< *refractu*) has both the meaning "birds' song" and "refrain", while O. Prov. *refrach* means only "birds' song". Schultz-Gora starts from *refrangere*, "to start on one's way back" [i.e. "to break tracks"] (Lat. *frangere iter*), comparing with it the *refloit*, "refrain", in Gottfried von Strassburg, which must echo an O.Fr. representative of **reflexu* (cf. the abbreviation *refl* in the *Carmina Burana* for refrains). Gaston Paris thought rather of the breaking of the melodious line by modulation. Schultz-Gora mentions, without explanation, the O.Prov. *refrim*, "chant des oiseaux, son d'une troupe, frémissement d'un penon, cliquetis d'armes" (hence *refrimar*, "to echo"), FEW again mentions only O.Prov. *frim*, "frémissement, son des cloches" s.v. *fremere*—evidently we have to do with a **refremere*, in which the *re-* indicates the echo, as in *résonner, retentir*. With Jaufré Rudel (III, 4) we came across the line *voutas d'auzelhs e lags e critz*, where *voutas* is translated by Jeanroy as "roulade", and thus commented on: "refrain, ritournelle; le mot est souvent appliqué au chant des oiseaux et associé à lui" (cf. also Appel in Levy, *Prov. Suppl.-Wb.*). Evidently *vouta* is a "response" of birds, and a refrain in poems. Finally, I submit the Sp. *requebrar*, "to flatter (esp. a woman)", which REW explains from a hypothetical meaning, "die Stimme beugen" (to modulate the voice); it referred originally to the song of an amorous bird, and reflects a "*cantibus ecce his recrepant arbusta* cantus, / consonat ipsa suis frondea silva conis" ("the thicket echoes his songs") in Eugenius of Toledo's hymn on the nightingale (*Mon.Germ.* CCLIV, 9). It would not be too rash, perhaps, to assume that birds' song and refrain were both conceived of as echoes, responses, "refractions" of the World Harmony (note the *consona resultatio* of Ambrose, to which may be compared the Calderon passage cited in note 25). Guido Errante, *loc. cit.* p. 79 lists the various explana-

though his Beloved is far away (an *amors de terre lonhdana*), beyond the grasp of the senses—as is God to the Christian believer. At one point Casella, with his translation of a line of Jaufre Rudel, *ses res que i desconvenha*, "without anything that would not fit" suggests rightly, I think, that the Beloved, too, is a model of *harmony* (for whom we found the rendering *convenientia* in Cicero): "fiorente e fine è la sua persona, e *tutta una armonia*". I have discussed some of these problems in my article, "L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours" (appendix to *Studies in Philology*, 1944), from which I shall quote only one passage: an aphorism (*metáfora moral*) of the Catalonian religious poet Raymond Lull, who (in his *Libre de Amic e Amat*, inserted into the novel *Blanquerna*), admits a mixture of abstractions in inner life (closeness and remoteness of lovers) according to the pattern of mixture in climate, and of wine with water:

Eguals coses son propinquitat e lunyetat enfre l'amich e l'amat; car enaixi com mesclament d'aygua e de vi, se mesclan les amors del amich e l'amat, e enaxi com calor e lugor, s'*encovenen*, e enaxí com essencia e esser *se convenen e s'acosten* [= the Ciceronian *conveniunt*)[44]

---

tions given hitherto to our word, and points out that in the *Leys d'Amors* the refrain is called *respos*, i.e. "response", and that the refrain in troubadour poetry goes back to the psalmody (the coloratura resting on the final syllables of *Kyrie* and *Alleluja*), that is, to the oldest form of liturgic Christian chants which unite the community in a common cultic action. But he fails to give a clear semantic explanation of *refrain* > *refrangere*, or to mention the refrain of the birds, which, to my way of thinking, is, just as truly as in the response in the church, an "echo to the music of the world". There is, however, a very significant quotation to be found on p. 310 of his book: we learn that Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (ninth century) makes the difference between the *responsorium* (where the soloist is answered by a choir), and the *tractus* (where the soloist sings alone), comparing the two with the song of the pigeons (gregarious animals, representing active life) and of the turtle dove, a bird which prefers to be alone and represents speculative life. This comparison seems to me to indicate how closely the birds' song and the Church songs were associated: they have in common the "response". One may also quote from the *Tierstimmengedicht* (nº 23) in the *Cambridge Songs*, which starts with the pigeon and the turtle dove, and continues with other birds, rendering some of the bird sounds thus: "*resonat* hic turdus . . . gracula *resultat*". On "Klangspielereien im mittelalterlichen Liede", cf. H. Spanke in *Ehrengabe Karl Strecker*, p. 171; he mentions the solfeggio added to Latin stanzas as a kind of reversion of the process obtaining in the sequences, replacing the *alleluja* by words and series of vowels that served as transitions between musical sections (the AOI of the *Roland* evidently belongs here). Thus the refrain is a kind of rhyme within the poem, picturing the responds of the world.

[44] The same thinker sees in the bird singing in the garden the supraintellectual language of love, by means of which *Amich*, the lover, communicates with *Amat*, the Beloved: "Cantava l'aucell en lo verger del amat, e vench l'amich, qui dix al aucell: Si no.ns entenem per lenguatge, entenem-nos per amor, car en lo teu cant se representa a mos uyls mon amat" ("in thy song my Beloved is represented to my eyes"—to the inner senses of Augustine). The look which achieves the union of the mystical lovers is identical with the song of the loving bird; this song is the mystical look of union become sound: "Ab uyls de pensaments, languiments e sospirs e plors esguardava l'amich; e ab uyls de gracia, justicia, pietat, misericordia e liberalitat l'amat esguardava son amich. E l'aucell cantava lo plaent esguardament damunt dit." And there is always present the situation of the Provençal *Natureingang* along with the Christian melancholy that strives to regain the Paradise Lost of Divine Harmony.

Thus we are entitled to claim that (musical) Harmony—Grace—Love—Nature, a Christian tetrachord, subsists in secularized love poetry of the Middle Ages.

With Petrarch it is the divine lady who has become the shrine of supernatural harmony: this theory (ancient, troubadour, etc.)[45] required the eyes to be the seat of love, but in that *Canzionere* which seeks ever anew to immortalize, in each of the hundreds of poems, *one* moment or aspect of Laura's existence, or of his love for Laura, thereby multiplying infinitely the immortal qualities of this *one* extraordinary being—in that poetry, it could not but be that every sound proceeding from the beloved (whose every utterance was aesthetic—and was considered aesthetically) should participate in the musical World Harmony (ed. Mestica, sonnet 123):

I' vidi in terra angelici costumi . . . / E vidi lagrimar que' duo bei lumi, / Ch'àn fatto mille volte invidia al sole; / Ed udì, sospirando dir parole, / Che farian gire i monti e stare i fiumi. / Amor, senno, valor, pietate e deglia / Facean piangendo un più dolce *concento* / D'ogni altro, che nel mondo udir si soglia: / Ed era il cielo a *l'armonía* sì intento, / Che non se vedea 'n ramo mover foglia: / Tanta dolcezza avea pien l'aere e'l vento.

In the *argomento*, which is put at the beginning of the sonnet: "Il pianto di Laura fa invidia al sole, e rende attoniti gli elementi", the detail *fa invidia al sole* (which, in the poem, is not even ascribed to the moment of the weeping) is given undue preponderance. It is clear that there is a shift in the poem from sight to hearing (with *udì*, l. 7), and that the latter fills the second part of the poem. In his aesthetic contemplation of the act of weeping, Petrarch has given equal weight to the seen and the heard: in both, Laura shows supernatural powers over nature (the eyes are a subject of envy to the sun, the music of her speech has the power of Orpheus). The acoustic aspect of Laura's weeping is a "concert" (*concentus*, *harmonia*) given by moral abstractions, virtues (*amor*, *senno*, *valor*) which are *ipso facto* beautiful, and by grief which is beautiful with Laura. The Pythagorean music of the spheres has been made accessible to the poet on this earth, and to heaven is left the part of silence and of amazed admiration of the earthly and yet heavenly harmony which fills the air: just as the whole person of Laura is atmospheric, her music is framed only by "air and wind". It was Petrarch who, for the first time in Occidental poetry, succeeded in weaving "air", an atmosphere, a kind of secular halo, round the person (cf. MA, p. 21, on the use of *aria* by Petrarch): a human being is henceforth surrounded by a

[45] With this theory which in turn goes back to the Greek and Augustinian preference given to the eye as the sense *par excellence*, the ear, as an incentive to love (*musica amoris incitamentum*), was relegated to second place: Tasso gave a new turn to the secondary rôle of the ear, in matters of love, when he says that, the great danger being the eye, the lover shuts his eyes in order to avoid the temptation of loving—forgetting the more insidious danger coming from the ear: "i detti andaro ove non giunse il volto" (sonnet, published 1565). In his dialogue, *Il Minturno o vero della Bellezza*, he has Minturno quote these lines, to which Ruscellai makes answer: "alcuna volta vorrei mille occhi *e mille orecchi* per mirare *e per udire* appieno la bellezza *e l'armonia* de la mia signora, la quale a guisa di sole ci dimostra una obliqua via di salire al cielo e di tornare a noi medesimi". *L'armonia* is added to *bellezza* because it is musical harmony emanating from the Beloved. Nevertheless the following metaphor of the sun is again a visual one.

personal *ambiente* which emanates from her and also encompasses her. Airy as is this environment, it is "full" (*pieno*) of substance, however imponderable: this person-encompassing air may give new enjoyment to the inner senses, to sight and smell and hearing. By this step we have attained a musical air (*musica òra*, as Tasso will say), or airy music—both of them achievements of the Christian mind, perhaps flavored by Tasso with a touch of revived pantheism, which tends to deify the individual being—even any moment or aspect of the life of the individual being. On the principle of the enjoyments of eye and ear combined is also built Petrarch's sonnet 134: when Laura, before beginning to sing, lowers her eyes and sighs, the voice is "chiara, soave, angelica, divina", and the soul, though craving death, is made to rest in happiness by this sweetness: one moment, filled with the contradictory feelings implied by this love which spells increased life and death at the time. "Così mi vivo, e così avvolge e spiega / Lo stame de la vita, che m'è data, / Questa sola fra noi del ciel sirena"—the siren of Platonic origin is fused with the weird sister who weaves the fate of the lover, while an additional Christian touch is supplied by "del ciel", which, together with "angelica, divina voce", suggests an angel. In the six allegories illustrating Laura's death (canzone 24), two are dedicated to musical phenomena: the one seems more Christian, the other more pagan:

In un boschetto novo i rami santi / Fiorian d'un lauro giovenette e schietto, / Ch'un delli arbor parea di paradiso, / E di sua ombra uscían sí dolci canti / Di vari augelli e tant' altro diletto, / Che dal mondo m'avean tutto diviso,

—the supernatural music of birds of Eden on a tree which happens to be, not the Christian olive tree, but the laurel dear to Apollo, under whose protection Laura is.

"Chiara fontana in quel medesmo bosco / Sorgea d'un sasso, ed acque fresche e dolci / Spargea soavemente mormorando. / Al bel seggio riposto, ombroso e fosco / Nè pastori appressavan nè bifolci, / Ma ninfe e muse *a quel tenor cantando*. / Ivi m'assisi; e quando / Più dolcezza prendea di *tal concento* / E di tal vista [sight and hearing are coupled as usual] . . .

—the harmony of a spring landscape and of the pagan demigods of music. In all these allegories the paradisiac or elysiac phenomena are described in all their beauty—only to be destroyed by shattering death (the laurel was eradicated, the spring itself engulfed in a landslide): supernatural beauty was, and is no more. World Harmony is overshadowed by a feeling of the fleetingness of life, by a Christian melancholy.

(To be continued)

The Johns Hopkins University.

CLASSICAL AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF WORLD HARMONY

Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung"

(Part II)*

By LEO SPITZER

In discussing the idea of musical World Harmony we have had occasion to mention the tetrachord and the fourth (interval) in their symbolic or allegoric impact. The number 4 is a constitutive element in Pythagorean cosmology since the speculations on the "well-tempered" state—of the soul, of the body, or of the universe itself—rest on the harmonious combination of four elements. So let us return again to Greek primitive thought patterns, and examine the second skein of ideas mentioned above as influential in the shaping of "Stimmung"; we may avail ourselves of the guidance of H. Gomperz:

"In its efforts to reconstruct the development of the universe, speculation was guided by certain presuppositions or postulates. The most basic of these was the assumption that the development must have started with a state of things almost absolutely simple and homogeneous. 'In the beginning' space was filled with one homogeneous mass. . . . This, with a term of Aristotle's, may be designated as the *principle* or the *beginning* [ἀρχή]. From this there must have arisen, in some way or other, a plurality of entities, conceived to be the essential constituents as now known to us: entities which we may style the *fundamentals*. These were of two kinds: either what was generated was a set of *qualities*, such as Hot and Cold, Moist or Dry, or else it was a set of *substances*, such as fire, air, water and earth. . . . From these fundamentals the world was then supposed to have grown by a series of steps described differently by different thinkers, but all conforming to the postulate that these developments must be intelligible by being analogous to events familiar to us from common experience [this is the same blend of the mythological and the rational as we have seen when dealing with World Harmony]. It is not always easy to distinguish the qualities from the substances. The Hot, e.g., manifestly tends to be confused with fire, and the Moist with water. Nevertheless, the two kinds of fundamentals differ in one important respect. The substances have definite location and are rather inert, whereas the qualities are all-pervading and possess a more dynamic character. The same duality, about a century later (5th cent.), may be traced in Greek medicine: there was a more materialistic view according to which man consists of four humors: phlegm, blood, bile and black gall; but there was also a more dynamic theory conceiving the human body as a battleground on which the Hot strives to dominate the Cold, and the Moist the Dry."[46]

---

* Continued from *Traditio*, II (1944), 409–64.

[46] The telescoping of reality and of speculation, which I call "harmonizing" is in fact just what was achieved by the earliest Greek thought—an achievement for which Gomperz, from the point of view of modern science, finds only words of blame: "Xenophanes had figured out a theory according to which sea and land will gradually be mixed up with each other until a state of universal 'muddification' is reached. . . . Then, sea and land will little by little be separated again. . . . Now, *in support of this theory*, Xenophanes adduced two series of observations. First, shells are found in mid-land and even on hilltops. Secondly, in certain places . . . the rock exhibits imprints of fossils that could only have originated at a time when the rock was mud . . . Xenophanes did *not* see that these facts do not bear out either his assumption that 'muddification' took place everywhere at the same time, or his

The Greek teaching about "temperaments" harks back to the Hippocratic and Galenian humoral pathology: the four basic humors were parallel, and often paralleled, to the four basic cosmic substances (which Empedocles was the first to establish according to the "sacred tetraktys" of the Pythagoreans): e.g. phlegm was parallel to water etc. The four elements, and similarly the four humors, give a mixture which, in the 'dynamic' theory of Pythagoras, is the result of strife and love (*νεῖκος καὶ φιλότης, ἔρις καὶ φιλία*). Galenus called the four humors by the same name as the four cosmic substances: "element" (*στοιχεῖον*), a term meaning literally "letters" since the letters (called *elements* in Latin), according to Democritos serve to build up the language, just as the atoms build up the things in the macrocosm, and the basic substances (our "elements"), the microcosmos of our body. Moreover, the four basic qualities of Heraclitos, when mixed, constitute the climate; both mixtures, that of the basic humors which make up the body, and that of the basic qualities which make up the climate, were called by the Greeks *κρᾶσις*[47]—a term which for us falls into "temperament" and "climate". It is the preponderance of one of the four elements in either mixture which makes it possible to distinguish *different* temperaments (sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic, choleric) and the varieties of climate (temperatures). It was in line with the Greek tendency (cf. Hans Diller, *Wanderarzt und Ätiologie*, Leipzig 1934) of offering explanations based on psycho-physical analogies (*ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἕπονται*), that the predominance of a specific humor in the body was considered to determine, in the temperament of the soul, the predominance of a different "temper". The harmonious mixture of elements in the body (and the soul) entails health (*εὐκρασία*), the disharmonious (*δυσκρασία*), illness. Every unharmonious preponderance of an element in a mixture, in climates as well as in temperaments, was to the Greek mind not only an evil, but a guilt. H.

---

contention that a new period of 'muddification' is impending. . . . This was because he compared *his theory as a whole* with the evidence of *one element* of his hypothesis."

Granted that in our case, the Pythagoreans, acting on the assumption—unsupported by evidence—that vibration must *always* produce a sound, reached the conclusion that a sound may be produced by revolving stars—is not this telescoping and harmonizing, even when leading to conclusions which cannot stand up under modern scientific analysis, the corollary of synthetic thought, of the urge to seek unity in the variety of the world? And are modern "scientists" less prone to speculation resting on insufficient factual evidence?

[47] The word family of *κρᾶσις* was revived in Romance in the Renaissance period: "L'âme d'ung homme indebté est toute hectique, *dyscrasiée*" (Rabelais); compare also in pt. I n. 6 the passage from D'Aubigné; Brissaud, *Histoire des expressions populaires*, p. 85, lists *dyscrasie* as common among physicians as late as the nineteenth century; *discrasia* in Italian is listed for Redi, eighteenth century, in Tommaseo-Bellini (= *stemperamento di umori*); the Greek compound *ἰδιωσυνγκρασία* (Ptolemy) appears in 1604 in English as *idiosyncrasy*, "a peculiarity of constitution or temperament", in French in Ch. Nodier, *Histoire du roi de Bohême*, 1830, p. 20: "Que de siècles n'auroit-il pas fallu pour remettre mes molécules constitutives en harmonie, pour raccrocher mes atomes, pour *idiosyncraser* mes monades", in German since 1750 (Schiller: "wenn es mir erlaubt wäre von *Temperamenten, Idiosynkrasien, und Konsensus* zu reden"): in this language it has a more pejorative meaning (e.g. "the loathings of a pregnant woman").

Kelsen, *The Journal of Unified Science*, VIII, 78, points out how the Greek view of nature was laden with moral implications: they saw natural laws in analogy with the laws of the state, with the laws of the well-ordered πόλις; their "natural laws" had to be "sociomorphic", and the idea of law in nature developed out of the principle of retaliation which is the basis for social law made by man and applied to man. Thus Anaximandros thinks of any violation of the harmonious mixture of basic qualities as of a guilt: heat is an evil-doer in summer, cold in winter; in order to return to equilibrium, the two must turn back toward their ἀρχή. The Pythagorean physician Alcmaion of Croton (end of the 6th cent. B.C.) thinks of health as a phenomenon corresponding to justice: things punish each other or are punished by each other κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν. Empedocles would have criminal rioters punished by enforced wandering, far away from the Blessed, the four elements taking part in their punishment: "the violence of the air drives them to the sea, the sea vomits them to the land, the land to the rays of the shining sun, this in turn throws them into the whirlpool of the air". And the commentary of Hippolytus remarks on this passage: "This is the punishment wrought by the Demiurgos who works like the blacksmith who transforms the iron and plunges it from fire into water". Gomperz, too, states that some of the postulates underlying early Greek speculation on nature "amount to moral demands and judgments of value": "the order of nature is based on an equilibrium of rights and obligations (day, e.g. *has a right* to last a certain time, and night a corresponding time [Heraclitos], and should this order ever be violated, such violation would have to be avenged [Anaximandros, Heraclitos]); the material for the building of a new world *must* never fail" (*id.*); whence a thing has arisen, thither it *must* return (Anaximandros, Anaximenes) etc. Such an anthropo-(socio-)morphic conception of the laws of nature enables us to understand how "temper" and "temperature" must be fraught with the moral connotation of "temperance" (our own modern terminology still bears faint witness to a relationship which the Greeks felt most deeply)—and the remark of Hippolytus on the tempering of steel shows that all human balancing of antagonistic forces was considered as re-establishment of justice and health: temperature and temperaments are always threatened by intemperance, by disharmony.

If we turn again to Plato's *Timaeus* we find the Demiurgos, like an *échanson* at a symposium, "harmoniously mixing" the body of the universe (τὸ γὰρ περιέχον πάντα ὁπόσα νοητὰ ζῷα) which he created the most akin to himself (i.e. in a spheric shape) out of the four elements, "fitting them together by means of proportion" (τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σῶμα δι' ἀναλογίας ὁμολογοῦσαν): each of the two middle terms, water and air, located between fire and earth, has the same relationship with each other, as the two together have with the first and fourth elements; the *tetraktys* is a kind of double balance. Thus it had necessarily to become, along with the sphere, a symbol of perfection and equilibrium. Philolaos (Diels 44B, 13), for example, assumes four principles in man: the head represents the principle of reason, the heart that of soul and feeling, the navel that of the growth of the embryo, and the *partes naturales* that of procreation. Reinhardt

l.c. p. 10 deals with the τετραφάρμακος, a remedy composed of four ingredients (wax, rubber, tallow, pitch), the combination of which potentiates the virtues of the particular components which stand for the four basic qualities. We have seen the importance of the tetrachord in the Pythagorean harmony of spheres (the musical scale was but a double tetrachord; Rousseau, in his *Dict. de musique*, s.v. *tétracorde*, says rightly: "a tetrachord formed for the Greeks a whole as complete as is for us the octave"); the same term was applied by Varro to the four seasons. It was only logical that Milton (1645) should call his "Expositions upon the foure chief places in Scripture, which treat of Marriage, or nullities in Marriage" a *Tetrachordon*; when treating a moral problem of Christianity, he remained in the medieval and humanistic tradition of the (musical) harmonizing of texts. Similarly, the name for the interval of the fourth, *diatesseron*, was, as we have seen above, transferred to pharmacy and architecture. The τετρακτύς was also the ideal complex of moral virtues: just as health was secured by a good mixture of the four humors (κρᾶσις), so moral health is guaranteed by four virtues: justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance—to which Augustine added the characteristically Christian (Pauline) virtues of faith, love and hope, the sum of which would correspond to the seven strings of the Pythagorean lute (double tetrachord). The ideology of the Carolingian "Renaissance", which invested the modern ruler with ancient garb, revived the moral τετρακτύς: the poet Ingobert in his portrait of Charlemagne states: "Tetracty implevit virtutum quattuor alma" (DuCange s.v. *tetracty*). One of the most familiar references of the *tetraktys* involved the four rivers of Paradise, which, as a symbol of perfection, could be variously applied: Rand, *l.c.* p. 349, quotes from Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, the sentence: "Ambrosius, Augustinus, Hieronymus et Gregorius . . . fuerunt in eloquentia veluti quattuor paradisi flumina" (i.e. they formed together the *ideal* of eloquence). Again, in n° 26 of the *Cambridge Songs* (about 1000 A.D.) which is dedicated to Saint Cecilia, we are told that she has chosen a galaxy (chorus) of four ladies (probably contemporary nuns of a Cologne convent) as her ladies-in-waiting, who represent four virtues or graces: "Hec sibi virgineas *quaterna virtute* choreas fultas elegit quas hic sapientia componit" (Voda is distinguished by *luce clara*, Meginbergis . . . *valetudine*, Merehilt . . . *flore decoro*, Una . . . *sophia*)—a clear reminiscence of the Pythagorean *numerus quaternarius*.

We have also seen that with Berceo the four rivers of Paradise could stand allegorically for the four gospels: Augustine, in *De consensu evangeliorum*, explains that the four gospels indicate the spread of the Christian doctrine to the four corners of the earth. The Jewish-Christian and the Greek number symbolism thus could coalesce, or, in other words, the Fathers could explain, in accord with their usual harmonizing of pagan and Christian documents, either that the heathen had had a foreshadowing of Christian thought, or that the Bible contains poetic devices similar to those of the much admired ancient poetry. Finally, the Christians could use the number 4 to build up the number 10 (= 1 + 2 + 3 + 4), symbolical of divine perfection and self-containedness (cf. Curtius, *Roman. Forsch.* LIV, 141).

The symbolism of the four elements was seen everywhere in nature: according to the French dialogue, *Placides et Timeo* (written before 1303, and based on Chalcidius), which is Platonic only by virtue of the name of one of the interlocutors, the stratification in the egg is compared to that in the cosmos:

La coque c'est le firmament; la peau blanche par dessous, c'est la terre; le blanc, c'est l'eau, le jaune c'est le feu. . . . Il y a tant de manières de "complexions" dans un oeuf . . . que les vertus de chacune s'équilibrent et se neutralisent; l'oeuf est, en conséquence, un aliment qui, comme disent certains "naturiens", ne peut faire ni bien ni mal. D'autres philosophes ont dit que "la senefiance du monde est senefiée en l'arc en ciel, ou il apert grans cercles de couleur vermeil, de vert, de jaune et ynde" [variant: royes, vermeilles, vers et bises, si comme les quatre element] . . . Les contrariétés [des éléments] sont tempérées par les affinités. . . . Ainsi explique le philosophe Naso, qui reçut le nom d'Ovide pour avoir assimilé le monde à un oeuf (d'*ovum* et *divido*) . . . [a figure has been planned at this place for which we have only the legend]: C'est la figure du monde "comment li element sont discordant et accordant." L'homme est un microcosme. Il est rond comme le monde (car il doit avoir autant de hauteur que d'envergure, en étendant les bras). On peut comparer sa tête au feu, sa poitrine à l'air, son ventre à la mer, et ses pieds, et ce "sur quoy il siet", à la terre. (cf. Ch.-V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde*, p. 293 seq.; on the idea of the egg, cf. MA, p. 19).

