

B 0783d

A
 DISSERTATION
 ON THE
 RISE, UNION, and POWER,
 THE
 Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions,
 OF
 POETRY and MUSIC.

To which is prefixed,
 The CURE of SAUL:
 A
 SACRED ODE.

STOUGHTON LIBRARY

Written by DR. BROWN.

*Grata Testudo!—Laborum
 Dulce Lenimen! Mibi cunqve salve,
 Rite vocanti.*

L O N D O N,
 Printed for L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS against Gray's-Inn, Holbourn.
 Printers to the ROYAL SOCIETY.
 MDCCLXIII.

412112
 12.543

DISSERTATION

Advertisement.

The Relation which the following Ode and Dissertation bear to each other, tho' perhaps not apparent at first Sight, rendered it necessary to publish them in this united Manner.

PN

1041

B76

THE
A R G U M E N T
OF THE
O D E.

SAUL, for his Disobedience to Heaven, is afflicted with the Fiend of MELANCHOLY, p. 5. DAVID is sent for, to cure him by the Power of Music, p. 6. He comes, attended with a Choir of Shepherds; and, as the means of dispelling SAUL'S Despair, he sings the Creation of the World, and the happy Estate of our first Parents in Paradise, ib. to 9. SAUL is moved by the Representation; but expostulates with DAVID, "why, when others are happy, He should be miserable," p. 10. DAVID, to convince him that Guilt is the Source of Misery, sings the Fall of Man, and his Expulsion from Paradise, ib. This alarms the Monarch's Pride; and instead of reclaiming, provokes him to Resentment and Rage, p. 11. DAVID, superior to his Threats, awakens his Conscience, and terrifies him, by singing the Fate and Punishment of Guilt, in the Destruction of the rebellious Tribe of CHORAH by an Earthquake, and of the guilty World by the general Deluge;

B. 2. Deluge;

Deluge, p. 11, 12, 13. SAUL, struck with Horror, attempts to kill himself, p. 14. But being prevented by his Friends, DAVID soothes his Anguish, by invoking Repentance and divine Mercy to compose his Passions, p. 14. SAUL relents into virtuous Sorrow, p. 15. But his Despair returning, DAVID calls on his attendant Choir to raise a more sublime and affecting Strain, p. 16. This hath its Effect; and SAUL melts into Tears of Penitence, ib. DAVID now comforts him with the Return of the divine Favour, p. 17. To banish the Remains of Pride, he then sings his own Happiness in the humble Station of a Shepherd, ib. Still farther to compose the Monarch's Grievs, by a Strain of soft Music he throws him into a gentle Slumber; invoking celestial Visions to transport him to the Regions of the Blessed, and change his Anguish into Joy, p. 18. The desired Effects appear in his Countenance: The Fiend departs: And SAUL awakes in perfect Tranquillity, p. 18. DAVID then concludes with a Song of Triumph on the Powers of Harmony, and the seraphic Hymn that attended her, as the Minister of Heaven, on the Creation of the World, p. 19.

THE
C U R S E
OF
S A U L.
A SACRED ODE.

“VENGEANCE, arise from thy infernal Bed;
“ And pour thy Tempest on his Guilty Head!”
Thus Heav’n’s Decree, in Thunder’s Sound,
Shook the dark Abyfs profound. —
The unchain’d Furies come!
Pale *Melancholy* stalks from Hell:
Th’ abortive Offspring of her Womb,
Despair and *Anguish* round her yell.
By sleepless Terror SAUL possess’d,
Deep feels the Fiend within his tortur’d Breast.

Midnight

Midnight Spectres round him howl :

Before his Eyes,

In Troops they rise ;

And Seas of Horror overwhelm his Soul.

Haste; to JESSE'S *Son* repair :

He best can sweep the Lyre,

Wake the solemn sounding Air,

And lead the vocal Choir :

On ev'ry String soft-breathing Raptures dwell,

To sooth the Throbbings of the troubled Breast ;

Whose magic Voice can bid the Tides of Passion swell,

Or lull the raging Storm to Rest.

Sunk on his Couch, and loathing Day,

The heav'n-forfaken *Monarch* lay :

To the sad Couch the *Shepherd* now drew near ;

And, while th' obedient *Choir* stood round,

Prepar'd to catch the Soul-commanding Sound,

He drop'd a gen'rous Tear. —

Thy pitying Aid, O GOD, impart !

For lo, thy poison'd Arrows drink his Heart !

The mighty Song from *Chaos* rose. —
Around his Throne the formless Atoms sleep,
And drowsy Darkness broods upon the Deep: —

Confusion, wake!

Bid the Realms of *Chaos* shake!

Rouse him from his dread Repose! —

Hark! loud *Discord* breaks her Chain:

The hostile Atoms clash with deafning Roar:

Her hoarse Voice thunders through the drear Domain;

And kindles ev'ry Element to War. —

“ Tumult cease!

“ Sink to Peace!

“ Let there be Light!” — Th' *Almighty* said:

And lo, the radiant *Sun*,

Flaming from his orient Bed,

His endless Course begun.

See, the twinkling *Pleiads* rise:

Thy Star, *Orion*, reddens in the Skies:

While slow around the northern Plain,

Arcturus wheels his nightly Wane.

Thy

Thy Glories, too, refulgent *Moon*, he sung ;
 Thy mystic Mazes, and thy changeful Ray :
 O fairest of the starry Throng !
 Thy solemn Orb of Light
 Guides the triumphant Carr of Night
 O'er Silver Clouds, and sheds a softer Day !

Ye *Planets*, and each circling *Constellation*,
 In Songs harmonious tell your Generation !
 Oh, while yon radiant *Seraph* turns the Spheres,
 And on the stedfast Pole-Star stands sublime ;
 Wheel your Rounds
 To heav'nly Sounds ;
 And sooth his Song-inchanted Ears,
 With your celestial Chime.

In dumb Surprise the list'ning Monarch lay ;
 (His Woe suspended by sweet Music's Sway)
 And awe-struck, with uplifted Eye
 Mus'd on the new-born Wonders of the Sky.

Lead the foothering Verse along :
 He feels, he feels the Pow'r of Song. —

A S A C R E D O D E.

9

Ocean hastens to his Bed :
The lab'ring Mountain rears his rock-encumber'd Head :
Down his steep and shaggy Side
The torrent rolls his thund'ring Tide ;
Then smooth and clear, along the fertile Plain
Winds his majestic Waters to the distant Main.
Flocks and Herds the Hills adorn :
The Lark, high-soaring, hails the Morn.
And while along yon crimson-clouded Steep
The slow Sun steals into the golden Deep,
Hark! the solemn Nightingale
Warbles to the woodland Dale.
See, descending Angels show'r
Heav'n's own Bliss on *Eden's* Bow'r :
Peace on Nature's Lap reposes ;
Pleasure strews her guiltless Roses :
Joys divine in Circles move,
Link'd with Innocence and Love.
Hail, happy Love, with Innocence combin'd !
All hail, ye sinless Parents of Mankind !
They paus'd : — the Monarch, prostrate on his Bed,
Submissive bow'd his Head ;

C

Ador'd

Ador'd the Works of boundless Pow'r divine :
 Then, Anguish-struck, he cry'd (and smote his Breast)
 Why, why is Peace the welcome Guest
 Of ev'ry Heart but Mine !

Now let the solemn Numbers flow,
 Till he feel that Guilt is Woe.

Heav'nly Harp, in mournful Strain
 O'er yon weeping Bow'r complain ;
 What Sounds of bitter Pangs I hear !
 What Lamentations wound mine Ear !
 In vain, devoted Pair, these Tears ye shed :
 Peace with Innocence is fled.
 The Messengers of Grace depart :
 Death glares, and shakes the dreadful Dart !
 Ah, whither fly ye, by yourselves abhor'd,
 To shun that frowning Cherub's fiery Sword ? —

Lo !
 Hapless, hapless Pair,
 Goaded by Despair,
 Forlorn, thro' desert Climes they go !
 Wake, my Lyre ! can Pity sleep,
 When Heav'n is mov'd, and Angels weep !

Flow,

A S A C R E D O D E.

11

Flow, ye melting Numbers, flow;
Till he feel, that Guilt is Woe. —

The King, with Pride, and Shame, and Anguish, torn,
Shot Fury from his Eyes, and Scorn.

The glowing Youth,
Bold in Truth,

(So still should Virtue guilty Pow'r engage)

With Brow undaunted met his Rage.

See, his Cheek kindles into generous Fire:

Stern, he bends him o'er his Lyre;

And, while the Doom of Guilt he sings,

Shakes Horror from the tortur'd Strings.

What Sounds of Terror and Distress

Rend yon howling Wilderness!

The dreadful Thunders sound;

The forked Lightnings flash along the Ground.

Why yawns that deep'ning Gulph below? —

'Tis for Heav'n's rebellious Foe: —

Fly, ye Sons of ISRAEL, fly,

Who dwells in *Korab's* guilty Tents must die! —

They sink! — Have Mercy, Lord! — Their Cries

In dreadful Tumult rise!

Hark, from the Deep their loud Laments I hear!

They lessen now, and lessen on the Ear!

Now, Destruction's Strife is o'er!

The countless Host

For ever lost!

The Gulph is clos'd!—Their Cries are heard no more!—

But Oh, my Lyre, what Accents can relate

Sinful Man's appointed Fate!

He comes, he comes! th' avenging GOD!

Clouds and Darknes round him rowl:

Tremble, Earth! Ye Mountains, nod!

He bows the Skies, and shakes the Pole.

The gloomy Banners of his Wrath unfurl'd,

He calls the Floods, to drown a guilty World:

“*Ruin*, lift thy baleful Head:

“Rouze the guilty World from Sleep;

“Lead up thy Billows from their cavern'd Bed,

“And burst the Rocks that chain thee in the Deep.”—

Now, th' impetuous Torrents rise;

The hoarse-ascending Deluge roars:

Down rush the Cataracts from the Skies;

The swelling Waves o'erwhelm the Shores.

Just,

Just, O God, is thy Decree!

Shall guilty Man contend with Thee!

Lo, *Hate* and *Envy*, sea-intomb'd,

And *Rage* with *Lust* in Ruin sleep;

And scoffing *Luxury* is doom'd

To glut the vast and ravenous Deep! —

In vain from *Fate* th' astonish'd Remnant flies: —

“ Shrink, ye Rocks! Ye Oceans, rise!” —

The tottering Cliffs no more the Floods controul;

Sea following Sea ingulphs the Ball:

O'er the sunk Hills the watry Mountains rowl,

And wide *Destruction* swallows all! —

Now fiercer let th' impassion'd Numbers glow:

Swell the Song, ye mighty Choir!

Wing your dreadful Darts with Fire!

Hear me, Monarch! — Guilt is Woe!

Thus while the frowning *Shepherd* pour'd along

The deep impetuous Torrent of his Song;

SAUL, stung by dire Despair,

Gnash'd his Teeth, and tore his Hair:

From his Blood, by Horror chill'd,

A cold and agonizing Sweat distill'd:

Then,

Then, foaming with unutterable Smart,
 He aim'd a Dagger at his Heart.
 His watchful Train prevent the Blow;
 And call each lenient Balm, to heal his frantic Woe:
 But pleas'd, the *Shepherd* now beheld
 His Pride by Heav'n's own Terrors quell'd:
 Then bade his potent Lyre controul
 The mighty Storm that rent his Soul.

Cease your Cares: the Body's Pain
 A sweet Relief may find:
 But Gums and lenient Balms are vain,
 To heal the wounded Mind.
 Come, fair *Repentance*, from the Skies,
 O fainted Maid, with upcast Eyes!
 Descend in thy celestial Shroud,
 Vested in a weeping Cloud!
 Holy Guide, descend, and bring
Mercy from th' eternal King!
 Calm his Soul, your Beams impart,
 And pour your Comforts o'er his Heart! —

They come: O King, thine Ear incline:
 Listen to their Voice divine:

Their

Their Voice shall every Pang compose,
 To gentle Sorrow melt thy Woes;
 Till each pure Wish to Heav'n shall soar,
 And Peace return, to part no more!

Behold, obedient to their great Command,
 The lifted Dagger quits his trembling Hand:
 Smooth'd is his Brow, where fullen Care
 And furrow'd Horror couch'd with fell Despair:
 No more his Eyes with Fury glow;
 But heav'nly Grief succeeds to hell-born Woe. —
 See, the Signs of Grace appear:
 See the soft relenting Tear,
 Trickling at sweet Mercy's Call!
 Catch it, Angels, ere it fall!
 And let the heart-sent Offering rise,
 Heav'n's best-accepted Sacrifice! —

Yet, yet again?—Ah see, the Pang returns!
 Again with inward Fire his heaving Bosom burns!
 Now, *Shepherds*, wake a mightier Strain;
 Search the deep, heart-rending Pain;
 Till the large Floods of Sorrow roll,
 And quench the Tortures of his Soul.

Almighty LORD, accept his Pang sincere !
 Let heav'nly Hope dispell each dark Temptation !
 And, while he pours the penitential Tear,
 O visit him with thy Salvation ! —

Stoop from Heav'n, ye raptur'd Throng :
 Sink, ye swelling Tides of Song !
 For lo, dissolv'd by Music's melting Pow'r,
 Celestial Sorrow rolls her plenteous Show'r.
 O'er his wan Cheek the Colours rise ;
 And Beams of Comfort brighten in his Eyes.
 Happy King, thy Woes are o'er !
 Thy God shall wound thy Heart no more :
 The pitying Father of Mankind
 Meets the pure-returning Mind.
 No more shall black Despair afflict his Soul :
 Each gentler Sound, ye Shepherds, now combine :
 Sweetly let the Numbers roll :
 Sooth him into Hope divine.

Now lowly let the rustic Measure glide,
 To quell the dark Remains of self-consuming Pride ;
 Till Nature's home-sprung Blessings he confess,
 And own that calm Content is Happiness. —

Ye Woods and Lakes, ye Cliffs and Mountains!

Haunted Grotts, and living Fountains!

Listen to your *Shepherd's* Lay,

Whose artless Carols close the Day.

Bounding Kids around him throng;

The steep Rock echoes back his Song:

While all unseen to mortal Eye,

Sliding down the evening Sky,

Holy *Peace*, tho' born above,

Daughter of *Innocence* and *Love*,

Quits her Throne and Mansion bright,

Her Crown of Stars, and Robe of Light,

Serene, in gentle Smiles array'd,

To dwell beneath his Palm-Tree Shade.

Hail, meek Angel! awful Guest!

Still pour thy Radiance o'er my Breast!

Pride and *Hate* in Courts may shine:

The *Shepherd's* calm and blameless Tent is Thine!—

Softly, softly breath your Numbers;

And wrap his weary'd Soul in Slumbers!

Gentle Sleep, becalm his Breast,

And close his Eyes in healing Rest!

D

Descend,

Descend, celestial Visions, ye who wait,
 God's ministring Pow'rs, at Heav'n's eternal Gate!

Ye who nightly Vigils keep,
 And rule the silent Realms of Sleep,
 Exalt the Just to Joys refin'd,
 And plunge in Woe the guilty Mind;
 Descend! — Oh, waft him to the Skies,
 And open all Heav'n's Glories to his Eyes!

Beyond yon starry Roof, by *Seraphs* trod,
 Where Light's unclouded Fountains blaze;
 Where Choirs immortal hymn their God,
 Intrans'd in Ecstasy of ceaseless Praise.

Angels, heal his Anguish!
 Your Harps and Voices joyn!
 His Grief to Bliss shall languish,
 When sooth'd by Sounds divine.

Behold, with dawning Joy each Feature glows!

See, the blissful Tear o'erflows! —

The Fiend is fled! — Let *MUSIC's* Rapture rise:

Now, *HARMONY*, thy ev'ry Nerve employ:

Shake the Dome, and pierce the Skies:

Wake him, wake him into Joy. —

What

What Pow'r can every Passion's Throe controul?

What Pow'r can boast the Charm divine,
To still the Tempest of the Soul?

Celestial *Harmony*; that mighty Charm is Thine!

She, heav'nly-born, came down to visit Earth,

When from GOD's eternal Throne
The Beam of all-creative *Wisdom* shone,

And spake fair Order into Birth.

At *Wisdom's* Call she robed yon glittering Skies,

Attun'd the Spheres, and taught consenting Orbs to rise.

Angels wrapt in Wonder stood,

And saw that All was Fair, and All was Good.

'Twas then, ye Sons of GOD, in bright Array

Ye shouted o'er Creation's Day:

Then kindling into Joy,

The Morning Stars together sung;

And thro' the vast etherial Sky

Seraphic Hymns and loud Hosannahs rung.

T H E E N D.

A
DISSERTATION

ON THE

RISE, UNION, and POWER,

THE

Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions,

OF

POETRY and MUSIC.

The Reader is desired to correct the following

E R R A T A,

occasioned by the Author's Distance from the Press

Pag. Lin.

64. 15, 16. for "*There, here*" r. "*There*".
65. 29. for "*Phrygian or Dorian Measure*" r. "*Lydian Measure*".
69. note l. 4. for "*Spartans*" r. "*the Spartans*".
70. 26. for "*Multifolcity*" r. "*Multiplicity*".
132. 6. for "*Subjeets*" r. "*a Subject*".
223. 9. for "*la plus*" r. "*le plus*".

THE
C O N T E N T S
OF THE
DISSERTATION.

SECTION I.

THE DESIGN. Pag. 25

SECT. II.

The proposed Method of Enquiry. 26

SECT. III.

Of Music, Dance, and Poem, in the savage State. 27

SECT. IV.

Of the natural Consequences of a supposed Civilization. 36

SECT. V.

*An Application of these Principles to the Melody, Dance,
and Song, of ancient GREECE.* 46

SECT. VI.

Of the Progressions of Music in ancient GREECE. 95

SECT. VII.

Of the Origin and Progressions of Comedy in ancient GREECE.
137

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

*Of the natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song
in other EUROPEAN Countries.* Pag. 155

S E C T. IX.

*Of the natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song
in CHINA, PERU, and INDIA.* 166

S E C T. X.

*Of the natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song
amongst the ancient Hebrews.* 175

S E C T. XI.

*Of the State and Separation of Music and Poetry in ancient
ROME.* 182

S E C T. XII.

*Of the State and Separation of Music and Poetry among the
polished Nations of EUROPE through the succeeding Ages.*
194

S E C T. XIII.

Of the possible Re-union of Poetry and Music. 221

S E C T. XIV.

CONCLUSION. 238

A

DISSERTATION, &c.

SECTION I.

The DESIGN.

BLEST Pair of Syrens, Pledges of Heaven's Joy,
 Sphere-born harmonious Sisters, VOICE and VERSE,
 Wed your divine Sounds, and mix'd Pow'r employ!

So said the sublime MILTON, who knew and felt their Force: But Those whom *Nature* had thus *joined* together, *Man*, by his false Refinements, hath most *unnaturally* put *asunder*.

The Purpose of the following Dissertation, therefore, is to trace the *Rise, Union, and Progression* of *Poetry* and *Music*, as they are found to exist in their several Kinds and Gradations among Mankind; thence to consider the Causes which have produced that *Separation* under which they now lie, and have often lain, among the more polished Nations; and in Conclusion, to point out the *Circumstances* in which, and the *Means* by which, they may possibly be *again united*.

E

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

The proposed Method of Inquiry.

WHATSOEVER is founded in such *Passions* and *Principles* of Action, as are *common* to the whole *Race of Man*, will be most effectually investigated, as to its *Origin* and *Progress*, by viewing Man in his *savage* or *uncultivated* State. Here, before Education and Art have cast their Veil over the human Mind, its various Powers throw themselves out, and all its Workings present themselves instantly, and without Disguise.

It may be affirmed with Truth, that, for Want of beginning our Inquiries at this early and neglected Period, and by viewing Man under his State of *Civilization* only, many curious and interesting Questions have been left involved in Darkness, which might have been clearly unfolded by a free and full Research into the *Passions*, *Propensities*, and *Qualities* of *savage* Man.