And here, perhaps, I may be permitted to offer the suggestion that the chimes of medieval belfries had originally to do with just such speculations on numbers: the French name (and the English name borrowed from French) *carillon* (O.F. *quarreignon* = *quaternio*) indicates a group of four bells, just as the Provençal *trinho* (<**trinio*)[48] indicates a group of three: Meyer-Lübke, *ZRPh* XXIII, 476, states that a "complete" church bell ringing consists "in some areas" of

[48] Cf. Thomas, *Mélanges*, p. 156 and REW s.v. *trinio* (the word, a variant of *ternio*, is attested in Isidore, XVIII, 65 as "trice in dice" along with *binio*, *quaternio*). DuCange s.v. has also a *trinion*, "chimes" attested for Mâcon in 1495; he refers to *trasellum*, *trisellum*, "chimes" in Burgundy (a.1497), evidently a diminutive of *tres*, and to a "tintinnabulum seu tricodonum bene ordinatum melodiosum" (in which *tricodonum* is evidently a Greek **τριχότονον*), in a papal bull of 1482. All these examples make me doubt the correctness of the etymology usually given for It. *trillo*, *trillare*, "trill, to trill' (from which Fr. *trille*, Germ. *Triller* and Eng. *trill* are ultimately derived): the REW suggests an onomatopeic origin, evidently in view of such onomatopeic formations as Fr. *tralala*, *turelure*, *tirelire*, *torelore*. But It. *trillare* never shows the characteristic vocalic variants of an onomatopoeia, and Span. Port. Catal. *trinar*, "to trill", are evidently not to be derived from onomatopoeias. Since It. *trillare* has the additional meaning "to shake", and Eng. *to trill* that of "to tremble", one might think of an origin semantically parallel to It. *tremolare* "to quaver" —but, in that case the Iberian *-n-* forms would again be unexplained. Thus I would assume for the Iberian *trinar* a Lat. **trīn-are* meaning first "to play a trio", "to chime" (parallel to *trinio* > O. Prov. *trinho*, "chimes of three bells"), then "to twitter, to trill", and for Ital. *trillare* a **trinulare* (cf. phonetically *cunula* > It. *culla*) with the same semantic development. For the derivation as such, cf. Sp. *trinca*, "number of three" (whose formation is not at all unclear, REW s.v. *trinus*: cf. the *trinicum sacramentum* attested for Marseille in DuCange, evidently a "threefold oath"). For the semantic development of Old French *trebl(oi)er*, "to sing in three voices", "to sing in treble" (probably also "to trill", cf. the quotation in Godefroy from Gautier de Coinci: "Qui lors oy chanter archangres, / Deschanter puceles et angres, / Treibloier virges, sainz et saintes, / Beles notes y oist maintes"; and from H. d'Andeli: "Li douz ton diatesalon, / Diapanté, diapason, / Sont hurtees *de divers gerbes* / Par quarreures et par *trebles*"), derived from Lat. *triplus*, "threefold" (the

four or three bells.[49] May not the four bells represent a tetrachord, i.e. the four basic elements and, thus, the totality of the world (as the three represent the Trinity)? The Austrian poet Hofmannsthal writes in *Die Berührung der Sphären*, p. 284: "wie im einem Glockenspiel klingt [in any work of Goethe's] die Harmonie aller irdischen Wesen und Himmelskräfte an"; while I do not know the exact source of this idea of the chimes indicating the harmony of the universe, it would seem evident that the poet derived it from a medieval or Renaissance source—which would concord with my suggestion. In support of this suggestion, I would refer to the history of the English word *chimes*, which first (a. 1300) meant "cymbals", "instrumental music"; later (1463) it was used to designate an apparatus for making bells sound, and in 1562 it is attested in the modern meaning (= *carillon*, Germ. *Glockenspiel*): the derivation from *cymbalum* is obvious although the NED is not positive about the "how" of the semantic development. It may suffice to copy from the *Distinctiones* of Alanus ab Insulis:

> Cymbala proprie dicuntur parvae campanae quae acutum reddunt sonum. . . . Dicuntur etiam spirituales fidelium concordiae, unde David: *Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus*. Dicuntur laudes ineffabiles quae ore plenarie exprimi non possunt, unde *Laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis*.

Just as *in cymbalis iubilationis* gave the Italian phrase *essere in cimbali* (*cimberli*), "to rejoice", so *chimes* is derived from an *in cymbalis bene sonantibus*, interpreted as a "consonance or chord in faith" (*spirituales fidelium concordiae*), i.e. as an expression of the musical harmony of the universe, and, at the same time, of the faith of the believers answering to it. With Milton's phrase *Nature's chimes* (cf. NED) there is the suggestion of Nature responding harmoniously to God. It is possible that Schiller in his poem, *Die Glocke*, had in mind the *concordiae fidelium* of the Middle Ages, when he called his bell *Concordia* after the name of the medieval chimes. If I am right in regard to *carillon*, we may see here the fusion of the idea of musical harmony with the idea of the "well-tempered mixture".

It is interesting in this connection to follow Isidore of Seville who, in his explanation (*Etym.* 5, 30) of the pagan names of the days of the week by the activities of stars, arranges the seven days, not in their chronological sequence, but in an order that brings out a quartet of opposing temperaments, with har-

---

highest voice of the soprano or treble making the trio complete). The meaning "chimes" is not lacking (Renard: "Les sains sone de grant air, / A glas, a treble, a carenon" [= *triplus*, **quatrinio*]; Eng. *treble-bell*).

[49] In the passage from Hamlet, referring to the protagonist's derangement: "Oh, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown! / The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's / eye, tongue, sword . . . / The glass of fashion, and the mould of form, / The observer of all observers, quite, quite down! / And I . . . / That suck'd the honey of his *music* vows, / Now see that noble and most sovereign reason, / *Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh*; / That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth / Blasted with ecstasy", we may assume a metaphor drawn from the carillon with three bells: the chimes of reason are out of tune, the music of proportion and equilibrium is destroyed.

mony being followed by the corresponding disharmony by which it is threatened: "a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Mercurio ingenium et linguam, *a Venere voluptatem, a Marte sanguinem, a Jove temperantiam, a Saturno humorem* (*humor* = melancholy which upsets the εὐκρασία, the harmony of the "jovial" temperament): again moral implications are present, just as in the time of the Greeks.

If now we read the definition of peace, in the form of a decalogue, as given by Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, 18, 13, we see that, starting from the order and peace within the body ("pax itaque corporis est ordinata *temperatura* partium"), he goes over to the order and peace in the soul (here called *consensio*), and from there to the peace and order between body and soul; then we proceed to the peace of men among each other (called *concordia*): peace in the house and in the state, as well as the *ordinatissima et concordissima* peace of the souls enjoying God in the *civitas caelestis*—the whole table being summarized by the final statement "pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis". One sees that *temperatura* is on the lowest level, the bodily; *consensio*, a little higher in the scale, is used of man's *anima rationalis*; we find *concordia* in reference to the society of mankind, while *pax* and *ordo* (*ordinatus*) remain throughout as constituent elements. The state of bodily well-joinedness is alluded to elsewhere by words of the *temperare*-family: "carnis nostrae compago vel temperamentum" (*De trin.* X, 14), "compositionem seu temperationem corporis . . . compaginem aut temperationem corporis" (*ib.* 15); there is also a *temperatio* of the soul which represents a *consensio* (*De mus.* 6), a harmonious influence of the soul on the body:

> Iste sensus, qui etiam dum nihil sentimus, inest tamen, instrumentum est corporis quod ea *temperatione* agitur ab anima, ut in eo sit ad passiones corporis cum attentione agendas paratior, *similia similibus ut adjungat repellatque quod noxium est* [= συμπάθεια] . . . agit haec anima cum quiete, si ea quae in unitate valetudinis *quasi familiari quadam consensione concesserunt* (var. *cohaeserint*).

Thus we may think that *pax* in the initial definition found in the "decalogue of peace" cited above may, at the lowest rung of the ladder, still be etymologically connected in Augustine's mind with *compages*, whereas later it becomes associated with *pacisci*, a pact, and with the other-worldly serenity of εἰρήνη: *temperatura*, *-atio*, similarly, is first mere "physical well-joinedness", gradually leading to *consensio* and *concordia* in a kind of Platonic ladder. And *ordo* sings its *basso ostinato* on all the rungs of the scale, while the God-willed *ordinatissima et concordissima pax* at the top of the pyramid is at the other extreme of intensity and range from the *ordinata temperatura partium*. With a comparatively small amount of word variation Augustine succeeds in building up a scale of gradations, denoting the ascension to the Infinite. We may inver that *temperatura* with him was drawn into this heavenward ascensional movement. (Anyone who is in the least sensitive to the personal style of Augustine must be aware of the impatient acceleration implied in *pax hominis mortalis et Dei* which replaces the last member of the progression: man—men—house—state—world).

If we take now so late a document as the codification of medieval Scholastic

philosophy which a Descartes was still reading, the *Summa theologiae* of Eustachius a St. Paulo (cf. Gilson, *Index scholastico-cartésien*, s.v. *tempérament*), we find a definition of *temperamentum* in which our two skeins, the musical harmony and the well-temperedness of climate and body, are interwoven:

> *Crasis Graece, Latine temperamentum*, ex ipsa mixtione nascitur estque concentus seu harmonia, seu naturae cujusque mixti apta primarum qualitatum dispositio, vel potius sunt ipsae primae qualitates certa quadam ratione in mixto temperatae.

In the examples to follow it is clear that the author is thinking as well of physiologico-psychic as of climatic phenomena.[50] We may remember the appearance, in the above-mentioned definition of *temperamentum*, of the *concentus seu harmonia*: again, in the earlier definition of beauty given by Thomas Aquinas we find:

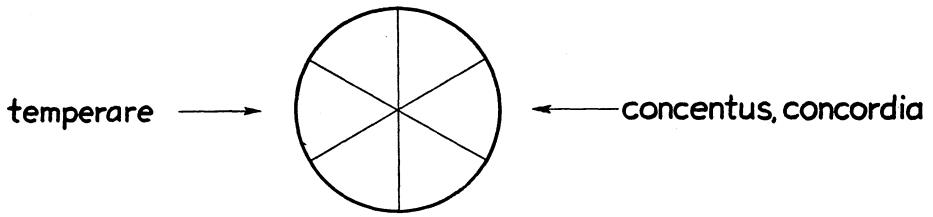
> Sicut accipi potest ex vestris Dionysiis, ad rationem pulchri sive decori concurrit et claritas et *debita proportio*. Dicit enim quod Deus dicitur pulcher sicut *universorum consonantiae* et claritatis causa. Unde pulchritudo corporis in hoc consistit quod homo habeat membra corporis *bene proportionata* cum quadam debita coloris claritate. Et similiter pulchritudo spiritualis in hoc consistit quod conversatio hominis sive actio eius sit bene *proportionata* secundum spiritualem rationis claritatem.

This definition contains the Augustinian idea of *numeri* (proportion) along with that of world music: *universorum consonantiae* although we must agree with Handschin, *l.c.*, that Thomas Aquinas, who condemned Erigena *post mortem*, did not have the Augustinian ear for World Harmony, ascribing to music a holy character only insofar as it was an element of the liturgy: as an Aristotelian he "reflects" the world as it is, rather than attempting to recreate it by forging it together to a unit.

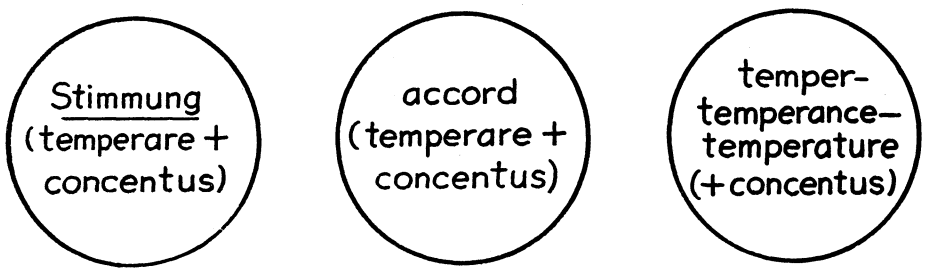
Passages such as the afore-mentioned corroborate my belief that the concept of *concentus—consenantia—ἁρμονία*, cannot be treated without that of *temperare —κεράννυμι* and vice versa. Two patterns, both of them ultimately originating in the same pattern of thought, must necessarily and continually have been intertwined. We are here faced with a remarkable phenomenon in semantics: for the modern German word *Stimmung* we must count, not with *one* etymon, as is usually the case (Lat. *pater* > Fr. *père*), but with a mixture, a fabric woven of different etyma which have lent each other parts of their respective semantic contents, so that the particular modern word *Stimmung* reflects semantically sometimes the one, sometimes the other etymon; other modern words, such as Fr. *accord*, Eng. *temper*, reveal the same texture as *Stimmung*, though they differ in details. The ancient word family, centered around a certain emotional nucleus, gives birth to several modern branches with particular emotional

[50] Distinctions such as that between *temperamentum innatum* and *t. influxum* have gone over to Descartes: *tempérament acquis* and *t. inné*, compare also his *cerveau mal tempéré*. Similarly Goethe writes of Newton as a "wohlorganisierter, gesunder, *wohltemperierter* Mann, ohne Leidenschaft, ohne Begierden", and we shall have occasion in another study to read a passage from Rousseau in which the harmonious mixture in the soul is compared to that in the climate.

nuclei, so that there is no possibility of explaining *one* word strictly from *one* definite etymon. It is, so to speak, a system of railroad tracks radiating from one center, and branches out into new rail systems (using the same rail material) with new centers. The ancient picture:



changes into the following modern one, which includes (at least) three systems:



—while the last system could again be broken up into at least three others.

I doubt that the term *Feldforschung*, used by modern German linguists (Weisgerber, Trier), can be adequately applied to this linguistic situation (although, of course, our whole study finds its range within one enormous "field"): those linguists are wont to speak of the changing distributions of the field (*Feld-Aufteilung*) such as *sapiens—prudens—cautus* etc. which are replaced by Germ. *weise—listig—witzig—spahi* or Fr. *sage—sen(s)é—engigneux—accort—cointe* etc.; this means that some inherited terms share the field with newcomers, just as passengers share the seats of a railroad compartment (*sapiens* > *sage*, and even *sapiens—weise* may be said to be semantically the same word which has adapted its semantic range to that of a more recent word). In the case of *concentus—temperare*, words derived from the ancient word cluster (e.g. *Stimmung*, *accord*, *temper*) have survived, but not as a texture; even the members of the word family constituting the word cluster have sometimes become estranged from each other: the walls of the compartment which held them together have caved in, because the original emotional nucleus has vanished (for example, *temperance—temperature—temper(ament)*, reflecting an old unit, have developed in different directions). In truth, the *field* as such no longer exists, and consequently there can be no question of distributing it anew—there is rather *Felder-Umbau* than *Feld-Aufteilung*.

The history of the disappearance of the one field (world harmony—well-temperedness) is simply the history of modern civilization, of the Weberian "Entzauberung der Welt" or dechristianization, and we see, by our study, the neces-

sity of a new periodization of Occidental history. I shall point out elsewhere how the destruction of the homogeneous "field" began in the seventeenth century and was completed in the eighteenth: the great caesura in Occidental history is precisely this period, not the Renaissance: in fact, to the two periods, pagan Antiquity and Christianity (the latter goes from the first century to the seventeenth, with the subdivisions: Middle Ages, Renaissance, Baroque), we should oppose the epoch of dechristianization (from the seventeenth century on), in which our field is radically destroyed. At the end of the eighteenth century *Stimmung* was crystallized, that is, it was robbed of its blossoming life. We cannot go wrong in ascribing this to the spirit of enlightenment whose deadening effect has been so masterfully described by Novalis in his treatise *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1798): it is no chance that this historian of Europeanism (which he identified with Christianity), this advocate of a return to the *heiliger Sinn* (sense of the divine) of the Middle Ages, should, when describing the destruction of medieval godliness by the Reformation and the Age of Enlightenment (which last I would emphasize the more strongly), speak precisely in terms of the destruction of *musica mundana* by the modern mechanistic spirit:[50a]

Der anfängliche Personalhass gegen den katholischen Glauben ging allmählich in Hass gegen die Bibel, gegen den christlichen Glauben und endlich gar gegen die Religion über. Noch mehr—der Religionshass dehnte sich sehr natürlich und folgerecht auf alle Gegenstände des Enthusiasmus aus, verketzerte Phantasie und Gefühl, Sittlichkeit und Kunstliebe, Zukunft und Vorzeit, setzte den Menschen in der Reihe der Naturwesen mit Not oben an, und machte *die unendliche schöpferische Musik des Weltalls* zum einförmigen Klappern einer ungeheuren Mühle, die vom Strom des Zufalls getrieben und auf ihm schwimmend, *eine Mühle an sich, ohne Baumeister und Müller*, und eigentlich ein echtes Perpetuum mobile, eine sich selbst mahlende Mühle sei.

In comparison with the musical metaphor, the metaphor "enlightenment" (*Aufklärung*) has only a pejorative tinge for Novalis: "Das Licht war wegen seines mathematischen Gehorsams und seiner Frechheit (!) ihr Liebling geworden." Novalis thought that in his own time a renascence of religious values was in the offing—and, as he contemplates this, again the musical metaphor alone is called upon to convey to us the expression of the ineffable: the spirit of his time is weaving a veil for the Virgin, who under his pen becomes a medieval Saint Cecilia:

Der Schleier ist für die Jungfrau, was der Geist für den Leib ist, ihr unentbehrliches Organ, dessen Falten die Buchstaben ihrer Verkündigung sind; das unendliche Faltenspiel

[50a] We can watch the decomposition of World Music in the "enlightened" criticism levelled at one of the most admired stanzas of Spencer (II, 12, 71)—which deals with the harmonious concert and "divine respondence" of voices, instruments, birdsong, and waterfall—by Thomas Twining in 1789 (as quoted by E. E. Stoll, MLR XL, 60): "I cannot consider as music, much less as 'delicious music,' a mixture of incompatible sounds unmusical. The singing of birds cannot possibly be 'attempered' to the notes of a human voice. The mixture is, and must be, disagreeable. To a person listening to a concert of voices and instruments, the interruption of singing birds, wind, and waterfalls, would be little better than the torment of Hogarth's enraged musician." Technical musicality destroys here the sensivity for World Music.

ist *eine Chiffernmusik*, denn die Sprache ist der Jungfrau zu hölzern und zu frech, nur zum Gesang öffnen sich ihre Lippen. Mir ist er nichts als der feierliche Ruf zu einer neuen Urversammlung, der gewaltige Flügelschlag eines vorüberziehenden englischen Herolds [language is "frech", impudent as was also the light of enlightenment described above: i.e. intellectual].

A new world after the Revolution and the wars is conceivable only when men shall gather for Ambrosian choirs—in an Augustinian peace founded on religion:

> Es wird solange Blut über Europa strömen, bis die Nationen . . . , *von heiliger Musik getroffen und besänftigt* zu ehemaligen Altären in bunter Vermischung treten, *Werke des Friedens* vornehmen, und *ein grosses Liebesmahl als Friedensfest* auf den rauchenden Walstätten mit heissen Tränen gefeiert wird. Nur die Religion kann Europa wieder aufwecken und die Völker sichern, und die Christenheit mit neuer Herrlichkeit in ihr altes, friedenstiftendes Amt installieren. . . . Sollte es nicht in Europa bald eine Menge wahrhaft heiliger Gemüter wieder geben, sollten nicht alle wahrhafte Religionsverwandte voll Sehnsucht werden, den Himmel auf Erden zu erblicken? und gern zusammentreten und *heilige Chöre anstimmen*?

For us it is important to see how Novalis identifies the Christian spirit with *musica mundana*, recognizing in the destruction of the latter that of the former. The disintegration of the semantic field *concentus—temperare* is the exact linguistic counterpart of our modern estrangement from the medieval teaching: "musica quasi ad omnia se extendit."

The building up in ancient times of the "musical" semantic field and its subsequent dislocation is an outstanding example for H. Sperber's general contention that "semantic change is due to cultural change" (*Bedeutungswandel ist Kulturwandel*), and that, since the emotional centers change in different periods, so a perpetual regrouping of the semantics of word families must take place: the predominant *Affektkomplex* of one period is not that of the next, and the particular "emotional cluster" dominant at one time leads to a semantic expansion of the word families which express it, and to the attraction of remoter word families into its orbit. And the next period will have other emotional clusters, so that the semantic groupings will obey other signals. In ancient Greece and in the Middle Ages, which were centered about music, musical terms expanded, attracting other words; from the period of Enlightenment on, European mankind came to lose the feeling of a central "musicality"; it is other *Affektkomplexe* which dominate our times (we watch today semantic expansions represented by the phrases "I agree with you 100 percent", "he tried to blitz something on us", which testify to influences from realms of life more peripheric, and to a more fragmentary world outlook than could be that of the synthetic and harmonizing Fathers).

The dislocation of a semantic field, whether we regret it or not, is a historical fact of greatest importance in the science of semantics. This conviction can evidently not be shared by the "anti-mentalistic" school of linguistics which, by banishing beyond its narrow pales any research dealing with the minds of the speaking communities, and by identifying language with mere "speech-habits", brushes off the problem of the Why of the semantic change; the possible reasons

for the introduction and maintenance of a certain "speech-habit" lack interest for this school, which has enormously exaggerated the pseudo-mathematical claim of the self-sufficiency of linguistics which was advanced by De Saussure: since, according to this school, there is supposedly no human mind at work in language, and the reaction of man to language is to be compared with mere "trigger-effects", any history of language, which can be only a history of the civilized mind as embodying itself in language, collapses: the assumption of the "self-moving mill" is, as Novalis saw it, the consequence of the "Verketzerung" of "Phantasie und Gefühl, Sittlichkeit und Kunstliebe, Zukunft und Vorzeit". Anti-mentalism is really anti-historicism and anti-civilizationism. This school, in effect if not in purpose, works against civilization, and fits excellently into—and helps perpetrate—our "God- and music-forsakenness" which dates from the eighteenth century; it is in fact a remnant of the eighteenth-century anti-Christian movement and has remained untouched by the thought of the founders of linguistic historical science, those Romanticists of the Novalis-Schlegels type. We must hope that, just as Novalis predicted for his time of crisis: "Wahrhafte Anarchie ist das Zeugungselement der Religion", so our anarchic times will bring back linguistic science to a more "musical" understanding of change in language, in order that we may forget the dry and barren mill-rattling of their pre-scholarly activities: the young students to come will ask for "a miller" and an architect presiding over the doings of Language; they will demand bread for their souls, not pebbles.

Hitherto we have been mainly concerned with the concepts of musical harmony and well-temperedness. We have witnessed, it is true, a recurrence of words suggestive of the fundamental unity or the harmonizing unification of certain concepts (*concordia*, *consonantia*, *temperare*). But we have not yet dealt with the linguistic facts *per se*. Now that we know of the concepts expressed by these terms we are ready to undertake the study of the history of these words, which will lead us gradually to that of *Stimmung*. There are mainly two word families we must follow: *temperare* and **accordare*.

As concerns Lat. *temperare* we need do little more than copy the overwhelmingly rich article in Ernout-Meillet's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, which has done the spade work for us by its comparison of *temperare* with the Greek κεράννυμι, "to mix":

1. trans. correspond au grec κεράννυμι 'mélanger, mêler', en particulier 'mêler de l'eau au vin ou à un liquide pour l'adoucir, couper': *t. vīnum*, *pōcula* (cf. gr. οἶνον, νέκταρ, κρατῆρα), *t. acētum melle*; de là 'tremper' un métal, *t. ferrum*; 'mêler, combiner, allier' (souvent joint à *miscere*) et 'modérer, adoucir, tempérer' (cf. gr. ὧραι μάλιστα κεκραμμέναι Hdt. 3. 106, à quoi correspond par ex.: *regiones caeli neque aestuosae neque frigidae sed temperatae*, Vitr. 1. 4); *Etesiarum flatu nimii temperantur calores*, Cic. N. D. 2. 19. 49; *temperatus*, *-a*, *-um* 'tempéré, modéré' (d'ou *intemperātus*), joint à *moderātus*, Cic. Fam. 12, 27, opposé à *meracus*, id., Rep. 1. 43. 96: *non modice temperatam, sed nimis meracam libertatem sitiens haurire*. A ce sens remontent les formes romanes du type *tremper*, M. L. 8627.

2. abs.: 'se modérer' d'où 's'abstenir' (déjà dans Enn. Sc. 45), cf. *temperans* 'qui se modère, tempérant'. *Tempero* est également construit avec le datif: *t. linguae*, *t. sibi*, *animis*;

l'abl.: *t. ā lacrimis;* l'infinitif *t. dormire;* avec *quin* (époq. impér.); à l'impersonnel *temperātum est* (T. Live). On trouve même à basse époque, sans doute d'après *sē abstinēre, sē temperāre ab* (St. Aug., Greg. M.).

Dérivés et composés: *temperiēs, -ei* (poét. et postclass., auquel répond dans les l. romanes un n. **temperium*, v. fr. *tempier*, M. L. 8628) et son contraire *intemperiēs, -ei* f. attesté depuis Plaute et au pl. *intemperiae, -ārum* (Caton, Plaute); *temperātiō, -onis* (classique, spécialement fréquent dans Cic. qui le joint à *moderātiō*, Div. 2. 45. 94); pour le sens, cf. Cic. Tusc. 4. 13. 30, *ut enim corporis moderatio cum ea congruunt inter se, e quibus constamus, sanitas, sic animi dicitur, cum eius iudicia opinionesque concordant, eaque animi est virtus, quam alii ipsam temperantiam dicunt esse, alii obtemperantiam sapientiae praeceptis*: 'juste mélange, équilibre' = κρᾶσις et 'température' *caelī temperātiō* Cic. Div. 2. 45. 94; *temperātor* (joint à *moderātor* par Cic.); *temperātivus* (Cael. Aur.); *temperāculum, -ī* (Apul.); *temperāmentum, -i* n. 'tempérament, combinaison' et 'modération'. D'abord de sens concret; cf. Cic. Leg. 3. 10. 24, *inventum est temperamentum quo tenuiores cum principibus aequari se putarunt*; puis à l'époq. impériale, employé pour *temperātiō*.

De *temperāns*: *temperanter, temperantia, -ae*, cf. Cic. Tusc. 3. 8. 16, *temperans, quem Graeci σώφρονα appellant, eamque virtutem σωφροσύνην vocant quam soleo equidem tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, nonnumquam etiam modestiam*; et *distemperantia*, t. de la l. médicale traduisant gr. δυσκρασία. . .

Rattaché souvent à *tempus*, mais le rapport de sens est obscur. A moins d'admettre que *tempus* signifie 'coupure', 'division (du temps)', ce qui cadre bien avec les emplois du mot, et que *temperō* présente le même usage que le fr. 'couper le vin'? En somme, rien de clair.

From these lines, which are inspired by the attempt to finding the difference between the particularly Latin lexicological innovation *temperare* and that *miscere* which would seem the genuinely correspondent word to κεράννυμι, it appears evident that *temperare*—coupled as it so often is with *moderari* (*temperantia* can be varied by *moderatio, modestia*; *moderari* as well as *temperare, temperantia, -atio, -amentum, -atura*, refer to both moral harmony and to climate: Cicero: *temperatio lunae caelique moderatio*; Curtius: *temperantia et moderatio naturae tuae*; Cicero: *temperantia est moderatrix omnium commotionum*; cf. Cicero: *astrictus certa quadam numerorum moderatione et pedum*, which Georges translates "harmonische Einrichtung, Messung, Modulation")—suggested more strongly the idea of "order", both in Nature (climate)[51] and in Man (intellectual and moral health), than did *miscere* (Romance **misculare*), which indicates a "mixing" without moral or cosmic connotations. *Temperare* was the verb destined to denote the condition of εὐκρασία = health, harmony, balance: this is the ideal state well-known to us by Horace's "Aequam memento rebus in arduis / Servare mentem, non secus in bonis / Ab insolenti temperatam laetitia"—that sentence

[51] The relationship of *temperare* with the climate (as we have it in English: cf. Laurence Sterne: "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" etc.) appears in the Middle Ages, for example in a mozarabic Good Friday rite (cf. H. Rheinfelder, *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, II, 137): "Pestem et famem abluat: Indulgentia / Medelam aegris conferat: Indulgentia / Captivos reddat patriae: Indulgentia / *Vices aërum temperet*: Indulgentia / Te deprecamur Domine: Indulgentia" (the plural of *aër* in the meaning of "climate" is Greek, and is attested in Lucretius as well as in the late Latin *Expositio Mundi*, 5th cent. [?]: "civitates aeres temperatos habent"). Note also *temperantia aeris* in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schmeller, n° 55: "Sol tellurem recreat, / ne fetus eius pereat, / ab aeris temperantia / rerum fit materia, / unde multiplicia / generantur semina."

which, by its very syntactic structure (the contrasts are held in balance by imperious metrics and syntax), has become the classical linguistic embodiment of equipoise. With the *se temperare* of Augustine and Gregory, the verb descriptive of that classical equipoise is brought to a Christian revival: "to harmonize oneself", to imitate God in bringing about harmony in our own soul which is the image of the divine soul.

As for the etymology of the Latin verb, while not rejecting outright the explanation of Ernout-Meillet who refer us to the "mixing of drinks", I submit as the *ultimate* etymology a derivation from *tempus* (which originally must have designated a "segment" [of time], *loc. cit.* s.v. *tempus*; cf. *templum* = τέμενος, litt. "a cut-off section"), on the same morphological level with *temperies*, *tempestivus* etc.—that is to say, from *tempus* in the meaning "the *right* time"; this is one of the meanings of Greek καιρός = "the right measure", "convenience", "the right time", and we may assume that *tempus* also took over the non-temporal meanings of καιρός. Accordingly *temperare* would mean an intervention at the right time and in the right measure, by a wise (σώφρων) "moderator" who adjusts, adapts, mixes, alternatively softens or hardens (wine, iron etc.). Any purposeful activity which proceeds with a view to correcting excesses was called *temperare*: for example *temperare calamum*, "to cut, sharpen a quill" (hence Ital. *temperino*, "pocket knife"[52]); the Greek idea of measure, order, σωφροσύνη, intervenes even in reference to the most menial everyday utensils. Again, in the description of the organ by Volstan (DuCange s.v. *organum*), the skilful organist is represented as moderating, "tempering" the stops of his instrument: "Sola quadrigentas quae sustinet ordine musas, / Quas manus organici *temperat* ingenii." There is one "moderating" activity associated with *temperare*, most important for the development of our *Stimmung*, which has been overlooked by Ernout-Meillet: this verb may mean "to tune the strings to harmony": Horace: "O testudinis aureae dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, *temperas*." We have seen above that the Pythagoreans spoke of mixing (into an ἁρμονία) the higher and lower sounds; accordingly Boethius, *De arithm.* defines *temperamentum* as "modorum musicorum commixtio". Cassiodorus renders the Greek συμφωνία by "*temperamentum sonitus* vel gravis ad acutum, vel acutum ad gravem" (Forcellini-DeWit). In an O.F. passage form Heldric de Cornuaille (cf. Gelzer, *ZfSL* XLVIII, 73): we find: "Li uns [a *jongleur*] viele un lai breton, / E li autre harpe Gueron; / Puis font une altre *atemprëure* / E *font des estrumens mesture*, / Si *font ensemble* un lai Mabon", which shows how what we would call a symphonic concert is conceived of as a "mixture", a "tuning together". With the Catalonian Auzias March (14th cent.) we find a *temperament* used of

[52] Here belongs the dialectal phonetic variant of Eng. *to temper*: to *tamper* = "to work with clay, to machinate, to plot, to meddle, to interfere with" (which is also a semantic, more materialistic variant of *to temper*) and dialectal Fr. *étremper*, "élever ou abaisser la charrue suivant que la terre est plus ou moins profonde. On dit qu'une femme étrempe suivant qu'elle relève plus ou moins sa robe, d'après l'état du chemin" [in Vendôme, according to Martellière], which shows a somewhat materialized meaning still inspired by the moral idea of "modifying according to decency.".

the song of birds: it is a well-tuned "symphony". *Temperament* was used in the Middle Ages to refer to the art of tuning instruments, an art ascribed by Rousseau to the inventor of the pianoforte and the gamut, Guido of Arrezzo. Later, in the seventeenth century, theories of the *temperament* were worked out by Mersenne, Rameau etc.; our modern "equal temperament" was first introduced in 1511 by Schlick (*Spiegel der Orgelmacher*); to the general public of today the use of *temperare* = "to tune" is known only from Bach's piano composition *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* (1722), which was intended to test the tuning of the keyboard with preludes and fugues in every key in chromatic ascensions. All these developments have their developments in the relationship between Latin *temperamentum* with the *εὐκρασία*.[53]

How *temperare* is associated with the expressions for order and musical harmony

[53] Another word for "temper" is *complexio* attested in Firmicus, fourth century A.D.: "Tranquilli, quieti, alacris, bonae, complexionis"; it is found earlier in Seneca as *complexio aëris*, in Cicero as "*complexiones* et copulationes et adhaesiones atomorum inter se", an expression which pictures the loving sympathy of Nature, and the sexual copulation (*amplexus*, Gr. *συμπλοκή*) of the atoms contained therein; similarly the combination of four elements, extant in any body, was portrayed as a manifestation of cosmic love (Cassiodorus, ThLL). Thus everything had a *complexion* (Ps. Apuleius: "invenitur quandoque nigra mandragora complexionem frigidam et siccam habens"). From philosophers and physicists the word went over to grammarians and rhetoricians, as was the case with *consonantia*: "mira verborum complexio, brevis complexio totius negotii" (Cicero), after a similar use of the Greek model *συμπλοκή*. The meaning of Eng. *complexion* goes back to the idea that the temperament manifests itself in the color of the face (we may remember the dark face of Dürer's *Melancolia*). *Complexio* and the following words have their part in the history of *Stimmung*.

Lat. *constitutio* followed partway the development taken by *complexio*: Cicero has *corporis firma constitutio*, translated by Forcellini "buona complessione"; then from the "robust constitution" we come to "(good) quality of the body"—but throughout there is no idea of the mixture of elements!

Lat. *dispositio*, which was first used in reference to the disposition of elements in the body, and the resultant energy, came, with the Schoolmen, close to the meaning of *inclinatio* (*intellectus dispositio*, Albertus Magnus), hence Fr. *dispos*, *disposé*, Eng. *disposed*, Germ. *disponiert* (*indisposé*, *indisposed*, *indisponiert*, "slightly ill"). In the following Montaigne passages I have underlined the expressions for the good natural constitution of the human body—sometimes impaired by man: *structure et composition* is synonymous with *complexio*, *constitutio*: the *re*-formations are accumulated in order to stress that reintegration which, in the meaning of the writer, is the duty of man in conformity with the purposes of Nature: (2.17): "Le corps a une grand' part à nostre estre, il y tient un grand rang; ainsi *sa structure et composition* sont de bien juste considération. Ceux qui veulent desprendre nos deux pièces principales, et les sequestrer l'un de l'aultre, ils ont tort; au rebours, il les faut *r'accoupler* et *rejoindre*; il faut ordonner à l'âme non de se tirer à quartier, de s'entretenir à part, de mespriser et abandonner le corps, . . . mais de se *r'allier* à luy, de *l'embrasser* . . . , *l'espouser* en somme, et luy *servir de mary*, à ce que leurs effects ne paraissent pas *divers et contraires*, ains *accordans et uniformes*. Les Chrestiens ont une particuliere instruction en cette liaison; ils sçavent que la justice divine embrasse cette *société* et *joincture* du *corps et de l'âme* . . . ". Similarly, *de- dis-* show the wilful counteracting of Nature by man: (3.13): "A quoy faire *demembrons* nous en *divorce* un bastiment tissu d'une si *joincte et fraternelle correspondence?* Au rebours, *renouons* le par mutuels offices: que l'esprit esveille et vivifie la pesanteur du corps, le corps arreste la legereté de l'esprit et la fixe."

can be shown by a non-Christian late Latin text: Apuleius, *De mundo*, which, according to S. Müller, *Das Verhältnis von Apuleius' De mundo zu seiner Vorlage* (Leipzig 1939), follows a Greek original. In this work *temperantia* is grouped, on the one hand, with *proportio* in chemical and medical reference, on the other, with *concordia* (and *figura*) where in the Greek we find such words as μῖξις, ἐγκεκρασμένη, διακόσμησις. Since we also find the musical terms *consensus*, *conventus*, *confusio* (corresponding to the Greek κρᾶσις, μίγνυμι, ἐγκεκρασμένος, ὁμόνοια, ὁμολογία, ἁρμονία) used in description of the cosmic order, we may assume that this reference, too, was possible for *temperantia*.

Since Greek ἁρμονία had developed from the general meaning of "order" to that of "order in music, harmony", while συμφωνία had followed the opposite development from "musical consonance" to "harmony, order", the Greeks had acquired two words each capable of both meanings. It was only to be expected that the Romans, so obsequious to Greek thought (and even to Greek wording), should attempt a literal rendering of these "two-way" words; we find in Latin such couples as *temperantia* (or *concordia*, *consensus*) and *consonantia* (*concentus*) ready to compete with ἁρμονία (συμπάθεια, ὁμόνοια) and συμφωνία. In late Latin which, as a living language, did not have to limit itself to Ciceronian terms, there were still new possibilities at hand: Vulgar Latin was able to coin one word tributary to two word families. Due to a particular coincidence not extant in Greek, there was in Latin a radical *cord-* susceptible to two interpretations: it could be connected not only with *cor*, *cordis*, "heart" (which was the original meaning), but also with *chorda*, "string", the Latin loan word from χορδή; thus *concordia* could suggest either "an agreement of hearts, peace, order" (*con-cord-ia*) or "a harmony of strings, World Harmony" (**con-chord-ia*). Thus psychological harmony and musical harmony (and disharmony: *disc(h)ordia*) were ensconced in one word of poetic ambivalence which allowed for a kind of metaphysical punning; the ThLL lists such passages as: Paulus Festus: "fides genus citharae dicta, quod tantum inter se *cordae* ejus quantum inter homines fides con-*cordet*" [a double pun: on *chorda* and *fides*!]; Cassiodorus: "hinc etiam appellatam aestimamus *chordam quod facile corda movet*"; Isidore: "*chordas* autem dictas a *corde*, quia sicut pulsus est cordis in pectore, ita pulsus chordae in cithara"; Cypr.Gall.: "Sobalus musica plectra repperit et vario *concorde* [we could spell **conchorde*] murmure *chordam*." Finally, cf. n° 30 of the *Cambridge Songs*: "Caute cane cantor cane; clare conspirent cannule, / compte *corde* [= chordae] crepent concinnantiam.// . . . caput, calcem, *cor* coniunge/ . . . *Cane corda*, *cane cordis* [= chordis],/cane cannulis creatorem." These are punning para-etymologies from the modern point of view, but for medieval as well as ancient linguistics, which sought the accord of things behind the accord of words, and saw the multivalence of creation reflected in that of the words, the phonetic assonance was a revelation of truth (ἔτυμον). We may remember the *concordare* found in the passages cited earlier (II, 450) in reference to Biblical "concordance"; the verb is used to translate the Greek συμφωνεῖν, for which the literal translation would have been *consonant*; may it not be that *concordant* was chosen just because it could suggest both the agreement in spirit (*cor*), and the

harmony of the well-ordered lute (**conchordare*)? And such a relationship, when perceived, could itself become an incentive to innovation, linguistically creative; a parallel case is the one I have studied in *Language*, XVII, 50, where I pointed out that the para-etymological identification of *caritas* and χάρις by Christian writers made possible, not only the spelling *charitas*, but also the creation of a hybrid **caritosus* = *χαριτ-ōsus* (whereas the adjective from *caritas* would have been **caritat-osus*); another case would be the English *dismal* < O.F. **dismal* = *decimalis* [*dies*], "a tithe of our time given to God", which was interpreted as *dies malus* and consequently received a new semantic, a "dismal" connotation (cf. MLN 1942, p. 602).

Accordingly, should we not recognize in the new Vulgar Latin word family **acc(h)ordare*, **acc(h)ordantia*, a further semantic and morphological innovation, based on the same ambiguity of the *c(h)ord-* stem? This family is attested in all the Romance languages with the exception of Rumanian (the language that pays more allegiance to Eastern than to Western traditions, and which, by substituting *anima* [> *inimă*] for *cor*, "heart", has made impossible any punning with *chorda*): Fr. *accorder*, Prov. and Span. *acordar*, Ital. *accordare* etc. This verb **ad-c(h)ord-are* is based on *con-c(h)ord-are*, after the pattern of *consonare—assonare* (for the *ad-* innovation cf. **adgratare* > *agréer*, *aggradare* etc.), and means at the same time "to tune (be tuned) to" and "to be (put) in hearty agreement with". Here, indeed, is the breath of Christian spiritual life, and a new linguistic vitality, reviving an old word family.

The etymology of this Romance **accordare* family has been debated for centuries: R. Estienne proposed *cor* (= *ad unum cor*), Ménage *chorda* ("parce que leurs volontés [sc. of those who conclude an agreement], devenant conformes, deviennent semblables à deux cordes accordées par unisson et consonance"; that the great French etymologist had a fine sensitivity to World Harmony is shown by the very words which he has borrowed from a long tradition). Since that time etymological dictionaries have wavered between the two etymologies (REW and FEW side with Ménage), and, if we consider only morphological or intra-grammatical alternatives, no decision can be reached. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that **accordare*, formed after *concordare* had acquired its double meaning, could have both *cor* and *chorda* as etyma (just as **charitosus* or *dismal* have two etyma)—that, in other words, World Harmony, perceptible to ear and heart alike (the Augustinian-trained ear does not hear without the soul), could have welded together, and wedded, two word families which, between them, express precisely the acoustic and the mental.

In a recent article published in *Language*, XVII, 119 ("Spanish *Acordar* and Related Words"), a pupil of Professor Castro, Mr. Mack Singleton, while admitting a double etymology, sees fit to cut the word family in two: the meaning "to tune" he separates from the other meanings of the Old Spanish verb: "to agree", "to come to", "to awake", "to record", "to encourage, advise"; only in the first meaning, according to Singleton, should *acordar* be ascribed to *chorda*; the other meanings point to *cor* (just as is true of *discordari*, *recordari* etc.). This has all the drasticness, but hardly the wisdom, of a Solomonic cut; Mr.

Singleton himself proceeds to mitigate this by pointing out such Latin examples as *symphonia discors* or *concordi dixere sono* which suggest, even to him, the possibility of a *cor*-derivation, and indeed he concludes, by suggesting tentatively "that there is a mixture of two phonetically similar etyma; but that *acordar* and its derivatives may all eventually be derived from *cor, cordis.*" Here, Mr. Singleton is a victim of the current departmentalization of philology, and, more specifically, of the fallacies of translation into English: had he been a German, who uses *stimmen* as well as *übereinstimmen*, he would have sensed no division. Medieval word problems of such magnitude cannot be treated on the basis of two languages only, one of which (his native tongue) biasses the student toward the other. Mr. Singleton proceeds rightly when he puts together a "musical" quotation from the *Crónica general* ("assaco el despues por si temprar las cuerdas, las unas altas, e las otras baxas, e las otras en medio; e fizo las todas responder en los cantares cada unas en sus uozes e acordar ['to be in harmony'] con ellas, donde se fazen las dulcedumbres que plazen mucho a los omnes e los alegran") with those having a metrical or grammatical reference ("et assi sabie *acordar canto por canto* et *palaura por palauwra* ['make correspond']" and "Los nomnes son revueltos e graves de *acordar*, Non los podemos todos *en rimas acordar* ['make fit']"); we have already noted the ancient unity between music and grammar. But one may wonder why such examples are segregated from *acuerdan en una razon*, (which Mr. Singleton translates "they agree in one idea", but which would be better interpreted " . . . in one discourse", which embraces both "thought" and "reason") and even from "et plogo mucho por que *acordauan* [dos letras] *con* su nombre ['corresponded']"; why should agreement in "letters" and "speech" be separated from agreement of sounds? If *sabie acordar canto por canto et palaura por palaura* goes back to **acchordare*, why not also *acordar palabras, razones* [*en una razon*]? We may cite here a sentence from Santillana listed by Cuervo, in which is clearly reflected the ancient harmony of the spheres: "Los cuerpos superiores, que son las estrellas, se acuerdan con la naturaleza"; in another sentence also listed by Cuervo (Berceo) we find: "Numqua udieron omnes organos mas temprados, / Nin que formar pudiesen sones mas *acordados*", where we are given a picture of men listening to cosmic, moral *and* sensual music: their ears hear well-tempered sounds while, at the same time, their hearts sense the well-tempered order of the world. *Acordar* is coupled with *temprar*: the two constituents of the field of World Harmony touch each other. But Mr. Singleton could not "see" this order; he had not visualized the kinship of εἶδος and ἰδέα in the ancient world—as exemplified by our bicephalic *acc(h)ordare*.

But perhaps Mr. Singleton could have found in his native language a similar coalescence of the *cor-* and *chorda-* family, had he been aware of the theme of World Harmony. The English *chord* is the equivalent of German *Akkord*, French *accord*; what the French Rameau called *accords parfaits*, that is the pleasing combination of a tone with the third, fifth, and octave, appears in the English translation (1752) as *perfect chords*. This *chord* is explained by the NED as a shortening of English *accord*, but this leaves unexplained the spelling with *-h-*, which we would have to assume to be due to the para-etymology *chorda*,

"string". It seems clear to me that *chord* represents a fusion of *accord*, *concord* with *cord* [*chorda*], "string". First we have to do with the development of meaning in the latter word from "string" to "chord": just as, in the *laudate eum in cymbalis* of the Psalmist, the *cymbali* ["bells"] became *concordiae fidelium* with Alanus ab Insulis (see above), so the *chordae* ["strings"] became the "harmony of chords" (achieved by strings of different pitch).[54] Secondly, this "chord" is associated with *concord*, which meant "pleasing combination of two tones"; Morley (1597) precisely defines *concord* by *chord*: "What is a *concord*? . . . It is a mixt sound [= *temperamentum*!] . . . entring with delight in the eare . . . a unison [the word of Boethius], a fifth, an eighth . . . be *perfect cordes*"; again, in the example, reminiscent of Plato (1592): "The Syrens . . . sound out heavenly melodie in such pleasing *cords*", the last two words could easily mean "harmony brought about by a chord" = "concord". As for the Latin *concordia*, we may note the following passages, where "(musical) harmony" shifts toward "(harmony brought about by) chords," Seneca: "doces . . . quomodo nervorum disparem reddentium sonum fiat *concordia*" [*concordia* > Eng. *concord*; *nervi* > Eng. *chords*]; Columella: "ex . . . vocum *concordia* . . . amicum quiddam et dulce resonat"; Martianus Capella: "tetrachordorum quippe est quattuor sonorum in ordinem positorum congruens fidaque *concordia*" [*fida* pun with *fide*]; Boethius: "est . . . consonantia dissimilium inter se vocum *in unum redacta concordia*." In the *Speculum musice* (1340) we read (cf. Frei, p. 345), in an invective against the contemporary musical innovation called *ars nova*: "confundunt tales discantum *concordias* nonnumquam nonne mutilant . . . et hi propter ignorantiam dicte artis si quandoque *ad concordiam venerint* cum tenore, nesciunt *concordia permanere*, cito ad discordiam relabuntur. Heu pro dolor!" (*concordia* = "harmony, harmonious chord").

We find a broader meaning of our word in the passage from Dante's *Purgatorio*, XVI, 21: "Io sentía voci, e ciascuna pareva / Pregar per pace e per misericordia / L'Agnel di Dio che le peccata leva. / Pure 'Agnus Dei' eran le loro esordia; / Una parola in tutti era ed un modo, / Si che parea tra esse *ogni concordia*." Here, the choir described by Dante is, not "monotonous", as Scartazzini would interpret, but rather "in unison"—or, perhaps, because of the *ogni*, "possessed of every harmony", a harmony achieved by the chord, which acts upon the listener as a unit (*in unum redacta*, *unisona*) as, according to Augustine, does all beauty which proceeds from the feeling for the unification of the diverse. Here we have illustrated one of the feelings which the Middle Ages has expressed the most convincingly: the feeling of the group, of being united in one *concordia* or World Harmony, which extends from angel to star to man to bird. This is the same feeling which informs so many medieval pictures and sculptures: the union of hearts and minds, reflected in their relatively non-

[54] In Latin, the plural *chordae* "strings" was used to refer to the lute itself: cf. Porphyrius in his commentary on Horace, *Carm.* I,17,18: "fides autem chordae dicunter"; Cassiodorus, commenting on Psalm 150,4: "laudate eum in chordis et organo", writes: "quoniam praeter psalmum et citharam . . . alia inveniri potuerant, quae *chordarum tensionibus* personarent, generaliter *chordas* posuit, ut omne ipsum instrumentum domini laudibus imputaret."

individualistic attitudes—which reveal only *one* direction of thought: a subordination to the meaning of the Whole. Thus we see a perfect identity between Eng. *chords* (< Lat. *cordae*, "harmonious [strings of a] lute") and *concord* (< Lat. *concordia*, "harmony", "harmony of chords"); we can surmise that *chord* = "pleasing combination of tones" is the result of a telescoping similar to the one which we saw realized in **accordare*, a telescoping possible because of the phonetic and semantic closeness of the two word families. A spelling which would express the ambivalence and double parentage of *chord* (the συμπάθεια and συμφωνία at the time) would be: *c(h)ord*.

The heart and ear are again in unison when a Provençal troubadour coins the word *descort* as the name of a lyric genre in which different languages, metric schemes etc. are mixed: because his heart is "out of tune" (*verstimmt*) so, too, must his lute. Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* II, 329, writes:

> Tandis que le propre de la chanson est de faire 'accorder' entre eux tous les couplets, la loi du descort est de les 'désaccorder': l'auteur prétendait marquer ainsi, semble-t-il, le déséquilibre où le plongeait une passion malheureuse. Chaque couplet a donc, dans un descort régulier, sa structure et sa mélodie propres. . . . Ce qui faisait la valeur du descort, c'était évidemment la mélodie; les paroles, dès l'origine, avaient été l'accessoire, puisqu'elles étaient adaptées à une mélodie, préexistante.

The word *désaccorder* was borrowed by Jeanroy from the polyglot *Descort* of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras: " . . . vuelh un *descort* comensar / d'amor, per qu'ieu vauc aratges; / quar ma domna·m sol amar, / mas camiatz l'es sos coratges, / per qu'ieu vuelh *dezacordar / los motz, e·ls sos e·ls lenguatges*"—evidently *dezacordar los sos* [= *sonus*] is a fixed phrase to which the poet has added . . . *los motz* and, in bearing with the polyglot character of the poem, *los lenguatges*. We find the same wording in the *Leys d'Amors*: "las quals coblas [in the *descort*] devon esser singulars, *dezacordables e variables en accort* [= "rhyme"; the same text uses also *acordansa*], *en so et en lenguatges*." Appel, *ZRPh* XI, 213 quotes the precept of the Old Provençal *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*: "Man solle im Descort von der Liebe sprechen als jemand der von ihr verlassen ist. . . . Im Gesange sei das Lied allen anderen entgegengesetzt; wo der Gesang ansteigen sollte, da senke er sich . . . e que en lo cantar lla on lo so deuria muntar, qu'il baxes. E fe lo contrari de tot l'altre cantar." (Appel uses also the medieval term *temperament* in this connection: "Das Temperament der Musik sind wir natürlich versucht in Übereinstimmung mit dem Texte des Liedes zu denken".) The "temperament" or "concord" or "harmony" of a piece of music or poetry was seen to depend on the "temper", "harmony", "*Stimmung*", of the musician or poet (and the same is true of "disharmony"). And it is no whim (as it would seem from the cautious wording: "prétendait . . . semble-t-il" of Jeanroy, who, unfortunately, does not understand the inward form of medieval thought) on the part of the author or composer if he chooses dissonances when his heart is in discord: medieval man saw his whole life, down to the smallest details, pervaded by symbolism. He acted within the frame of transcendental necessities: the artist did not wilfully decide to conform to these, but rather felt his hand to be guided thereby: a Dante, too, chose *rime aspre e chiocce* when he felt his soul or

his subject matter "out of tune". To be *dezacordat* means to be "individualistic" (cf. the *singulars coblas* above) in form; but individualism is permitted, for the sake of expressivity, only under certain conditions, and set up against a normative frame of non-individualism, of measure and poise. The *descort* is thus no exception to the artistic rule which asked for "harmony": it is significant that we find only rarely Old Provençal poems called *acort*: so much was the *acort* the regular mood of the artist, that the term is only created out of opposition to *descort*; the *acort* is, so to speak, a **des-descort*, born of an anti-disorder mood. And even in the seemingly disordered work of art there had to be harmony, that is, the disharmony willed by harmony and subservient to it; in addition, the correspondence of the outward features of a work of art with its source of inspiration was, in itself, "harmonious". We know that metrics and grammar are bound up with the "music" of a poem, since they are merely the reflections of the World Harmony which any work of art imitates; in the phrase *dezacordar los motz e·ls sos e·ls lenguatges* we can as little disassociate *cor* and *chorda* as in the case of the Old Spanish couple discussed above: *acordar las cuerdas—las palabras*. The *cor-chorda* family is present with both.