This the Writer hopes to make appear in a more *extensive Degree*, and on Subjects of *higher Importance*, through the Course of a future Work [a]; of which, some of the Principles here delivered will make an incidental Part. In the mean Time, he intends to treat the present Subject in the Way now proposed, by deducing his Argument from the first great and original Fountain of *savage Life* and *Manners*.

[a] The Work advertised at the End of this Dissertation.

S E C T. III.

Of Music, Dance, and Poem, in the savage State.

BY examining savage Life, where untaught Nature rules, we find that the *agreeable Passions* of Love, Pity, Hope, Joy, and Exultation, no less than their *Contraries* of Hate, Revenge, Fear, Sorrow, and Despair, oppressing the human Heart by their mighty Force, are thrown out by the three Powers of *Action, Voice, and articulate Sounds*. The *Brute* Creatures express their Passions by the two first of These; some by *Action*, some by *Voice*, and some by *both* united: Beyond these, *Man* has the added Power of *articulate Speech*: The same Force of *Association* and *Fancy* which gives him *higher Degrees* and a *wider Variety* of *Passion*, gives rise to this *additional Power* of expressing those Passions which he feels.

Among the *Savages* who are in the *lowest Scale* of the human Kind, these several Modes of expressing their Passions are found altogether suited to their wretched State. Their *Gestures* are *uncouth* and *horrid*: Their *Voice* is thrown out in *Howls* and *Roarings*: Their *Language* is like the *Gabbling* of *Geese*.

But if we ascend a Step or two higher in the Scale of savage Life, we shall find this *Chaos* of *Gesture, Voice, and Speech*, rising into an agreeable *Order* and *Proportion*. The natural Love of a *measured Melody*, which Time and Experience produce, throws the *Voice* into *Song*, the *Gesture* into *Dance*, the *Speech* into *Versè* or *Numbers*. The Addition of musical *Instruments* comes of Course: They are

but *Imitations* of the human Voice, or of other natural Sounds, produced gradually by frequent Trial and Experiment.

Such is the Generation and natural Alliance of these three *Sister-Graces*, *Music*, *Dance*, and *Poem*, which we find moving Hand in Hand among the savage Tribes of every Climate.

For the Truth of the Fact, we may appeal to most of the Travellers who describe the Scenes of uncultivated Nature: All these agree in telling us, that *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*, make up the ruling Pastime, adorn the Feasts, compose the Religion, fix the Manners, strengthen the Policy, and even form the future Paradise, of savage Man. That having few Wants, and consequently much Leisure, the barbarous Tribes addict themselves to these alluring Arts with a wonderful Degree of Passion, unless where their Manners are corrupted by an incidental Commerce with the Off-scum of civilized Nations. By these attractive and powerful Arts they celebrate their public Solemnities; by these they lament their private and public Calamities, the Death of Friends, or the Loss of Warriors: By these united, they express their Joy on their Marriages, Harvests, Huntings, Victories; praise the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes; excite each other to War and brave Exploits, or to suffer Death and Torments with unshaken Constancy.

These are the Circumstances most *common* to the savage Tribes: Besides these, there are many *peculiar* Modes, which arise from their different Climates, Situations, Opinions, Manners. Among some Tribes the *joyous* Passions,
among

among some the *gentle*, among others the *ferocious*, predominate and take Place. To give all the Varieties of these savage and festal Solemnities, were an endless Labour. Let the following Account suffice, as a general Image of the rest; which is singled out, not only because it is the most circumstantial; but likewise for the particular Relation which it will be found to bear to a following Part of this Inquiry.

The IROQUOIS, HURONS, and some less considerable Tribes, are free and independent Savages, who inhabit the northern Continent of AMERICA; and extend their Settlements from the Back of the *British Colonies* to the Borders of the *Great Lakes*, along the Skirts of LOUISIANA, and down the River OHIO, towards the MISSISSIPPI, and the Gulph of FLORIDA. Father LAFITAU [b] gives the following Description of their festal Solemnities; which it is necessary to transcribe at large, in order to give an adequate Idea of their Manners and Character.

“ On the appointed Day, early in the Morning, they
 “ prepare the Feast in the *Council-Cabbin*, and there they
 “ dispose all Things for the Assembly.— In the mean-
 “ time, a public Crier goes through the Village, and gives
 “ Notice that the *Kettle* is hung on in such a Cabbin:
 “ The common People, and even the Chiefs, bring with
 “ them their *little Kettle*. It doth not appear, that there
 “ is any Distinction of Ranks among them, except that
 “ the *old Men* occupy the foremost Matts. The IRO-
 “ QUOISE *Women* assist not, that I know of, at these Kind
 “ of Feasts; nor are they invited. The *Children*, and

[b] *Mœurs des Sauvages*, tom. ii. p. 213, &c. 12^{mo}.

“ young

“ *young Men*, who are not as yet chosen into the Body
 “ of Warriors, mount upon the Scaffolds which are placed
 “ over the Matts, and even upon the Roof of the Cabbin
 “ itself, and look down through the Hole at which the
 “ Smoke goes out.

“ While the Assembly is forming, He who makes the
 “ Feast, or He in whose Name it is made, *sings alone*. —
 “ The Design of this is to entertain the Company, on
 “ such Things as have Relation to the Subject on which
 “ they assemble. These *Songs*, for the most Part, are fill-
 “ ed with the *Fables of ancient Times*, the *heroic Deeds* of
 “ their *Nation*; and are composed in an *antiquated Style*;
 “ so old, that often they understand not what they say.
 “ The Singer hath sometimes an Assistant, who relieves
 “ him when he is fatigued: For they sing with all their
 “ Force.

“ The Speaker then opens the Scene, by asking in Form,
 “ if all who are invited are come. He then names the
 “ Person who makes the Feast, he declares the Occasion
 “ on which it is made, and enters into a particular Detail
 “ of all that is in the Kettle. At every thing which he
 “ names, the whole Choir replies by a repeated Shout of
 “ Approbation.

“ The Speaker then gives an Account of every thing,
 “ which it is of Importance that the Public should know.
 “ For these *Song-Feasts*, being made on all *weighty Occa-*
 “ *sions* which regard the *Village* or the *Nation*; this is the
 “ proper Time for public Affairs, as that of renewing
 “ a *Name*, hearing *Ambassadors*, or *proclaiming War* by
 “ *Song*.

“ When

“ When the Orator hath done speaking, sometimes they
 “ begin to eat before they sing, that they may have the
 “ better Spirits: Sometimes they sing before they eat: If
 “ the Feast is to continue for the whole Day, the Kettle
 “ is in Part empty’d in the Morning, and in Part reserved
 “ for the Evening; and in the Intervals they *sing* and
 “ *dance*.

“ The Master of the Feast touches nothing. He busies
 “ himself only in seeing that the Company be served, or
 “ in serving them himself; naming aloud the Pieces which
 “ he destines and presents to each. The best Morfels are
 “ given, by Way of Preference, to those whom he chuseth
 “ to distinguish.

“ After the Repast, the Master of the Feast begins the
 “ *Athonront*, a *Song and Dance* peculiar to the *Men*. They
 “ relieve each other, by beginning with those of *most*
 “ *Consideration*, and passing gradually down to the *Young-*
 “ *est*. They have that Civility and Attention to each
 “ other, that every one waits till another of superior Dig-
 “ nity enters the Lists, and takes the Lead.

“ The *Ancients* and Men of Dignity often do no more
 “ than *rise* from their Seats; and content themselves, while
 “ they *sing*, with making some *Inflexions* with their Head,
 “ Shoulders, and Knees, in order to *accompany* and *sustain*
 “ their *Song*. Others somewhat less grave, take a few
 “ Steps, and walk along the Cabin around the Fires. Every
 “ one hath his particular *Song*; that is, an *Air*, to which
 “ he *adjusts* a very few *Words*, which he repeats as often
 “ as he pleaseth. I have observed, that they even *retrench*

“ or *strike off* some *Syllables* from their Words, as if they
 “ were *Verses*, or *measured* Words, but *without Rhyme*.

“ He who means to dance, begins by rising from his
 “ Matt; and the whole Company answers him by a general
 “ Shout of Approbation: As he passeth along before
 “ every Fire, they who sit on each Side *beat* the *Measure*
 “ or *Cadence* of his *Song* by a correspondent Motion of
 “ the Head; and by throwing out continual Shouts which
 “ they redouble at certain Times, where the Measure de-
 “ mands it, with so much Truth, that they never err; and
 “ with such a Delicacy of Ear, as the *French*, who are most
 “ practised in their Customs, cannot attain to. When he
 “ passeth to a second Fire, They of the first take Breath:
 “ They of the more distant Fires are likewise silent: But
 “ the *Time* is always *beat* by those before whose Fire he
 “ sings and dances. The Song concludes by a general
 “ *Eboue!* of the whole Choir; which is a second Shout
 “ of Approbation.

“ The *young* Men have their *Songs* of a more *lively*, and
 “ their *Dances* of a more *vigorous* Cast; such as are suit-
 “ able to their Age. When the Dance is much animated,
 “ they dance two or three together, each at his own Fire:
 “ Nor does this Mixture ever occasion any Confusion.

“ Among these Dances, *some* are no more than a *simple*
 “ and *noble* Manner of *marching* up to an *Enemy*; and of
 “ *facing* *Danger* with *Intrepidity* and *Gaiety* of Mind.

“ A second Sort of Dance, but still of the same Kind, is
 “ that of the *Pantomimes*: Which consists in representing
 “ an Action in the Manner in which it passed, or such as
 “ they conceive it to have been. Many of those who have

“ lived among the IROQUOIS, have assured me, that after a
 “ Chief of War hath circumstantially recounted, at his
 “ Return, all that had passed in the Expeditions he had
 “ undertaken, and the Battles he had fought, they who are
 “ present at the Recital often rise on the sudden to dance,
 “ and represent those Actions with great Vivacity, as if
 “ they had been present: And all this, without any pre-
 “ vious Concert or Preparation.

“ In their *Songs* they *praise* not only their *Gods* and
 “ *Heroes*, but they likewise praise *themselves*: In this they
 “ are not sparing: and are even *prodigal* in their *Praise* of
 “ *others*, whom they think *worthy* of it. He who is thus
 “ applauded, answers by a shout of Thanks, as soon as he
 “ hears himself named.

“ They are still quicker at *rallying* each other; and suc-
 “ ceed to a Wonder in This. He who dances, takes
 “ whomsoever he pleaseth by the Hand, and brings him
 “ forth into the midst of the Assembly: to which he
 “ yields without Resistance. Meanwhile the *Dancer* con-
 “ tinues to *sing*; and sometimes in his *Song*, and some-
 “ times in the *Intervals*, he throws his *Sarcasms* on the
 “ Patient, who hears him without Reply. — At every *Bon*
 “ *Mot*, loud *Peals* of *Laughter* arise along the *Galleries*,
 “ who *animate* this *Sport*, and often oblige the Patient to
 “ cover his Head in his *Mantle*.

“ They have another Kind of *Dance*, in which the whole
 “ *Choir* dances: and this is common both to Men and Wo-
 “ men. As this is very different from the preceding ones,
 “ they do not use it in their *Song-Feasts*. Their Pretenders

“ to *Magic* [c] often ordain it as an *Act* of Religion, for the
 “ *healing* of the *Sick*: it is also one of their Modes of *Di-*
 “ *vination*. It is likewise practised, at Times, as a mere
 “ Exercise of *Pleasure*, at the Feasts and Solemnities of
 “ the Village. The Manner is as follows. Notice is
 “ given early in the Morning through all the Cabins, for
 “ the Performance of this Ceremony: Every Cabin de-
 “ puts a certain Number, either of Men or Women, who
 “ dress themselves in all their Finery, that they may go
 “ and perform their Part. They all appear at the ap-
 “ pointed Hour (which is proclaimed by a public Crier)
 “ either in the Council-Cabin, or some other Place destined
 “ for the Purpose. In the middle of the Place or Cabin
 “ they build a little Scaffold; and on this they raise a small
 “ Seat for the *Singers* who are to *accompany* and *animate* the
 “ *Dance*. One holds in his Hand a *Tambour* or little
 “ *Drum*, the other a *Tortoise Shell*. While these sing, and
 “ accompany their Song with the Sound of their Instru-
 “ ments (which is farther Strengthened by the Spectators,
 “ who beat with little Sticks upon the *Kettles* that are
 “ before them) they who dance, go round in a circular
 “ Movement; but without taking Hands, as they do in
 “ Europe. Each Dancer makes various Motions with his
 “ Feet and Hands, as he pleaseth: And though all the
 “ Movements are different, according to the Whim and
 “ Caprice of their Imagination, none of them ever lose the
 “ *Time*. They who are most expert in varying their

[c] *Charlatans*,—a Word with which we have none precisely correspond-
 ent in our Language: It signifies here, one who is a Pretender to *Mede-*
cine by the Arts of *Magic*.

“ Postures,

Postures, and throwing themselves into Action, are reckoned to excel the rest. The Dance is composed of several *Returns*: Each *Return* lasts till the Dancers are out of Breath; and after a short Interval of *Repose*, they begin *another*. Nothing can be more animated than these Movements: To see them, one would say, they were a Troop of furious and frantic People. What must fatigue them still more is, that not only by their Movement but likewise with their Voice, they follow the Singers and their Instruments to the End of each *Return*; which is always closed by a general and loud *Oueb!* which is a Shout of Approbation, implying that the *Return* hath been well performed.

Although I have not spoken particularly of any Nations but those of the IROQUOIS and HURONS, yet I may truly say, that I have described, at the same Time, all the other barbarous Nations of AMERICA, as to what is *essential* and *principal*. For though there appears to be a great Difference between the *Monarchic* and *Oligarchic* State, yet the Genius of their savage Policy is every where the same: We find the same Turn for public Affairs, the same Method of conducting them, the same Use of secret and solemn Assemblies, the same Character in their *Feasts*, their *Dances*, and their *Diversions*.

The *Music* and *Dance* of the *Americans* have something in them extremely barbarous, which at first disgusts; and of which no Idea can be formed by those who have not seen and heard them. We grow reconciled to them by Degrees, and in the End partake of them with Pleasure. As to the Savages themselves, they

“ are fond of these Feasts even to Distraction. They continue them whole Days and Nights entire; and the Shouts of their *Choir* are so violent, as to make the Village tremble.”

Thus far the learned Father LAFITAU: For whose Detail no Apology needs be made to the curious Reader. But the more particular Reasons, why it is here given at Length, will appear in the following Sections.

S E C T. IV.

Of the natural Consequences of a supposed Civilization.

WHILE these free and warlike Savages continue in their present *unlettered* State of Ignorance and Simplicity, no material Improvements in their *Song-Feasts* can arise. But let us suppose that the Use of *Letters* should come among them, and, as a Cause or Consequence of *Civilization*, be cultivated with that Spirit which is natural to a free and active People; and many notable Consequences would appear. Let us consider the most probable and striking among these natural Effects.

1. Their Idea of *Music*, in its most *inlarged* Sense, would comprehend the three Circumstances of *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*. For these three, as we have seen, being naturally conjoined, because naturally producing each other, would not *separately* command the Attention of such a People at their public Festivals. Therefore *Instrumental Melody*, without *Song*, would be little attended to, and of *no Esteem*; because it would want all those Attractions which must arise from the correspondent *Dance* and *Song*.

2. In

2. In the early Periods of such a Commonwealth, the *Chiefs* or *Legislators* would often be the *principal Musicians*. The two Characters would commonly coalesce; for we find, that, among the savage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are they who most signalize themselves by *Dance* and *Song*; and that their *Songs* rowl principally on the *great Actions* and *Events* which concern their *own Nation*.

3. Hence, their most ancient *Gods* would naturally be styled *Singers* and *Dancers*. For the most ancient *Gods* of civilized Pagan Countries, are generally their early *Legislators*, who taught their People the first Arts of Life. These deceased Legislators, therefore, when advanced to the Rank of *Gods*, would naturally be delivered down to Posterity with the same Attributes and Qualities by which they had distinguished themselves in Life: And it appears, from the last Article, that these Qualities would naturally be those of *Dance* and *Song*.

4. Measured Periods, or in other Words, *Rythm*, *Numbers*, and *Verse*, would naturally arise. For measured Cadence, or Time, is an essential Part of Melody, into which the human Ear naturally falls. And as the same Force of Ear would lead the Action or Dance to correspond with the Melody, so the Words or Song must, on a like Principle, keep Pace with *Both*. Among the *savage Americans* we see the first Rudiments of poetic Numbers, emerging from this Source. For "as the Means of adjusting the Words to the Air or Melody, they sometimes strike off Syllables from their Words." And such is the natural Generation of *Rythm* and *Verse*.

5. Their earliest *Histories* would be written in *Verse*. For we see, that among the savage Tribes, the Actions of
 2 their

their Heroes and Gods, and the great Events of their Nation, make a principal Part of their Songs. Whenever, therefore, the Use of Letters should come among such a People, these *ancient Songs* would naturally be *first recorded*, for the Information and Use of future Times.

6. Their most ancient *Maxims, Exhortations; Proverbs, or Laws*, would probably be written in Verse. For these would naturally make a Part of their *Songs* of Celebration, and would by Degrees be *selected* from thence, would in Time become the *Standard* of *Right* and *Wrong*, and as such, be treasured up and appealed to by the improving Tribe.

7. Their *religious Rites* would naturally be performed or accompany'd by *Dance* and *Song*. For it appears from Fact that the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes are the most general Subject of the savage Dance and Song; and the common End of Pagan Rites hath ever been, to praise the Gods of the Country, and by these Means (as well as by Sacrifice) to appease their Wrath, or secure their Favour.

8. Their *earliest Oracles* would probably be delivered in *Verse*, and *sung* by the Priest or Priestess of the supposed God. For these *Oracles*, being supposed to be *inspired* by a deceased *Chief* (now a *Deity*) who had himself delivered his Exhortations in this *enthusiastic Manner*; and being addressed to a Tribe among whom this Mode of Instruction universally prevailed, no other Vehicle but that of *Verse* and *Song* could at first gain these *Oracles* either *Credit* or *Reception*.

9. Their *Melody* would be *simple*; and derive a considerable Part of its Power from its *Rythm* or *Measure*, without
any

any Mixture of *artificial Composition*. First, because this Kind would be most suited to the *Powers* of the barbarous *Legislators* or *Bards*, at once *Composers* and *Performers*, among whom nothing artificial or refined could as yet take Place. Secondly, because this *Simplicity* of Manner would be best adapted to the Capacity of the surrounding People, incapable, in this early Period, to be attracted or moved by any thing but what *Nature* dictates.

10. The Force of this simple Melody would be much increased by the Power of early *Association* and continued *Habit*. For this, by *appropriating* certain *Sounds* to certain *Subjects*, would raise their Melody into a Kind of natural and expressive Language of the Passions.

11. Their *Songs* would be of a *legislative* Cast; and being drawn chiefly from the Fables or History of their own Country, would contain the essential Parts of their *religious*, *moral*, and *political* Systems. For we have seen above, that the *Celebration* of their deceased Heroes would of Course grow into a *religious* Act: That the *Exhortations* and *Maxims* intermixed with these Celebrations, and founded on the *Example* of their *Heroe-Gods*, would naturally become the *Standard* of *Right* and *Wrong*; that is, the Foundation of *private* *Morals* and *public* *Law*: And thus, the whole Fabric of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*, would naturally arise from, and be included in their *Songs*, during their Progress from savage to civilized Life.

12. MUSIC, in the extended Sense of the Word (that is, including Melody, Dance, and Song) would make an essential and principal Part in the Education of their Children. For the important Principles of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*, being delivered and inculcated in their
Songs,

Songs, no other Method could be devised, which would so strongly impress the youthful Mind with the *approved Principles of Life and Action*.

13. Music therefore (in this extended Sense) must gain a great and *universal Power* over the minds and Actions of such a People. For through the Force of early and continued *Habit*, together with the irresistible Contagion of general *Example*, while every thing pleasing, great, and important, was conveyed through this Medium, and through this only, such strong Impressions would strike themselves into the growing Mind, as would give it its ruling Colour through Life, and such as no future Incidents could easily weaken or efface.