It is time now to present to the reader a series of passages drawn from one medieval author in order to show the variety and consistency of the occurrence of members of the great *consonantia-concordia-temperare-accordare* family: I choose first the poem of the Catalonian Auzias March (14th cent.) on the different forms of love (ed. Amadeu Pagés, n° 86):

(19): Ladonchs ells [the different desires, *volers*] junts *mesclat* voler componen / que dura tant com d'aquell [with the body] se *conssonen* . . . (61): Tot amador delit no pot atenyer / fins que le cors e l'arma *se acorden* . . ."; (78): d'abdós hunits [body and soul] se *compon* esta *mescla* [love] . . . ; (95): De tres *cordells* [strings] Amor deu fer sa corda [the bow of Amor] . . . si·l terç no·y es *la corda se descorda* . . . [here we are led from *corda*, "string" to concord and *descordar*, "to come loose" becomes similar to *dezacordar*, "to get out of accord"]; (114): es feta gran seguons les parts s'acorden; / multiplica'n los bens don ella-s forma. / Del be honest aquest' amor pren forma, / e los volers que'n surten *no discorden*; (117): junts, acordants [body and soul], en delit cascú puja; (314): d'aquests mesclats surt molt gran virtut una: / axi Amor suptil y enfinit *tempra* / la finitat de la del cors y aviva. / En cest cas mor nostr' amor sensitiva, / e l'esprit, junt ab ell, se *destempra*. / Amen ensemps e l'espirit sols ame, / perque tot l'om no·s trob qu'en res desame.

We find in poem n° 87:

(12): en quantitat [my love] molt prop d'altres se jutja; / en qualitat ab les altres *discorda*"; (17): Dins lo cors d'om les *humors se discorden*; . . . / en un sols jorn regna malenconia, / n'aquell mateix colera, sanch e fleuma. / Tol enaxí las passions de l'arma / nudament han molt *divers e contrari*; (119): Los grans *contrasts* de nostres parts *discordes canten forçats acort* et *de grat contra* [ἔρως καὶ φιλία: note the verb *cantar* which revives the musical connotations of *discordes* and *acort*].

The same coupling of *accordare* and *temperare* occurs also in Italian: Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* (the allegory of Nature speaking of the four humors of the body):

E queste quatro chose / Chosì chontrariose / E tanto disiguali / In tutti li animali / Mi chonvene *achordare* / E in lor *temperare* / E rinfrenar ciaschuno / Sì ch'io li *rechi a uno* ["unison"], / Sì ch'ogne corpo nato / Ne sia chonplessionato [on *complexio* cf. note 53].

Similarly in the *Canti carnascialeschi* (ed. Ch. Singleton, 148) a "Trionfo delle quattro complessioni" has the following lines:

> Per questi si conserva nostra vita, / di qui deriva e vien la concordanza / del corpo all' alma unita: / e se fra lor vien qualche discrepanza, / ragion pronta ed ardita, / frenando il senso con su' giuste legge, / tal consonanza difende e corregge;

the sanguine "Venus"-temperament makes the soul "quieta, *ridente*, *allegra*, *umana*, *e temperata*, benigna e molto grata."[55]

And now let us follow the use of *tempra* associated with the idea of World Harmony in Dante. The literal meaning, "tuning of strings" is obvious in *Par.* XIV, 118: "E come giga ed arpa *in tempra tesa* / Di *molte corde* fan *dolce* tintinno / A tal da cui la nota non è intesa . . . "—but there is also a suggestion of the "sweet" consonance, inaccessible to human ears, of heavenly music. In the scene from *Purg.* XXX, 91, Dante has been rebuked by Beatrice and stiffens before the onslaught of her reproaches as the snow of the mountains congeals before the blast of Northern winds; later, as the snow melts under the sun, so Dante, touched by the soft consolation of the angels, melts into tears:

> Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri / Anzi il cantar di que' che notan sempre / dietro all[e] note degli eterni giri; / Ma poi che intesi nelle dolci *tempre* / Lor compatire a me, più che se detto / Avesser: "Donna, perchè sì lo *stempre?*", / Lo gel, che m'era intorno al cor ristretto, / Spirito ed acqua fêssi . . .

The verb *stempre* (line 96) itself is correctly translated by commentarors as "mortifichi, avvilisci" [Scartazzini], "gli togli vigore" [Torraca], but its relationship with the word- and concept-family of *tempra*, "harmony" (in line 94 it is the "harmony of the spheres" that is involved) is ignored. Because of Beatrice, Dante has become "out of tune, out of harmony" (and the best translation would be the Germ. "aus der Stimmung reissen")—bereft of a harmony which, in accord with the ancient tradition, embraces the movements of the stars (*eterni giri*), the harmonious song (the *dolci tempre* which could be as well the *dolce consonanze*) of the angels, which are identified in Christianity with the ancient harmony of the spheres, with the climate (the "congealing" snow indicating unharmonious excess), and with the human temper. And any translation which does not take into account the whole range of associations present to Dante's mind, is substi-

[55] This passage is a reproduction of Latin mnemotechnic lines concerned with the four temperaments; they are to be found in the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*, which was often translated into Romance (cf. Morawski, *Neuph. Mitt.* [1927], 199, and C. V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde*, p. 314). We may compare the Italian passage, quoted above, on the sanguine temperament, with the following lines of the Latin model: "Largus, amans, hylaris, ridens, rubeique coloris. / Cantans, carnosus satis, audax atque benignus." It is characteristic of the harmonizing tendency of the popular songs of the Singleton collection, that a "Trionfo delle quatro scienze matematiche" (*loc. cit.* p. 510) ascribes to Music the color red—that is, associates her with the sanguine temperament (evidently because of the *cantans* of the Latin verse), while Arithmetic appears as a yellow old woman, a choleric, because the corresponding Latin verse on the choleric temperament contained the epithets: "hirsutus . . . , astutus . . . , siccus, croceique coloris". Here we have to do with a harmonizing quite in the manner of the Pythagoreans.

tuting unilinear poverty for the polyphonic richness of the text. The particular precision in Dante's use of words consists of their density, in the suggestiveness of their whole semantic field, of all the harmonic overtones. A real Dante vocabulary would place every word into its associational context or field; it would be rather a map extending in space than a series of columns.

How the harmonizing imagination of Dante succeeds in welding together, not only the spheres of the Beyond with those of this world, but also the techniques of modern humanity and the beliefs of antiquity;[56] how "modern" Dante really is while echoing ancient traditions (quite like his successor of today, Paul Claudel, who, in his *carmen seculare*, the first of the *Cinq grandes odes* [1910], sings the technical progress of mankind as a reconciliation of the purposes of God with human endeavors) we can see by *Par.* X, 130:

> Indi come orologio, che ne chiami / Nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge / A mattinar lo sposo perche l'ami, / Che l'una parte l'altra tira ed urge / Tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota, / Che il ben disposto spirto d'amor turge; / Così vid'io la gloriosa ruota [of the *Spiriti Magni*] / Muoversi e render *voce a voce in tempra / Ed in dolcezza*, ch'esser non può nota / Se non colà dove gioir s'insempra.

The Wheel of the Blessed is compared to the morning clock which wakens folk from their sleep. In ancient legends, Morning was represented by the rosy-fingered Eos who awakens her husband for amorous joys; the Christian pendant to this sensuous picture must evidently center around the "spouse of God", i.e. the God-loving soul "serenading", praising the Creator in a morning hymn which arouses the "benevolent spirit of Love" (the Holy Ghost); but with Dante, modern and "progress-minded" as he was, the morning hymn is sung not by an Ambrosian congregation, but by the precisely and ingeniously built technical device: the clock.[57] Thus the *numeri* of Augustine have found their indicator

[56] In the *Vita nuova*, which is still shaped after the traditional pattern of a Provençal troubadour novel, the poet, who has displeased his Lady, is advised by Amor (XII) to reconcile her with a poem—but a poem which will not speak to her directly (*immediatamente*), but uses the intermediary of music (*fa che siano* [the words] *quasi un mezzo*): "falle adornare di soave armonia, ne la quale io sarò tutte le volte che farà mestiere." Scartazzini explains, "falle dare il suono da un musico valente". This is surely wrong: it is the reconciliatory and curative power of music that must be meant, as well as the omnipresence of Love in Music (in accordance with the Augustinian and troubadour equation). The *ballata* which follows is thus quite in line with the mediatory part that Amor would have the words play: "Con dolze sono quando se' ["when thou (sc. the Ballad) art before Her"] con lui [Amor the mediator], comincia este parole . . . ["Say, Ballad, to Amor":] / Per grazia de la mia nota soave ["in reward for my sweet music"] reman tu qui con lei"—all these expressions are the devices of the flattering, mediating attitude of a "go-between" (Cf. *Travaux du séminaire roman d'Istanbul*, I). To our modern mind such an allegory may appear shocking, but it must be remembered that in the medieval civilization the use of intermediaries with high-born persons was quite usual (cf. the examples furnished by K. Lewent, *Mod. Lang.* XXXVIII, 44), necessary because of the hierarchical position occupied by the lady—and what nobler intermediary than music could Dante find?

[57] The ticking of the clock has often been compared to the human heart beat, as for example in the song *Die Uhr* by J. G. Seidl, set to music by Loewe, where we find the suggestion that the divine Maker has put in it order ("Es ist ein grosser Meister der künstlich ihr Werk gefügt"). This is, ultimately, the "machine theory", used so often by the Church Fathers

in an engine which, with Dante, symbolizes all the cosmic laws of interdependency, well-temperedness, and beauty made of order ("l'una parte l'altra tira ed urge, / Tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota")—the minimal sound, the childish sound *tin tin* foreshadows the orchestra of the spheres which will resound in the second part of the simile where the wheel of the eternally Blessed is presented as a dancing and music-making whole which functions *in tempra ed in dolcezza*—producing what Dante, in the same canto, calls "la dolce sinfonia dell' alto Paradiso" (the familiar synonym). What is the meaning of *tempra* here? The dictionary of Tommaseo-Bellini translates, "canto, consonanza", the old commentators explain, "proportionaliter conformare voces eorum in cantu" or "in temperanza, rispondendo l'una voce all' altra" (but the response is already expressed by *voce a voce*). Without denying the presence of such meanings, I should think that the clock and the *muoversi* should not be entirely forgotten, though *in tempra* refers grammatically only to singing (*render voce a voce*): *tempra* is, in fact, "well-temperedness, order", the order, the *numeri* of music, of dancing and of the technical device: the exactitude which in our time Valéry points out (in *L'âme et la danse*) in architecture, poetry, music and dancing. The inaccessible music of the spheres is subject to order and clarity, the *tempra* is the Augustinian *temperatura partium*, and *pax* is *ordo amoris*; the whole passage is penetrated by the "mystery of clarity" so dear to the Latin poets, to Racine, Caldéron, Péguy, Claudel and Valéry. In addition to the synaesthetic devices of Dante, we find a mingling of pagan myth with modern technics: the range in space and time of such a passage is immense. The comparison here offered between the dancing movements of the angels with the regular ticking of a clock is not isolated in Dante—nor is his use of *tempra* for "the harmonious structure and behavior of parts within a whole": *Par.* XXIV, 13: "E come cerchi *in tempra d'oriuol* / Si giran sì, che il primo, a chi pon mente, / Quieto pare, e l'ultimo che voli, / Così quelle carole differente- / mente danzando, della sua richezza / Mi si facean stimar, veloci e lente" (again *tempra* is translated too narrowly by Tomm.-Bellini as "congegno, struttura"): there is movement and peace, rich variety and unity (both are depicted in the adverb *differente-mente* which unites two lines while evoking variety) in the *tempra* of the clock and of the angelic dances.

Dante is no mystic: he emphasizes measure and order, not boundless enthusiasm. It was the mystic Bernard of Clairvaux who said of his love of God: "Confundis ordines, dissimulas usum, modum ignoras . . ." thus denying the *numeri;* in the mystic Jacopone da Todi excess and exultation, consequently disorder and "distemperedness" must predominate. Jacopone, however, was aware of the problem: how could excess in love for God be justified, since it goes beyond that order (*ordo amoris*) which is God's work? In the poem *Amor de*

---

to prove the existence of God; Gregory of Nyssa, in his dialogue with Makrina, states that just as an engine is to be explained, not by the "elements" but by the mind of its maker, so the functioning of the world can only be retraced to the mind of God. The first clock with bells was, according to Rheinfelder (*Kultsprache und Profansprache*), set up in Milan 1336; thus *l'orologio tin tin suonando* was really a modern device for Dante.

Caritade, in which Christ speaks to the passionately loving mystic, the idea of *tempra* is implicit, though the word itself is not expressed:

> Tutte le cose quali aggio create / si so' fatte con numero e mesura, / ed a lor fine so' tutte *ordenate*, / conservansi con *orden* tal valura. / E molto più ancora caritate / è *ordenata* nella sua natura. / Dunque co per calura, / Alma, tu se' impazzita? / *For d'orden* tu se' uscita, / non t'è *freno* el fervore.

The fervor of the mystic has abandoned ἁρμονία καὶ ἀριθμός—this fervor is excessive heat: i.e. according to humoral pathology, madness; the harmony of the creation, of the human soul and body, is missing: the *x* which should unite all these is evidently *temperatura*.

And now, if we turn to the *Cantico dell' amor superardente*, we shall not be surprised to find, in fact, a representative of our word family: here the mystic is describing the boundlessness of his soul and its paradoxically powerless state, torn as it is between bliss and torture:

> Amor di caritate, / Perchè m'hai sì ferito? / Lo cor tutto partito / Et che arde per amore? / Arde et incende, e nullo trova loco; / Non può fugir però ched è ligato; / Sì si consuma come cera a foco, / Vivendo mor, languisce *stemperato*: / Dimanda di poter fugir un poco / et in fornace trovasi locato / Oimè, do' son menato / A sì forte languire? / Vivendo si è morire, / Tanto monta l'ardore.

E. Auerbach, in his article "Passio als Leidenschaft" (PMLA LVI, 1189), quotes this passage because of the new re-evaluation it offers of "passion" by the mystics ("passion" is no longer represented as *perturbatio*, as in Stoicism and Epicureanism and earlier dogmatic Christianity, but a positive, a good thing), and compares the paradoxical expression *amore superardente* of Jacopone, anticipatory of Petrarchism, to the "inhitzige minne", inherent in the lover and imitator of Christ, of the German mystic Eckehart (cf. also the German term *Inbrunst* "religious fervor", literally "inner conflagration", which originates in mysticism). The superabundant heat of this mysticism is a *stemperatura*; the *super-* (which Jacopone may have derived from such expressions as the *super-eminens* [used in Genesis in reference to God's spirit], commented upon by Augustine) is only a variant of the *dis-* of *stemperato*.

Petrarch in his metaphysical love poetry (*Canzone* 38 ed. Mestica) imagines a Provençal setting of amorous springtime provocative of songs which should assuage the Alp-like resistence of Laura; and as if to flatter her with sound the sweet air (*l'aura*) is made to allude to *Laura*: "Là ver l'aurora, che sí dolce l'aura / Al tempo novo suole movere i fiori / E li augeletti incominciar lor versi. . . ." And thereupon the poet expresses a wish: "*Temprar* potess' io in sí soavi note / I miei sospiri, ch'addolcissen l'aura [= Laura], / Facendo a lei ragion, ch'a me fa forza!" This *temprar* is applied primarily to the tempering of emotions, parallel to that of the climate (*addolcissen l'aura*) and to the placating of the Beloved (*Laura*)—but suddenly music is at hand (*soavi note*), music intended to gain her favor, this favor of the Lady who is, as we have seen, a force of Nature—and who, consequently, should be "tamed" by the *Orpheus redivivus*, Petrarch.

The use of *temperare* is similar to that of *serenare*[58] (Petr. *Canzone* 23: "[Her voice has the power] Cantando d'acquetar li sdegni e l'ire, / Di *serenar* la tempestosa mente / E sgombrar d'ogni nebbia oscura e vile") which clearly alludes to the *Juppiter Serenator*, placator of Nature, and is used here of Laura's voice. The classical moderation of Petrarch, in spite of the supernatural emotions of his love, is shown by his use of *temperare*, this time without musical connotation, in a sonnet *post mortem Laurae*, in which he describes her "taming" influence on the strife in his heart: "Dolci durezze e placide repulse, . . . / Leggiadri sdegni, che le mie *infiammate / Voglie tempraro*, (or me n'accorgo) *e'nsulse*"—where the "taming" is symbolized by the oxymoric expressions as well as by the hyperbaton (*infiammate voglie . . . e'nsulse*), which is, as it were, an echo of the resistance against the "tempering".

Turning now to a quite different climate, to as late a text as Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, canto XIV, st. 12, we witness a revival of the troubadour atmosphere (which, as we have seen, was conditioned by the Augustinian identification of love, order, music), but with emphasis on the animal or sensuous instincts of love; still, however, the idea of World Harmony, of response, of temperedness, survives—and, along with it, the coupling of *temprare* and *concordia*:

> Vezzosi augelli infra le verdi fronde / *Temprano* a prova lascivette note. / Mormora l'aura, e fa le foglie e l'onde / Garrir, che variamente ella percote. / Quando taccion gli augelli, altro risponde; / Quando cantan gli augel, più lieve scuote: / Sia caso od arte, or accompagna ed ora / Alterna i versi lor *la music' òra* [= aura]. . . /. . . degli augelli il coro, / Quasi approvando, il canto indi ripiglia. / Raddoppian le colombe i baci loro; / Ogni animal d'amar si riconsiglia.

Birds, air, plants, brooklets give a concert of (lascivious) love, and the air of the enchanted garden through which Rinaldo and Armida walk, which sighs in response to the birds and plants is, itself, the musician who uses the *plectron* of leaves and of waves (*percote*). Although, in this all too earthly paradise, no religious note could resound ("is it chance or art?"—no Divine motivation is invoked), and all things yield to luscious beauty, still the old patterns of thought work in a secularized form: the "musical air" breathes within the "well-tempered" harmony of an (earthly but paradisiac) love which is but an image of the Heavenly paradise; the heavenly climate on earth reminds us of how "human" the world has, by now, become with this poet of the Counter-Reformation, who cannot refrain from depicting with paradisiac colors the sensuous which should be sacrificed to the celestial Jerusalem.[59]

[58] We must remember that Jupiter, the "jovial", was called *Serenator* by the Romans. Orpheus, too, had the quality of appeasing Nature; thus we find with Maurice Scève a verb *serainer* used of the Beloved who, like Orpheus, is able to charm Nature (*Délie*, st. 158): "Elle a le Ciel *serainé* au Pays . . . Et son doulx chant . . . A *tranquillé la tempeste* par l'air . . . ". The Augustinian *moderator* is the Christian version of the *Juppiter Serenator*. We shall later find in a passage from the Spanish *siglo de oro* a similarly Christianized version of *serenar*.

[59] According to an article of Joan Murphy in MLN, LVIII, 375, the first English imitation of any part of the *Gerusalemme liberata* to be published was Thomas Watson's *Italian*

Instead of piling up easily accessible evidence of the survival of the ancient texture *temperatura—consonantia—concordia* from the other Romance languages[60] (though we shall quote some Spanish texts when dealing with the word "concert"), let us turn instead to English Renaissance texts,[60a] not only in order to show how unbroken the medieval tradition has survived—the words themselves (mainly of Latin or French origin, i.e. belonging to the international past of the English vocabulary) being identical to those of a Dante or an Augustine—but also because of the great poetic beauty of the English texts. It is perhaps not inappropriate to place them in a Latin-Romance frame, since the predominant trend with commentators has been to explain a Shakespeare passage by adducing English parallels, or perhaps those from ancient literature (preferably from the classic, than from the Late Latin and Christian tradition), thereby destroying the continuity of the patristic, medieval and Renaissance tradition, and the real parallelism offered by contemporary Romance poetry;[60b] indeed, to me *Hamlet* and some of the Shakespeare sonnets read like a Spanish *comedia* or the poetry of Lope—and this, not only because of the themes, but also because of the wording in detail. In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (V, 1) Lorenzo, after giving a definition of the harmony of the spheres (in a passage which we shall quote later), thus makes answer to Jessica's remark that sweet music fails to rally her spirits: "The reason is your spirits are attentive" (an obvious reference to the opinion of Diocles, v. *supra*); he then goes on to compare her state of mind to

---

Madrigals Englished (1590), which happens to be a paraphrase of our stanza. But the English imitation ("Evry singing bird, that in the wood reioyces / come & assist me, with your charming voices: / Zephirus, come too, & make the leaves & the fountains / Gently to send a whispring sound unto the mountains: / And from thence pleasant Echo, sweetly replying, / Stay here playing, where my Phyllis now is lying") has suppressed the references to world music (the *temprare*, air the musician), and introduces a madrigal element ("where my Phyllis now is lying"—and the remainder of the poem) unwarranted by the original. If source chasing have any value, it would be to show the banality of an imitation which erases all the intellectual content of a poem in favor of lyrical commonplaces.

[60] Here I may quote just one passage from French Renaissance poetry (J. Lemaire de Belges, *Description du temple de Vénus*): "Les neuf beaux cieux que Dieu tourne et *tempère* / Rendent tel bruit en leurs sphères diffuses / Que le son vient jusqu'en notre hémisphère. / Et de là sont toutes grâces infuses / Aux clairs engins, et le don célestin / De la liqueur et fontaine des Muses". The temperate climate of the heavens, the harmony of the spheres and the grace (with a Christian tinge: *grâces infuses!*) of the muses—*temperantia* and *consonantia*—are fused with this poet who is able to render acoustically the clarity of classical music (one cannot fail to hear the crystalline sound of the line "aux clairs engins et le don célestin").

[60a] Cf. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943).

[60b] A commendable exception is F. Baldensperger's edition of Shakespeare's sonnets (*Les sonnets de Shakespeare*, Univ. of California Press, 1943). But why must he explain the musical similes of one sonnet "biographically", by the poet's frequentation of "aristocratic society", instead of relying on that Platonic and Christian tradition of World Music which Baldensperger's parallel texts serve to establish? It is not "aristocratic society" that suggests phrases such as "the true concord of well-tuned sounds".

the wildness of colts "which is the hot condition of their blood", but is susceptible to being tamed by music:

> You shall perceive them make *a mutual stand*, / Their savage eyes turn'd to a *modest* gaze . . . / Since naught too stockish, hard and full of rage, / But music for the time doth change its nature. / The man that hath no music in himself, / Nor is not mov'd with *concord of sweet sounds*, / Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils; / The notions of his spirit are dull as night, / And his affections dark as Erebus: / Let no such man be trusted.

To be brief: here are underlying the ancient equations: music = *concordia* = *temperamentum* (neither "hot", "raging" nor "dull as night") = *temperantia*, *moderatio* ("modest") = response, concert ("mutual stand"). To "have music in oneself" is to be in harmony with the world: tempered and temperate (this line is generally but erroneously quoted as if it were only a banal equivalent, for example, to the German proverb: "Böse Menschen haben keine Lieder"). Gundolf, in his *Shakespeare*, distinguishes in the *Merchant of Venice* two central motives: Music and Grace: "Gnade, der göttliche Strahl von oben, und Musik, der heimliche Zauber der Welt. Porzia, das Lieblingskind und der Anwalt der Gnade, singt deren Preislied. Lorenzo, einer aus der klangfreudigen Schar, das der Musik." Thus Shylock is the "gnaden- und musiklose Mensch".[61] It is interesting to see how Gundolf, concerned though he was with a static analysis of the inward organization of the play, has come to discern in it our historical theme of World Harmony; and he blames the modern public for misinterpreting the figure of Shylock according to juridical, moral, ecclesiastical or racial considerations, on the grounds that such interpretation shows no understanding of the "Weltfeier" feeling of Shakespeare—I would say, in my ter-

[61] One may oppose to this characterization of Shylock the passage in which this character describes himself, the Jew, as a human being with all the qualities of such a one (III, 1): "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?". That is, the Jew has the same κρᾶσις and δυσκρασία as the Christian (and his revenge is the logical effect of the latter) —but he has no "music", i.e. no grace. One may think that Shakespeare borrowed here from Jewish apologetic literature of the type of the Portuguese Samuel Usque's "Consolaçam ás tribulaçoens de Israel" (Ferrara 1553, quoted by Vossler, *Poesie der Einsamkeit*, III, 116) in which the "harmony" of the Jew with other rational beings was emphasized (". . . Que *disformidade* ha em minha figura, e que *desconvenencia* em meus membros das outras racionaes criaturas? . . ."). I must, of course, dissociate myself from the haughty tone in which Gundolf, the Jewish-born German critic of genius, exculpates Shakespeare from "das moderne empfindsame oder anklägerische Mitleid"; "jede politische oder soziale Parteinahme für die 'Erniedrigten und Beleidigten'" (note the quotation marks); any "nachfühlen-wollen mit russischer Brüderei"[!]. It is one thing to state that Shakespeare saw Shylock the Jew as the incarnation of "unmusical", unredeemed disgrace, rather than as a victim of the social order (although this aspect is not missing in the play); it is quite another ironically to dismiss all modern attempts at alleviation of social injustice with the slur [?] of "Russian fraternalism." Has he a truly musical soul that cannot hear the voice of human justice?

minology, his feeling of Christian World Harmony.[62] A man devoid of grace and music, somewhat like Shylock, is also lean Cassius (*Julius Caesar*, I, 2), who neither sleeps nor plays nor smiles, but (and such men are "dangerous") thinks, reads, observes: he is evidently a melancholic, of untempered body and soul, a man unredeemed by music ("he hears no Musicke"). In *Richard II*, V, 5:

> . . . how sour sweet music is, / When time is broke and no *proportion* kept, / So is it in the *music* of men's lives. / And here have I the daintiness of ear / To check *time broke* in a disorder'd string; / But for the *concord of my state and time* / Had not an ear to hear my true time broke. / I wasted time, and now doth time waste me; / For now hath time made me his numbering clock,

we find the equation, "music = proportion, harmony, order, concord": as with Archytas and Cicero, political and musical order are interwoven; and, as with Augustine and Dante, the *numeri* of time must be kept in harmony. The "true time" as opposed to the "time of the clock" anticipates again Bergson's opposition of *durée réelle* and *heure de la montre*.

Another, equally ancient turn is given to the idea of World Harmony in *Troilus and Cressida*, I, 3: "Take but degree away, *untune that string*, / And, hark! what *discord* follows: each thing melts in mere *oppugnancy*." The equation here is *distemperamentum* = *discordia rerum* of which *repugnantia rerum* (Cicero), *repugnantia naturae* (Pliny) are variants. Commentators remark on this passage that Shakespeare has used an ancient maxim (by Publius Syrus): "If the first rank is not preserved the place is secure for nobody"; but more interesting is the fact that the derangement of hierarchy implies anarchy, political disorder, the untuning of musical harmony.

If we turn now to Milton we will see that the linguistic tradition is still unbroken in this militant Protestant: in *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (IX–XIV), the ancient idea of World Harmony is "harmonized" with Christ's birth, and in a manner not essentially different from that characteristic of the Middle Ages—except, perhaps, acoustically: the colossal world-organ voice of Milton resounds in nine-fold harmony:

> When such musick sweet / Their [the shepherds'] hearts and ears did greet, / As never was by mortal finger strook, / Divinely-warbled voice / Answering the stringed noise,[63] /

---

[62] Portia, the incarnation of grace, can not be unconnected with music: when Bassanio has to choose between the caskets, a choice on which her own happiness depends, she suggests (III, 2): "Let music sound while he doth make his choice. / Then, if he lose, he makes a swan-like end, / Fading in music . . . He may win? / And what is music then? Then music is / Even as the flourish when true subjects bow / To a new-crowned monarch: such it is / As are those dulcet sounds in break of day / That creep into the dreaming bridegroom's ear / And summon him to marriage." Thus she trusts music (= grace) to influence his choice, while accepting beforehand the particular sound of music (the decision of Providence: death or a new life).

[63] Th. Warton's commentary on the parallel passage in Milton's poem, *At a solemn music*, line 18 ("[that we on earth with undiscording voice] May rightly answer that melodious *noise*") points out the many contemporary passages where *noise* means "music" (also

As all their souls in blissful rapture took . . . She [Nature] knew such *harmony* alone / Could hold all Heav'n and Earth in happier *union*. . . . / Ring out, ye crystal spheres, / Once bless our human ears, / (If ye have power to touch our senses so) / And let your silver *chime* / Move in *melodious* time; / And let the Bass of Heav'ns deep *Organ* blow;[64] / And with your ninefold *harmony* / Make up full *consort* to th' Angelick symphony" [*consort* = *consonantia*].

The poem *At a Solemn Music* is a true Christian hymn with Jewish and Platonic accents; its music is "solemn" because it has the primordial and primeval aim of all Christian music: religious elation; the poem itself is simply a translation into words of this music celebrating the music of the world:

Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of heav'n's joy,
Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,
Wed your divine sounds, and mix'd pow'r employ
Dead sound with inbreath'd sense able to pierce;
And to our high-rais'd phantasy present
That undisturbed song of pure concent,
Aye sung before the sapphire-colour'd throne
To him that sits thereon

With saintly shout, and solemn jubilee,
Where the bright Seraphim in burning row
Their loud up-lifted angel trumpet blow,
And the cherubic host in thousand quires
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,
With those just Spirits that wear victorious palms,
Hymns devout and holy psalms
Singing everlastingly:

That we on earth with undiscording voice
May rightly answer that melodious noise;
As once we did, til disproportion'd sin
Jarr'd against nature's chime, and with harsh din
Broke the fair music that all creatures made
To their great Lord, whose love their motion sway'd
In perfect diapason, whilst they stood
In first obedience and their state of good.

Spenser, *Fairie Queene*: "a heavenly noise", Shakespeare, *The Tempest*: "[the] isle is full of noises" = "musical sounds"). The original meaning of *noise* being "strife" (as in Old French), we have here one of the numerous synonyms of "concert" (see the following discussion of this word) = "rivalling performance". In Old French, *noise* had already been used of the birds' song, which was also conceived of as a kind of orchestra sounding the praises of God *à l'envi*. Cf. a forthcoming article in *Word*.

[64] D. Masson writes: "It is rather difficult to say whether in 'the bass of Heaven's deep organ' Milton had a precise reference to his optical diagram of space and the Universe [as expressed in his academic oration *De Sphaerarum Concentu*, written about the same time as the *Ode*], or merely brought in a musical effect as such. Warton's notion that it was a recollection of the organ he had heard in his school-time in St. Paul's Cathedral is very bald [*sic*]. An organ was no rarity with Milton." *O sancta simplicitas!* what anarchy in the table of values of these prosaic commentators! It is evident that the theme of the organ was given with the conception of world music (see below Kepler's basso of Saturn), that the "musical effect" is there, but subservient to the *idea*, and that the autobiographic clues supposedly revealing where Milton may have heard an organ are superfluous and silly.

O may we soon again renew that song,
And keep in tune with Heav'n, till God ere long
To his celestial consort us unite,
To live with him, and sing in endless morn of light!

The poem opens with a proëmium invoking the blessing of "solemn music" (poetry and music combined) which, coming to us from above, may lift our hearts toward heaven; in the second stanza, with heart and gaze uplifted, we drink in the beauty of the heavenly court resounding with the songs of the Cherubim, the Seraphim and the souls of the Just; in the third, it is our own response to that music which is invoked, the response which once, in time, we gave, ere lost through sin; the final stanza looks forward to that eternal reunion with God—which once again, in time, we shall know.

If we now consult the variant material given by Masson in his commentary (1890), we see that, with the exception of the last line, which was written seven times without involving any ideological change, the hesitations in phrasing occur mostly when it is a question of words or concepts traditional with the World Harmony complex. Three passages were finally omitted:

(after line 4) And whilst your equal raptures, temper'd sweet,
In high mysterious spousal meet,
Snatch us from earth a while . . .

(after line 16) While all the starry rounds and arches blue
Resound and echo Hallelu

(after line 18) By leaving out those harsh ill-sounding [later var.: chromatic] jars
Of clamorous sin that all music mars

In the first, the "mysterious spousal" of Voice and Verse, descended from the *saints accords* of French Renaissance poets, would detract the attention from the main problem; ". . . a while" would emphasize the temporal aspect, which, in the final phrasing, would come in only later. In the second, "Hallelu" is an Old Testamental expression which would be in place only in stanza two; "starry rounds" would hardly be appropriate as a beginning of the third stanza, which turns from heavenly music to that on earth; "blue" was already contained in "sapphire-colour'd." In the last, "chromatic" is too learnedly Greek, alluding as it does to an ancient theory no longer valid in Milton's time; "clamorous" would really mar the solemn music of the poem, without suggesting the norm itself, while "disproportion'd" reminds us of the proportion (of "Nature's chimes"). Finally, instead of line 11 ("Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow"), Milton had put earlier: "Loud *symphony* of silver trumpets blow", where *symphony* would be too Grecian in a "Hebrew" stanza. One sees how traditional was Milton's vocabulary for World Harmony: even in the rejected lines we find "temper'd sweet," and "resound and echo" (*resultare*—συνηχεῖν); he worked within the given by choosing the "locally" more fitting words. His imagination is guided by a doctrine with its own fixed expressions. His poem, a poem of immortal beauty, is "beautiful within a tradition" as is all great poetry, and is an epitome of this tradition; it welds together the voices of all the civiliza-

tions (Greco-Roman, Jewish, medieval Christian) whose religious cult involved music and which are component parts of our civilization. It constitutes in itself, to use the terminology of Novalis, a "Christian or European" cultural feat.[65]

[65] We may compare Milton's poem to Campanella's *Salmodia che invita il cielo, le sue parti e gli abitatori a lodar Dio benedetto*, which presents a synthesis of the Biblical and the Greek elements fused in a Neo-Platonic vision of light-emanation: "Dal ciel la Gloria del gran Dio rimbomba: / Eglí à sonora tromba a pregi tanti: / I lumi stanti, e que' ch'errando vanno / Musica fanno. // Musica fanno per ogni confino, / Dove il calor divino il ciel dispiega, Ed amor lega tanta luce, e muove / Altronde altrove. // Altronde altrove tutti van correndo, / Te Dio benedicendo e predicando, / Dolce sonando, ch'ogni moto è suono, / Com' io ragiono. // Così io ragiono. / Ahimè, ch'udir non posso; / Ch'innato rumor grosso è che m'occupa / Le orecchia cupa, ed un molino vivo / Me ne fa privo. // Se mi fa privo, voi spiriti eletti, / Che non siete soggetti a corpo sordo, / Fate un accordo al suon di ta' strumenti / Co' vostri accenti. // Co' vostri accenti sacri intellettuali, / D'una spiegando l'ali in altra stella, / Vostra favella, / Santo, Santo, Santo, Dicete in tanto." And the poet continues by invoking the nine hierarchies of angels (according to Dionysius Areopagita), the patriarchs of the Old Testament, the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, the blessed souls, the stars with their different powers of light—calling upon them to chime in with the "salmodia di Davide canoro" that ends with the words: "Mia squilla [pun usual with Campanella on his name] è ebra per troppo desío / Di cantar vostro, o stelle, il grande Dio; / Gloria all' onnipotente Signor mio." One may have noticed the contrast of the "rimbomba" of the first line (which renders *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei*) with the Adonic line 4: "Musica fanno"—creation echoes to God and is answered by *musica mundana*. And the concatenation of the terzine ("Musica fanno. // Musica fanno . . . ; Altronde altrove. // Altronde altrove . . . " somewhat reminiscent of Dante's *differente-mente*) suggests the uninterrupted 'chain of beings' emanating from God. The particularly Neo-Platonic element has found its stylistic equivalent in the fusion of a song which "flows like music". There cannot be in Campanella that relative separation of cultural worlds which was found in Milton, who linked three civilizations with the thread of time.

I may add here that the Adonic verse with its echo effect is a Renaissance device used to depict the "respond of the world" to music; we find, for example, in Ronsard's *De l'election de son sepulchre*: "Et vous, forêts et ondes, / Par ces près vagabondes, / Et vous rives et bois, / *Oyez ma voix* // . . . Que tu es renommée / D'être tombeau nommée / D'un de qui l'univers / *Chante les vers*. . . . Mais à bien nos campagnes / Fit voir les Soeurs compagnes, / Foulantes l'herbe aux sons / *De ses chansons*. / Car il fit à sa lyre / Si bons accords élire / Qu'il orne de ses chants/*Nous et nos champs!* // . . . Là, là, j'orrai d'Alcée / La lyre couronnée / Et Sappho, qui sur tous / *Sonne plus doux*. // Combien ceux qui entendent / Les odes qu'ils répandent / Se doivent réjouir / *De les ouïr*. // . . . La seule lyre douée / L'ennui des coeurs repousse, / Et va l'esprit flattant, / *De l'écoutant*". This echo-poetry of the Renaissance (which is ultimately derived from the repetition of Narcissus' words by Echo in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and which has been revived in modern times by Hugo and Banville), is only another of the many aspects of the poetry of world music.

I shall mention here also the scene of Guarini's *Pastor fido*, IV, 8, where Echo ("o piuttosto Amor") contradicts the loveless Silvio, and the monologue of Erasmus about the young scholar who receives advice from the echo about his studies. The echo, the "respond of Nature", is also easily the impersonation of Love—originally, as we have seen, of divine, later of secular, love. It is interesting to see how Guarini, who represents Love as the primordial design of Nature, inserts some lines on the birds' song of love which are conceived precisely in echo form: "Quanto il mondo ha di vago e di gentile / Opra è d'amore: amante è il cielo, amante / La Terra, amante il mare . . . / Quell' augellin che canta / Sì dolcemente, e lascivetto vola / Or dall'abete al faggio / Ed or dal faggio al mirto, / S'avesse umano spirto, / Direbbe: *ardo d'amore, ardo d'amore*; / Ed odi, appunto, Silvio, / Il *suo*

Of both Shakespeare and Milton it is undeniably true that their texts are tinged with a new, a Renaissance richness and enthusiasm, due to the humanistic revival of ancient traditions; nonetheless we must insist on the lexicological stability of the terms since the Middle Ages; but they are still links in the great chain. We are lifted, as is done by sublime music, from the oppression of time into timelessness, from the burden of sin toward communion of God; and our battle with Time (once we lost Paradise, once again we shall regain it) results in everlasting triumph. What, in the beginning, is a conscious effort on our part (hence the imperatives: "wed"—"present") is achieved, in the end, as a supernatural reality ("to live with God"). In Warton's commentary we find the remark: "Plato's abstracted spherical harmony is ingrafted into the Song in the Revelations" (V, 11: "Et vidi, et audivi, vocem angelorum multorum in circuitu throni . . . / Et erat numerus eorum millia millium / Dicentium voce magna . . ."); I should rather formulate: "the ancient spherical harmony is ingrafted into the Christian history of Man: paradise, sin and hope for redemption." There is an Ambrosian hymn of World Harmony ("the fair music that all creatures made") offering up the responses of mankind to the angelic song, coupled with an Augustinian history of mankind: though the Pythagorean world music is now inaccessible to human ears, it had been so once and may again be so for the Christian. The distribution of tenses in the poem (presents in the first, perfects in the second, futures in the last two stanzas) corresponds to the rhythm of Christian thought. It is no accident that the syntactical division shows one long sentence, coming to a close at the third stanza (in the first two stanzas the "divine sounds" and the human "high-rais'd phantasy" are made to meet above the earth, while the third stanza suggests a "respond" of man to primeval goodness), and that the metrical division, somewhat parallel, shows the scheme *a-b-b-a* when we are in suspense before the vision of God in His Heaven, but rhymed couplets from the moment that the human voices answer with their undiscordant "respond". Nor is it an accident that the ancient reminiscences occur mainly in the first stanza (the "sirens" of Plato—though two, not seven; "mix'd pow'r" = *temperatio;* "inbreath'd sense" = animization of the universe by sympathy; "pure concent" = *concentus*), the Jewish (Old Testamental) allusions mainly in the second ("jubilee", "Seraphim", "cherubic", "psalms"), the medieval Christian concepts ("undiscording", "disproportion'd", "Nature's chime", "love their motion sway'd", "perfect diapason", "keep in tune",

---

dolce desío / Che gli risponde: Ardo d'amore anch'io". There is a double echo play here: Silvio, who does not love, *should* chime in with the love song of Nature: "Alfine ama ogni cosa, / Se non tu, Silvio: e sarà Silvio solo / In cielo, in terra, in mare / Anima senza amore?" (i.e. a responseless soul). In Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, canto XI, where a Christian religious service is described with the familiar epic periphrases suited to the aesthetics of the time, the hymns of the believers ("alternando facean doppio concento") are echoed by Nature in the form of the ancient Echo: "ne suonan le valli ime e profonde, / E gli alti colli e le spelonche loro, / E da ben mille parti Echo risponde; / E quasi par che boscareccio coro / Fra quegli antri si celi in quelle fronde; / Sì chiaramente replicar s'udía / Or di Cristo il gran nome, or di Maria."

"celestial consort") in the last part: first there is presented World Harmony, in its Greek form; then the Jewish monotheistic God appears; and the poem closes with a picture of the Christian life of the soul, in the well-known musicological terms of Boethius. The Christian God, as a simple reality, appears only at the end: he is first mentioned allusively (line 8) "to him that sits thereon", then as "their great Lord", and finally, in the simplest and most touching part of the poem, as "God". There is also evident a circular movement: a return to the beginning, to the harmony whence music comes ("heav'n's joy", "sphere-born", "divine sounds", "Heav'n", "celestial consort", "sing in endless morn of light"). Colors are blended with tones from beginning to end: "sapphire-colour'd throne", "the bright Seraphim in burning row", "harps of golden wires", "in endless morn of light", with an infinite prolongation of light beyond the end of this poem which is devoted to the paradise regained of world music.[66]

In the preceding chapters we have had occasion several times to use the modern word "concert" in order to render *symphonia, concentus* etc. What of the history of this modern word itself? Has it to do with World Harmony?

The Latin verb *concertare*, "to fight with someone", "to emulate" contains, as we have seen, the two elements ἔρις and φιλία; it translates such Greek words as συναγωνίζομαι, προσφιλονεικεῖν, συναθλοῦν, συνερείδεσις (even a loom, as we see from a poem of the Greek anthology, can be called συνέριος "cooperative", for it vies with the spinning woman), which likewise express that "agreement in disagreement", that "harmony within strife" of *concertare*. An application of this concept to cosmic order is found with the Latin verb in Hydatus Lemicus: "In sole signum in ortu quasi altero secum *concertante* monstrantur" and in Martianus Capella: "Saturnus nimia cum mundo celeritate *concertans*." Again, the idea of *militia Christia*, developed by the Fathers (Tertullian etc.), soon led to a *concertare*, "to be a *commilito*, a fellow-soldier in the continuous warfare against

[66] Miss G. L. Finney, in her article "Chorus in 'Samson Agonistes' " (PMLA, LVIII, 653) explains the existence of the chorus in Milton's drama (while Corneille, in France, in the name of *vraisemblance* omitted it, seeing in it only the advantage it offered of furnishing songs to cover up the sounds of stage machinery being adjusted), by the interest which Milton took in music ("most poetry of the time—much of Milton's included—was thought in relation to music"), and by the association of the chorus with music. The Florentine circles which, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, revived the interest in Greek drama, had believed that this drama was sung in its entirety; in order to offer a modern parallel to this supposed Greek melodrama, they had to invent a new style which would emphasize the dramatic flavor of the words: this could no longer be the contrapuntal style which drowned out the words, but the recitative. Thus the new opera (of Rinuccini, Peri etc.) is born, in which pseudo-Greek reminiscences, the Renaissance pastoral, and the medieval *mystère* are strangely intertwined in order to celebrate the musical beauty of the world. One need only read Milton's statement, in his *Reason of Church Government* (quoted by Miss Finney): ". . . the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies", in order to see how Milton projects back into Christian antiquity the modern musical tragedy or opera and makes again a synthesis of Hebrew (hallelujahs), Greek (symphonies) and the Christian elements.

evil and disbelief incumbent upon the Christian": the *Itala* has one passage "quae in evangelio collaboraverunt vel concertaverunt mihi vel mecum"—an expansion, in Ciceronian style, of the single Greek verb *συνήθλησάν μου* (the Vulgate has simply *mecum laboraverunt*, cf. ThLL); another: "*concertantes* cum fide evangelii (Gr. *συναθλοῦντες*, Vulgate *collaborantes*). The idea of militant collaboration expressed by the verb is also found in such examples as (in a sermon: ThLL): "si vero *festinans concertetur* unusquisque in omni virtute animae vel corporis"; Augustine: "*concertatores* tuos et in huius vitae stadio [*stadium* suggesting the *ἀγών* of the Christian] *tecum laborantes vel currentes* [= "commilitones]"; Cassiodorus: "*unanimes atque concertatores* nobiscum contra eorum estote praesumptionem". In a scholion on Vergil we find the transfer to friendly "rivalry in singing": "pignus futurae *concertationis*" (*Schol. Verg. Sermon. ecl.* 3, 37, cf. ThLL), which means that the idea of the "musical concert" was already latent as early as the 5–6th centuries (the simple *certare* itself had already had the musical connotation, since it rendered the idea of an *ἀγών*; Cicero: "antequam legitimum certamen inchoent [citharoedi]". (Schiller sensed the analogy between the athletic and the musical when, in one of his famous ballads, he wrote "Zum *Streit* der Wagen and Gesänge"; the ancient *ἀγών* or *certamen*—athletics in the service of world music.) And finally we may remember the *certare* in the Ambrosian passage mentioned above: "ut *cum* undarum leniter alluentium *sono certent cantus psallentium*,"[67] where the chants of the devout vie with the music of the elements. Thus we may assume that the idea of World Harmony, to which one must strive to adjust oneself, is ever present in the word family (*con*)*certare*.

A slightly different meaning is to be found in one example from the 5–6th-century Latin translation of the *Hippocratic Prognosticon* (ed. Kühlewein, *Hermes*, XXV, 123), where the deponent *certor* could be translated, "to cope with": "[some patients die] priusquam medicus arte ad unumquemque morbum *concertetur*" (this text is mentioned by F. Arnaldi in his medieval Italian glossary, *Bull. Ducange*, X, 122): the doctor fights the disease in order to control it, to "come to terms with it". It is this meaning which must have led in Italian and Spanish to "to come to an agreement", "to devise, contrive something"; Boccaccio, *Teseida*: "Ed i fatti futuri tutti quanti / Del giorno *tra di loro concertaro*"; *Calila e Dimna* (13th century): "E todos los ximios concertaron que era consejo"; *Siete Partidas*: ". . . concertándola [la carta] con el registro" (= "compare for verification": somewhat akin to late L. *contropare* "compare" >

[67] It is remarkable that in German a *certiren* is attested in 1687 (cf. Schultz-Basler, s.v. *Konzert*) in the meaning "to rival in playing music": "Ist eine Concerten Art, da eine Stimm mit der andern gar annehmlich nach wenig Pausen *certiret*". A Lat. *iste putabat illum certare cum voce illius* is translated in Luther's *Tischreden*, n° 4316 "[einem] in die stim fallen". *Konzertieren* (. . . *und mit allerhand Instrumenten zugleich in einander zu musicieren*) is first attested in German in 1619. As late as 1838 Hegel uses *konzertieren* in the meaning "to rival in a kind of musical dialogue" (*Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 171): he compares the change of instruments in Mozart's symphonies to "ein dramatisches Koncertiren", "eine Art von Dialog", "ein Zwiegespräch des Klingens und Wiederklingens."

F. *controuver*, E. *contrive*).[68] This Spanish *concertar*, "to devise something (together)", came to have many specific, technical applications: in the language of hunting it referred to the tracking down, by concerted efforts of the hunters, of an animal (*Crónica de Alvaro de Luna*, 14th cent.); again, we find it in the language of business in the meaning "to arrange a contract" ("tenían una garza *concertada*"). One special application of the meaning "to devise, contrive" (and which was not extant in Latin) was "to arrange a musical performance": A. Caro (first half of the 16th cent.), in his *Amori pastorali* has the sentence (Tomm.-Bell.): "Fileta *concertò una musica* di sampogna."[69] Here we have an Italian *concertare una musica*, "to contrive a piece of music", obviously leading to a **concerto di musica*, which is unattested in older Italian, but is perhaps reflected in Cotgrave's entry in his French-English dictionary (1611): *concert de musique*, "consort of musicke" (where *consort* is no erroneous representation of *concert*, as the NED would have it, but the organic development, or reborrowing, of a Latin *consortium* which we have seen coupled with *concordium* and other synonyms of harmony in Augustine). It is the Italian *concerto di musica*, which, though by chance unattested before the seventeenth century, must have led to the use of *concerto* alone, which, itself, is listed for the first time in Florio's dictionary (1598). The fact that this *concerto* is only to be found in a cross-reference to *concento* might lead us to believe that it is the general, not specifically musical concept of World Harmony which is alone involved; on the other hand it is quite possible that Florio may have listed a technical (musicological) term, a **concerto di musica* (echoed by Cotgrave), derived from a *concertare una musica*, "to contrive a musical composition". And indeed there is a possibility of a second argument in favor of a technical interpretation: Florio may be echoing Luigi di Viadana's use (the first in modern musical history) of *concerti ecclesiastici* in reference to musical compositions: though these were not published before 1602, they were performed five or six years earlier (i.e. a year or so before Florio's dictionary). In either case we would have to do with the original idea of *concertare*, "to strive harmoniously together (by making music)".

So much for Florio (who may have been influenced by Viadana): what of Viadana himself? His term was indisputably technical; on what did he base himself? Again, it may be said that, just as Florio *may* have been influenced by a **concerto di musica* (and not by Viadana directly), so Viadana *may* have

[68] So much, at least, is clear, that Cuervo cannot be right when he states, in his *Diccionario de régimen*, that Span. *concertar* must be kept separate from Lat. *concertare*, "to fight", and should be considered a derivative of Span. *cierto* (= "to make sure", cf. *acertar*), formed on the pattern of *concordar*, *conformar*. For, in either case, whether our *concerto* is based on the meaning of "harmonious striving" or of "contriving (a musical composition)", we would have to do ultimately with *concertare*.