14. In the Course of Time, and the Progress of Polity and Arts, a *Separation* of the several Parts or Branches of Music (in its extended Sense) would naturally arise. Till a certain Period of Civilization, Letters, and Art, the several Kinds would of course lie confused, in a Sort of undistinguished Mass, and be mingled in the same Composition, as Inclination, Enthusiasm, or other Incidents might impel. But repeated Trial and Experiment would naturally produce a more artificial Manner; and thus, by Degrees, the several Kinds of Poem would assume their legitimate Forms.

15. If their warlike Character continued, the *Dance* would naturally *separate* from the *Song*; and would itself become a *distinct Exercise or Art*, for the sake of increasing their Strength and Agility of Body, as the Means of rendering them invincible in War. For the Dance or Action of their Song-Feasts, being only secondary, and merely an *Appendage* to the Song, would not be of a Character sufficiently

ciently severe for the fierce and stubborn Contention of those who were destined to the immediate Toils of warlike Service.

16. After a certain Period of Civilization, the complex Character of *Legislator* and *Bard* would *separate*, or be seldom united. For as the Society grew more populous, and the increasing Arts of Life increased the Labours and Cares of Government, the *musical Art* (in its extended Sense) would of course be delegated by the civil Magistrate, to such Men of Genius and Worth, as might apply it to its proper Ends, the Instruction and Welfare of Mankind.

17. Hymns or Odes would be composed, and Sung by their Composers at their festal Solemnities. For these, in their simple State, are but a Kind of rapturous Exclamations of Joy, Grief, Triumph, or Exultation, in Consequence of some great or disastrous Action, known, alluded to, or expressed: A Species of Composition which naturally ariseth from the savage Song-Feast.

18. The Epic Poem would naturally arise, and be sung by its Composers at their public Solemnities. For it appears above [d], that their earliest Histories would be written in Verse, and make a Part of their public Song-Feasts. Now the *Epic Poem* is but a Kind of *fabulous History*, rowling chiefly on the great Actions of ancient Gods and Heroes, and artificially composed under certain Limitations with Respect to its *Manner*, for the Ends of Pleasure, Admiration, and Instruction.

19. From an *Union* of these two, a certain rude Outline of *Tragedy* would naturally arise. We may see the first Seeds or Principles of this Poem, in the Conduct of the savage Song-Feast. A *Chief sings* some great Action of a

[d] Article 5.

epique

God or Heroe: The surrounding *Choir* answer him at Intervals, by Shouts of Sympathy or concurrent Approbation.

20. In Process of Time, this barbarous Scene would improve into a more perfect Form: Instead of *relating*, they would probably represent, by Action and Song united, those great or terrible Achievements which their Heroes had performed. For of this, too, we find the Seeds or Principles in the savage State. “After a Chief of War hath recounted the Battles he had fought, they who are present will often rise up to dance, and represent those Actions with great Vivacity.” If to this we add the usual Exclamations of the surrounding Choir, we here behold the first *rude Form of savage Tragedy*.

21. If the *Choir* should be *established* by general Use, and should animate the Solemnity by *Dance* as well as *Song*; the *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song* would of course *regulate* each other, and the *Ode* or *Song* would fall into *Stanzas* of some *particular Kind*. This appears from the third Article.

22. Another Consequence of an *established Choir* would be an unvaried Adherence to the *Unities* of *Place* and *Time*. For a numerous Choir, maintaining their Station through the whole Performance, must give so forcible a Conviction to the Senses, of the *Sameness* of *Place*, and *Shortness* of *Time*, that any Deviation from this apparent Unity must shock the Imagination with an Improbability too gross to be endured.

23. Not only the Part of the tragic *Choir*, but the *Episode* or *interlocutory* Part would be also *sung*. For as the *Ode* and *Epic* would be *sung* from the earliest Periods; so when they became *united*, and by that Union formed the tragic

tragic Species, they of Course maintained the same Appendance of *Melody*, which Nature and Custom had already given them.

24. While the Nation held its *fierce* and *warlike* Character, the *tragic* Representations would chiefly turn on Subjects *distressful* or *terrible*. For thus they would animate each other to *Victory* and *Revenge*, by a Representation of what their *Friends* had *done* and *suffered*. These Subjects would likewise be most accommodated to the natural Taste of the poetic Chiefs of such a People; whose Atchievements must produce and abound with Events of Distress and Terror. They also would be best suited to the Genius and Ends of their State and Polity: For as the leading View of such a fierce and warlike People must be to destroy Pity and Fear; so this would most effectually be done, by making themselves familiar with distressful and terrible Representations. The gentle Passions, and less affecting Actions, which might fill the Spectacles of a mild and peaceful Nation, would be insipid to the Taste, and incompatible with the Character, of such a warlike People.

25. As their Tragedy would be intended as a *visible Representation* of their ancient Gods and Heroes, so it would be natural for them to invent some Means of *strengthening* the *Voice*, and *aggrandising* the *Visage* and *Person*, as the means of completing the Resemblance: For in all Savage Countries, the *tallest* and *strongest* Men are generally selected as their *Chiefs*.

26. As their Tragic *Poets* would be *Singers*, so they would be *Actors*, and perform some capital Part in their own Pieces for the Stage. For we see these different Characters are naturally united in the savage State: There-

fore, till some extraordinary Change in Manners and Principles should ensue, this *Union* would of Course continue.

27. *Musical Contests* would be admitted as *public Exercises* in such a State. For we have seen, that the important Articles of Religion, Morals, and Polity, would naturally make a Part of their public Songs: therefore public Contests of this Kind would be regarded as the best and surest Means of raising an Emulation of a most useful Nature; and of strengthening the State, by enforcing all the fundamental Principles of Society in the most striking and effectual Manner.

28. The Profession of *Bard* or *Musician* would be held as very honourable, and of high Esteem. For he would be vested with a Kind of *public Character*: and if not an original Legislâtor, yet still he would be regarded as a *subordinate* and *useful Servant* of the State.

29. *Odes*, or *Hymns*, would naturally make a Part of their *domestic Entertainments*: and the *Chiefs* would be proud to signalize themselves by their Skill in *Melody* and *Song*. For their Songs being enriched with all the great and important Subjects relative to the public State; nothing could be more suitable to a high Station in the Commonwealth, than a Proficiency in this sublime and legislative Art.

30. When *Music* had attained to this State of relative Perfection, it would be regarded as a *necessary Accomplishment*. And if any Man, or Society of Men, were unacquainted with the Practice and Power of Music, their Ignorance in this Art would be regarded as a capital Defect: For it would imply a Deficiency in the three great leading Articles of Education, *Religion, Morals, and Polity*.

31. The

31. The Genius of their Music would vary along with their Manners: For Manners being the leading and most essential Quality of Man; All his other Tastes and Acquirements naturally correspond with *These*; and accommodate themselves to his Manners, as to their chief and original Cause.

32. As a Change of Manners must influence their Music, so, by a reciprocal Action, a Change in their Music must influence Manners: For we have seen, that Music was the established Vehicle of all the great Principles of Education: Therefore a Change in Music must tend to bring on a Change in *These*.

33. A Provident Community of Principles, uncommonly severe, would probably fix both the Subjects and Movements of Song and Dance, by Law: This would arise from their Knowledge of the mutual Influence of Manners and Music on each other.

34. In a Society of more libertine and relaxed Principles, the Corruption of Music would naturally arise, along with the Corruption of Manners; for the Reasons now assigned: and the Musicians, Bards, or Poets, would be the immediate Instruments of this Corruption. For being educated in a corrupt State they would be apt to debase their Art to vile and immoral Purposes, as the means of gaining that Applause which would be the natural Object of their Ambition.

35. In Consequence of this Corruption, a gradual and total Separation of the *Bard's* or *Musician's* complex Character would ensue. For the *Chief* would now no longer pride himself on the Character of *Poet* or *Performer*; nor the *Man* of *Genius* and *Worth* descend to the Profession:

of *Lyrist, Singer, or Actor*: Because these Professions, which had formerly been the Means of inculcating every thing laudable and great, would now (when perverted to the contrary Purposes) be disdained by the Wise and Virtuous.

36. Hence the Power, the Utility and Dignity of *Music* would sink into a general Corruption and Contempt. This Consequence is so plain, as to need no Illustration.

S E C T. V.

An Application of these Principles to the Melody, Dance, and Song, of ancient Greece.

SUCH may seem to be the Consequences which would naturally arise in a savage, free, and warlike State, should *Letters* be introduced and cultivated among such a spirited and active People. In Support of the Truth of these Deductions, let us now endeavour to *realize* them; by shewing that such Consequences did in Fact arise in ancient GREECE. In the Course of this Review, which will contain the Rise, Progress, Power, Perfection, Separation, and Corruption, of their *Melody, Dance, and Song*, we may perhaps be fortunate enough, on the Principles here given, to fix some Things which have been held doubtful, to unfold others which have hitherto been confessedly unaccountable, and to resolve others into their proper and evident Causes, which have been attributed to such Causes as never had Existence.

I. "Their Idea of *Music*, in its most enlarged Sense, "comprehended the three Circumstances of *Melody, Dance, and Song*."—This appears from the concurrent Testi-

2

"mony

mony of many ancient Authors: The following one from the *Alcibiades* of PLATO may alone be a sufficient Authority. “*Socr.* Tell me first, what Art is, that, to which it “ belongs properly to *sing*, to *play*, and *dance*? Cannot “ you find a Name for this comprehensive Art?---*Alcib.* “ I cannot.---*Socr.* Try a little: Who are the Goddesses “ that preside over this Art?---*Alcib.* Do you mean the “ MUSES?---*Socr.* I do: Consider then, what Name the “ Art receives from them.---*Alcib.* You seem to hint at “ MUSIC.---*Socr.* You are right [*e*].”---The same Truth is no less evident from the circumstantial Account which ATHENÆUS gives of the old ARCADIAN *Musick*; which, in its general Acceptation, included *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song* [*f*]. It appears, then, that this Combination or Union of these three *Sister-Graces* arose naturally in ancient GREECE, from an Improvement of the *savage* State into a certain Degree of *Civilization*. They needed no *Art* to joyn them: For as they *naturally* produce each other, and are naturally conjoined in the *savage* and uncultivated State, this Union would of Course continue, till some violent Change in Manners or Principles should break that Union which Nature had established.---It appears no less evidently from ancient Writers, that what we call *Instrumental Music*, that is, the *Melody* of Instruments, unaccompany'd by *Dance* or *Song*, was a Thing never held in Esteem till the later Periods of Antiquity, in which a general Separation took Place. This will appear more at large hereafter. PLATO calls *Instrumental Music* “ an un- “ meaning Thing, and an *Abuse of Melody* [*g*].”

[*e*] PLATO, ALCIBIADES.
bus, l. i.

[*f*] *Deipnosoph.* l. xiv.

[*g*] *De Legi-*

2. "In the earliest Periods of the Greek States, their Legislators were often Bards, or their Bards were Legislators." Such, in a more eminent Degree, were APOLLO, ORPHEUS, AMPHION, LINUS, and MUSÆUS [b]. Of this Rank too, was THALES the *Cretan* Lawgiver; who composed Laws in Verse, and sung them to his Lyre [i]. It hath been generally supposed, that the story'd Power of their Lyres and Songs meant no more, than by a metaphorical Expression to convey a strong Idea of their Eloquence and legislative Art, in producing *Order* from *Confusion*. Thus PLUTARCH tells us, that "the Ancients represented the Statues of the Gods with Musical Instruments in their Hands, not as being really Lyres or Flutes; but because they thought, that nothing so much suited the Character and Office of the Gods, as *Harmony* and *Order* [k]." Thus too, a noble Writer of our own Country declares his Opinion, and says, that "*Tradition*, which soon grew *fabulous*, could not better represent the first *Founders* or *Establishers* of large Societies, than as *real Songsters* [l]". But *real Songsters*, beyond Doubt, they were; nor was *Tradition* *fabulous* in thus representing them. For from a View of human Nature, as emerging from the savage State, it is evident, that the *Song* and *Lyre* (as soon as the Lyre was invented) must be the natural Means or Instruments of Civilization, by conveying the Legislator's Precepts to the surrounding People. For we have seen that, among the savage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are proud to signalize themselves by *Song*; that they *preside* at the *Song Feasts*; and that their Songs rowl

[b] PLATO *de Rép.* l. ii.[i] STRABO *Geog.* l. x.[k] PLUT. *de Procreat. Animæ,* &c.[l] *Characteristics,* vol. i. p. 237.

principally

principally on the great Actions, Affairs, and Events of their own Nation. — A concurrent Proof of this natural Union of the Bard's and Legislator's Office might be drawn, were it necessary, from the Name which the old THESSALIANS gave their *Magistrates*: They styled them *ἄρχοι χορηγῶν*, or “the Leaders of the Dance and Song-Feast [m]:” A Circumstance which plainly points out its own Origin.

3. “Their most ancient Gods were stiled *Singers* and “*Dancers*.” Thus HORACE calls APOLLO the *Singer* [n]. PINDAR stiles him the *Dancer* [o]. HOMER, or the Author of the Hymns that pass under his Name, gives him the same Appellation [p]. RHEA, the Mother of JUPITER, is said to have taught her Priests the Art of *Dancing*, both in PHRYGIA and CRETE [q]: As CASTOR and POLLUX instructed the *Lacedemonians* in the same Art [r]. EUMELUS or ARCTINUS the *Corinthian* brings in even JUPITER himself *dancing*, in these Words,

Among them danc'd the Sire of Gods and Men [s].

Whence it arose, that these ancient Gods were represented as *Singers* and *Dancers*, and vested with a Quality which at first Sight seems altogether foreign to their Character, hath not as yet been accounted for. We now see the true and natural Origin of these Appellations. For the most ancient Gods, among the civilized *Greeks*, were their early Legislators, who taught the savage Tribes the first Arts of Life. These deceased Legislators, therefore, when advanced to the Rank of Gods, were naturally delivered down

[m] LUCIAN. *de Saltatione*.

[n] *Ep. ad Pisones*.

[o] *Ode*.

[p] *Hymn. in Apollinem*.

[q] LUCIAN. *de Saltatione*.

[r] *Ibid*.

[s] *Apud ATHENÆUM Deipn.* l. i.

to Posterity, with the same Attributes or Qualities by which they distinguished themselves in Life: and it appears from a View of the *Chiefs* of the savage Tribes, that these Qualities would naturally be those of *Dance* and *Song*.

4. “Measured Periods; or, in other Words, Rythm, Numbers, and Verse, did naturally arise.” The general Reason is assigned in the fourth Article of the last Section; and needs not to be repeated here. But as some particular Consequences arise from this Foundation, relative to the most ancient *History, Laws, and Oracles*, these will deserve a separate Consideration.

5. “Their earliest Histories were written in Verse.” This Fact is indisputable; but seems not, as yet, to have been resolved into its true Cause. STRABO informs us, that, “The Poetic Form first appeared: They who imitated it, dropped the Measure: Such were CADMUS the *Milesian*, PHÉRECYDES and HÉCATÆUS [t]. These were the first *Greek* Historians who writ in *Prose*. Another learned Ancient confirms this Account; and says, “In these early Times, so general was the Inclination to Rythm and Numbers, that all Instruction was given in Verse: There was neither *History* nor *Philosophy*, nor any Action to be described, but what was dressed by the *Muses* [u]”. Not only the *Greek* Writers give a concurrent Testimony concerning the Priority of *historical Verse* to *Prose*, but the Records of all Nations unite in confirming it. The oldest Compositions among the ARABS are in Rythm or rude Verse; and are often cited as Proofs.

[t] STRABO, l. i.

[u] PLUTARCH.

of the Truth of their subsequent History [w]. The Accounts we have of the *Peruvian* Story confirm the same Fact: For GARCILASSO tells us, that he compiled a Part of his *Commentaries* from the *ancient Songs* of the Country [x]. Nay all the *American* Tribes who have any Compositions, are found to establish the same Truth [y]. Northern EUROPE contributes its Share of Testimony: For there, too, we find the *Scythian* or *Runic* Songs (many of them *historical*) to be the oldest Compositions among these barbarous Nations [z]. ODIN is said to have boasted, that “his Runic Poems were given him by the Gods [a].” A Circumstance which proves them to have been of the highest Antiquity.

The Fact, then, is clear and certain: And as it is somewhat mysterious to common Apprehension, various Solutions have been attempted by the Learned; though, in my Opinion, without Success. I shall give them, as they appear in various Writers.

LONGINUS hath aimed at something like a Reason, in the following Passage: “Measure belongs *naturally* to “Poetry, as its Province is the Description and *Language* “of the *Passions*; together with *Fiction* or Fable, which “produce Numbers. Hence it was that the Ancients (even “in their common Discourse) used Measure and Verse, “rather than Prose [b].” It can hardly be necessary to observe, that the celebrated Critic, in this Passage, gives a mere *Affirmation* instead of an *Argument*. He says, indeed,

[w] *Hist. de las Guerras Civil. de Grenada.*

[x] *Comment. Real.*

[y] LAFITAU.

[z] BARTHOLIN. *de Contemptu Mortis, &c.*

HICKES *Thef. Septentr.*

[a] SHERINGHAM *Orig. Gent. Angl.*

[b] LONGIN. *de Metr.*

“ that the Language of the Passions, and Fiction, naturally produce Measure and Numbers :” But the Reason is still to seek. It were to be wished, that in many Parts of his Writings, he had not given us more Instances of his fine Taste, than his Power of Reasoning.

A learned Modern of our own Nation hath try'd his Talent in this curious Question. “ They (the Ancients), thought, it would seem, that Language was the first Tamer of Men; and took its Origin to have been certain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company of scrambling Mortals emitted by Chance. Upon this Supposition it will follow, that at first they uttered these Sounds in a *much higher Note* than we do our Words now; occasioned; *perhaps*, by their falling on them under some Passion, Fear, Wonder, or Pain; and then using the same Sound, either when the Object or Accident recurred, or when they wanted to describe it by what they felt from its Presence. *Neither* the Syllables nor the *Tone* could be *ascertained*: but when prompted by the Return of the Passion, under which they invented them, they *extended* their *Throats* and put several of these Marks together, they would seem to sing. Hence *αὐδαίω* signified at first simply to *speak*, or utter the Voice; which now, with a small Abbreviation (*αἰδῶ*) signifies to *sing*: And hence came the ancient Opinion, which appears so *strange* to Us, that Poetry was before Prose [c].” Here we see an ingenious Writer toiling in vain to prop a mistaken Principle. For, to omit all the weak Parts of the Paragraph, which might expose it to Ridicule, if nei-

[c] *Enq. into the Life of HOMER*, p. 38.

ther *Syllables* nor *Tones* could be *ascertained*, it follows, that neither *Measure* nor *Melody* could arise; and therefore it must even continue to appear as strange as ever, “that Poetry should be before Prose.”

Mr. DE VOLTAIRE talks more speciously (after ARISTOTLE and PLUTARCH [d]) on this Subject. “Before HERODOTUS, even History was not written but in Verse among the GREEKS, who had borrowed this Custom from the ancient EGYPTIANS, the wisest, the best policed, and the most knowing People upon Earth. This Custom was very *reasonable*: for the End of History was to preserve to Posterity the *Memory* of those few great Men, whose Example might be of Service to Mankind. They only writ what was worthy of being retained by Heart. This is the Reason why they laid hold of the Harmony of *Verse*; that they might aid the *Memory*. And hence it was, that the first *Philosophers*, *Legislators*, and *Historians*, were all *Poets* [e].”

As this is the most plausible Reason that hath as yet been assigned for this mysterious Fact, it will deserve a particular Consideration. The Cause assigned seems, therefore, to rest on no probable Foundation, for the following Reasons.

First, because it seems to take for granted the Existence of the very Thing which it is said to have produced. If we suppose Rythm, Numbers, and Verse, to exist and be in general Use, they would undoubtedly become the natural Means of Memory and Record among a barbarous People. But to *invent* the Vehicle of *Rythm*, from a *Fore-sight*

[d] See the following Articles.

[e] *Preface à Oedip.*

of its being the best Instrument of Memory, without any prior Impulse from unassisted Nature, seems altogether incompatible with the general Character of the savage Tribes: For in the Period of savage Manners, the Power of *abstract Reasoning* is always *weak*, and is often found to have *no Place*.