[69] The meaning of Sp. *concertar*, in reference to music (of birds), appears to be slightly different in a passage from Barahona de Soto, *Fabula de Acteón* (quoted in Rodríguez Marín's edition of the *Don Quijote*, V, 255): "Por la suave *armonía* / Que le frecuencia confusa / De los pájaros hacía, / Parece que alguna musa / La *concertaba* y regía." Here, the idea is rather "to put order into music".

been influenced by the same. But let us leave behind this unattested expression, and see what *is* attested for *concertare*, before Viadana's time, which would explain this use—the first unquestionably technical use we have.

In order to establish the pre-Viadana usage in connection with our word, I propose to consult Renaissance texts of Spanish, not Italian, since none of the latter, besides those previously mentioned, are available to me. One is safe, however, in using contemporary (or even later) Spanish texts in support of an hypothesis concerning Italian usage, since Spain, in its literature and its art, was slower than Italy (or France) to dissolve its ties with the Middle Ages. Though the Renaissance was fully known and appreciated in Spain, it did not bring about a complete abandonment of medieval otherworldliness; rather, this was fused with the new attitude toward the world, to form a third entity which scholars of art and literature have agreed to call the "Spanish baroque" (of the seventeenth century). Thus, though the term "concert" had reached its new meaning in Italy[70] by the beginning of the seventeenth century with Viadana, it will be possible to show, by Spanish texts which extend to the end of that century, why such a shift was imminent: the extraordinary procedure of consulting the texts of one country for the vocabulary of another may be justified on the grounds that (as I believe) what exists in Spain in the seventeenth century, must have existed in the sixteenth in Italy.

We may begin by considering a passage previous to the sixteenth century (fifteenth century: *Cancionero de Baena* ed. 1851, p. 707), which will help us to connect the term *desconcierto* with the Provençal use of *descort* referred to above: the poet Villasandino expresses his criticism of a fellow-poet for his "syllabas menguadas, laydas y *desconcertadas*", declaring himself to be "disconcerted", i.e. out of tune, in disharmonious mood: "Quien eres, no *me concierto* ["I cannot agree with myself, decide . . ."] / . . . Bestia pecora en dissyerto, / Tus palabras avyltadas / Fazen las mias erradas / Tanto que *me desconcierto*". Here, *desconcertar* is clearly a variant of the *destemprar-descordar* family, used both of metrics and of psychological states, ("temper"),[71] which we have met with in

[70] I may add that I found *concerto* in Italian, used precisely of the angelic concert and coupled with *armonia*, in Tasso's dialogue, *Il Rangone o vero de la Pace* (1584): since Tasso, in his dialogue on Love of the preceding year, had defined love as "una quiete nel piacevole", a divine repose in pleasance, his definition of "peace" is not surprising: in the dialogue on this subject, peace, which should emulate divine justice, and which, like justice, rests not on the unification of the discordant but on a unity pre-existant to multiplicity, is defined as "silence": "perche di lei [of divine peace] non si può ragionar convenevolmente, si chiama convenevolmente silenzio. Questo è quell' alto, quel profondo, quel dolce, quel divino silenzio nel quale tutte le ingiurie sono taciute e tutte dimenticate; questo è quel mirabile silenzio, tanto superiore *ad ogni armonia, e ad ogni concerto che facciano gli angioli lodando il creatore*, quanto la divina caligine è più luminosa del sole, e de le stelle, e d'ogni altra luce che sia nel cielo." Silence is here superior to the angelic concert, as is the night sky, void of stars, to any particular constellation. Thus we find here the same connection for Italian *concerto* as we will find for Spanish *concierto*.

[71] The idea of the *descort* still prevails in a *romance* of Lope de Vega, in which he protests against his enforced exile as he addresses his lute: "Aora vuelvo a *templaros*, / *desconçertado* ynstrumento, / que de una vez no se acavan / los muchos males que tengo. // . . . Cante-

the poetry of the Provençal troubadours.[72]

Again, we find a reference to the *concierto*, to the order, peace, and harmony of the starry night sky (in the tradition of the *Somnium Scipionis* and of Augustine) with Luís de León (1591), who has absorbed the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres, revived by Humanism, and fused it with Christian mysticism. In his *Noche serena* we find *concierto* associated with *proporcion*, *concordia*, *armonía*, *paz*, *templar*:

Cuando contemplo el cielo . . . / De inumerables luces adornado . . . / Quien mira el gran *concierto* / De aquestos resplandores eternales, / Su movimiento *cierto*, / Sus pasos desiguales [= *concors discordia*], / Y en *proporcion concorde* tan iguales, / . . . Y como otro camino / Prosigue . . . . . el Jupiter benigno / De bienes mil cercado / Serena [= *temperat*] el cielo con su rayo amado, / Rodéase en la cumbre / Saturno padre de los siglos de oro, / Tras el la muchedumbre / Del *reluciente coro* [of the spheres] / Su luz va repartiendo y su tesoro, / Quién es el que esto mire / Y precia la bajeza de la tierra. . . ? / Aquí vive

---

mos nuevas ystorias / de aquellos pesares viejos. . . . // Ayuden *cuerdas templadas* / a un loco de penas cuerdo [pun with *cuerda*, 'string'—*cuerdo*, 'wise']".—*Rev. hisp.* LXV, 349. And the *canción desesperada* which Cervantes puts in the mouth of Grisóstomo, the suicide of love (*Don Quijote*, I, 14), is also a disguised *descort* which must contain the word family (*des*)*concierto*: the unfortunate poet proposes: "Haré que el mesmo infierno comunique / Al triste pecho mío un son doliente / Con que el uso común de mi voz tuerza . . . / De la espantable voz irá el acento, / Y en él mezcladas [unharmoniously mixed], por mayor tormento, / Pedazos de las míseras entrañas. / Escucha, pues, y presta atento oido, / *No al concertado son*, sino al ruido / Que de lo hondo de mi amargo pecho, / . . . Por gusto mío sale y por tu despecho [then follows an enumeration of all the sounds of monstrous animals, summed up in the lines:] / Mezclados en un son, de tal manera / Que se confundan los sentidos todos" [and at the end of the song he invites Cerberus "Con otras mas quimeras y mil monstros / Lleven el *doloroso contrapunto*"]. The allusions to music run through the whole poem.

A *descort* "après-la-lettre" has been composed, quite in the medieval manner involving the metaphorical use of musicological terms, by the seventeenth-century German poet Weckerlin, in his poem *Musicalische lieb*, of which I shall quote the first and last stanzas: "Meinen geist, mut, seel und herz / Amor mit klag, forcht und schmerz / Recht *componieret*; / In leid ändert sich mein scherz, / Angst mit mir *accordieret* . . . / Ach, Herzlieb, thu doch mir, / *Greifend den ton* nach gebühr, / Nu *moderieren*; Und als dan will ich *mit dir* / schon tief gnug *intonieren*". The *mit dir intonieren* is equivalent to "mit dir übereinstimmen": this amorous musicology betrays its derivation from Romance models by the Romance loanwords; the baroque artificiality should not blind us to the fact that concepts—and conceits—of this poem are essentially medieval.

[72] Very often birds appear in poetry, particularly in Provençal poetry, as musicians peacefully competing to express the mirth of Spring; in such a connection our "concert" is implicit. Compare the lines from Camoëns: "Vi ja das altas aves a *harmonia*, / que até duros penedos *convidaba* / a algum suave modo de alegria" and the following Lope passage from *Barlaán y Josafat*, appendix to Act III (ed. Montesinos): "Aqui sin libros quiero / Entretener los días / En la diversidad de sus colores. / ¿Qué concetos mejores / Que ver sus diferencias / Y fábricas hermosas, / Y entre flores y rosas / *De las aves las dulces competencias?* / Todo a su Autor alaba / Y nunca el hombre de alabarle acaba," mistranslated by Vossler (*Poesie der Einsamkeit in Spanien*, I, 119) who failed to grasp our *topos* of the "concert" and to convey to us the impetus of philosophical thought, the conceptual content of Lope's poem (cf. the self-definition of this poetry and the allusion to its conceptual character by the word *concetos*—both "concept" and "conceit"—which is suppressed in Vossler's translation).

el contento, / Aquí reina la paz. . . . [the last sentence is reminiscent of the cadenza of Du Bellay's Platonistic sonnet on the "idea"].

We could vary the words of the poet, applying them to his own poem: "Who could contemplate . . . the peaceful vision seen by this mystic, whose eyes are calmly fixed on the tranquil sky, and not desire to shun the turmoil of earthly life in order to immerse oneself within this vision?" Never has nostalgia for the Beyond assumed so dispassionate, so classic a form. In his ode to the musician Salinas (st. 2–5), the harmony of the skies is no longer an object of nostalgia; this harmony has been realized in the harmony of soul of the musician, while the harmony of the spheres is blended with the music of the Golden Age (that blest stage of mankind before Original Sin)—a music sounding clear through the ages to the ear of the primitivistic poet:

[Salinas] a cuyo son divino / el alma, que en olvido esta sumida, / torna a cobrar el tino y memoria perdida / de su origen primera esclarescida. . . . / Traspasa el aire todo / hasta llegar a la mas alta esfera / y oye allí otro modo / de no perecedera música, que es la fuente y la primera. / Ve cómo el gran maestro / a aquesta inmensa cítara aplicado, / con movimiento diestro / produce el son sagrado / con que este eterno templo es sustentado, / Y como está compuesta / de números concordes, luego envia / *consonante* respuesta, / y entre ambas a porfía / se mezcla una dulcísima armonía.

It is precisely this last stanza, with its note of grandeur, which, according to modern criticism (cf. Vossler, *Poesie der Einsamkeit in Spanien* II, 10), would seem to be of dubious attribution; but if this is not authentic Luís de León, it is, at least, in the authentic spirit of the *musicum carmen*, the *numeri*, and the world lute of God the Musician. Here, it must be noticed, it is not *concierto* but *armonía* which is used of the heavenly concert; but one of the ideas underlying any concert, the amicable rivalry of the performers—their *concors discordia*, is implied by *porfía*.—In the *Ode on Christ's Ascension*, the word *concierto*, "order, moderation", appears in reference to Christ appeasing the elements: "¿Aqueste mar turbado / quien le pondra ya freno? / ¿quién *concierto* al viento fiero, ayrado?"

The *concierto* and peace of the starry skies invades the heart of man, who contemplates it: this *concierto* is also represented by the untranslatable Spanish term *sosiego*, which includes bodily and mental rest, the subsiding of pain and the philosophical poise that follows; it is remarkable how the prose of the following passage (from Luís de León's treatise *Los nombres de Cristo*, chapter *Príncipe de Paz*), with its wide-sweeping waves closing in upon us slowly, succeeds in lulling the reader ("como adormesciendose") until his heart becomes a quiet mirror of the quiet skies: the identity of these "two peaces" is underlined by the binomial phrases *concierto y orden*, *subjección y concierto*, and by the recurrence of *sosiego*:

Que si la paz es, como sant Augustin . . . concluye, una orden sosiegada [= *ordinata temperatura partium*] o un ténero sossiego y firmeza en lo que pide el buen orden, esso es lo que nos descubre agora esta imagen [of the starry night sky]. Adonde el exército de las estrellas, puesto como en ordenança y como *concertado* por sus hileras, luze hermosísimo, y adonde cada una dellas inviolablement guarda su puesto . . . antes, como hermanadas

todas, . . . todas juntas, *templan* a veces sus rayos y sus virtudes, reduciéndolas a una pacífica unidad de virtud, de partes y aspectos differentes compuesto, universal y poderosa de toda manera . . . si estamos attentos a lo secreto que en nosotros passa, veremos que este *concierto* y *orden de las estrellas*, mirándolo, ponen en nuestras almas sossiego, y veremos que con sólo tener los ojos enclavados en él con atención, sin sentir en qué manera, los desseos nuestros y las afecciones turbadas, que confusamente movían ruydo en nuestros pechos de día, se van quietando poco a poco, y como adormesciéndose, se reposan, tomando cada uno su assiento, y reduciéndose en su lugar propio [*delectatio* = *pondus*, which brings everything to its "natural" locus], se ponen sin sentir en *subjeccion y concierto*. Y veremos que . . . la razón se levanta y recobra su derecho y su fuerça y . . . se recuerda de su primer origen. . . .

The transition to the musical concert is imminent in a passage of Luís de León's commentary on Job (quoted, in reference to our passage, in *Clásicos Castellanos*, XXXIII, ed. Onís):

. . . se dice de Dios que da *cantares en la noche* [Job, 35, 10] porque siembra entonces el cielo con las estrellas, las cuales con su claridad, hermosura y muchedumbre, convidan a los hombres a que alaben a Dios. . . . y llama *música de cielos*, a las noches puras, porque con el callar en ellas los bullicios del dia y con la pausa que entonces todas las cosas hacen, se echa claramente de ver y en una cierta manera se oye su *concierto y armonía* admirable, y no sé en qué modo suena en lo secreto del corazón su *concierto*, que le compone y sosiega.

Heavenly music is not connected here with the harmony of the spheres or with choirs of the angels; it is a mysterious emanation from the ordered sky itself; the classical, Latin mysticism of this poetry rests on the basis of clarity: the emotion never verges on passion. The underlying idea is the same as that expressed in the *Símbolo de la Fé* of Luís de León: "En el día reparte Dios sus misericordias y en la noche pide sus loores". The mysterious emanation comes about by the extension of visual perception to the other senses (a synesthesia): "*se echa* claramente *de ver* y en una cierta manera *se oye*"—and to the soul: "y no sé en qué manera *en el secreto del corazón*". The passage of Luís de León has the technique of synesthesia of Ambrose plus the unification and inwardness of Augustine: in this classic Spanish mystic of the sixteenth century, Ambrose, Augustine, and the new Humanism with its regained sense of world-wideness, converge. And, in the quiet contemplation of the "night music of the sky" we may even hear an echo of the Pythagorean truth that, though "sounds are produced by moving bodies, and their pitch is in proportion to the velocity of these bodies", nonetheless "a sound may be heard only against a background of silence" (*Anonymous Pythagoreans*, p. 35, quoted by Gomperz, p. 173). With the Renaissance, the cosmos has been widened and the landscape of humanity broadened, but the infinite roof of the sky that encompasses the *gran teatro del mundo* has not lost its connection with the micorcosmic soul of man: the greater sky is still but an image of the greatness of the human heart possessed of God. The greater the expanse of the world scene has become, the better the creative pause in the stillness of the night can be sensed.

If now we read the much later text (1651–57) of Gracián's *Criticón* (ed. Romera-Navarro, I, 124) we recognize the atmosphere of didacticism of the *Somnium Scipionis:* the *concierto* = *armonía* is the principle of the skies, of

Nature and of man, but the musical silence of Luís de Granada is missing; instead there is playful baroque "conceptismo" (*artesonada bóbeda—florón y estrella*):

Porque ya que el soberano Artífice hermoseó tanto esta artesonada bóbeda del mundo con tanto florón y estrella, ¿por qué no las *dispuso . . . con orden y concierto . . .* ? . . . advierte que la divina Sabiduria que las formó y las repartió desta suerte atendió desta suerte a otra más importante *correspondencia*, qual lo es la de sus movimentos y aquel *templarse* las influencias. Porque has de saber que no ay astro alguno en el cielo que no tenga su diferente propiedad, assí como las yervas y las plantas de la tierra: unas de las estrellas causan el calor, otras el frío, unas secan, otras humedecen, y desta suerte alternan otras muchas influencias, y con essa essencial *correspondencia* unas a otras *se corrigen y se templan*. . . . De este modo, se nos haze noche nueva el cielo y nunca enfada el mirarlo, cada uno *proporciona* [= "dispone con proporción o correspondencia"] las estrellas como quiere.

And similarly I, 137:

(Andrenio:) . . . me estava contemplando esta armonía tan *plausible* de todo el universo, *compuesto* de una tan estraña contrariedad que, según es grande, no parece avía de mantenerse el mundo un solo día. Esto me tenía suspenso, porque ¿a quién no passa ver un *concierto* tan estraño, *compuesto de oposiciones*? (Critilo:) . . . que todo este universo se compone de contrarios y *se concierta de desconciertos*: uno contra otro, exclama el filósofo. No ay cosa que no tenga su contrario con quien pelee, ya con vitoria, ya con rendimiento; todo es hazer y padecer; si ay acción, hay repasión [the philosopher can be Seneca: "Tota huius mundi concordia ex concordibus constat," as the editor suggests, but as well any of the Greek philosophers quoted above].

Finally in the anonymous *Epistula moral a Fabio*, there is a fusion of order (*concierto*) and measure (*templanza*) with the Horatian ideal of the *aurea mediocritas:* "Una *mediana* vida yo posea, / Un estilo común y moderado, / Que no le note nadie que lo vea . . . / Sin la *templanza* ¿viste tu perfecta / Alguna cosa? . . . Así, Fabio, me muestra descubierta / Su essencia la verdad, y mi albedrío / Con ella se *compone y se concierta*": as Luís de León had said, *compone y sosiega.*

I should like to point out here how this ensemble of quiet and starry night sky, of the idea of order and love and of music (the Pythagorean night concert, so to speak), represents also a current motif in Spanish dramatic,[73] lyric[74] and novelistic

[73] How often does it not occur in the night scenes of Lope's dramas that music resounds as a reminder, however faint, of the eternal laws of Providence; in the last act of *El caballero de Olmedo*, for example, the hero, at midnight, hears a peasant sing a song about him, a song predicting his death—which, in fact, occurs soon after. On hearing the song, Don Alonso is immediately aware that this is a warning from Heaven; but he fails to heed this message, and, as he dies, blames himself for having disregarded the *avisos del cielo.*

While, in these cases, the connection: music—night—laws of Providence is preserved, other dramatic passages insist on the totality of the world expressed by music: In Calderón's *La vida es sueño* I, 5, there is again a concert, but this time mixed with birds' songs, rivers, trumpets, drums and salvoes: "Bien al ver los excelentes / Rayos, que fueron cometas, / Mezclan salvas diferentes. / Las cajas y las trompetas, / Los pájaros y las fuentes: / Siendo con *música* igual, / Y con maravilla suma, / Unos clarines de pluma / Y otras aves de metal; / Y así os saludan, señora, / Coma á su reina las balas, / Los pájaros como Aurora, / Las trompetas como á Palas / Y las flores como á Flora." This courtly compliment to a lady called Estrella is evidently built on the pattern of the world concert: the appearance of a heavenly (celestial) star (which could be Our Lady: *salve, regina . . . stella maris*)

art of the Golden Age. In the *Don Quijote*, the connection of night sky, music, quiet and order is apparent, as has been pointed out in the excellent article of J. Casalduero, *Rev. de fil. hispánica* II, 329: after one of his "victories" the hero speaks of the Golden Age with melancholy: it is not that Cervantes insists ex-

---

is greeted by music composed of ("mixed", as with the Greeks) the music of Nature and of Man (the latter including the most modern music of salvoes—but salvoes are *salve's*), a *música igual* which is the result of a loving rivalry (a "concert") between unequal instruments (*salvas differentes*). The characteristic conceits of Calderón are due to the synaesthetic devices typical of baroque art: the exchange of forms between those beings which are devoted to the one common purpose (the birds are musical instruments with feathers, the bullets birds of metal), as well as the manifold aspects of the one being who is praised by this music (Estrella becomes Aurora, Pallas and Flora, according to the praise bestowed on her in the songs of the birds, the salvoes, the perfume of the flowers; Krenkel's commentary has nothing to say about this passage except: "C. braucht wilkürlich lateinische u. griechische Götternamen nebeneinander"; but there is as little arbitrariness in the fusing of the two classic worlds as there is in the fusing of the cosmos).

I had pointed in *Roman. Stil- und Literaturstud.* II, 202, to the "statisch vor uns aufgerichteten Gesamtkunstwerk der Welt", but I had not at that time recognized the *musical* character of this static Calderonian world harmony which Tieck must have sensed, since he calls the Spanish poet (quoted *l.c.* p. 195): "O Calderon, du hier schon Gottheit-trunken, Herold der Wonne, Cherub nun im Chore"—and static the Calderonian world harmony is, not only because the world appears to be directed by stable laws, and the chants and responds could as well resound in Antiquity as in Calderon's times, but also because these are in fact basically unaltered: the chants and responds of Pythagoras and Ambrose. The completeness of the world is always suggested by the Calderonian world harmony: thus when one of the "musicians" in the concert is mentioned, the others are *ipso facto* associated; in *El Mágico prodigioso*, II, 850, the beloved woman is (statically) composed of sun, brook, rose, carnation, snow, bird etc. (i.e. she is a microcosmos reflecting the macrocosmos); the bird is described as "veloz cítara de pluma / Al órgano de cristal"; the "cristal organ" being the brook on whose bank the bird sings (Krenkel quotes as parallels [from *Ni amor se libra de amor*]: "el cristal cuya *asonancia* [!], / Tal vez instrumento á quien / Trastos de oro y lazos de ambar / Son las quijas"; [from *Polifemo y Circe*]: ". . . desta apacible fuente, / Que es á la solfa de la primavera [the troubadour motif] / Instrumento sonoro / Con cuerdas de cristal y trastes de oro"); the carnation "en breve cielo es estrella de coral", i.e. it is a microcosmic star contributing its coral color to the microcosmos of the Lady. In the great monologue, Segismundo, following an Augustinian trend of thought, compares man to the other creatures and, in his enumeration of the different realms, says of the brook [*La vida es sueño*, I, 1550]: "Nace el arroyo, culebra / Que entre flores se desata, / Y apénas, sierpe de plata, / Entre las flores se quiebra, / Cuando *músico* celebra / De las flores la piedad, / Que le da la majestad / Del campo abierto á su huida"; here the one word *músico* places the brook once more within the concert of Nature, from which man seems to have been exiled; and this music is in praise of the *piedad*, of the love of the flowers: music—grace—Nature are again intertwined. (As Curtius, *Rom. Forsch.* L, 89 and I myself, *Neuphil. Mitt.* XXXIX, 369, have stated, Calderón, in his theoretical treatise on painting, subordinates music to painting; the Renaissance art par excellence which had to please a playwright: "a no menos acordes cláusulas [que la Música] le *suspende* la Pintura *con las ventajas que lleva el sentido de la vista al del oido*"; nevertheless the musical references in his plays are neither fewer nor less important than are the pictorial ones.)

[74] We saw in Calderón a "concert" (*asonancia*, *solfa*) given by the brook: with Góngora we have the same concert, called, in the classical manner, *concento* (this word, which is correctly translated by Damaso Alonso as "concertada harmonía", occurs, according to the same critic, much later [in 1606] in Góngora than does *armonía* [which appears already

pressly on the religious character of World Harmony in itself: such values are concealed, withheld, from the reader; rather, it is the loss of the Golden Age[75]

---

in 1584]; the same temporal relation may be seen in the contemporary dictionaries: 1616 vs. 1570; these dates indicate the growing tendency in Góngora toward linguistic sophistication): *Soledades*, I, 349: "el ya sañudo arroyo, ahora manso: / merced de la hermosura que ha hospedado, / efectos, si no, del *concento* / que, en las lucientes de marfil clavijas, / las duras cuerdas de las negras guijas / hicieron a su curso acelerado . . ." (I accept the explanation given by Dámaso Alonso in note 16 of his 2nd edition, rather than that implied by his translation): the brook is a stringed instrument plucked by the black pebbles, and the ivory *clavijas* are the limbs of the mountain girls bathing in the brook (cf. 550: the *concento* of the *sirenas de los montes* i.e. of the mountain girls; 885: the *concento cristalino* of a fountain; 705: *la dulce de las aves armonía*; 270: *la métrica harmonía* of a rustic concert; 591: the *músicas hojas* of a tree—musical, as Alonso explains, because of the wind which stirs them, or of the nightingales which nest in them—evidently a parallel to the *músico arroyo* of Cervantes). We see the brook and the birds engaged in a concert in the *Soledad segunda*, l. 350: "Rompía el agua en las menudas piedras, / cristalina sonante era tiorba, / y las *confusamente acordes* verdes aves . . . / muchas eran, y muchas veces nueve / aladas musas, que—de pluma leve / engañada su oculta lira corva— / metros *inciertos sí, pero süaves*, / en *idiomas* cantan *diferentes*"—the concordious strife of the birds rivalling with the Muses is probably at the bottom of such a highly traditional, but conceptistically developed picture. From all these examples we can draw the conclusion that the "conceptismo" of both Góngora and Calderón is in our cases a deliberate attempt to establish connections (audible, visual and mental) between the manifold participants in the world concert: the world cithara is ever at hand, into which any transient phenomenon in Nature may be transformed (brook, pebbles, bathing women, birds).