Again: The *Universality* of the Fact adds greatly to the Improbability of the Cause assigned. Though we should suppose it possible or probable, that one savage Chief might by Dint of Reason strike out this new method of recording History; yet that *All* savage Chiefs, in every known Age and Climate, should *unite* in the *same* Contrivance, is highly improbable. If one of more exalted Capacity delivered his Stories in Verse, *another* of inferior Reach and Invention would naturally give them to Posterity in plain Prose: Nay, the acknowledged Difficulty of *Verseification* would naturally make the *prosaic* Manner the more *common*, though less effectual Method of the two. Now, the contrary to this is acknowledged to be true, even by those who contend for the Truth and Sufficiency of the Cause assigned. The *Universality* of the Fact is allowed by All. Such an universal Coincidence, therefore, must spring from some other Cause, such as ariseth unalterably from Nature, and takes Place among the savage Tribes in an universal and unvaried Manner.

Farther: If the ancient Songs, prior to prose in every Nation, had been *coolly composed*, for the Sake of *Tradition* and *Information only*, they would have been *circumstantial* and *precise*: Whereas the contrary appears in their Construction: They are generally *vague* and *enthusiastic*; and bear

bear all the Marks of being the genuine Effects of savage *Passion* and *Enthusiasm*. So far are they from containing any regular *Series* of Facts, that Facts are often *hinted* only; while the mere *Celebration* of the Heroe forms the chief Weight and *Burthen* of the *Song*...

Lastly, the universal Connexion of the *old Pœtry* with *Melody*, and the unvary'd Custom of *singing it*, amounts to the strongest Proof, that the mere End of *Memory* and *Tradition* could not be its original Cause. For had the sole Intention of the Song been that of *Record only*, a mere *Recitation* of the Verses would have answered the same Purpose. And we may affirm it to be a *moral Impossibility* that an universal Union of Verse and Melody could have taken Place on this Foundation.

Since, therefore, the Cause hitherto assigned seems altogether inadequate to the Effect; can we reasonably entertain a Doubt, in resolving it into that Principle which we have already found universally predominant in savage Life? I mean, the natural Passion for *Melody* and *Dance*, which necessarily throws the accompanying *Song* into a *correspondent Rhythm*. Hence, the Use of Rhythm and Verse must naturally arise in GREECE (as in every other Country emerging from Barbarity) because Melody, Dance, and Song, made a principal Employment of their savage State. And hence, their earliest Histories must of course be written in Verse; because the Actions of their Gods and Heroes made a principal Part of their Songs; and therefore, when the Use of Letters came among them, these ancient Songs were naturally *first* recorded, that is, they became
their...

their earliest *Histories*, for the Information and Use of future Times.

As this Cause, when viewed in itself, seems amply and clearly to account for the Effect, so it will receive farther Confirmation, if we consider how naturally it removes all those Objections which load the Opinion here controverted. For it neither requires nor supposeth any Power of *abstract Reasoning* among the *savage Tribes*, but is the mere Effect of *Passion* and uncultivated Nature. Its Universality, therefore, becomes highly probable; because the Principles of savage Nature (making Allowance for the Difference of Soil and Climate) are every where the same. The *Genius* of the ancient Songs of every Nation adds new Degrees of Evidence: For they are generally irregular and enthusiastic; and therefore the genuine Productions of *unlettered Enthusiasm*. Lastly, their universal Connexion with *Melody*, and the unvary'd Practice of *singing* them, comes up to a full and direct Proof, of the Reality of the Cause now assigned.

It must not be disguised, that the most learned VOSSIUS was so struck with the Difficulty of accounting for this Appearance, that he thinks it best to deny the Fact. “To me the contrary seems true; that Prose was first written, and then Poetry. 'Tis natural to walk on Foot before we mount on Horseback; and it is certain that Men first *spoke* in *Prose*, and then in *Numbers*. We have nothing more ancient than the Writings of MOSES; and these are in *Prose*, with Songs intermixed [*f*].” On this Reasoning it may be remarked, that although it be

[*f*.] *De Artis Poët. Nat. et Const.* c. i.

certain

certain that Men *spoke* in *Prose* before they *spoke* in *Verse*; yet the Consequence follows not, that therefore they must *write* in *Prose* before they *writ* in *Verse*. The sole Question is, what would be deemed best worth recording, on the first Rise of the *writing Art*? Surely, the Actions and Celebrations of their Ancestors, Gods, and Heroes: Now these, we have already seen, must naturally make the chief Subject of their festal Songs; and therefore their *festal Songs* were of Course the *first* things *written* or *recorded*.

With respect to the Instance alledged by the learned Critic, of the Writings of MOSES, and the Practice of ancient EGYPT, this, when properly explained, will confirm the Truth of the Cause here given. MOSES, we know, was learned in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*: EGYPT was, in his Time, become a *polished Nation*; and therefore, according to the natural Course of Things (as will appear below) *Prose* had been introduced before the Time of MOSES, as it was afterwards in GREECE by HECATÆUS and others. As to the intermixed Songs in the Writings of MOSES, it is now a Point agreed among the Learned, that they are written in *Measure*; and correspond in all Respects with the Principle here delivered. And that *Song* was the oldest Form of Composition in EGYPT, we learn clearly from two ancient Writers: The First informs us, that their Music and Songs had continued unchanged, for upwards of three thousand Years [g]: The other gives a more particular Account of their Nature, and Manner of being sung. “ The first of the Priests who “ used to appear in the religious Procession, was a *Choragus*,

[g] PLATO *de Rep.* l. vii.

“ Bard, or Singer, who carried the Symbol of Music, and
 “ could repeat by Heart the two first Books of MERCURY;
 “ the first containing *Hymns* in Honour of the Gods; the
 “ second containing *Sentences* or *Maxims* for the Conduct
 “ of a King [b].”

6. “ Their most ancient *Maxims*, *Exhortations*, *Pro-*
 “ *verbs*, or *Laws* were written in *Verse*.” Having traced
 the Antiquity of *Song* and *poetic History* to its true and
 natural Cause, the present Article will be of easy Discussion.
 For as the Greek Songs and poetic Stories were fraught
 with the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes, so
Maxims of *Exhortation*, which in barbarous Countries
 hold the Place of *Laws*, must of Course make a Part of
 these public Songs, must by Degrees be selected from them,
 and in Time be appealed to, as the *Standard* of *Right* and
Wrong.

However, as ARISTOTLE hath hinted at another Cause,
 the slightest Conjecture of so great a Name must not pass
 unnoticed. He puts the Question thus. “ Why are many
 “ Songs called by the name of *Laws*? Was it because, be-
 “ fore the Invention of the Art of Writing, *Laws* were
 “ sung, lest they should be *forgotten* [i]?” On this Passage
 it will be only necessary to remark, First, that the Opinion
 is delivered as a mere Conjecture. Secondly, that all the
 Difficulties which load the common Opinion concerning

[b] CLEMENS ALEXANDR. *Stromat.* 1. vi.

[i] *Problem.* Sect. xix. Art. 28. He is followed in this Opinion by the
 learned Mr. GOGUET, in his late Book on *Laws* and *Government*: “ The
 “ earliest Legislators set their *Laws* to Music, that they might be more easily
 “ retained.” *Tom.* ii. *L.* i. *Art.* 8.

the first Rise of *poetic History*, lie equally heavy upon *this*: And lastly, that the same Solution leads us up to the true Cause, on the natural Principles of the *savage Song-Feast*. This Solution may, perhaps, in the Opinion of some, receive additional Confirmation from the concurrent Authority of CASAUBON; who declares it his Belief (though he assigns no Reason) that the Songs called *Nomoi* were *Fragments* of ancient Poetry, which had been selected and preserved on Account of their Utility [i].

7. “ Their earliest *religious Rites* were performed or accompanied by *Dance and Song*.” — The *Orgys* of BACCHUS, celebrated in this Manner, were famed through all the Ages of Antiquity. STRABO tells us, that “ the *Greeks* retained the Custom *common* to the *Barbarians*, “ of celebrating their Sacrifices to the Gods with Music, “ consisting of Dance, Melody, and Song:” And highly extolls this Practice, “ as tending to unite the Soul with “ God [k].” PLUTARCH adds his Testimony, and informs us, that in GREECE “ the first Application of Music “ was to religious Ceremonies, in Honour of the Gods [l].” All this flows naturally from the view we have given of savage Life and Manners: For we have seen that the Praises of their Chiefs are the most general Topic of the savage Dance and Song; and the *Grecian Gods* were no other than their *deceased Chieftains*.

8. “ Their earliest *Oracles* were delivered in Verse, and “ sung by the Priest or Priestess of the supposed God.” The natural Cause of this Fact hath been assigned in the Article which corresponds with this. The ancients knew

[i] In LAERT.

[k] STRABO, l.

[l] PLUT. de Musica.

and confessed the Fact, but were so entirely ignorant of the true Cause, that they *laboured* more in this Point, than even in accounting for the Rise of *poetic History* and *Laws*. This will appear from PLUTARCH, who hath written a Discourse on the following Question, “ Why the PYTHIA “ no longer gives her Oracles in Verse?” Now, before he assigned the Causes why this Practice of *Oracular Verse* had *ceased*, it was natural that he should inquire how it first *began*: And the Causes (if such they may be called) which he assigns, are these.

First, “ The ancient Times produced a Race of Men, who “ had naturally, and from *bodily Temperament*, a stronger “ Turn for Pœtry.” Secondly, “ There was a Time, “ when, instead of the Art of Writing, Men used Metre, “ Verse, or Songs; adapting History, and other the “ weightiest Subjects, to Pœtry and Music.” “ Thus they “ celebrated the Gods; and told their Fables in Verse, “ some through the Force of *Genius*, and others by the “ Power of *Custom*.” “ Therefore the God permitted the “ Application of Verse and Song to his Oracles, and would “ not drive the Muses from his Tripod.” Thirdly, “ The “ Utility of Poetry is in nothing more conspicuous, than “ in its Assistance to the *Memory*, by the Means of Num- “ bers. The Ancients had great Need of This, beyond “ the Moderns, because the Oracles referred to Persons, “ Things, and Places, which were often unknown to “ them [m].”

Thus the learned PLUTARCH; whose weak Reasonings (weak because he wanted Facts to lead him to the Truth);

[m] PLUT. *Diff. Cur nunc Pythia non reddat oracula carmine.*

hardly

hardly need a Confutation. For how came it so to pass, that the first Race of Men were by *natural bodily Temperament* of a *stronger Turn to Poetry*? How came it so to pass, that they told their Fables in Verse, some by the Force of *Genius*, others by the Power of *Custom*? These Affirmations take for granted the very Point in Question.

With Respect to the last Reason which the great Author assigns, “The Utility of Numbers, as an Assistance to the Memory;” This, when applied to *Oracles*, is not only incumbered with all the Difficulties which load the common System concerning the Origin of *poetic History* and *Laws*; but is contrary to the clear Evidence of Facts, which assure us that the earliest poetic Oracles were the Effect of *Enthusiasm*. For APOLLO, the God of *Music*, was their Author; The *Pythia* or *Priestess* was his *Vicegerent*; and PAUSANIAS informs us, that PHÆMONOE (the Sister of APOLLO) was the first *Priestess*; and that “she delivered her prophetic Inspirations with frantic Gestures (*Dance*) and in “heroic *Verse* and *Song* [n].” PLUTARCH tells us farther concerning this *savage Heroine*, that “she is said to have “celebrated *Herself*, in her *Songs*; and boasted, that she “should not cease to prophecy after her Death: That she “would ascend to the Moon, and be metamorphosed into “that Face which we see in the Moon’s Body [o].” These Passages, compared with what hath here been delivered on the *savage Song-Feasts*, unveil the true Origin of the old *poetic Oracles* of GREECE. Hence it appears why the God’s *Vicegerent* was a *Woman*: For his own *Sister* first assumed that Office, and was naturally succeeded by one of

[n] PAUS. in *Phocicis*.[o] *Loco supra citato.*

her own Sex. And the whole Account of her *Self-Celebrations*, her frantic *Gestures*, *Verse*, and *Song*, contains a true Picture of an *enthusiastic Savage*: For it appears above, “that Music, Dance, and Song, are one of the common Modes of *Divination*, among the savage IROQUOIS [p].”

9. “Their *Melody* was *simple*; and derived a considerable Part of its Power from its *Rythm* or Measure, without any Mixture of *artificial Composition*.” Much hath been said on this Subject, in support of the contrary Opinion; and with a View of proving, that the ancient Melody which wrought such Wonders in GREECE, was learned, artificial, and complex. With others, an Author no less considerable than Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE hath concurred in that Opinion [q]: And all the Writers on this Subject seem to have given us a Parade of Words without any determinate Ideas annexed to them. I shall therefore, first, assign the Reasons why it appears to me, that we have no adequate Idea of the ancient GREEK Melody; and then, shall collect certain collateral Circumstances, which may prove, that although we are ignorant of its particular Nature, yet that it was of a *simple* and *in-artificial* Construction.

First, with Respect to the three *Genera* or *Kinds* of the *Greek Melody*; as they are delivered and interpreted by the Writers on ancient Music, they are incompatible with all those Intervals and Progressions of Sound which are agreeable to the human Ear.

As to the *Enharmonic* Kind, it is confessedly impracticable. For it is said to have proceeded by two *Dieses* or

[p] See the Passage from LAFITAU.

[q] On Poetry, &c.

Quarter-Notes; (with a stated intermixture of two whole Tones) an Interval which no human Ear can precisely distinguish, nor any human Voice precisely follow. This Fact is so notorious, and strikes so strongly on the Senses, that the Bigots to the ancient Melody have generally been silent on it, or at most, have revered it as a profound Mystery. The ABBE DU BOS may be regarded as an Exception to this general Remark: For He is of Opinion, that the Progression of the Voice by *Quarter-Notes* might be in general Use in the theatrical Declamation [r]. To this it may be sufficient to reply, that the ABBE confesseth himself ignorant of the Principles of Music [s], and that this Opinion is a Proof of his being so. The *Quarter-Note* is a Progression which, although an *Italian CASTRATO* (who hath laboured at this Refinement through his whole Life) may *nearly* and *incidentally* accomplish; yet even *He* shall never be able *strictly* to practise in the *general Course* of his Performance: But it is a Progression, equally impracticable to the Voice, and shocking to the Ear of the Generality of Mankind.

The *Chromatic* seems, at first View, to be more intelligible; as it is generally said to have proceeded by *Half-Notes*, of which the human Ear hath an adequate and precise Conception. But This too, on a nearer Examination, will be found absolutely at Variance with that which we stile the *Chromatic*; (though by most modern Writers it is supposed to be the same) and altogether incompatible with those Progressions of Sound into which a modern Voice can fall. For the modern *Chromatic Kind*

[r]. *Reflex. Crit. Part. iii. c. ix.*[s] *Ibid.*

is an *incidental* Ascent or Descent by Half-Notes, with a variable Intervention of whole Notes, introduced, under certain Restrictions, at the Composer's Will: But the ancient *Chromatic*, as delivered by the Writers on this Subject, was an *unvaried* Progression, by two *Half-Notes*, and a *Third* either *greater* or *less* [t].

The *Diatonic* Kind, according to the common Conception of it, is perfectly understood; and is generally said to be the same with that, in which our modern Music is commonly composed: Yet nothing is less true than this: For our common Scale is a Progression of whole Notes, with the Intermixture of two half Notes only, and these at the Distance of a *fifth* from each other in the *sharp* Key, and a *fourth* from each other in the *flat* Key: Whereas in the ancient Diatonic Scale it is quite otherwise: For There, Here, *one Semitone* and *two whole Tones* are ordained to succeed each other *invariably*: A Circumstance utterly incompatible with the modern *Diatonic* Scale.

The Consequence drawn from these Reasonings, is not, that the Ancients talked or practised absurdly; or that the Moderns want Ears or Understanding; but only This, that we do not adequately understand the Terms.

What leads me farther to believe this, is a Circumstance in the *Spartan Decree* against *TIMOTHEUS* (given at large below) where it is said, that he corrupted the *Simplicity* of the *Enharmonic*, and introduced the *Refinements* of the *Chromatic*. Now this is an absolute Contradiction to All that we understand concerning the Nature of these two Kinds. For, as the *Diatonic*, which proceeds by whole

[t] See ALYPIUS; at the End of the *Phænomena* of ARATUS: To whom I refer for the Truth of these Remarks on the three Genera.

Tones,

Tones, is more simple than the *Chromatic*, which proceeds by *Half-Tones*; so This, in its Turn, is more simple than the *Enharmonic*, which is said to have proceeded by *Quarter-Tones*: All which is in direct Contradiction to the Tenor of the *Spartan Decree*.

Secondly; with Regard to the various *Modes* of ancient Melody, we are often as much in the dark. We read of no less than fifteen, introduced at different Periods; but the Commentators on the ancient Writers upon this Subject, are at Variance with each other, concerning the Nature and Use of these different Modes. Some are of Opinion, that the Difference lay in the Degree of *Gravity* or *Acuteness* only: Others maintain, that the Mode signified the *Rythm*, or *Measure*: Others again, that the Essence of the *Mode* consisted in a *different Species* of *Diapason*. There is Reason to believe, that the Word was used at various Times, and by different Writers, in all these Senses, and that each of these Authors may be right in his Turn. From the Description of an Instrument given by ATHENÆUS it appears, that by *Mode* was sometimes meant *Gravity* or *Acuteness* of Sound: For he tells us, that the Musician had three Lyres placed on a moveable Tripod which turned on an Axis; and that by whirling it round with his Foot, he could instantly play in three various Modes [u]. That *Mode* was sometimes used for *Measure*, seems evident, because in a Fragment of an ancient Author cited by ATHENÆUS, we read that a *Hymn* was written in the *Lydian Mode* [w]; which can only mean, the *Phrygian* or *Dorian Measure*. And as *Mode* was applied to Numbers, so was it likewise to *Dance*: The *Ionici Motus*, which ancient Writers speak of, are a clear

[u] L. xiv.

[w] Ibid.

Proof of This. That *Mode* was used in the third of these Acceptations, as a particular *Species* of *Diapason*, hath been made clear by a late Writer, in a judicious and accurate Treatise [x]. Thus by the promiscuous Use of the Word *Mode*, signifying either *Pitch*, *Measure*, or *Species* of *Diapason*, it hath come to pass, that some times the Signification of the Word is *clear*, at others it is only *probable*, often it is *obscure* and *doubtful*.

Thirdly, to complete our Ignorance of the particular Nature of their Melody, the Construction of their Musical Instruments is unknown. We only know, that the Chords of the Lyre were augmented gradually from *four* to *forty*; but whether the Strings ascended by Quarter-Notes, Half-Notes, whole Notes, or by larger Intervals, of all this we know nothing certain. Our Ignorance of their Pipes or Flutes is not less remarkable. Commentators and Critics ring Changes on their single, double, oblique, right-handed, and left-handed Flutes; but what was their precise Make, Tone, Compass, or Powers, these Gentlemen cannot, with any Certainty, inform us. The learned ISAAC VOSSIUS is one of the warmest Champions for the Excellence of ancient Instruments; but whoever reads him without Partiality, will find all his Endeavours amount to no more than what is here affirmed [y].

Since, therefore, the particular Nature and Construction of the ancient Melody is utterly unknown to us; we must have Recourse to collateral Proofs, drawn from Facts which were connected with this unknown Melody; and from These we may, I think, indirectly arrive so far at a Knowledge of its *general* Character, as to conclude with Cer-

[x] By Sir FR. EYLES STILES.

[y] *De Poem. Cantu, &c.*
tainty,

tainty, that in the *early* Periods (in which *Music* boasted its *greatest Power*) the ruling Character of the *Melody* was that of *Simplicity*; and that it derived a chief Part of its *Force* from its mere *Rythm* or *Measure*.

Simplicity was its ruling Character; because we find that *Music* had *then* its *greatest Power*, when the *Melody* was most *confined* in its *Compass*. MERCURY was the Inventor of the *Lyre*; which had but *four* Strings, and these were stretched on a Turtle's Shell [z]. AMPHION was his Disciple, and increased the Number of Strings to *seven* [a]. APOLLO contented himself with the same *Compass* of Notes; and so did ORPHEUS [b]. This Number of Strings continued to be established by Law at SPARTA, so late as the Age of TIMOTHEUS, who attempted an Innovation of *four* more, and was punished for it [c]. Yet all the mighty Effects and Powers of *Music*, which we read of in ancient GREECE, arose within this Period, and while the *Melody* was confined within this small *Compass*.

The *Lyre*, therefore, in its most ancient Forms, being incapable either of a great Variety, or a multifarious Combination of Sounds; a strong Probability ariseth from its very Nature, that *Counterpoint*, or an artificial Composition in various Parts, was altogether unknown. It appears to me (from many Passages of ancient Authors compared together, but too long to insert here) that the Ancients sung and played first in Unisons, Octaves, and Fifteenths; then in Thirds and Tenths; and in the later Periods in Fourths and Fifths, as appears from PLUTARCH; though in ARISTOTLE's Time, it is evident, these last were not

[z] PAUSANIAS, l. ix.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid.

[c] See the *Spartan Decree* against TIMOTHEUS, given at large below.

practised. It is likewise evident, that in the later Periods, the *instrumental Accompaniment* was different from the *Song*; yet this only in the Way of *Division* upon the *fundamental Notes*. Farther than these Methods of *redoubling* or *dividing* the same Melody, I find nothing like Composition in *various Parts*.

On the contrary, there are many Reasons which may convince us, that nothing like the modern *Counterpoint* was known to the Ancients. The Silence of all their Musical Writers collected by MEIBOMIUS, on this great Article; is a Proof sufficient that they were ignorant of it. Their Divisions of the musical Art are precise and systematical; and therefore, if this had made a Part of it, as its Rules must have been more complex than those of any other Branch, beyond all Doubt, they would have been distinctly treated of.

The same Consequence seems clearly to arise from a Passage in ARISTOTLE, who says, that "it is much easier to keep the *Time* in Music, when a Number sing together, than when a single Voice only sings [*d*]." Which is true, if we suppose a numerous Choir to sing the same Part, because one Voice tends to correct the Inequalities of another; but in direct Contradiction to the Truth, if we suppose them to sing in Counterpoint; because, here, the various Parts have a Tendency to confound each other.

Their Ignorance of Counterpoint appears farther from hence, that no Difference is remarked between the Compositions for the *Flute* and those for the *Lyre*, with Respect to the *Multiplicity of Parts*. One Instrument they used, which had two Strings to every Note, and these two were tuned in *thirds* to each other: This Instrument was called

[*d*] *Probl.* Sect. xix.

the *Magadis*; and even this distant Approach towards playing in Counterpoint was regarded as a Thing so singular, that to play in *thirds* was called *μαγαδιζειν*. If therefore any other Kind of Performance had been used more complex than this, it must have been noted as a Circumstance still more singular.

It appears farther, that in HOMER'S Hymn to MERCURY, the Poet represents APOLLO as holding his Lyre in one Hand, and playing with a *Plectrum* with the other. In an ancient Sculpture which represents the Deification of HOMER, some of the Figures which dance, are at the same Time playing on the Lyre, which they hold with one Hand, and strike with the other. Thus too, when SOPHOCLES played on the Lyre, and at the same Time led the Dance [e], he must have managed his Instrument in the same Manner. And again, it appears, that even in the latter Periods, the most celebrated Lyrists played with *one Plectrum* [f]. Now, all these Circumstances center in the Proof of this, that the Melody which they played was *single*.

We may farther observe, that their musical *Notation* (so far as it is supposed to be understood) generally implies a

[e] *Deipnosoph.* l. i.

[f] *Ibid.* l. xiv. They sometimes touched the String with a *Plectrum*, sometimes with the *Finger*. But that the Custom of playing with the *Plectrum* was the more ancient, appears from a curious Fact related by H. STEPHENS from PLUTARCH, "that *Spartans* punished a Lyrist for the "Innovation of playing with his *Finger*." [Thef. Ling. Græc. Voc. *καταξω*.] VIRGIL introduceth MUSÆUS, as playing in both these Ways in the *Elysian Fields*:—"Nunc *Digito*, nunc *Pestine* pulsat eburno"—But this proves little more than that *Both* were in Use in the Time of VIRGIL.—'Tis certain, that on the first rude Formation of Instruments, the *Plectrum* would give the more clear and effectual Stroke: As Instruments grew more, more delicate, the *Finger* would come into Use. This (as will appear below, Art. 33.) explains the Foundation of the *Spartan Conduct*.

single, and that a very inartificial Species of Composition. Nay, the Letters which compos'd their musical Notation seem very inadequately to express even a *single* Part, did not the *Measure* of the *Verse* in some Degree fix that of the *Melody*.

Add to all these Arguments this farther Confirmation, that their Poets (who were generally at the same Time Warriours, Priests, or Statesmen) not only compos'd the *Melody* to their own Verses, but, in the early Periods, play'd and sung them at their Festivals: And that People of all Ages and Degrees were commonly able to bear a Part in the Chorus, both in public and private Entertainments. All these concurrent Circumstances center in one sufficient and satisfactory Proof, that their *Melody* was not only *single*, but of the most *simple Construction*.

One Kind of *Addition* did undoubtedly in many Instances take Place: I mean that of the *Tympanum*, the *Sistrum*, or the *Cymbal* added as an unvaried *Groundwork*, and accommodated to the *Measure* of the *ruling Melody*: But this was no more than the modern *Drum* added to the *Fife* or *Trumpet*, the *Tabor* to the *Pipe*, or the *Drone* to the *Bag-pipe*: A Kind of *Addition* which we find in the Music of almost every barbarous Country.

Since therefore it appears, that the Force of the ancient *Greek Melody* consist'd neither in its *Compass*, its *Multi-solicity* of *Parts*, nor its *artificial Construction*; let us now proceed to consider the only Circumstance from which its chief Power could arise, I mean, its *Rythm* or *Measure*. That this was its real Source, may be evident from the following Considerations.

First, The *Greek Language* was admirably fitted for a various and powerful *Rythm* or *Measure*, by its Variety of
Feet;

Foot; which, when thrown into all their different Combinations, formed such a Variety of *Numbers*, as gave Room for an equal and correspondent Variety of *Measure* in the annexed *Melody*, beyond any other Language in the known World. When, therefore, such a Language offered itself as an Assistant to the Musician's Art, it was altogether natural that he should accommodate his *Melody* to the peculiar and happy Genius of his Native Tongue.

Secondly, such a *Melody* as this, marked by strong Changes and Varieties of *Measure*, must have greater Effects than the most extensive or most artificial *Melody* when unassisted by it. This argument is well pursued by the learned ISAAC VOSSIUS: I shall therefore give it in his own Words; the rather, because it is the most judicious and philosophic Passage in his whole Work; and contains as it were the *Kernel* of a large Tract; a considerable Part of which, it must be owned, may justly be thrown aside as *Husk* and *Shell*.

“ Wherefore, I cannot enough wonder at those who in
 “ the present and past Age have written, on Music; that
 “ while they diligently explained other Things; they should
 “ either have said nothing on *Rythm*, or else written in
 “ such a Manner, as to prove themselves ignorant of its
 “ Nature. They confine themselves entirely to *Counter-*
 “ *point*, neglecting that which is principal in *Melody*.—
 “ For certainly, as neither an *Unit* can produce *Number*,
 “ nor a *single Word* make *Sense*; so neither can any *single*
 “ *Sound*, separately considered, have any *Power*: Or if it
 “ hath, it must be very inconsiderable. For what Effect
 “ in moving the Passions can arise from the Collision of
 “ Stones or Wood, or even from the striking of one String.
 “ if

“ if *Numbers* and *Rythm* be wanting, and we hear nothing.
 “ but a mere Sound [g]? Or if we compound various
 “ Sounds, and these be even harmonic and concordant, not
 “ even This will produce any Effect. Such an Harmony
 “ of Sounds may please the Ear; but the Pleasure will only
 “ be such, as if Words were (agrecably) spoken, which
 “ are either unmeaning or not understood. That the Soul
 “ may be affected, it is necessary that the Sound should
 “ imply, or bring before us, something which we can
 “ comprehend: That Sounds, therefore, may have their
 “ full Effect, the Melody must be animated by such Move-
 “ ments, as contain in themselves the *Representations* or
 “ *Images* of those Things which we mean to *express* or
 “ *imitate* by Song: And This if we can do, we may be
 “ sure to command the Passions of the Soul. But that we
 “ may indeed catch and call forth these *Images*, we must
 “ employ that Variety of Musical *Feet*, in which are so
 “ fully contained all the several Kinds of Movements, that
 “ no Affection can be conceived, which they do not most
 “ exactly express. For the Expression of light and voluble
 “ Motions, as of the Dances of *Satyrs*, the *Pyrrichius* and
 “ *Tribrachys* are proper: The *grave* and *slow* are expressed
 “ by the *Spondee* and *Molossus*: Whatever is *soft* and *tender*,
 “ the *Trochee*, and sometimes the *Amphibrachys* will de-
 “ scribe, which itself moves with a broken and effeminate
 “ Pace. The *Iambic* is fierce and *vehement*; and the
 “ *Anapæst* nearly of the same Nature, as it imitates violent
 “ and warlike Motions. If we mean to express what is
 “ *cheerful* and *joyous*, we must employ the *Dactyl*, whose

[g] The learned Writer is mistaken in this Paragraph. The mere
 Sound of *Thunder* excites *Fear*; other Sounds excite *Sorrow*; others *Joy*.
 See the next Article.

“ Movements

“ Movements are of a correspondent Nature. Whatever
 “ is *hard* and *rugged*, the *Antispast* will happily describe.
 “ If we require Numbers that may express *Fury* and *Mad-*
 “ *ness*, not only the *Anapæst* is at Hand, but, what is still
 “ more powerful, the *Pæon quartus*. — Of these various
 “ Measures, artificially combined, did the ancient *Greek*
 “ and *Roman* Music consist: And while this flourished, so
 “ long did Music maintain its Empire over the Passions[*b*].
 Thus the learned VOSSIUS: Whose Admiration of the
 Rythm of the ancient Melody leads him into some false
 Conclusions, as will appear below. In the mean Time, this
 general Exhibition of the Genius of the Greek Numbers
 may stand as a farther accumulative Proof, that the Power
 of the ancient *Melody*, which was universally accommo-
 dated to this *Variety* of *expressive Numbers*, lay chiefly in
 its *Rythm* or *Measure*.

Lastly, these Arguments are much confirmed by the ex-
 press Testimony of PLUTARCH; who, speaking of the
 Variations which the Genius of ancient Music had under-
 gone in the Progress of Time, says, “ If we compare An-
 “ tiquity with the present Times, we shall find, that in
 “ ancient Days, there was a great Variety of *Measure*, and
 “ this Variety often employed. For in that early Period,
 “ the Variety of *Feet* and *Time* was more highly esteemed:
 “ *We* now study and attend to Variety of *Modes*, the *An-*
 “ *cients* to Variety of *Rythm* or *Measure* [*i*].” This Change
 he regards as one of the Corruptions of Melody; he gives
 an Account of the Inventors of the several *new Modes*,
 MELANIPPIDES, PHILOXENUS, TIMOTHEUS, and others;
 and insists, that the Art, which formerly had such Power in

[*b*] VOSSIUS *de Poem. Cantu et Viribus Rythmi*, p. 72.

[*i*] *De Musica*.
the

the Education of Youth, was now sunk into a mere Amusement of the Theatre [k]. A clear and full Indication, that the ancient *Greeks* relied on *Measure* or *Rythm* for the *Force* of their *Melody*; and that as it grew *more artificial*, it grew *less powerful*. These Facts fully coincide with the Reasons given above, on which this Article is founded; “ Because a Simplicity of Melody, whose Power
“ arose from mere Rythm or Measure, was most suited
“ to the Powers of the first barbarous Legislators or Bards,
“ as well as to the Capacity of the surrounding People.”

10. “ The Force of this simple Melody was much increased by the Power of *early Association* and *continued Habit*. For This, by appropriating certain Sounds to
“ certain Subjects, raised their Melody into a Kind of
“ natural and expressive Language of the Passions.”---In the first rude Essays towards an expressive Melody in barbarous Countries, certain imperfect Modes of Sound must of Course be applied, as being expressive of certain Subjects or Passions. The succeeding Generation will be naturally bred up to a like Application of the same Sounds. Hence these Modes of Melody, though *imperfect* in Expression, being impressed on *infant Minds* with all the Force of an early Application, must acquire a Power over *These*, which unaccustomed Minds can never feel: Thus certain Sounds being appropriated by Use, and having become the common Indications of Grief, Terror, Joy, Pity, Rage, or any other Passion, will naturally excite their respective Affections among those who have adopted them; while a Hearer from another Country, whose Associations and Habits are different, will be *little*, or, if at all, perhaps very

[k] *De Musica.*

differently affected by them. LAFITAU'S Account of the Music of the *Iroquois* is a clear Confirmation of this Truth: "The Music and Dance of the *Americans* have something " in them extremely *barbarous*, which at first *disgusts*: " We grow *reconciled* to them by *Degrees*, and in the *End* " partake of them with *Pleasure*. As to the *Savages* " themselves, they are *fond* of them even to *Distraction* [1]." What we are told of the *Swiss* Song gives additional Confirmation to this Principle. This Song, which to foreign Ears is uncouth and barbarous, hath such an Effect on the Natives of SWITZERLAND, among whom it is generally taught and impressed on the infant Mind, that it is forbid to be sung among their Regiments hired in the Service of other Nations, lest it should tempt them to desert, and return to their own Country. The *Jews, Chinese, Germans, French, Italians*, have all some peculiar Appropriations of a similar Nature, which gives their native Music a general Power, which no other Music can ever obtain. Among ourselves, the Sound of *Bells, Drums, Organs, Trumpets*, have all an Appropriation of the same Nature: And a *Higlander* has the same *warlike* Ideas annexed to the Sound of a *Bagpipe* (an Instrument which an *Englishman* derides) as the *Englishman* has to that of a *Trumpet* or a *Fife*. MELODY therefore is to be considered as a *relative* thing, founded in the particular Associations and Habits of each People; and by Custom (like Language) annexed to their Sentiments and Passions: Thus it becomes the natural Vehicle of these Sentiments and Passions; but a Vehicle, which can never extend farther than to Those, upon whom such particular Impressions have been made. This, added to the Power of *Rythm*, affords a natural Solution to the

[1] See above, Sect. ii.

Difficulties raised concerning the Power of the *Greek Melody*: For as it was taught and impressed on the infant Mind by early and continued Application (as will immediately appear) so it naturally acquired the Power of a *Language of the Passions*, which, with Respect to other Nations, if it now existed, it would not possess.

There is a collateral Argument often urged in Favour of the artificial Excellence of the ancient *Greek Melody*; and drawn from what we know of the Elegance and Perfection of ancient *Greek Sculpture*. But the Weakness of this Argument will appear from the Principles here given; the Effects of the two Arts being by no means *parallel*, but rather contrary to each other. The *Excellence of Sculpture* is the Effect of repeated Experience, which refers itself to the Works of Nature, as to its Archetype: And the Pleasure arising from the Contemplation of this Art consists in seeing the Perfection of the Imitation; and is the Result of a fine Taste, founded on a correct Judgment. But the *Force of Melody* on the Passions depends not on its artificial Construction or Elegance, but solely on its being adapted to the Feelings, Passions, and Conceptions of the Hearer, be they just or false, polished or barbarous. Hence we shall find, that the *Force* of the two Arts will be generally in an *inverse Proportion*. For the *Attention* to *Sculpture*, being founded on a *reflex Act* of the Understanding, will always increase with increasing Taste and Knowledge: But the *Power of Melody*, being founded in *Passion*, will *there* be most general and strong, where Fear, Joy, Wonder, Terror, and Astonishment, are most easily and most frequently excited: And it is certain, these natural Passions are not so common in a State highly polished, as in that of Barbarity or simple Civilization. 'Tis granted, indeed,

indeed, nay insisted on, that the ancient Melody grew more artificial in the later Periods : But the same Authors who inform us of this [m], assure us that its Power was greatest in the early and barbarous Times ; that this Power continued longest in that Society which continued longest in Barbarity, I mean the Commonwealth of SPARTA ; and that as it grew more artificial, it degenerated every where into a mere Amusement, and lost its Influence on the Passions and the Mind.

II. “ Their Songs were of a legislative Cast ; and being drawn chiefly from the Fables or History of their own Country, contained the essential Parts of their religious, political, and moral Systems.” We have seen above, that the Celebration of their deceased Heroes became naturally a religious Act : That the *Maxims* or *Exhortations* intermixed with these, and founded on the *Example* of their Heroe-Gods, became of Course the *Standard of Right and Wrong*, that is, the Foundation of *private Morals* and of *public Law* ; and thus the whole Fabric of their *Religion, Morals, and Polity*, arose naturally from their *Song-Feasts*, in their Progress from *savage to civilized Life*.

The Records that remain concerning the *Bards* of ancient GREECE unite in confirming this Principle. Of this illustrious Catalogue, LINUS was perhaps the first : He writ the Exploits of the first BACCHUS ; and sung the Generation of the World and the Rise of Things [n]. PAMPHO is supposed to have been his Disciple : And He composed *Hymns* in Honour of the Gods ; and sung the Rape of PROSERPINE by PLUTO [o] :

[m] ARISTOTLE, PLUTARCH, and others.
and LAERTIUS.

[n] DIODORUS, l. iii.

[o] PAUSANIAS in *Bœoticis*.

The next great poetic and musical Sage was ORPHEUS: He is said to have sung of *Chaos* and *Creation*; and a Variety of other Subjects *religious* and *philosophical* [p]. Some fine Fragments remain under his Name; but there is Reason, from some internal Marks in the Composition, to believe them spurious.

MUSÆUS is said to have been the Disciple of ORPHEUS: He, too, writ *Hymns* and *Prophecies*, and sung the Motions of the *Stars*, and the Battles of the *Giants* [q]. THAMYRIS was not less distinguished by the *legislative* Genius of his Songs: For he was not only the Author of a *Titan's War*; but celebrated the Gods in *Hymns*, and sung the *Generation* of the *World* [r].

These are the most celebrated *Bards* of ancient GREECE, whose Songs have perished in the Wreck of Time. If we come down to the most famous of those, whose Writings have been preserved, we shall find their Songs composed in the same *legislative* Style and Genius.

HESIOD seems to stand at the Head of these, in the Order of Time. And his *Theogony* is a living Witness how far his *legislative* Turn accords to the Principles here delivered. He gives, in Form, the *Generation* of all the *Gods* of GREECE; and mixeth his Narration with their *Acts* and *Praises*.

HOMER appears next in the Order of Time: And in his unrivaled Songs we find the *Religion*, *Politics*, and *Manners* of ancient GREECE displayed with all the Appearances of Truth, because delivered with all their *Imperfections*. During the early Periods of Civilization, the

[p] SUIDAS in *Orphæo*.

[q] LAERTIUS in *Proæm*.

[r] SUIDAS in *Tham*.

legislative Art is always of an *imperfect* Form. In the rude Progress of barbarous Manners, the *moral* Ideas are *confined*, and little distinguished. If the People be fierce and warlike (as were the Tribes of GREECE) Strength, Courage, Agility, and Cunning, are the ruling Virtues: Hence it follows, that the Pictures both of *Gods* and *Men* will accord to this Principle in such a Period: And hence many of the Fables of HOMER himself were of a Cast so different from the Spirit of *improved Legislation*, that PLATO refused them Admittance into his Republic [s].