[75] It has not yet, to my knowledge, been pointed out that there is a similar passage in Fénelon's *Télémaque*, book 7, which, evidently, is in no way influenced by Cervantes: the Phoenician Adoam has a magnificent meal served to Télémaque and Mentor, after which "tous les plaisirs dont on pouvoit jouir" are enjoyed by the guests: perfumes, flute-playing, singing, dancing. The singer Architoas, whose name reminds us of Archytas, by means of "les doux accords de sa voix et de sa lyre, dignes d'être entendus à la table des dieux et de ravir les oreilles d'Apollon même", attracts, Orpheus-like, the Tritons, Nereids and the sea-monsters: "De temps en temps les trompettes faisoient retentir l'onde jusqu'aux rivages éloignés. *Le silence de la nuit, le calme de la mer, la lumière tremblante de la lune répandue sur la face des ondes, le sombre azur du ciel semé de brillantes étoiles*, servoient à rendre ce spectacle encore plus beau." Since the whole epic of the preceptor Fénelon is destined to warn the young duke of Bourgogne of "plaisirs qui . . . vous amollissent", Télémaque is shown hesitating before the pleasure of music; he is encouraged, however, by Mentor, who himself outdoes Architoas in a religious song (of his own): "Mentor chanta ces vérités d'un ton si religieux et si sublime, que toute l'assemblée crut être transportée au plus haut de l'Olympe, à la face de Juppiter", he is declared by the assembly to be "Apollo himself". And then the host Adoam is asked to tell about the primitive people of Baetica and "l'aimable simplicité du monde naissant." In contrast to the scene of Cervantes, the emphasis here is on "solemn", religious music, which, as is so often true in the 17th century, is didactically opposed to worldly, effeminating music. But, just as in *Don Quijote*, so, in the *Télémaque*, we have the ensemble of starry night, silence, beauty, music—and the Golden Age of primitivism. In Fénelon there still appears a faint reflection of World Music, e.g. in the description of the Elysian Fields (book XIV); of the immortal, good and virtuous beings he says: "Je ne sais quoi de divin coule sans cesse au travers de leurs coeurs, comme un torrent de la divinité même qui s'unit à eux; ils voient, ils goûtent, ils sont heureux, et sentent qu'ils le seront toujours. Ils chantent *tous ensemble les louanges des dieux*, et ils ne *font tous ensemble qu'une seule voix*, une seule pensée, un seul coeur: une

of Horace and Ovid which his Quijote laments; the comments of Casalduero at this point, as he resumes the scene, fit admirably into our theme:

> . . . empieza a sonar, en la oscuridad primeriza de la noche, con el núcleo ardiente de los cabreros, la música de un rabel. El resplendor de la victoria, la serenidad del diálogo, el cielo dilatado y luminosamente oscuro, el silencio de la noche, el crepitar del fuego, la sencillez de los cabreros, la naturaleza elemental de Sancho, la frugalidad de la cena . . , el discurso sereno, melancólico y con lejanas perspectivas nostálgicas, crean el ambiente al menos idealizado.

In chapter 43 (the tavern of Palomeque), there appears an ensemble of love, moonlight and music, of which Casalduero writes (p. 324): "La venta rodeada de noche y de luna, tanta belleza junta, una canción, una historia de amor": in this *tanta belleza junta* of Cervantes there is, however faint, a remembrance of the World Harmony.

In this detour of the historical development of the idea of the "concert of the stars" it has surely become evident that this idea was but a consequence of the *topos* of World Harmony. And underlying this cosmic "concert" are the associations of order, *consensus*, harmony, peace, "numbers", the reflection of World Harmony, of its Institutor and Ruler, and of love inspiring His praise: "Brudersphären-Wettgesang", in the words of Goethe. And now only may we fully understand the spiritual connotations of the term *concerto* which Viadana chose in his expression *concerti ecclesiastici* (or *di chiesa*) used of polyphonic (vocal and instrumental, i.e. organ) compositions. These compositions reflected World Harmony: his *concerto* was a *concento*. To recapitulate: perhaps a **concerto di musica* (like the *concert de musique*,[76] *consort of musicke* of Cotgrave) was already

---

même félicité fait comme un flux et reflux dans ces âmes *unies*." This is a Christian (Ambrosian) musical atmosphere transferred to the pagan Elysium; it is even imbued with the mystical flavor of Fénelon's contemporary and friend Mme. Guyon (*le torrent de la divinité* recalls her *Torrents spirituels*, 1683).

[76] The history of the French word-family *concert* (*concerter*) is clear: the word, in the meaning "(to put in) agreement", came to France from Italy in the sixteenth century, as Pasquier states (also to England, 1598: "to concert and agree"). Latin may have contributed its share: Michel de Tours' translation of Suetonius contains a *concerter* which clearly means "to vie" ("les musicians, cest à savoir ceux qui *concertoient et contendoient* à l'honneur"). The idea of World Harmony is perhaps latent in a passage from D'Aubigné (*Tragiques*, II, 289): "La *discorde* couppa le *concert* des mignons [of Henri III], / Et le vice croissant entre les campagnons / Brisa l'orde *amitié*, mesme par les ordures, / Et l'*impure union* par les choses impures" [here we have an ironic description of a world in reverse: the *concert des mignons* is a parody of concord, "friendship" and "pure union"]. In the seventeenth century it is the idea of "agreement" that prevails: Bossuet: "Ce qu'un sage général doit le mieux connaître, c'est ses soldats et ses chefs. Car de là vient ce *parfait concert qui fait agir les armées comme un seul corps*" [= a well-tempered body]; "Tout cela est l'effet du secret *concert* que vous avez mis entre nos volontés et les mouvements de nos corps"; Corneille: "Mais j'aurois souhaité qu'en cette occasion / L'amour *concertât* ["harmonise"] mieux avec l'ambition". We may see the influence on *concert* of the rationalistic and voluntaristic trend of the French seventeenth century: "elle est *concertée* en sa contenance"; "faire qch. *de concert*"; "Le Cardinal de Retz est tous les jours *en concert et en cabale* [!]" (Littré, Cayrou). The mechanics of the century brings about *concerter une machine*, "to

at hand in the meaning, "an arrangement of music", but this more rational expression benefited by the emotion evoked by the world concert.

Viadana, in the preface of his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* tells us that when one, two or even three singers wished to sing with the organ, they were sometimes forced by the lack of suitable compositions to take one, two or three parts from motets in five, six, seven or even eight parts, and that he has, therefore, composed his concerts in order to make such mutilation unnecessary. Musicologists such as Grove consider that it is not the *basso continuo* itself, but an application of it that he has, and claims to have, invented: that he built up his compositions from the bass instead of from a *cantus firmus*, and succeeded in creating self-contained melodics, that, in a word, he created more according to the melodic

---

devise"; and *une machine bien concertée* could easily be *déconcertée*: Fénelon: "La transpiration, facilitée ou diminuée, *déconcerte* ou rétablit *toute la machine du corps*"; Bossuet: "Que verrons-nous dans notre mort . . . que des esprits qui s'épuisent, que *des ressorts* qui *se démontent et se déconcertent*" [a Ciceronian sequel of prefixes]; La Bruyère: "La raison . . . est . . . *déconcertée* . . . par le désordre de la machine" (passage cited by Cayrou). Because of this emphasis on "regularity", *concert(er)* suggests the contrary of "chance"; thus Bossuet, at the end of his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, proclaims: "C'est ainsi que Dieu règne sur tous les peuples. Ne parlons plus de hasard ni de fortune. . . . Ce qui est hasard à l'égard de nos conseils incertains est un dessein *concerté* dans un conseil plus haut, c'est-à-dire dans ce conseil éternel qui renferme toutes les causes et tous les effets dans un même ordre."

It is not difficult to find passages throughout the seventeenth century in which the meaning "musical concert" is imminent; cf. for example the lines of Boileau (*Sat.* VI, 23): "Tandis que dans les airs les nuës émuës, / D'un *funèbre concert* font retentir les nuës, / Et se mêlant au bruit de la grêle et des vents, / Pour honorer les morts, font mourir les vivants"; here, however, the chimes offer not a concert in the modern sense, but rather "concert their bells" with Nature: an echo of World Harmony as reflected by the chimes. And, with Rotrou (*St. Genêt*, IV, 5: "Sans interruption de *vos sacrés concerts* / A son avènement tous les cieux sont ouverts") as well as with Molière (*Les amants magnifiques* [intermède]: "Allons tous au-devant de ces divinités / Et rendons *par nos chants* hommage à leurs beautés / . . . Redoublons *nos concerts* / et faisons retentir dans le vague des airs / Notre réjouissance . . .") and Racine (*Esther*, III, 2: "Les compagnes d'Esther s'avancent vers ce lieu, / Sans doute leur *concert* va commencer la fête"), the word *concert* refers to vocal music, to choirs. It should be noted that when the music master of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (II, 4) advises him to follow the mode of offering a concert at home once a week, the term used in reference to this technical concert (as late as 1670) is *concert de musique* (as in Cotgrave); thus it is clear that we would not be entitled to translate, in the passages just cited, the simple *concert* by "concert". There is a scene in Fénelon's *Télémaque*, Book I, where, after a meal with the nymph Calypso, four young nymphs, accompanied by the lute, sing to Télémaque of mythical subjects and of his father (in imitation of the scene in the Odyssey where, at the table of the Phaeacians, a bard sings to Odysseus of the hero's own exploits); the *Grands écrivains* edition (I, 20) comments on the passage: "On notera encore ici la manière dont Fénelon modernise les données d'Homère. Dans Homère, le chant du poète est une monodie, qu'il accompagne lui-même de sa lyre; Fénelon présente au duc de Bourgogne un 'concert', semblable à ceux qu'il a pu entendre lui-même dans les divertissements de cour: il est composé de quatre chanteuses, chantant en quatuor ou l'une après l'autre, et soutenues par un accompagnement instrumental". In the text, however, the word *concert* is not used: either in order to respect the ancient *décor*, or because the term was not yet sufficiently current.

than to the contrapuntal principle. "The wording of his title, 'A New invention, suitable for all kinds of Singers, and for Organists' alone makes it clear that the novelty of the invention resided, not in the continued bass only, but in the character of the vocal compositions as well." The *bassus continuus* or *bassus generalis*, whether it was invented by Viadana or not, is characterized by a supra-individual treatment of the voices, concerned as it is with all the parts together; there is no break in the bass from the beginning of a piece to the end, and whenever rests occur in the bass, whichever, at the moment, happens to be the lowest sounding part (tenor, alto, treble), is incorporated in it. It is this interweaving of the voices, possible only by a close collaboration, a "loving and vying fusion" of the singers, suggesting as it does all the religious connotations of World Harmony, which must have prompted the name *concerto*—as well as the synonym *concento* given by Florio (see above) and by Praetorius. This was the same Praetorius who, in admiration of Viadana's invention, wrote, in 1619 (the year in which Kepler's *Harmonice mundi* appeared): "Cantio, Concentus, seu Symphonia est diversarum vocum modulatio, Italis vocatur *Concento* vel *Concerto*. . . . Usurpatur autem hoc Vocabulum *Concert* in genere, pro quavis Conatione Harmonicae" (quoted by Schulz-Basler, *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* s.v. *Konzert*; but here the meaning is not only [unilinearly] that of "Wettstreit der Stimmen", but also of "peace, agreement" etc.). The religious connotation of the word appears still in the *concerts spirituels* (about which Rousseau, in his *Dict. de musique*, made a slighting remark), those concerts given in Paris at the Tuileries during the period of fasting when all other public performances were forbidden. Here, obviously, we have a French derivation from Viadana's *concerti ecclesiastici*.

But the musicological conception of the "concert" was secularized in the eighteenth century:[77] it was not yet (as it is today) the performance of a virtuoso accompanied by an orchestra, but was indistinguishable from the *sinfonia* (which, in turn, had become an orchestral part before and after a sung part)—a fact which is clear from the *concerti grossi* of Handel, for example. Rousseau, in his dictionary, uses *concert* for any musical composition in which there is a concurrence of different instruments, including the human voice:

[77] The worldliness to which the concert had descended in his time is well-expressed by Goethe in *Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele*, where his mystic protagonist tells of Latin *a cappella* chants, evidently *concerti* with four or eight voices, sung as a "solemn music" (to express "eine feierliche Stimmung"): "Ich hatte bisher nur den frommen Gesang gekannt, in welchem gute Seelen oft mit heiserer Kehle, wie die Waldvögelein, Gott zu loben glauben, weil sie sich selbst eine angenehme Empfindung machen; dann die *eitle Musik des Konzerts*, in denen man allenfalls zur Bewunderung eines Talents, selten aber auch nur zu einem vorübergehenden Vergnügen hingerissen wird. Nun vernahm ich eine Musik, aus dem tiefsten Sinne der trefflichsten menschlichen Naturen entsprungen, die durch bestimmte und geübte Organe in harmonischer Einheit wieder zum tiefsten besten Sinn des Menschen sprach und ihn wirklich in diesem Augenblick seine Gottähnlichkeit lebhaft empfinden liess." We find here the Augustinian opposition of artistic music to the music of well-meaning but untutored nature, but there has developed in the 18th cent. a third variety: the vain virtuososhiip displayed in worldly concerts.

(s.v. *harmonie*:) [the Greeks] donnoient . . . le nom d'harmonie . . . aux *concerts de voix et d'instruments* qui s'exécutoient à l'octave; (s.v. *symphonie*:) Ce mot . . . signifie dans la musique ancienne cette *union des sons* qui forment un *concert* . . . ainsi . . . leur symphonie . . . résultoit du *concours de plusieurs voix ou de plusieurs instruments*: où *tout concertoit* [= agreed, performed harmoniously] à l'unisson; où la moitié des concertants étoit à l'octave . . . de l'autre.

The Italian form *concerto* (used by Debrosses in 1713, and still found in Voltaire's *Candide*), which means either the equivalent of the Italian *sinfonia* ("où tout se joue en rippieno") or else an orchestral piece with one soloist [our conception of the musicological term "concert"]—this he distinguishes from the French form *concert* for an orchestra of at least seven to eight performers; I infer from all this that the original genuine meaning of *concert* must have been that of a "concerted effort by musicians", and only later was specialized under Italian influences to the meanings "orchestral work" and "solo performance with orchestral accompaniment", the technicized meaning of today.

Another sign of the technicization of the term is the generalized meaning which it has come to acquire: "musical performance". When I attend a concert which is given in a "concert hall" at any time of the day, I may not expect to hear a religious—and not even, always, a symphonic concert: thus the idea of *certare* is no longer essential. The original "concert" was not something to which one might go casually, as a quite neutral observer of whatever takes place on a stage; it was not even played under the roof of a building, it was a song in praise of God uttered by nightly-ordered Nature and by human community serving as echo. Today the metaphor, "the concert of the stars"[78] gives an impression contrary to the original impact of the word: today it is a metaphor taken from the concert hall and applied to the starry night;[79] originally it was the night itself that gave the concert in praise of God.

[78] What has become of the concerts of the starry sky in that period of demusicalization—as we must dub the eighteenth century—can be seen in Kant who writes (*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1788): "Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüt mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftigt: *der bestirnte Himmel über mir und das moralische Gesetz in mir*. Beide darf ich mir nicht als in Dunkelheiten verhüllt, oder im Überschwenglichen ausser meinem Gesichtskreise suchen und bloss vermuten; ich sehe sie vor mir und verknüpfe sie unmittelbar mit dem Bewusstsein meiner Existenz . . .". And Kant goes on to say that just as this sidereal world has been explained, not by superstitious astrology, but by mathematics (he is evidently thinking of Newton), so the moral world should keep free from superstition and *Überschwenglichkeit*, by separating, as in chemistry, the rational from the empirical: "science . . . is the narrow door which leads to philosophy." The visible (sidereal) cosmos and the invisible (equalized with, i.e. narrowed down to, the moral world) are accessible only to analytical science, not to the synthetic conscience of universal World Music.

[79] The same is true of the metaphor "the concert of the birds": what was primary has become secondary. A poem found in a textbook for German grade schools plays, with a a certain *préciosité*, on the theme: "Konzert ist heute angesagt [!] / Im frischen grünen Wald; / Die Musikanten stimmen [!] schon, / Hei, wie es lustig hallt! / Das musiziert und jubiliert, / Das schmettert und das schallt . . . "[there follow stanzas on the different bird-musicians].

With the concert of the stars in Shakespeare and Milton, in Luís de León and Cervantes, we have gone far ahead of our story and must now retrace our steps in order to follow the history of World Harmony in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The Thomistic definition of beauty, true to Aristotle, had insisted on *proportio*, *consonantia* and *claritas*. The Renaissance (cf. L. Olschki, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, VIII, 516) insisted particularly on *proportio*, and "Massästhetik", the aesthetics of measurement, was accordingly preferred: ἁρμονία καὶ ἀριθμός, the correctness of harmonious proportions, was taken seriously—and literally. A kind of normative grammar of the arts was founded, which placed the arts on the same level with natural sciences, by applying the Roman canons (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 3, 1, 1: *proportio* = "ratae partis membrorum in omni opere totiusque commodulatio"), and by seeking to combine observation and proportions (set *a priori* in the anatomy of man), the beautiful and the exact—an ideal which ultimately led to that of the French classical *clarté*. In such an approach, music had to represent primarily the measurable as determined by *numeri*. Julius Schlosser, *Ein Künstlerproblem der Renaissance: L. B. Alberti* (1929), reports that this Italian artist of the fifteenth century refers to the proportions of an architecture as "tutta quella musica"[80]—though here it is a question rather of the medieval *ars liberalis*

[80] "Musical" is thus loosely used for "harmonious". The classical painter Holanda, a friend of Michel Angelo, applied the term *desmúsico* to the Flemish and German painting which emphasizes (in landscapes) "the accidental, the national and the exterior" (Borinski) —thereby establishing the arbitrary equation "harmonious = classical" and overlooking the "musical", the *Stimmung* which permeates precisely the Northern school of painting.

"Music" as a synonym of "harmony" and "blissfulness" is attested in several German Baroque writers in whom a Romance influence made itself felt: Schulz-Baseler quote the following passage from Guarinonius, *Die Greuel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts* (1610): "und sie das schöne mittel und so *fürtreffliche Musik* verloren"; Albertinus Aegidius, *Lucifers königreich und Seelengejaidt* (1616): "Wie Nebuchodonosor *in seiner glori und music* in ein unvernünftiges Tier verkehrt ward".

In the lines from the *Viaje del Parnaso* in which Cervantes describes his own poetry: ("Que a las cosas que tienen de imposibles / siempre mi pluma se ha mostrado esquiva; / las que tienen vislumbre de posibles, / de dulces, de suaves y de ciertas / explican mis borrones apacibles / Nunca a *disparidad* abre las puertas / mi corto ingenio, y hállalas contino / de par en par la *consonancia* abiertas") as well as in those from *Persiles y Segismunda*, where he postulates verisimilitude for a story to the extent "que a despecho y pesar de la mentira, que hace *disonancia* en el entendimiento, forme una verdadera *armonía*", we find the musical terms used in exact correspondence with this same ideal of proportion and clarity. He seems to think (as may be gathered from the epithets *dulces*, *suaves*, *ciertas*) that deviation from the objectively, rationally possible, from the "likely", interrupts the quasi-musical flow of a tale. Cervantes starts from a classical aesthetic doctrine, though his aesthetic practice is often baroque.—His classical approach is borne out also by his attitude to music which is revealed in *Don Quijote*, II, 26, where the protagonist and the puppeteer give the following advice to the boy whose rôle it is to accompany the puppet-show with a story which he himself has put into words: "Niño, seguid vuestra historia *línea recta*, y no os metáis en *las curvas ó transversales* . . . Muchacho, no te metas *en dibujos* . . . sigue tu canto *llano*, y no te metas *en contrapuntos*, que se suelen quebrar de sotiles . . . . *Llaneza*, muchacho: no te encumbres, que todo afectación es mala". Contrapuntal adornments are here "affectation". That *armonía* means to Cervantes simply "order"

than of musicality—which was lacking in the cupolas built by Alberti. He defines the harmony of an architecture as "finitio, concinnitas, consensus et conspiratio"; here we have the words of Cicero—inspired by the spirit of Vitruvius. It is interesting in this connection to note the use of *Stimmung* precisely in a German translation of Vitruvius, in Rivius' *Bawkunst*, 1547 (to which Professor Kurrelmeyer called my attention); here, in the chapter "Augenscheinliche Figur / Eygentlicher abtheilung / Menschlichen Cörpers mit rechter Simmetrie und Proportion aller Gliedmass", we find the word used in the following simile:

> Dann gleicher gestalt wie ein Lauten / oder ander Instrument / hoch oder nider gestelt werden mag / das er doch gleichen / *Concent der Stimmung* und lieblichkeit behalte / also mag auch die rechte eigentliche Simmetrie / in gleicher *Harmoni* / in kleinen un grössern Cörpern / gefunden werden.

Concent der Stimmung is evidently the "temperament" of music which is brought about by tuning, and is identified with the "harmony of symmetry": we see that the musical possibilities of Vitruvius' term *commodulatio* are exploited, as in the case of the "tutta quella musica" of Alberti: music is subservient to proportion: though the word *Stimmung* shows itself capable of absorbing all the glorious fullness of "harmony", it is as yet far from the expansion it will enjoy later (in another passage, Rivius uses *Stimmung* only in the meaning "lautung, sprachlicher ausdruck"; *DWb* s.v. *Stimmung*, [1]).

But the Renaissance brought with it the revival, not only of the ancient "Massästhetik", but also of the more mystical neo-Platonism which condemned this aesthetics. Thus, for example, we find Marsilio Ficino and Leo Hebraeus objecting to the concept of beauty based on proportion, arguing that in the theory of their adversaries simple things (e.g. the light so dear to neo-Platonists, color, simple geometrical forms, the circle etc.) could not be beautiful. "Bei Leone nimmt man wahr", says C. Gebhardt (Introduction to the edition of the *Dialoghi d'amore*, 1929), "wie die Kunst des Quattrocento, statische Kunst der Linien in der Frühzeit der Pollajuolo, Botticelli und Mantegna, deren Tendenz Alberti formuliert hat, nunmehr im beginnenden Cinquecento dem Dynamismus des Lichtes und der Farbe mit der Sehnsucht Lionardos und Giorgones zustrebt". The beauty graspable by the senses is an image of that intellectual beauty which God has achieved in nature and which the human artist achieves in his art. The most intellectual senses are those of seeing and hearing, the former communicating to us light, the reflection of intellectual beauty—the latter, the musical beauty of the world-soul, "l'ordinattioni de le voci in harmonico canto, in sententiosa oratione, o in verso, si comprende dal nostro audito, et mediante quelle diletta la nostra anima per l'harmonia e concordia di che lei è figurata da l'anima del mondo." Light and Music thus become the truly divine in art—

(with no implication of music) may be seen from the passage of the *Don Quijote* (I, 36) in which he describes a rowdy tavern scene: the brawling confusion caused by the protagonist's mad fancies, the sensuousness of the Asturian maid Maritornes, and the jealousy of the mule-driver, the sleepy fisticuffs of Sancho and the final misguided judgment of the innkeeper—all this is ironically summed up as *toda aquella armonía*.

or, to use the modern German term: *Stimmung*, that is, pictorial and musical variations thereof, predominates in art.

With neo-Platonism there is still another element which leads to the "musicalization", to the "Stimmung" of the soul. Reviving the speculations of the ancients concerning the astrological influence of the stars upon the human temperament, the neo-Platonists taught that man had, consequently, to "attune" his soul to the universe. Marsilio Ficino, *De concordia mundi et de natura hominis secundum stellas*, says:

> Quoniam vero coelum est harmonica ratione compositum, movetur harmonice et harmonicis motibus atque sonis efficitur omnia, . . . merito per harmoniam solam non solum homines, sed inferiora haec omnia pro viribus ad capienda coelestia praeparantur. . . . Neque vero diffidere debet quisquam, hos atque omnia quae circa nos sunt praeparamentis quibusdam posse sibi vindicare coelestia.

In order to establish a state of harmony with the universe, man must expose himself to the particular heavenly body which is "consonant" with him; and the best means of re-establishing an uninterrupted unity between man and the cosmos is that of music: "Mercurius, Pythagoras, Plato jubent dissonantem animam vel moerentem cithara cantuque tam constanti quam concinno componere." And, in *De vita*, Ficino (as D. C. Allen shows, in his *The Star-Crossed Renaissance* [1943], p. 9) uses the simile of the harp whose strings, when plucked, make to vibrate along with them the strings still untouched—a simile which depicts the influence of the stars on stones, plants, human characters and talents: here we have to do with a theory of the Arabian Averroës, viz. that the vibrations of the world-soul are communicated to the individual souls by the rays of the stars: a vision of a vibrating universe whose infimous parts share the sensitivity of the whole. Thanks to his *anima intellectualis*, which is in an intermediate position between the angels and the earthly forms (this is the neo-Platonic scale!), man can free himself from the base and earthly, and lift himself toward heaven: as Allen remarks, somewhat cynically, "the good influence of the stars becomes then a form of ethical gymnastics." In other words, man can "attune" himself to the vibrating world-harp: his "Stimmung" depends upon the "Stimmung" of World Harmony, which has its own (musical) laws. Already we find in Nicolaus Cusanus, *Liber de Mente*, cap. 6:

> Agit enim *mens eterna quasi ut musicus*, qui suum conceptum vult sensibilem facere, recipit enim pluralitatem vocum et illas redigit in *proportionem congruentem armonie*, *ut in illa proportione armonia* dulciter et perfecte resplendeat.

Thus the individual human soul, though a minimal thing in this infinite space, can attune itself to the whole world: the heterodox pantheism of Giordano Bruno (compare his *Eroici furiosi*, 1585) therefore insists on that spaciousness of space which makes possible the fusion of individual beings with the whole: this "furioso ["demoniac" in the Platonic sense] quasi inebriato di bevanda de' dei" sees deity as ἓν καὶ πᾶν, as a One in the All: the apple of Paris to which he refers is the symbol of the all-dimensional infinite:

. . . nella semplicità della divina essenza è tutto totalmente, e non secondo misura [this is contrary to the Augustinian teaching of the *numeri*]; ma tutti gli attributi sono non solamente uguali, ma ancora medesimi et una istessa cosa. Come nella sfera tutte le dimensioni sono non solamente uguali (essendo tanta la lunghezza, quanta è la profondità et larghezza) ma anco medesime. . . . Cossì è nell' altezza de la sapienza divina, la quale è medesima che la profondità de la potenza et latitudine de la bontade. Tutte queste perfezioni sono uguali, perchè sono infinite.

Where there is infinite wisdom there must be also infinite power and infinite beauty: already within the sphere of the divine there is a fusion of the different qualities into one: Bruno, taking the orbit of the sun as a symbol, draws up a diagram with two circles, one within, one outside the orbit; we are meant to visualize that when the heavenly body is in movement, it is at the same time moving (inner circle) and moved (outer circle), and, at any one moment of its movement, lies on *all* points of the two circles, since motion and rest, temporaneity and eternity, coincide: indeed it is not true that the sun revolves, as is generally believed, around the earth in twenty-four hours; nor does it pass through the zodiac in one year, causing the four seasons:

ma è tale, che, per essere la eternità istessa e conseguentemente una possessione insieme tutta e compita, insieme insieme comprende l'inverno, la primavera, l'estade, l'autumno, insieme insieme il giorno et la notte, perchè è *tutto per tutti* et in tutti gli punti et luoghi.

The Cusanian idea of *coincidentia oppositorum* is emphasized by Bruno's stylistic insistence on the key-word *insieme*, "together", but it has taken on another meaning with the heterodox philosopher: nothing stands alone, individual and separate; everything is fitted in the Whole—in fact, represents the Whole: no *one* aspect is ever valid. We have a law of continuous metamorphosis figured by the wheel whose antipodes are man and beasts, but whose motion (*rivoluzione*) is effected by "necessità, fato, natura, consiglio, volontà" (a variant of the ancient Wheel of Fortune), so that man can become animal, the animal man: even the different species in nature can change one into another. In the realm of the divine *prima intelligenza* Bruno sees revealed the following picture:

Qua è conseguente il canto e suono, dove son nove intelligenze, nove muse secondo l'ordine de nove sfere; dove prima si contempla *l'armonia di ciascuna, che è continuata con l'armonia dell' altra*; perchè il fine et ultimo della superiore è principio e capo dell' inferiore, *perchè non sia mezzo et vacuo tra l'una et altra*: et l'ultimo de l'ultima *per via di circolazione* concorre con il principio della prima. . . . Appresso si contempla *l'armonia et consonanza de tutte le sfere, intelligenze, muse et instrumenti insieme*, dove il cielo, il moto de mondi, l'opre della natura, il discorso degl' intelletti, la contemplazione della mente, il decreto della divina providenza, tutti d'accordo [Calderonian résumé!] celebrano l'alta e magnifica vicissitudine [the metamorphosis], che agguaglia l'acqui inferiori alle superiori, cangia la notte col giorno, et il giorno con la notte, *a fin che la divinità sia in tutto*, nel modo con cui *tutto è capace di tutto*, e l'infinita bontà infinitamente si communiche secondo tutta la capacità de le cose.

Just as in the passage quoted above, the stylistic key-word was *insieme*, so here it is *tutto*: the continuous metamorphosis, as the law of the universe, makes it possible that "all be in one", and God in all. For Bruno, infinitism is coupled with the idea of participation on the part of every creature in the divine: in

the infinite space of the love-permeated universe, all things are fused: in contrast to the medieval landscape where heavenly bodies, mankind, beasts, plants, stones were neatly divided, and subjected all together to a hierarchically superior divinity, the pantheistic landscape and the "world-scape" of Bruno offer fusion, representing the divine as susceptible of becoming the human, and vice-versa. Bruno does not discard the Christian idea of divine providence, but he submerges it in the *magnifica vicissitudine* of the law of metamorphosis. His pantheistic landscape is infused with "Stimmung": we may find, in Renaissance painting, the pictorial analogy to this philosophic landscape; here, however, we shall consider only the impact of World Harmony upon the art of music proper.

The main impression which we gain from the *a cappella* church music of Palestrina (music approved by such popes of the Counter-Reformation as Marcellus II and Pius IV) is that of infinite space and harmony: the following is the description of this music given by Palestrina's modern biographer Pyne (p. 173):

". . . a certain quality of indefiniteness . . . was as the very breath of the unaccompanied polyphonic school. . . . Paradoxical as it may seem, modern music, while gaining in subtlety, coloring and weight, has lost in *size*. An unaccompanied six-part mass [such as the *Missa papae Marcelli*, 1555] (obviously there is no restriction in the multiplication of voices) is practically immeasurable, for it is confined in no limit of rhythmic beat, thematic structure, or chromatic formula. . . . The uniformity of timbre through the sole employment of the human voice, the absence of percussion, or of violent changes of any sort, create a certain atmosphere [Stimmung!] on which the spirit floats. To borrow a simile from architecture—it is unlikely that any one could enter the Pantheon in Rome without a sudden and startling sense of the vast space. Reflection alone reveals the art hidden in the cunning gradations of the enormous dome. . . . There is no apparent standard by which to gauge the proportions of the whole. In Pierluigi's music there is the same absence of a definite point of comparison by which to measure. . . . There is something inexpressibly quietening in these 'exquisite rhythms' [these are words used by Palestrina himself about his music], for time and space fall away, and with them, the contemplation of earthly things." (p. 226): "No doubt the large open spaces with lofty roofs in which these works are usually performed are for something in the delight aroused in the hearer."

Thus the contemporary funerary inscription defining Palestrina's fame (p. 185) could as well apply to heavenly music: "Ut re mi fal so la ascendunt, sic pervia coelos / Transcendit volitans nomen ad astra tuum (o Prenestine)." Here the Renaissance feeling of space has become tributary to a reformed Christianity and a new otherworldliness[81]—it is rather the Renaissance feeling of the infinite subjected to Christianity than Bruno's solution of Christian Providence sub-

[81] Hans Pfitzner, in accordance with his German romantic aversion against progress in art—an aversion shared by the Thomas Mann of 1920 (*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*)—represents, in his opera, *Palestrina*, the master of the Mass rather in the light of a conservative who preserved medieval figural music against the political will of Counter Reformation councils while younger disciples were endorsing enthusiastically the modern artistic developments. The feeling of this German conservative pre-war artist is full of pessimism, resignation and nostalgia, which, projected into the past, makes Palestrina's work appear rather as an end than as a beginning of Church Mass-art. But there is one highly effective scene, in the first act of the opera, which portrays on the stage (as Browning had done in a poem, *Abt Vogler*)—the influence of religious world harmony on the artist himself: no better description can be offered than that given in the words of Thomas Mann: "Sie [the predecessors seen by Palestrina in a vision] schwinden, aus Not und Finsternis schreit

jected to metamorphosis. Or, as E. T. A. Hoffmann has expressed it, in words inspired by the Patristic equation *chord* = *concordia fidelium* (in the article "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik," 1814, to be found in the series *Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse*, vol. XII: "Romantik", edited by Kluckkohn, p. 265):

Ohne allen Schmuck, ohne melodischen Schwung folgen meistens vollkommene, konsonierende Akkorde aufeinander, von deren Stärke und Kühnheit das Gemüt mit unnennbarer Gewalt ergriffen und zum Höchsten erhoben wird.—Die Liebe, der Einklang alles Geistigen in der Natur, wie er dem Christen verheissen, spricht sich aus im Akkord, der daher auch erst im Christentum zum Leben erwachte; und so wird der Akkord, die Harmonie Bild und Ausdruck der Geistergemeinschaft, der Vereinigung mit dem Ewigen, dem Idealen, das über uns thront und doch uns einschliesst. Am reinsten, heiligsten, kirchlichsten muss daher die Musik sein, welche nur als Ausdruck jener Liebe aus dem Innern aufgeht, alles Weltliche nicht beachtend und verschmähend. So sind aber Palestrinas einfache, würdevolle Werke in der höchsten Kraft der Frömmigkeit und Liebe empfangen und verkünden das Göttliche mit Macht und Herrlichkeit. . . . es ist wahrhaftige Musik aus der andern Welt (musica del' altro mondo) . . . sein Komponieren war Religionsübung.

Bearing in mind the Palestrina choirs performed in the vastness of St. Peter's, on the one hand, and the speculations of Giordano Bruno about infinity, on the other, we may now turn to Kepler's *Harmonice mundi*,[82] the Renaissance synthesis of art and sciences (mathematics). For Kepler, we may best consult the article of A. Wellek, "Renaissance- und Barocksynästhesie", *Dtsch. Vierteljahrsschr.* IX, 538 ff.; synesthesia, the "Doppelempfinden", is indeed only another manifestation of World Harmony,[83] and the history of synesthesia is, to a great extent, the history of the Renaissance spirit, or, in other words, of "pantheism":

Der Anbruch der Neuzeit: die 'Wiedergeburt' des antiken Geistes, schafft für die kosmische Sinnensymbolik, deren Verfall den Ausgang des Mittelalters begleitet, unmittelbar frischen Boden; in ihr erlebt die klassische Lehre vom Sphärenklang nicht nur ihre Miterneuerung, sondern sogar eine letzte Vollendung und Hochblüte. . . .

Das synoptische Vorstellen und Denken, das dieser Lehre von altersher zugrunde liegt, verleugnet sich auch hier nirgends und nie; selbst dann nicht, wenn, wie dies etwa bei Kepler der Fall ist, das "Denken" darin aufs äusserste betont wird. Für die von ihm in den heliozentrischen Winkelgeschwindigkeiten der Planetenläufe errechnete Planetenharmonie stellt Kepler in seinem Meisterwerk, der *Harmonice Mundi* (1619), eine ganze Reihe fortschreitend komplizierterer musikalischer Symbole auf: bis zur sechsstimmigen Darstellung in Quart-Sext-Akkorden, denen der Saturn zum Bass dient, während Merkur den bewegteren Sopran "singt". Sinnespsychologisch gelten alle diese Zusammenklänge für Kepler als

---

der Einsame nach oben, da schwingt die Engelsstimme sich erschütternd im Kyrie empor- die Gnadenstunde des Müden bricht an, er neigt sein Ohr zum Schattenmunde der verstor benen Geliebten, die Lichtgründe öffnen sich, die unendlichen Chöre brechen aus in das *Gloria in excelsis*, zu allen ihren Harfen singen sie ihm Vollendung und Frieden". This is indeed "ein wahres Festspiel zu Ehren schmerzhaften Künstlertums und eine Apotheose der Musik".

[82] The same title is borne by a work inaccessible to me: Georgius Fr. Venetius, Minoritanae familiae: *De harmonia mundi cantica tria* (Venice 1525), translated into French by Guy La Febre de la Boderie, *L'Harmonie du Monde divisé en trois cantiques*" (Paris 1578).

[83] On this synesthetics is based our modern feeling, prompted especially by Bach, that music is comparable to architecture: hence the architectural similes in Browning's *Abt Vogler*, and Goethe's reverse conception of architecture as "frozen music".

Gegenstand der Vorstellung; er vergleicht sie dem Zusammenklang, den "ein Tonkünstler beim Schaffen eines mehrstimmigen Tonstücks im Geiste überdenkt", ohne ihn doch "von aussen zu empfangen": es sei dies gleichwohl "den wesetlich sinnlichen Wirkungen" zuzuzählen. Schon in seinem Erstlingswerk, dem '*Mysterium Cosmographicum*', führt Kepler weitgehende musikalischgeometrische Spekulationen durch, im Sinne der Pythagoräer und des Platon: Vergleichung der Konsonanzen mit den geometrischen Grundgebilden; dann aber auch musikalisch-astrologische Entsprechungen, indem er die Wohlklänge den Aspekten zuteilt. Diese Spekulationen werden ein Vierteljahrhundert später in der *Harmonice Mundi* aus dem Frühwerk übernommen, anderwärts aber durch das Axiom erhellt: "Die Wurzeln der Harmonielehre liegen nicht in den Zahlen, sondern in den Gesetzen der räumlichen Anschauung." Erreger des "sinnlichen Zusammenklangs" kann für Kepler so gut ein Ton sein "wie der Strahl eines Gestirns."

Wenn also die kosmische Musiklehre Keplers von seinem Übersetzer dahin formuliert wird: "Was dem äusseren Sinn als geordnetes Gefüge, als wirkendes Ebenmass gegenübertritt, das beantwortet der innere als Klang", so ist dies zugleich ein Ausdruck des synoptischen Weltgefühls der Renaissance überhaupt. Das scheinbare Paradoxon, dass hier aus dem Weltgefühl, nicht, wie später im Barock, aus dem Sinneserlebnis, Synästhesie entspringt, erklärt sich aus der ursprünglich-naiven Anschauungshaftigkeit dieser Welt-Anschauung der Renaissance.

Für Kepler ist der Weltenbau nicht bloss im Sinne eines Akkords, sondern ebensowohl "vollkommen getreu nach dem Bilde eines belebten Leibes" geschaffen. Eben dies aber ist zugleich die theoretische Grundidee der Malerei und Plastik der Renaissance, die Ausfluss des gleichen synästhetischen Weltgefühls ist. Lionardo da Vinci legte die Gesetze der malerischen Komposition, der perspektivischen Verkürzung und der idealen Proportion des menschlichen Körpers nach den musikalischen Intervallen fest; und es ist bezeichnend, dass er "als erster unter den Neueren", will sagen nach Aristoteles, dem theoretischen Vergleich zwischen Farben und Tönen Interesse widmet. Nach dem *Trattato della Pittura* beruht das Augenschöne auf "*una armonia delle bellezze*" oder "*un dolce concento*"; "der schöne Anblick ist süssem Einklange (*concento*) gleich"; und mehr als das: "Das Massgefühl des Auges wird von gleichen Gesetzen beherrscht wie das Taktgefühl des Ohres."

To this Renaissance synesthesia of the classicists, who explain the sensuous by reference to a Pythagorean theoretical speculation on number-harmony, Wellek opposes the Baroque synesthesia in which the individual sensations and sensuousness itself dominate: examples of Baroque synesthesia are, according to Wellek, to be found in Robert Fludd, who sees in light the flute of the spheres, of God, and also, in Athanasius Kircher; here Wellek comments:

Einem Kepler gegenüber stellt Kircher sowohl als Forscher als auch als Sinnenmensch—charakterologisch und als "Charakter"—den genauen Gegenpol vor; er reiht sich sinnesverwandt zu Fludd. Das Wesentliche ist jedenfalls die sinnliche Besonderung dieser Synästhesien, das Überwiegen der farbigen und klanglichen Synopsie über die allgemeine Sinnensymbolik der Sphärenharmoniker, welch letztere hier nurmehr in verblasster und verwirrter Form ein spätes Leben fristet; während zweifellos das Ton-und Klangfarbenhören in der ganzen Geschichte der Synästhesie bis auf Kircher nirgends so hoch und mannigfaltig entwickelt anzutreffen war. Hiezu kommt noch seine synoptische Theorie, welche Licht und Klang ausdrücklich und allgemein, nicht erst indirekt und in einem Dritten, untereinander gleich oder wenigstens in engste Beziehung setzt. In diesem Sinne ist Kircher tatsächlich der vollendetste Typ des Barock-Synästhetikers, wie ja des Barock-Menschen überhaupt.[84]

[84] *Ibid.*: "Seine Haltung zur Sphärenharmonie ist mit der Fludds sehr nahe verwandt. . . . Es ist ein vollständiges Sammelsurium alter musikalischer Mythen, was Kircher hier bietet,

While a literary example of a classic synesthesia is the passage from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, V, 1:

> How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank! / Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music / Creep in our ears: soft stillness and the night / Become the touches of sweet harmony. / Sit, Jessica. Look, how the floor of heaven / Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold [cf. the *artesonada bóveda* of Gracián]: / Ther's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st / But in his motion like an angel sings, / Still quiring to the young-ey'd cherubins,—/ Such harmony is in immortal souls; / But whilst this muddy vesture of decay / Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it;—

we find a programmatic passage of the Baroque synesthesia in the verses of Crashaw: "Eyes are vocal, tears have tongues, / And there are words not made with lungs". For our problem of "Stimmung", synesthesia is most important: it is thanks to this practice that the musical term could be freely used, not only in the other arts, but also in the realm of the human psyche. Consequently, we will find in Renaissance poetry many passages in which the poet (conceived of as a musician) is represented as "attuning his instrument" to accord with the song he is to sing; mindful of the *Pieri . . . tempera* of Horace, these poets thought of consonance of form together with contents. Régnier, in his satire on the *Repas ridicule*, calls upon his (satiric, and consequently, more pedestrian) Muse to choose a natural tuning: "Laisse-moi là Phébus chercher son aventure, / Laisse-moi son B mol, prends *la clef de nature* [evidently this is the major key, the key of health free from melancholy] / Et viens, simple, sans fard et sans ornement, / Pour *accorder ma flûte avec ton instrument.*" In satire IX, a slur directed at Malherbe and his school consists of the remark that they believe "Que Phoebus à leur *ton accorde sa vielle*" [i.e. that true poetry, Apollinian poetry, must choose their form]. Even the little dog Peloton in Du Bellay's *Epitaphe d'un petit chien* has, in his way, a concern with artistic performance: when he is catching flies he creates musical harmony: "Faisant accorder ses dents / Au tintin de sa sonnette / Comme un clavier d'épinette". D'Aubigné, when looking back (*Tragiques*, I, 73) to his own *juvenilia* in the style of Ronsard, remarks: "Le luth que *j'accordois* avec mes chansonnettes / Est ores étouffé par l'esclat des trompettes" (the tuning, the *Stimmung* of the *Tragiques* will be

---

vorwiegend ins Anekdotische verzerrt und oft stark entstellt und widerspruchsvoll; selbst die 'harmonische Disposition der Climaten' nach Vitruv und die Harmonie des menschlichen Leibes—im Anschluss an Dürer—fehlt nicht. Gott heisst immer wieder 'der ewige Archimusicus', dessen harmonische Wunderwerke 'wir bis auf den heutigen Tag mit Verwunderung anhören müssen.' Die sechs Tagewerke werden, sogar auch in einer Abbildung, den sechs Hauptregistern einer Orgel verglichen, wobei z.B. von den Gestirnen und ihren Umläufen als von 'harmonischen Melodien' gesprochen wird, 'so unter dem grossen Zeitconsono und dissono, das ist, dem Tageslicht und Nachtschatten verborgen gelegen' ". Paul Friedländer has quoted to me the final prayer of the *Musurgia Universalis* (1650): "O magna Harmonia, qui omnia in mundo numero, pondere et mensura disponis, dispone animae meae monochordon juxta divinae voluntatis beneplacitum"; here the biblical and Augustinian words clearly point toward *Stimmung*.

Here we should mention also the Aeolian Harp whose inventor is Athanasius Kircher. Romantic poetry has perpetuated this musical instrument on which Nature herself seems to play without any intervention of man.

different from that of his love poem, *Le Printemps*); *ibid.* 1347, the Protestant church music is "tuned to Him" with delight:

Tu aimes de ses mains la parfaicte harmonie: / Notre luth chantera le principe de vie, / Nos doigts ne sont plus doigts que pour trouver tes tons, / Nos sons ne sont plus voix qu'à tes sainctes chansons; (VI, 68:) Que le haut ciel s'accorde en douces unissons / A la saincte fureur de mes vives chansons; (VII, 1049:) Où *l'accord très parfaict des doulces unissons* / A l'univers entier *accorde ses chansons* [the astonishing feminine testifies to a feeling on the part of the poet that *unisson* is *un-isson*, an abstraction *unitio* "union"].

In these examples we witness no longer the tuning of a musical (or, in the metaphor, poetic) instrument to the exigencies of a musical-poetic genre, but the tuning of man and nature to the mood of God the *Archimusicus*; with this use of the simile we are in the midst of *Stimmung* as a religious tuning of the soul—an idea which must have been dear to the fervent adherents of the new Protestantism. In the following passage from Milton, the poet, as he attunes his instrument, still obeys the laws of the poetic genre, but the genre itself is prescribed by God: *The Passion* (I) prescribes a particular tuning of the poet's song and soul to the divine:

Ere-while of Musick, and Ethereal mirth, / Wherewith the stage of Air and Earth did ring, / And joyous news of heav'nly Infant's birth, / My Muse with angels did divide to sing [this Milton had done in *On the morning of Christ's nativity*, s. above] / . . . / For now to sorrow must I tune my song / And set my Harp to notes of saddest woe.

Already in Bunyan's *The Shepherd Boy's Song* we find the figure of the instrument of the souls mystically attuned to God: "The first string that the musician usually touches is the bass, when he intends to put all in tune. God also plays on this string first, when he sets the soul in tune for himself." It is with Donne (*Sermons*, II) that we can best observe the process by which the religious idea of the "tuning of the heart" in its Protestant version developed out of that of the world-lute:

God made this whole world in such an uniformity, such a *correspondency*, such a *concinnity* of parts that it was an *instrument perfectly in tune*. We may say the trebles, the highest strings were disordered first [cf. above Shakespeare's *disorder'd strings*: "the highest strings = the ὑπάτη of Plato]; the best understandings [= *intelligentiae*], angels and men, put this instrument *out of tune* [= "Verstimmung"]. God rectified all again by putting in *a new string*, *semen mulieris*, the seed of the woman, the Messias. And only by sounding that string in your ears become we *musicum carmen*, true *music*, true *harmony*, true *peace* [= *concordia*] to you. [The world harmony, destroyed by original sin and the fall of the angels, was restored by Christ, the "new string", to the "world-lute"] (X): Heaven and earth are as a musical instrument; if you touch a string below, the motion goes to the top. Any good done to Christ's poor members upon earth affects him in heaven.

Here the idea of a World Harmony of the Ficinian variety is combined with that of the *corpus mysticum* (the *tertium comparationis* is the sensitive reaction of a Whole when its parts are touched)—a development of the idea of the completeness of the instrument of the well-tempered body. M. A. Rugoff, *Donne's Imagery* (1939), p. 104, quotes the passage: "God is a God of *harmony* and *consent* [= Lat. *consensus*], and in a musical instrument, if some strings be *out*

of tune, we do not presently break all the strings, but *reduce and tune* those which are out of tune". This moral maxim opens up a vast perspective of the possible "tunings" of the soul to the pitch of world harmony—and anticipates *Stimmung*. In the following passage (furnished me by Wolfgang Spitzer) from Donne's *Hymn to God, my God in my sickness*, we see the faithful believer, in the throes of death, endeavoring to "tune" his soul, on this earth, before entering into the sanctum of God's harmony in the Beyond: "Since I am coming to that holy room / Where, with their choir of saints for evermore, / I shall be made thy music, as I come / I tune the instrument here at the door, / And what I must do then, think here before". A human soul vibrating to the tune of God must be a most delicate instrument, easily put "out of tune".

The Catholic mystics will dwell on the care that man should take to prevent his soul from being too easily diverted, by minor disturbances, from "attunedness to God": a warning against such distraction (the *divertissement* so vehemently excoriated by Pascal) may be found with the Spanish mystic, Antonio de Rojas (I quote from the French translation of 1663, mentioned by Bremond, *Prière et Poésie*, p. 19):

> Ne soyez pas semblables à ceux qui entendent l'aubade d'un *agréable concert de musique*' et qui, pour jouir de cette douceur, se lèvent promptement du lit, et à demi habillés se mettent à la fenêtre. . . . Mais lorsque les musiciens . . . servent la meilleure pièce de leur sac, un petit vent leur venant à souffler au nez, aussitôt ils se retirent et ferment la fenêtre et s'en retournent au lit. . . . Non, non, n'imitez pas ces délicats ou ces inconstants. Dieu vous donne une musique céleste, non dans la rue, mais dans le Palais Royal de votre âme; vous l'entendez avec contentement, et vous dites qu'il vous est bon de vous approcher de ce souverain et incomparable musicien. . . . Mais qu'arrive-t-il? Un petit souffle d'une pensée importune, ou de plusieurs, qui vous combattent dans la jouissance de *cette douce harmonie*, et aussitôt vous laissez-là *toute la musique*, vous vous retirez au quartier des sens, où vous vous gelez davantage et vous laissez ce qui vous profite plus . . .

There are other mystics for whom the divine influx into the human soul is so immediate and irresistible, so far above any diversion of the moment, that the need for tuning to celestial music is never mentioned. According to the *Traité inédit* (1696) of the Jesuit Surin (as quoted by Bremond, *Histoire du sentiment religieux en France*, V, 306) the religious tranquility of the soul is comparable to the flow of a gigantic river or ocean—which no earthly incident is permitted to ruffle:

> Cette mer vient en majesté et en magnificence. Ainsi vient la paix dans l'âme, quand la grandeur de la paix la vient visiter après les souffrances, sans qu'il y ait un seul souffle de vent qui puisse faire sur elle une ride. Cette divine paix, qui porte avec soi les biens de Dieu et les richesses de son royaume, a aussi ses avant-coureurs, qui sont les alcyons et les oiseaux qui marquent sa venue: ce sont les visites des anges qui la précèdent. Elle vient *comme un élément de l'autre vie, avec un son de l'harmonie céleste*, et avec une telle raideur que l'âme même en est renversée, non par opposition à son bien, mais par abondance. Cette abondance ne fait aucune violence, sinon contre les obstacles de son bien, et tous les animaux qui ne sont pas pacifiques fuient les abords de cette paix . . .

Bremond points out in this Jesuit mysticism the presence of a classicism based on reason ("trop de sublime lui fait peur") as opposed, for example, to the mood

of Mme de Guyon's *Torrents spirituels*; for the purpose of our discussion, we may point to the subdued quality of this mystical treatment of musical World Harmony ("an element of the Beyond", "a sound of the celestial harmony").

In the preceding pages we have quoted texts from Protestant as well as from Catholic sources, as evidence that the idea of World Harmony was not shelved by Protestantism: with D'Aubigné, Milton, Donne, we find an awareness of the musical unity of the world and, sometimes, a welding of Renaissance (neo-Platonic) thoughts into a Christian teaching—that is, attitudes not unlike those revealed by the Catholic poets. Thus the death of this concept cannot be attributed to Protestantism as such—as one might be tempted to assume from Novalis' *Christenheit oder Europa*—but only to the destructive process of "demusicalization" and secularization, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to which we have several times referred in the previous chapters. How this process is connected, in turn, with Calvinism and Cartesianism, with the growth of analytical rationalism and the segmentary, fragmentary, materialistic, and positivistic view of the world—all this would have to be shown in another study. An inquiry into this era of disintegration would put into relief once more the Ancient and Christian tradition of World Harmony—that is, the spiritual and intellectual background on which alone a future linguistic and semantic interpretation of the word *Stimmung* itself can be built.

The Johns Hopkins University.