And here, while we acknowledge HOMER as the supreme Painter of natural Manners, and of a Genius truly *legislative* according to the Principles of his Time; critical Justice demands, that we take off some of those false Colourings of Praise, which both Ancients and Moderns have lavished on him, in Regard to the Excellence of the *Morals* which he taught. HORACE, it is well known, hath set him above the old Philosophers, as a Teacher of all Virtue [t]. PLUTARCH, in his Life of HOMER, hath advanced the same Positions: But whoever will examine his Poems with an impartial Eye, will find a very deficient Plan of Morals prevailing through them. There is not the least Vestige or Appearance of those abstract general Principles of moral Excellence or Blame, which take Place in the more refined

[s] *De Rep.* 1. ii, iii.—It is generally affirmed and believed, that PLATO was for banishing Poetry, without Exception, from his perfect Republic. So far is this from being true, that he affirms directly, “that he only means “to banish That which is pernicious; but to retain That which is useful.” [*De Rep.* 1. x.] Nay, he hath written a whole Book [*De Leg.* 1. ii.] to prove the Utility of *Music* in the Education of Youth: Through the Course of which, it is evident, that in His Idea, *Poetry* makes the most essential Part of *Music*.

[t] *Qui quid pulchrum, &c.*

Periods

Periods of social and polished Life: His Gods and Heroes fight and plunder, kill and ravish, boast and lye; are generous, fierce, prodigal, rapacious, cruel, or unrelenting, without much Controul from *moral Ideas* within, or from a *refined legislative Art* without.

It is remarkable that PLUTARCH, after labouring in vain through many Pages, to prove that the Principles of all the Virtues are to be found in HOMER, is forced at length to conclude; “ It is true, indeed, that *bad* Actions “ and Principles are intermixed and described in the same “ Manner; which was necessary, for the Introduction of “ the Sublime and Wonderful: But this only makes the “ Contrast the stronger; so that the Reader is necessarily “ led to *select* the *Good*, and *reject* the *Bad* [u].” But as this great Ancient, along with others, allow that neither the *good* nor the *bad* is actually recommended by the Poet; the Consequence follows, that the Reader (if so disposed) may as easily *elect* the *bad*, and *reject* the *good*: That HOMER was a compleat *natural Painter* of the Ways of Men; but an imperfect moral Painter from the *unpolished Genius* and *barbarous Legislation* of the Age in which he lived.

The Inconsistency of a late learned Writer on this Subject is too glaring to pass unnoticed. He justly criticiseth VIRGIL, as being shackled by the refined Manners of his Times, and the political Forms of his Country. With equal Truth he displays the free Vein of Nature, which runs through HOMER’s Poems. “ The natural *Greek*, in “ HOMER’s Days, covered none of his Sentiments: He “ frankly owned the Pleasures of Love and Wine: He told “ how voraciously he eat when he was hungry; and how

[u] *In Vita HOMERI.*

“ horribly

“horribly he was frightened when he saw an approaching Danger: He looked on *no means* as *base* to escape it; and was *not* at all *ashamed* to relate the *Trick* or *Fetch* that had brought him off.”—“Even AGAMEMNON is not ashamed to own his Passion for a captive Maid, in the Face of the whole Army: He tells them plainly, that he likes her much better than his Lady, the beautiful CLYTEMNESTRA, of the prime Grecian Nobility [*w*].” All this Criticism is just and fine. But who can but wonder at what follows?—“His Work is the great Drama of Life acting in our View: *There* we see *Virtue* and *Piety* praised; public *Religion* promoted; *Temperance*, *Forgiveness*, and *Fortitude*, rewarded; *Truth* and *Character* followed; and accordingly find it standing at the Head of human Writings [*x*].” As a *natural Picture* of Manners, its *Superiority* is acknowledged: As a *moral Picture*, its *Defects* are no less conspicuous.—Where is *Virtue* praised? Is it in the Conduct of the natural *Greek*, who looked upon *no means* as *base* to escape Danger? *Nor* was at all *ashamed* to relate the *Trick* or *Fetch* that brought him off? Is it in the Conduct of AGAMEMNON, who declared his *Passion* for a *Captive*, and his *Neglect* of his *Queen*, in the Face of the whole *Army*?—Where is *Piety* praised? Is it in the Feat of DIOMEDE, who attacked and wounded one of the *Gods*?—Where is public *Religion* (in the improved Sense) promoted? Is it in his Descriptions of *Heaven* and *Hell*? In the *first* of which the *Adultery* of MARS and VENUS is treated as a *Fest* by all the *Gods*: In the *second*, the Souls of the *best Men* are represented wandering *forlorn* and *comfortless*.

[*w*] Enquiry into the Life and Writings of HOMER, p. 338. [*x*] Ibid.

In all this, the Poet is not blameable: He painted what he saw, and believed, and painted truly. The Fault lay in the Opinions and Manners of the Times: In the Defects of an early and barbarous Legislation, which had but half-civilized Mankind.

Our great *Translator* of HOMER hath often departed from the Character of his Original in this Respect: He hath frequently thrown in fine moral Traits, of which there is not the least Footstep in his *Author*. By this, indeed, he hath given us a Poem more accommodated to the Taste of our own Times; but hath lost the native and unpolished Simplicity which distinguishes the venerable old Prince of *Epic Song*.

The next great *legislative Bard* whom I shall now mention, was PINDAR. At the Period when He flourished, the Fortune and Glory of GREECE were rising to their Meridian: The *legislative Arts* had now obtained a higher Degree of *Perfection*: And accordingly we find, in his sublime *Songs*, the fullest and most perfect Union of salutary Principles, thrown out in Maxims religious, political, and moral. No Vices or Imperfections, either of Gods or Men, are there applauded or palliated; nor ever recited, but to be condemned: All Actions are praised or censured, according to their Influence on the public Happiness. The Intent of these *Songs*, sung by their Author at their most general and renowned Festivals, was to inspire his Countrymen with the Love of Glory and of Virtue. To this great End, he animated them, not only by the Example and Praise of the Victors in the *Olympic Games*; but ascended into past Times, and drew from thence the shining Acts of Gods and Heroes, who had distinguished themselves by Valour, Arts, or Virtues. And

And here, in Justice to this great Poet we must observe, that PINDAR'S Songs, considered in this *legislative* View, afford an easy and internal Solution of a Difficulty which hath at all Times embarrassed his Commentators and Critics; who have ever censured his seeming Irregularities and sudden Flights, from the *declared Heroe* of his Poem, to *Gods* and *deceased Chieftains*. But on the Principle here given, it appears, that the Heroe of the Day was but the *occasional* and *incidental* Subject of his Ode. The main Intent was the Praise of his Country's Gods and Heroes, who had signalized themselves by Actions beneficent and great. When therefore he seems to *wander* into the Celebration of *their* Names, he is indeed *severely true* to the *leading Subject* of his Song.

The very Objection itself, as it is urged by some of PINDAR'S Critics, leads us to the Solution here given. A French Writer thus expresseth it. "He is not always content with praising the *Country* of his *Heroe*; he proceeds to celebrate the *great Men* which it had produced, and then it is that he *wanders indeed*. So when his *Heroe* is of EGINA, after having celebrated the Isle in *general*, he descends to *particulars*, and praiseth ÆACUS, PELEUS, TELAMON, ACHILLES, and NEOPTOLEMUS, AJAX and TEUCER, who all *sprung* from *thence*: He mentions CYPRUS, SALAMINE, PHTHIA, EPIRUS, which were *Colonies founded by these Heroes* [y]." There cannot be a better Illustration of the *Solution* here given, than this very *Objection* thus presented at large.

There is a fabulous Story told, which strongly confirms the Principle here delivered; and proves it to have been

[y] *Hist. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscrip. t. v. p. 96.*

the Opinion of ancient GREECE, that a Part of these festal Celebrations was due to the Gods and Heroes; and that it was even a *Crime* to omit their Praises. “ The Poet SIMONIDES, having agreed with an *Olympic Victor*, called SCOPAS, for an Ode of Celebration; SIMONIDES, according to Custom, went largely into the Praise of CASTOR and POLLUX. On this, SCOPAS gave him the *third Part* of the Price, and told him, that he must apply to CASTOR and POLLUX for the Remainder. SCOPAS being afterwards at a Banquet with SIMONIDES, Word was brought, that *two Men* covered with Sweat and Dust were at the Door, and desired to speak with SIMONIDES: He went out of the Chamber, and immediately the Roof fell in, and buried SCOPAS in the Ruins [z].”

The three *Greek* TRAGEDIANS are the last of this illustrious Catalogue of legislative Bards: And their Writings, though very different in their Style and Manner, yet all unite in holding forth the leading Principles of the Greek Religion, Polity, and Morals.

ESCHYLUS, who stands first in Order of Time, partakes much of the rude Genius of the early Periods. His Imagery and Sentiments are great; his Style rugged and abrupt; and of a Cast so totally different from that of HOMER, that it is astonishing to hear the Critics, one after another, affirming that HOMER was his Model [a]: His Writings present to us all the Characters of a sublime, original, and uncultivated Genius, which scorned any other Tutorefs than *Nature*. He was Himself a great Warriour;

[z] CICERO *de Oratore*, l. ii. QUINTIL. l. xi. c. 2.

[a] See this Point considered below, Art. 20.

and:

and his warlike Genius threw itself out, in Subjects that were grand and terrible. Hence his Tragic Songs abound with the most gloomy and tremendous Exploits of the Grecian Heroes, striking the Soul with Admiration, Astonishment, and Terror.

SOPHOCLES appeared next; of a more sedate and tempered Majesty: He improved on ESCHYLUS both in *Plan* and *Morals*. For the *legislative Arts* were now advancing at ATHENS with great Rapidity. No Wonder, therefore, that the Disciple conquered his Master; when he had the improving Sense of his Country to elevate and inlarge his Genius. But still the Gods and Heroes of GREECE were the constant Subject of his Song.

EURIPIDES, considered in the legislative View, was on a Level with his Masters with Respect to the Subject of his Tragedies (for these were always drawn from the *Grecian Gods* or *Heroes*) but possessed himself of the Advantage which the still improving State of his Country gave him. For *Philosophy* was now in its Ascendant: The *Poet* was the *Disciple* of an eminent *Sage*: Hence the Genius of EURIPIDES carried the legislative Power of Song to its last Perfection; and threw itself out, in such a Variety of Maxims, *political* and *moral*, as far outwent the Art of his Predecessors.

Such then, through the various Ages of ancient GREECE, was the legislative Genius of their *Songs*; which, in their several Periods, contained the leading Principles of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*; and thus became the natural and proper Object of the public Attention and Regard.

12. "MUSIC, in its more extensive Meaning, that is, including *Melody* and the *Song* [*b*], either with or without "the *Dance*" (for this last, as will appear below [*c*], was soon separated from the other two, for an important End) "bore a principal and essential Part in the Education of "their Children." The Authorities which prove this, are abundant, and even superfluous. Some of the principal may suffice. "Among the Ancients" (says the wise PLUTARCH) "Music in Theatres was not known: They "employed all their Art in the Worship of the Gods, "and the Education of their Youth [*d*]." The same Author gives several Instances of musical Education in CRETE and SPARTA; and tells us, that "By Music the young "Men were taught to *abstain* from every thing *indecent* in "Word and Deed; and to observe *Decorum*, *Temperance*, "and Regularity [*e*]." Again: "Music was the Foundation of a virtuous Education; because it was allied "with *Philosophy*, *Morals*, and *Heroism*: ACHILLES was "taught by CHIRON, and played and fung the *great Actions* "of *Heroes* [*f*]." Elsewhere he informs us, that "the "Spartans in their *Songs* talked high of what *Exploits* they "had performed: And that the *young Men* echoed back "their *Triumphs* in their Songs, proclaiming their Reso- "lution to *equal* the Valour of their *Forefathers* [*g*]."

Such was the Nature of ancient *Music* when applied to Education; and not a mere Proficiency in the *playing* or *singing* Art, as it hath been generally misunderstood, and ignorantly ridiculed by many Moderns. Hence it was,

[*b*] See above, Art. 1.

[*c*] See Art. 15.

[*d*] PLUT. *de Musica*,

[*e*] *Ibid.*

[*f*] *Ibid.*

[*g*] *In Lycurgo.*

that

that their greatest Captains and Statesmen studied Music, as an essential Part of Education. Thus PERICLES was taught by DAMON, who was likewise supposed to have instructed him in Politics [b]. Thus EPAMINONDAS was eminent in Music; though the *Roman* Historian [i], who informs us of the Fact, speaks like one who knew not the Nature and Extent of Music among the earlier Greeks.

PLATO confirms these Authorities; and recites more at large the particular Method of Education used in ancient GREECE. “What then is the most proper Discipline? Will it not be difficult to find a better, than what was long ago established? One Part of this is the *Gymnastic*, which relates to the *Body*; the other is *Music*, which relates to the *Mind*. This Discipline ought first to begin with *Music*; and when we speak of *Music*, we include the *Subject*, *Words*, or *Song*. Of this there are two Kinds, the *true* and *fabulous*. Both ought to be applied; but the *fabulous* first. Yet the *Fables* ought to be *regulated* lest the young *Mind* being tinctured with such as are improper, it should be necessary at a more adult Age to counterwork the first Impressions [k].” He then proceeds to a particular Detail of Fables proper and improper in the Work of Education, pointing out what ought to be admitted or rejected. In another Dialogue, he speaks again of the Remains of this Method of Instruction, which were found among the wiser Sort, even in his own Times; although in general (as will appear below [l]) *Music* was then totally *corrupted*. “The Parents commit their Children to the Care of Masters; and are more

[b] PLUT. in *Pericle*.

[k] *De Repub.* l. ii.

[i] CORN. *Nepos in Præfat. Vit. EPAMINOND.*

[l] Art. 34, 35.

“follicitous.

“ sollicitous about their *Morals*, than their Proficiency in
 “ *Learning*, or *playing* on the *Lyre*. As soon as they have
 “ attained a Knowledge of Letters, and are able to under-
 “ stand what they read, the Masters give them the Works
 “ of the *best Poets* to peruse and get by Heart, especially
 “ such as contain the *Praises* of their *Forefathers* renowned
 “ for *great Actions*, that the Boys may be fired with an
 “ *Emulation* to *imitate* their *Virtues*. The Music-Masters
 “ are above all things careful to give them Habits of Wis-
 “ dom and Temperance, and to see that they commit no
 “ unworthy Action. As soon as they have learnt to play
 “ on the Lyre, the Master proceeds to instruct them in
 “ the *Songs* of the most famous *Poets*: These they *sing* to
 “ the Lyre; and the Preceptors endeavour to bring their
 “ Boys to a Love of the Rythms and Numbers; that by
 “ this Discipline they may be more *mild*, *modest*, and *orderly*
 “ in their *Manners*, and become *useful* both in *Speech* and
 “ *Action* [m].”

Suitable to this Method of Education is PLATO'S Di-
 rection in his Book of Laws. “ Therefore the Legislator
 “ will take Care, that the Youth's Mind may be so formed,
 “ that his *Pleasures* and *Displeasures* may *accord* to the
 “ *Laws*, and to the Taste of *mature Age*: And if it be
 “ necessary, he will compel the Poet to describe the *Actions*
 “ of *brave* and *good Men*; and to compose such *Numbers*
 “ and *Harmonies* as may be suited to the Subjects [n].”

In the same Place he assigns a particular Reason for this
 Method of Education: “ Because the youthful Mind is not
 “ apt to attend to serious Study, therefore the *pleasing*
 “ *Vehicle of Song* is to be administered [o].” He then pro-

[m] *In Protag.*[n] *De Legibus*, l. ii.[o] *Ibid.*

ceeds even to the particular moral Maxims which ought to be inſtilled by the Poet and Muſician, on the Principles of a wiſe Legiſlator.

As theſe Authorities are clear and deciſive, we may here properly obviate an Error of the excellent MONTESQUIEU, ariſing from his Miſapprehenſion of the true Nature and Extent of ancient Muſic. He, with moſt other Writers, ſuppoſeth it to have conſiſted (according to the modern Acceptation of the Word) in the ſingle Circumſtance of *Melody*. In Conſequence of this, when he comes to inquire why the ancient *Greeks* applied Muſic ſo univerſally in the Education of their Children, he ſays, “As they
 “were a warlike People, and therefore in Danger of de-
 “generating into a ſavage Ferocity of Manners, they em-
 “ployed Muſic, as the beſt Means of ſoftening their Tem-
 “pers into a milder Character; and this, becauſe Muſic,
 “of all the Pleaſures of Senſe, has the leaſt Tendency to
 “corrupt the Soul [p].” And ſo far, indeed, is true, that the ancient Greeks did conſider this, as one of the ſalutary Effects ariſing from the Application of Muſic [q]. But we now find, that the Matter lay much deeper: That Muſic, in its ancient Senſe, implied not only *Melody* but *Verſe* or *Song*: That it was the *eſtabliſhed Vehicle* of all the leading Principles of their *Religion, Morals, and Polity*; and therefore was the natural and moſt important Inſtrument or Means in the Education of their Children.

The learned DACIER falls into the ſame Error, with Reſpect to the wonderful Efficacy of *Muſic*; in the *Education* of the *Arcadians*, and the fatal Want of it among the In-

[p] *L'Esprit des Loix*, l. iv. c. 8.

[q] *PLATO de Rep.* l. iii.

habitants of CYNÆTHE, as the fact is recorded by POLYBIUS and ATHENÆUS. “ If (says the Critic) POLYBIUS speaks thus of *Music*, and if he accuseth EPHORUS of having advanced a thing unworthy of him, “ in saying that this Art was invented to deceive Mankind; “ what may we not say of *Tragedy*, of which *Music* is but “ a *small Ornament*, and which as far surpasseth *Music*, as “ *Speech* is beyond inarticulate and *unmeaning Sounds* [t].” In this Passage, the learned Writer evidently supposeth that the ancient *Music*, which wrought such Wonders in the Education of the *Arcadians*, was no more than mere *Melody* or *unmeaning Sound*. But the Account which both POLYBIUS and ATHENÆUS give of the musical Education of the *Arcadians*, confirms all that hath been here advanced; and proves, that it consisted in the Application of the united Powers of *Dance*, *Melody*, and *Song*.

The most learned VOSSIUS proceeds on the same Mistake in his first Book *De Natura Artium*: And continues under the Influence of this fundamental Error, through his whole Dissertation on *Music*. As it may seem unaccountable, how so capital a Mistake should creep into the Writings of these great Authors, let me here observe, as an Apology for them all, that ARISTOTLE, and some succeeding Writers, speak of *Music* as an Art *distinct* from *Poetry* [u]: It was therefore natural enough for these Writers to draw their Ideas of ancient Music from the great Master-Critic of GREECE. How it came to pass, that ARISTOTLE should speak of these Arts as *two*, which the elder Writers considered as *one*, will clearly appear be-

[t] DACIER *Poët. d'Aristote. Preface.*[u] *Poët. passim:*
low ;

low [w]; where we shall see, that in the Time of ARISTOTLE, a Separation of the *Melody* and *Song* had taken place; that the first retained the Name of *Musick*, and the second assumed that of *Poetry*.

13. "MUSIC, in its enlarged Sense, acquired a *great* and " *general Power* over the Minds and Actions of the ancient " *Greeks.*" It is presumed, that we have now gained an Ascent, from whence this Truth will appear evident and indisputable; though it hath long been regarded by many, as an incredible Paradox.—How, or whence, such an universal Passion for Music should have arisen in GREECE; or, after it had arisen, how it gained such a general Establishment in the important Article of Education; or, after it was thus established, how it could work such mighty Effects upon the Mind, supposing it to consist only in mere Melody;—are Questions which wise Men have asked, and Bigots to Antiquity have weakly answered: For the common Reply hath been, that their *Musick* (meaning their *Melody*) was of a kind so much superior to ours, that all its wonderful Effects followed from its more exalted Nature.—On the contrary, it appears, that as to its particular Construction, we are ignorant of it: That we have no precise or practicable Idea of their *Genera*, their *Modes*; nor the *Make*, nor *Power* of their *Instruments*: But that by collateral Arguments we can prove, that their *Melody* was something altogether *simple* and *inartificial*; such as Statesmen, Warriours, and Bards, occupied in other Pursuits, could compose; and such as high and low, Children and Men busied in other concerns of Life, could learn and practise. That hence we are led to believe, that what-

[w] Art. 35.

ever Effects arose from the mere *Melody*, arose from its *Rythm* or *Measure*, heightened by early *Association* and continued *Habit*; by which it became a kind of natural *Language* of the Passions. It appears farther, that *Melody* formed but a *Part* of the ancient *Music*; and that its most important and essential Branch was that of *Verse* or *Songs*. But for a clear and full View of the Origin and Union of their *Melody* and *Song*, it was necessary to go back, and begin our Inquiries at the early Period of savage Life, in which all the Seeds and Principles of civilized Society appear in their native and uncultivated State. This Method of Investigation hath opened to us an involved and clouded Subject. Hence it appears, that *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*, naturally arose in *Union*; that *Measure*, *Rythm*, and *Numbers*, were the certain Consequence: That in the earliest Times of GREECE, the Characters of *Legislator* and *Bard* did often and naturally *coalesce*: That hence their earliest Histories, Laws, and Oracles, were of course written in *Verse*; that their religious Rites were naturally, and without positive Appointment, performed or accompanied by *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*: That through the several improving Periods of Time, their Songs were more and more of a true legislative Cast; that they included all the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes, and that in these were contained the leading Principles of their Religion, Morals, and Polity: That *Music*, in this its enlarged Sense, bore an essential and principal Part in the Education of their Children; being the pleasing and powerful Vehicle, by which all the important Precepts of Life were instilled into their tender Minds.—Thus naturally *Music* arose, and was *powerfully established* in ancient GREECE: And from this
View

View of its Nature and establishment, its *general Influence* must unavoidably follow: "For through the Force of
 "early and continued Habit, together with the irresistible
 "Contagion of public Example maintained by the general
 "Practice of the whole Community, who had received
 "the same Impressions in their infant State; and while
 "every thing pleasing, great, and important, was conveyed
 "through this Medium; such strong Associations did
 "strike themselves into the Tribes of GREECE, as naturally
 "produced the most lasting Effects, and such as no
 "future Incidents of Life could easily weaken or efface."

On these principles we may naturally explain some of the recorded Effects of ancient Music, which according to the common Interpretation of the Word, have been liable to the Derision of modern Critics.

We read, that such was the Power of ancient Music, that when AGAMEMNON went to TROY, the designing EGISTHUS could not debauch CLITEMNESTRA, till he had decoyed away the *Musician* that was retained in the Palace. This Account, if we understand by *Music* no more than *Melody*, hath much the Air of Hyperbole and Fable. But if we regard the *Musician* as what indeed he was, the Dispenser of *religious* and *moral* Principles, and that he urged the great Duty of conjugal Fidelity with the united Powers of poetic Eloquence and Song; and urged them to one whose Education had made her susceptible of such Impressions, the fabulous Appearances dissolve; and we see, that no other Method could have been devised, so effectual for the Preservation of a weak Woman's Virtue.

Again; we are told, that certain young Men heated with Wine, had agreed to assault the Doors of a modest
 Woman,

Woman, and abuse her as a Prostitute: but that an able Musician coming past, he sung and played to them in the *Dorian Mode*; on which they were struck with Shame, and desisted from their Enterprize [x]. This, to modern Comprehension, hath still more the Air of Fable: But when the Fact is well explained, the Ridicule vanisheth with the Mystery. For every *different Subject* had a *different Mode* annexed to it. This appears at large from PLATO. “ You must adapt the Mode to the Subject and
 “ Words, not these to the Mode or Harmony: On these
 “ Matters we will farther deliberate with DAMON, what
 “ Feet or Measures are fittest to express Illiberality, Petulance, frantic Folly, and other Vices; and what Measures
 “ best express their contrary Virtues. Hence it is, that
 “ Rythm and Numbers gain their Power in the musical Education, and exercise their mighty Influence on the Passions
 “ of the Soul [y].” Tis plain, therefore, that when the Historian tells us, that the Musician conquered the young Debauchees by an Application of the *Dorian Mode*, he means to signify, that the Melody was accompanied by a *poetic Exhortation* suited to the Numbers; and this could be no other than a Lesson of *Modesty* and *Temperance*; which being conveyed by the pleasing Vehicle of Melody and Song, addressed to those who by the Tenor of their Education must feel its Force, and given by one whose Profession they had been taught to reverence, could hardly fail

[x] This Story is ridiculed in the *Memoirs* of MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS: And the Ridicule is founded on an entire Misapprehension, or Misrepresentation, of the true nature of *ancient MUSIC*.

[y] *De Repub.* l. iii.

of its designed Effects, unless their Intemperance had prevented all Attention.

There are other recorded Effects of ancient Music of a similar Nature, which it is not necessary to produce here, because they may all be accounted for on the same Principle. With Respect to the traditionary Influence of this Art on wild Beasts, Stocks, and Stones, as it came down from the ignorant and fabulous Times, so nothing can be justly concluded from it, but the Force of Music over the Minds of uninstructed and wondering Barbarians.

Thus the boasted Power of the ancient Greek Music seems naturally and fully accounted for. And in Confirmation of this Solution, we may finally appeal to the savage Tribes with whom this Inquiry began. For by Means parallel in most other Respects, save only in the Article of Legislation and Letters, they animate each other by the early and continued Use of Melody, Dance, and Song, to Valour in Arms, to Constancy in Torments and Death [z]. This is found, in Fact, to be an Education of such mighty Influence, that the *War-Song* and *Death-Song* inspire whole Tribes with a Degree of *Fury* and *Indurance*, which hath become the Astonishment of all who have *seen* but never *felt* their Power.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Progressions of Music in ancient Greece.

THE Origin, Nature, and Power, of the ancient Greek Music being thus explained; let us now proceed to a like Application of the remaining Articles of the fourth

[z] LAFITAU, tom. iii. p. 171. tom. iv. p. 9.

Section;

Section ; in which we shall endeavour to unfold the various *Progressions* of this Art in GREECE, and pursue it through its several Advances towards *Perfection*, to its final *Corruption* and *Decay*.

14. “ The *Dance* was separated from the *Song* ; and
 “ with or without *Melody* became itself a distinct Exercise
 “ or Art, under the Title of *Gymnastic*, for the Sake of
 “ increasing their Strength and Agility of Body, as the
 “ Means of rendering them invincible in War.” This was
 the natural Effect of their warlike Character, for the
 Reason given above [a]. And that this was the real
 Generation of the *Gymnastic* Art, appears evidently from
 PLATO’S Book of *Laws* : where, having spoken of the
 three constituent Parts of a compleat *Choir* (*Melody*,
Dance, and *Song*) he proceeds to deduce from these the
 Origin of the *Gymnastic* Art. “ Is not this the leading
 “ Principle of the *Gymnastic* Art, that every Creature is
 “ born with a natural Inclination to leap or bound? But
 “ Man, being endowed with a Sense of *Rythm* or *Numbers*,
 “ naturally formed his Motions into *Dance* : *Melody* natu-
 “ rally begets *Rythm* ; and these two united form the
 “ *Gymnastic*.— For *That* we call the *Gymnastic*, when the
 “ *Dance* is so artificially applied, as to improve the Powers
 “ of the Body [b].” That this Art was applied by the an-
 cient *Greeks* to the End of public and warlike Service, is
 generally known : However, if it needs a Proof, another
 Passage of the same Author will sufficiently confirm it.
 “ After these Instructions (in *Music*) the Parents send their
 “ Sons to the Masters of the *Gymnastic* Schools, that by

[a] See Sect. iv. Art. 14.

[b] *De Leg.* l. ii.

“gaining a firm Habit of Body, which may second a well-
 “formed Mind, they may be able to indure the Toils of
 “*Enterprise* and *War* [c].”

We trace the Foundation and Progress of the *Gymnastic* Art no less clearly in LUCIAN'S Account. “The *Spartans*, having received this Art (of Dancing) from CASTOR and POLLUX, went *dancing to Battle*, to the Sound of Flutes: Their Application to Music did not lessen their Attention to Arms: For a Musician sat in the midst of the Assembly, and played on the Flute, beating Time with his Foot; while they regularly followed the Measure, in a Variety of warlike Postures [d].”

To confirm these Evidences, we may add another Instance of a warlike *Dance*, which approacheth nearest to the Establishment of the *Gymnastic* Exercise, of any recorded by Antiquity. XENOPHON, in his “Expedition of CYRUS,” describes one of these Dances in the following Manner. “The *Feast* being ended, the *Libations* made, and the *Hymn* sung, two *Thracians*, completely armed, began to dance to the Sound of the Flute: After skirmishing for some time with their Swords, one of them (as wounded) fell down, on which the *Paphlagonians* set up a loud Cry. The Conqueror having stripped his Adversary, departed, singing his Victory.”—Here we see a near Approach to the Forms of the *Gymnastic* Exercise in their most essential Circumstances, yet the original Form of the *Dance* remains.

Thus the Origin of the *Gymnastic* Arts is clearly unfolded, as being no more than a Part of the savage *Song-*

[c] *In Protag.*[d] *De Saltatione.*

Feast; but separated from thence for the Ends of war-like Service. For Want of this Information, the learned VOSSIUS, among other Authors, styles the *Dance* a Branch of the *Gymnastic*, instead of regarding the *Gymnastic* as the Offspring of the *Dance* [e].

Here we may farther observe, that this View of the *Gymnastic*, considered as having been originally a Branch of the *Musical Art*, clears up a Difficulty with which every other Account of it is encumbered. Thus a late Writer says, “The Exercise of *leaping* in the *Pentathlon* was accompanied by *Flutes*, playing *Pythian* Airs, as PAUSANIAS informs us. Whence this Custom was derived, I cannot say: And the Reason assigned for it by that Author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce us to think, that in this Matter the Ancients were as ignorant as we [f].” But on the Principle here given, the Custom accounts for itself. In the first Institution of the *Gymnastic Arts*, it appears that *Melody* made a *Part* of them: This *Part* had been disused (by Course of Time) in the *other Exercises*, but had been retained in that of *Leaping* in the *Pentathlon*.

15. “After a certain Period of Civilization, the complex Character of *Legislator* and *Bard* did separate, and were seldom united.” This Separation, it hath been shewn above, would of course follow from decreasing Enthusiasm, and the increasing Labours of Government. And such was the natural Rise of the *αοδοι* or *Bards* of ancient GREECE: Of whose *Profession* and *Art* a late learned Author [g] hath, in many Circumstances, though not in all;

[e] *De Nat. Art.* l. i. c. 3.
Odus: Prof.

[f] WEST's *Transl. of PINDAR's*
Enquiry into the Life and Writings of HOMER.

given a just Idea. Of its original Dignity and Importance, in the most ancient Times, he did not rightly conceive; through his Ignorance of its true Rise, and original Union with the Legislator's Office. He represents them as wandering Musicians only, who were *welcome* to the Houses of the *Great*. Such indeed they were, in the *later* Periods; when the Separation had been long formed, and their Office become rather an *Affair of Amusement* than *Utility*. But as in the earliest Periods the *Legislators* themselves were often *Bards*, so when the Separation of Character was first made, the known Influence and Importance of their Office could make them no other than *Assistants* to the *Magistrate*, in the high Task of governing the People. Of this we have a clear Instance in the Commonwealth of SPARTA (which maintained all its original Institutions the most pure and unchanged) where a dangerous Insurrection arose; nor could be quelled by the Magistrate, till the Bard TERPANDER came, and played and sung at their public Place of Congress [b].

HESIOD, who was himself of this Order, hath given us a noble Description of their Office and Dignity: Which, as it strongly confirms the Genealogy here given, I shall translate at large; together with his Picture of the *Magistrate*; along with whom the *Bard* appears to co-operate in the public Welfare, as the *second* Character in the *Community*. “ Therefore Kings (Magistrates) are watchful, “ that they may do Justice to the injured, at the Place of “ public Congress, soothing the Passions of Men by persuasive Speech: The People reverence him as a God,

[b] SUIDAS, on the *Lesbian Song*.

“ while he passes through the City.—*Kings* are from
 “ *JOVE*: *Bards* are from the *Muses* and the far-shooting
 “ *APOLLO*. Happy is He whom the *Muses* love: His
 “ Lips flow with sweet and soothing Accents. If any
 “ hath a keen and inward Grief, fresh-rankling in his
 “ Soul; the Bard, the *Muses* Minister, no sooner sings the
 “ Praise of *ancient Heroes*, and the *Gods* who inhabit
 “ *OLYMPUS*, than he forgets his Sorrows, and feels no
 “ more his Anguish.—Hail, Daughters of *JOVE*! Inspire
 “ *Me* with your persuasive Song [*i*].”

It seems probable that the original *Dignity* of the *Bard's* Character was always maintained longer in *Commonwealths* than under despotic or *kingly* Governments: For at the Court of *ALCINOUS*, so early as the Age of *HOMER's* Heroes, it appears, from the Picture given of *DEMODOCUS*, to have sunk into a Character of *Dependance* [*k*]. The Reason is manifest: The *Republican* Form subsists by an united Exertion of the Powers of every Rank: Under the *despotic* Rule, the Influence of these various Powers is swallowed up in the absolute Will of *ONE*. We shall see the Bard's Character rising again in its dignified State, in the early Periods of other barbarous Nations [*l*].

16. “ In the Course of Time, and Progress of Polity
 “ and Arts, a *Separation* of the several *Kinds* of Song did
 “ arise. In the early Periods they lay confused; and were
 “ mingled in the same Composition, as Inclination, En-
 “ thusiasm, or other Incidents might impel.”—This Fact is manifest enough, from the Catalogue already given of the Writings of the most ancient Bards of *GREECE*; for

[*i*] *HES. THEOG.*[*A*] *Odyss.*[*l*] See below, Sect. viii.

by this it appears, that they ranged at large through the Fields of Poetry and *Song*, without giving any precise or legitimate Form to their Compositions; which seem most generally to have been a rapturous Mixture of *Hymn*, *History*, *Fable*, and *Mythology*, thrown out by the enthusiastic Bard in legislative Songs, as different Motives or Occasions presented themselves, and according to the Exigencies or Capacity of his surrounding Audience.—“ But
 “ repeated Trial and Experiment produced a more artificial Manner; and thus by Degrees, the several Kinds of
 “ Poem assumed their legitimate Forms.”— For the Truth of this, we refer to the following Articles.

17. “ H Y M N S or *Odes* were composed, and *sung* by their
 “ Composers at their festal Solemnities.” This Species of Song hath, in the Way of Preheminence, and beyond any other, gained the Title of *lyric Poetry*. Nor can we wonder at this, if we consider, that from its Nature it must have arisen first, must have been first moulded into Form, and must, from its peculiar-Genius, continue united with *Melody* longer and more universally than any other. It arose first, because it was natural for the savage Mind, to throw itself out in sudden Exclamations of Grief or Joy, Love, Revenge, or Anguish, before it could find Means or Leisure to recite at large the Occasions of these powerful Feelings: It must be first moulded into Form, because its Extent is the smallest, and its Plan most simple: It must continue united with *Melody* longer and more universally than any other Species, because the very Effence of its Subject is that which the other Kinds only catch incidentally, I mean, the sudden Shocks and Emotions of the Soul; which are found to be the powerful Bands of Nature, by
 4 which

which *Melody* and *Song* are most closely bound together.

PLUTARCH confirms this Reasoning concerning the *Priority* of the *hymnal* Species; and says, that “Music was “*first* used in religious Ceremonies, being employed in the “*Praises* of the *Gods*; and that *afterwards* it was applied “to *other* Subjects [m].” Accordingly we find, that in the several successive Periods, ALCÆUS, STESICHORUS, TYRTÆUS, and others, composed and sung their *Odes* at the public Festivals. The sublime PINDAR was not more celebrated for his mighty Strains, than for his powerful Performance of them at the *Olympic Games*: Nay, so high was his Fame in this Regard, that he had a golden Chair appropriated to him in the Temple of DELPHI, where he poured forth the Torrent of his Songs, which were attended to, and revered as Oracles issuing from the Inspiration of the God.

18. “The *Epic* Poem arose; and was sung by its Composers at their festal Solemnities.”—When the first Fire of Enthusiasm had vented itself in the Rapture of *Hymns* and *Odes*, it naturally assumed a more *sedate* Manner; and found Time to *relate* at large those Actions which in its first Agitations it could only celebrate by sudden Bursts of Passion and Praise. Accordingly, we find many of the elder Poets of GREECE mixing the *hymnal* and *enthusiastic* with the *historic* or *narrative* Species. The Exploits of BACCHUS, the Rape of PROSERPINE, the Wars of the TITANS, were among their favourite Themes. After these, came the Authors of the *Herculiad* and *Thebiad*: DEMODOCUS,

[m] *De Musica.*

prior to HOMER, fung the Ambush of the *Trojan Horse*: PHEMIUS fung the Return of the *Greeks* under AGAMEMNON: The *little Iliad* comprised most of the subsequent Adventures of the *Trojan War*. A *Thebaid* was also written, the Author of which is not certainly known; though PAUSANIAS tells us, it was by many ascribed to HOMER [n]. As Example, Habit, and improving Arts and Polity, are the necessary Means of Progress in every Art, so these Accounts, though imperfectly conveyed to us (because the Poems they allude to are lost) sufficiently imply, that the *Epic Muse* advanced *gradually* towards Perfection; till at length she appeared in full Splendor, in the Person of her favoured HOMER.

HERODOTUS, indeed, has thrown out a Hint; as if the *Iliad* was prior to the oldest of the Poems ascribed to these most ancient Bards [o]. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS affirms the same thing in stronger Terms [p]: And Mr. POPE goes into this Opinion [q]. It must be confessed, the History of these remote Ages is so dark and fabulous, that nothing can with Certainty be collected from them. But the very Structure of HOMER's Poem carries in itself such an internal Evidence, as turns the Scale against the Historian's Conjecture. If we consider the Nature of the human Mind, we shall be led to believe, that the *Epic Poem* must have received a *gradual* Improvement through that long though unknown Tract of Time, during which its unpolished Rudiments existed before the Age of HOMER. The mere Powers of *Fancy* and *Execution* may,

[n] L. ix.

[o] In EUTERPE.

[p] L. i. c. 5.

[q] Diss. prefixed to his Transf. of the *Iliad*.

indeed,

indeed, arrive at their highest Perfection by the Efforts of a *single Mind*: For what belongs to Nature only, Nature only can complete; and thus our immortal SHAKESPEAR arose: But that an *Epic PLAN*, so *complex*, so *vast*, and yet so *perfect* as that of the *Iliad*; which requires an uncommon Penetration even to comprehend in all its Variety and Art; which the thoughtful, the literate, the polished VIRGIL attempted to rival, and only proved his utter Inability by his Attempt; which succeeding Poets have made their Model, yet none have ever equalled or approached, save only the all-comprehending Mind of the sublime MILTON;—that such a Plan as This, which required the highest Efforts of an improved Understanding, opened and strengthened by a Succession of preceding Examples, should at once emerge in all the Extent of Art, in the midst of rude and unformed Fables, sung at Festivals as vague Enthusiasm might inspire;—this is an Opinion repugnant to all our Notices concerning the Progress of the Powers of the human Mind. We may as rationally suppose that St. PAUL's was the first built Temple, its *Organ* the first musical Instrument, the LAOCOON and his Sons the first Attempt in Statuary, the *Transfiguration* the first Essay in Picture, as that the *stupendous Iliad*, the Wonder of all succeeding Ages, was the *first* Attempt in *Epic Poetry*.

What the Nature of the Thing so strongly declares, ARISTOTLE seems to confirm in his Poetics: For he says, that “ although we know not the Names either of the
 “ Poems or their Authors; yet there is Reason to believe
 “ that many had been written before HOMER; and that
 “ his *Margites* brought this Species to its Perfection, in
 “ the

“ the same Manner as the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* had compleated
 “ the Form of the Epic Poem [r].”

We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that from the Days of LINUS, down to thoſe of HOMER, there had been a Succeſſion of Writers, among whom the Form of the *Epic Poem* had been *gradually* advancing towards Perfection, till it received its full Completion in the Birth of the *Iliad*.

That theſe Epic Songs, in their ſeveral Periods, were ſung by their Compoſers to the ſurrounding People, we have the general Teſtimony of ancient Writers. This Fact is ſo clear, with Reſpect to the elder Poets of GREECE, that it is much queſtioned whether ever their *Songs* were committed to *Writing*: Whether they were any more than the extempore Efforts of a ſudden Enthuſiaſm, kindled by the ſympathetic Power of *religious Rites*, or *State-Festivals*. That HOMER followed the honourable Profeſſion of a *Bard*, and ſung his own Poems at the public Feaſts, hath been proved at large by a learned Writer [s]. HESIOD was of the ſame Order; and ſeems to have maintained it with truer Dignity [t]: TERPANDER held the ſame Employment, and ſung both his own Poems and thoſe of HOMER [u].

19. “ From an *Union* of theſe two Kinds, a certain rude
 “ Outline of *Tragedy* aroſe.”—For when a Bard ſung the great or terrible Atchievements of a Heroe or God, the ſurrounding *Audience*, fired to Enthuſiaſm, and already prepared by a correſpondent Education, would naturally

[r] *Poet.* c. iv. [s] *Life of HOMER*, Sect. vii, viii. [t] THEOG.
Exord. ver. 23, &c. [u] PLUTARCH *de Muſica*.

break forth into the Raptures of a *choral Song*.—This Progression of Poetry is so natural, that it is Matter of Astonishment to hear the learned at all Times ascribing the Rise of Tragedy to Causes merely accidental; and confining it to the single Adventure of *THESPIS* and his Route, singing the Praises of *BACCHUS* at a *casual* Vintage. Thus *DACIER*, among others, affirms roundly, that “The first dramatic Person which *THESPIS* invented, “was only *designed* to give Respite to the Choir; and “what he recited was no more than an Appendage to “Tragedy [*w*].” In the same Manner the sensible and learned *BRUMOY* delivers at large the common System, with Respect to the Birth and Progress of the *tragic* Species [*x*]. All this is in Contradiction to the Workings of Nature; and, without Proof, supposes That to be a *casual Invention* in a *particular* Instance, which was indeed the *natural Progress* of Passion expressed by *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*. We have seen, that an Union of Narration and concurrent Shouts of Praise takes Place even in the rude Festivals of the savage Tribes: ’Tis altogether repugnant, therefore, to the Nature of Things to suppose, when *Letters* had given Accents to the Rapture of the surrounding Audience, and moulded the Ode into Form, that this natural Union should not be upheld. Though, therefore, the first Rise and Progress of the tragic Species in *GREECE* were hid in Darkness, through a Want of recording History, yet, from a Similarity of Causes and Effects which we find among the barbarous Nations of *AMERICA*, we might fairly conclude, that it had not a

[*w*] *Sur les Poet D’Arist.* p. 47.
tom. vi. p. 310, &c.

[*x*] *Theat. des Grecs,*

casual,

casual, but a certain *Rise* from *Nature*; according to the Principles here given.

But ancient History is not silent on this Subject. It gives us a Variety of Facts, which overturn the common System, and tend to confirm what is here advanced. PLATO says expressly, that “Tragedy was very ancient in the City of ATHENS, and practised there, long before the Age of THESPIS [y].” We are assured, on the Authority of other Writers, that “a Report prevailed in GREECE, that certain tragic Poets had in ancient Times contended at the Tomb of THESEUS [z].” SUIDAS even mentions one EPIGENES by Name, a tragic Poet, prior to the Age of THESPIS.

But a still stronger Evidence presents itself: For even the very Substance and Form of one of these rude Outlines of savage Tragedy remains in a respectable Author of Antiquity. “In ancient Times (saith STRABO) there was a Contest of Musicians who sung *Pæans* in Celebration of the God APOLLO: This was established by the Inhabitants of DELPHI, after the *Chriffæan* War.” The Description of this Contest is not incurious. “The Poem was composed by TIMOSTHENES: The Subject was the Victory of APOLLO over the *Serpent*: The *first* Part was the *Prelude* to the Battle; the *second* was the *Beginning* of the Engagement; the *third*, the *Battle* itself; the *fourth* was the *Pæan* or *Triumph* on the Victory; the *fifth* was an Imitation of the *Agonies* and *Hif-
sing* of the *dying Serpent* [a].”

[y] MINOS.

[z] See VOSSIUS *Poët.* l. ii. c. 12.

[a] STRABO, l. ix.

Here we have the very Form and Substance of a first rude Effay towards *Tragedy*, compounded of *Narration* and *correspondent Songs of Triumph*.

Nay, as a farther Confirmation, not only of this particular Article, but of the general Principles on which this Dissertation is built, we learn from other Authors, that APOLLO himself was the *Founder* of these *Contests* [b]; that the *God* was the *first* who *sung* his *own Exploit*; that He first described his Engagement with the Serpent; and that a Part of the Contest consisted in an Imitation of APOLLO, who *danced after his Victory* [c]. In this whole Scene, of the *God of Music singing, dancing, and praising his own Atchievements*, we have the genuine Picture of a *savage Chieftain* [d].

It appears, therefore, that *Tragedy* had a much earlier and deeper Foundation in ancient GREECE, than the accidental Adventure of THESPIS and his Rout: That it arose from *Nature*, and an unforced *Union* and *Progression* of *Melody, Dance, and Song*.

At the same Time it is manifest, that THESPIS added *something* to the rude and savage Form of *Tragedy*, as it existed in *his Age*. 'Tis probable that He was the *first Declaimer* or *Interlocutor* to *his own Choir*; that he first established the *Profession* of a *Player* in ATTICA, and first transported his *Company* from one Village to another; whereas, before his Time, the Exhibitions of the rude tragic Scene had been fixed, and merely *incidental* [e]: This Institution of an itinerant Company must necessarily in-

[b] See J. SCALIGER *Poët.* l. i. c. 23.
l. iv. c. 10. [d] See above, Sect. ii.
DIOG. LAERT. SOLON.

[c] JUL. POLL. *Onomast.*

[e] HOR. *Ep. ad Pis.*—

crease the general Attention of ATTICA to these rude tragic Scenes: And hence the Opinion seems first to have arisen, that THESPIS was the *Inventor* of this Species [f].

20. "In Process of Time, this barbarous Scene improved into a more perfect Form: Instead of *relating*, "they *represented* by an *assumed Character*, and by *Action* "and *Song*, those great or terrible Achievements which "their Heroes had performed." How soon the savage Tribes fall into this Kind of dramatic Representation, we have already seen [g]: How natural such a Progression of Art must be to the human Mind, will appear by reflecting, that dramatic *Action* is but another Mode of *Narration*; and that even the *Narration* of the savage Tribes is found to have such a Mixture of *Action* in it, as strongly tends to produce the dramatic Imitation [b]. Time, therefore, and repeated Efforts must naturally advance the *narrative*

[f] The most learned BENTLEY fell into the common System, with Regard to the Rise of Tragedy: Attempting to prove, that THESPIS was its *Inventor*. Thus, for Want of the true *Data*, and from an Unacquaintance with Man in his savage State, this great Critic hath thrown out a Chain of Errors: While, if he had been led up to the true Fountains of Information, he would probably have caught the various Progressions of Poetry at a Glance.

Mr. BOYLE, in his Examination of BENTLEY's Dissertation, seems once or twice to get out of the common Track of Criticism on this Subject: Yet, for Want of knowing the true Origin of Tragedy, as founded in human Nature, he throws little or no Light upon the Question. He insists, that Tragedy is more ancient than THESPIS, on the Authority of PLATO, and LAERTIUS: But he falls again into the vulgar Track, in affirming, that till the Time of THESPIS, the *Episode* had no Existence, but only the *Choir*. In Confutation of which Opinion we have now shewn, that the full Form of savage Tragedy had appeared many Ages before, in the first Institution of the *Pythian Games*.

[g] Above, Sect. ii.

[b] Ibid.

Episode.

Episode into *personal Representation*. And thus we are arrived at the Form which Tragedy wore, when the inventive Genius of ESCHYLUS advanced the Art one Step higher; and by adding a *second Person* to the Drama, brought in the Use of *Dialogue*.

Here, for the Sake of Truth, we must again depart from the general Body of Critics; most of whom, from ARISTOTLE down to our own Times, unite in supposing that ESCHYLUS was only a casual Imitator of HOMER, and drew the Idea of all his Tragedies from the ILIAD. A noble Critic of our own Country hath affirmed this in the fewest and strongest Terms; and says, that “There was no more left for Tragedy to do after him (HOMER) than to erect a Stage, and draw his Dialogues and Characters into Scenes [i].”

It may be deemed presumptuous, perhaps, to question a Point wherein the great Master-Critic of GREECE hath himself decided. But let us remember, that the Days are now past, when it was held a Point of Honour, to *swear* to the *Opinions* of a *Master*. ARISTOTLE is often admirable, generally judicious, yet sometimes perhaps mistaken, even in his Judgment of Men and Things relative to his own Country. He was more especially capable of being misled by the common Opinion in this Point; in which neither He nor any of his Countrymen could be sufficiently informed, for Want of a competent Knowledge of the Genius and Character of savage Manners.

That ESCHYLUS was not a mere Imitator of HOMER, that he was a great and original Poet, who exalted his Art one Degree beyond his Predecessors in his own Country, seems

[i] *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 197.

a Point which collateral Arguments strongly confirm. We are informed, in general Terms, that there were no less than fifteen tragic Poets who writ before him : And the Probability is much stronger, that he should draw his Improvement from the *scenic* Representations already established, in which he found one dramatic Person and an accompanying *Choir*, which, in all Probability, stood in the Place of a second Person, and often sustained a Kind of Dialogue with the principal Interlocutor [k]; than that he should have Recourse to HOMER's Poems, in which no dramatic Representation was to be found.

To this Argument may be added another, drawn from the Style and Manner of ESCHYLUS, so different from that of HOMER. For HOMER is equal, large, flowing, and harmonious: ESCHYLUS is uneven, concise, abrupt, and rugged: The one leads you through the grand but gentle Declivities of Hill and Dale; the other carries you over a continued Chain of Rocks and Precipices. Now if HOMER had been the Model of ESCHYLUS, some *Similarity of Manner* would probably have ensued.

A third and still stronger Proof arises from the essential Difference of their Subjects, both in Extent and Nature: In Extent, because the one is of *long*, the other of *short* Duration: In Nature, because HOMER's Poems are chiefly employed in the Exhibition of *Character* and *Manners*; those of ESCHYLUS in the Representation of *Terror* and *Distress*. Had he been that mere Imitator of HOMER which the Critics have adjudged him, and had nothing to

[k] This Opinion receives a strong Confirmation from the following Circumstance, that in the *Greek Tragedies* which have come down to us, whenever there is a *single Interlocutor* on the Stage, the *Choir* frequently maintains a *Dialogue* with him.

do but to erect a Stage, and to draw HOMER's Dialogues into Scenes, he would have been content to have taken *his* Subjects from the *Iliad*, and, according to HORACE's sober Rule, have never ventured beyond the Siege of *Troy* [1]. He would have brought upon the Stage the Anger of ACHILLES, the Battle of PARIS and MENELAUS, the Parting of HECTOR and ANDROMACHE, the Feats of DIOMEDE; and would have contrasted the *strength* of AJAX with the *Cunning* of ULYSSES. Nothing of all this appears: On the contrary, his *Subjects* and *Manner* are equally *his own*; and *both* of a Genius opposite to those of HOMER.

What PLUTARCH says of HOMER, though brought for the contrary Purpose, tends to confirm all that is here advanced. "Even Tragedy took its Rise from HOMER: "For his Poems comprehend every thing that is *sublime* "and *great* [m]." This, you will say, is a very insufficient Reason, because the Critic forgets the *pathetic* and the *terrible*, which were the essential Constituents of the Greek Tragedy. But mark the Sequel; which is still more extraordinary. "Neither do they (HOMER's Poems) contain Descriptions of those *atrocious Actions* which have "been feigned by the later Tragedians, such as *Incest*, and "the *Murder of Parents* or *Children*. Nay, whenever he "happens to touch on any thing of this Kind, he always "softens and throws it *into Shades* [n]." Thus while PLUTARCH is labouring to prove, that the *Greek Tragedy* was *drawn* from HOMER, he proves, that HOMER's Poems were *destitute* of that which was of the *Essence* of the *Greek Tragedy*.

[1] RECTIUS ILIACOS, &c.

[m] *In Vita HOMERI.*[n] *Ibid.*

- SCALIGER

SCALIGER is a venerable exception to the general Body of the Critics on this Subject; and seems to have viewed the Question in its true Light. “ In the *Iliad* “ (saith he) there is nothing like the *Progression* of a “ *Tragedy*, if you take the *whole* together: For, from “ Beginning to End, there is a *perpetual* Succession of “ *Deaths*: He begins with a Pestilence, which destroys “ more Men than the whole War [o].” The Critic then goes on to prove, by a large Enumeration of Circumstances, the *Iliad* hath very few of the essential Characteristics of *Tragedy*.

We may fairly conclude, then, that the Improvement which *Tragedy* received from ESCHYLUS was not *casual*, but the Result of a *natural Progression*: That he drew not from HOMER’S POEMS, as a mere Imitator; but exalted his Art one Step higher, from the Force of true *Genius* in the *tragic Species*.

What followed is well known: SOPHOCLES added a *third* Person to the Drama: And by this Improvement is said by the Critics to have *completed* the Form of *Tragedy*. The Truth of their Decision I much doubt: but this Disquisition lies beyond the Limits of our present Enquiry.

21. “ As the Choir was established by Nature and “ Custom, and animated their Solemnities by *Dance* as “ well as *Song*; the Melody, Dance, and Song, did of “ Course regulate each other; and the Ode or Song natu- “ rally fell into *Stanzas* of some *particular Kind*.” This arose by an easy Progression from the savage State; where

[o] *Poët.* l. i. c. 5.

Q

“ they

“ they who dance, go round in a circular Movement, and “ after a short Interval being a second [p].” The *Greeks* not only fell into this Manner, but improved upon it: They went round, first to the one Hand, then to the other, and then paused. The Learned have found out mystical Reasons for these circular Movements; referring them to the Motion of the Planets [q]. Much Labour cannot be necessary for the Confutation of these Refinements, as the Practice arose so evidently from the Dictates of Nature: It was a natural and sensible Improvement; for the plain Reason of *preventing Giddiness*, which ariseth from running round in the same Circle.

Let us attend, therefore, to its Consequences. As each *Dance* or *Return* was marked by its peculiar *Measure*, this of Course fixed both the *Melody* and poetic *Numbers* of the accompanying Song: And as they likewise sung during the *Interval of Rest*, we see, that from this easy Improvement on the savage Song-Feast, the *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*, naturally arose.

22. “ Another Consequence of the established *Choir*: “ was a strict and unvaried Adherence to the *Unities* of “ *Place* and *Time*.” This Effect is so manifest as to need little Illustration. A numerous *Choir*, maintaining their Station through the whole Performance, gave so forcible a Conviction to the Senses, of the *Sameness* of *Place*, and the *Shortness* of *Time*, that any Deviation from this apparent Unity must have shocked the Imagination with an Improbability too gross to be indured. Notwithstanding, all the Panegyrics of the Critics, therefore, upon the Greek Tragedians on Account of these *Unities*; it is evident,

[p] See Sect. ii.

[q] ATHENÆUS *Deip.* l. i.

they arose in the rudest Periods; and were continued through the more polished Ages, on the same Principle of untaught Nature and established Custom.

23. "Not only the Part of the tragic *Choir*, but the "*Episode*, or *interlocutory* Part, was also *Sung*." The most sensible of the Critics have ever regarded this as a Circumstance equally unnatural and unaccountable. Thus DACIER speaks. "It must be owned, that we "cannot well comprehend, how Music (*Melody*) could "ever be considered as in any Respect making a Part of "Tragedy: For if there be any thing in the World that "is at Variance with *tragic Action*, it is *Song* [r]." The learned Critic is so shocked with this supposed Union, in Appearance so unnatural, that upon the whole he questions its Existence; and is of Opinion, that when ARISTOTLE speaks of *Music*, as being annexed to *Tragedy*, he speaks of the *Choir* only [s]. This, however, is contrary to the united Voice of Antiquity, which universally admits the Fact, though its Origin was never accounted for. But how naturally this union took Place in ancient Tragedy, we now clearly discover, by investigating the Rise and Progress of this Poem from the savage State. For it appears, that the *Epic* and *Ode* were both sung from the earliest Periods; and therefore, when they became *united*, and by that Union formed the tragic Species, they of Course maintained the same Appendage of *Melody*, which Nature and Custom had already given them.

The *Abbé du Bos* endeavours to prove, indeed, that the *Song* which was employed in the *Episode* of ancient Tra-

[r] *Sur* ARISTOTE, p. 85, &c.

[s] *Ibid.*

gedy was no more than a Kind of *regulated* or *measured* *Declamation* [t]. But his Inquiries are partial; for he goes no higher than to the Practice of the *Romans*: And it is probable, from several Circumstances, that in the late Period when the *Romans* borrowed their Music from the *Greeks*, the *Tragic Song* had been brought down from a *measured Melody* to a kind of *regulated Declamation*. Thus, TULLY mentions the *Cantus Subobscurus*; and again saith, “*Delicatiores sunt falsæ Voculæ quam certæ et severæ.*” But though these, with several other Arguments alledged by the *Abbé*, seem to imply that the *tragic Song* was little more than a *measured Recitation*; yet this will by no means prove, that a more full and direct *Song* had not been used in *Tragedy* thro’ the more early Periods. In the Course of this Dissertation, the Practice of *singing* *Tragedy* hath been traced from its first Rise in savage Manners; which at once destroys the *Improbability* of the Custom, and proves that it was even founded in Nature; a Circumstance, of which the *Abbé* had not the least Suspicion. This Foundation being laid, we cannot but listen attentively to what the early Writers of GREECE tell us on this Subject: Now these unite in informing us, that the *Episode* of *Tragedy* was *Sung*; and even name the *Modes* of Music which were appropriated to the *Episode*, in Contradistinction to the *Choir* [u]. That the *Song* should approach nearer, by Degrees, to mere *Declamation*, will appear probable, when we consider the gradual Separations which successively took Place in the musical Art, during the successive Periods of GREECE and ROME.

[t] *Reflec. Crit.* Part iii. c. 4, &c.[u] ARISTOT. *Prob.* 19.

To mention only one Instance here, similar to what we now treat of: ARISTOTLE informs us, that in *His* Time the *Rhapsodists*, whose Profession it was to *sing* the Poems of HOMER and HESIOD, were beginning to make Inroads into the ancient Practice; and now *recited* those Poems, which in *former Times* had been always *sung* [w].

The *Abbé* falls into an Error with Respect to the *Dance*, parallel to that which he adopts with Regard to the *Melody* of the Ancients. As he insists that their *tragic Melody* was only a *measured Recitation*, so he affirms, that their *tragic Dance* was no more than *Action* [x]. It is true, that in the later Periods of *Rome*, when the musical Separations had taken Place, this was the general Meaning of the Word *Saltatio*: And hence, as in his Opinion of the *tragic Song*, his Mistake arose. For it is evident from the concurrent Testimony of the elder *Greek Writers*, that the *tragic Dance* was performed in the very Manner here described. We now see, that this *Dance* (no less than the *tragic Song*) arose from untaught Nature; and that it was the genuine Parent of the *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*.

24. “As the *Greek Nation* was of a *fierce* and *warlike* Character, their *tragic Representations* rowled chiefly “on Subjects of *Distress* and *Terror*.”—On this Topic, I doubt whether ARISTOTLE hath not mistaken an *Effect* for a *Cause*. For he says, that “Tragedy, by means of “*Pity* and *Terror*, purgeth in us *Those* and other such like “*Passions* [y].” MARCUS AURELIUS [z], MILTON [a], DACIER [b], and BRUMOY [c], all understand him, as

[w] *Pœt.* c. 26.[x] *Reflec.* Part. iii. c. 13.[y] *Pœt.* c. 6.[z] *L.* xi. Art. 6.[a] *Preface to SAMSON AGONISTES.*[b] *Pœt. d' Arist.*[c] *Theat. des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 85.

meaning.

meaning that Tragedy was formed *with this View*. It is not the Writer's Design to remark on this great Critic, farther than what relates to his main Subject. Therefore it will suffice to say, that if ARISTOTLE meant to assign this *moral End*, as the *Cause* why Tragedy assumed this Form in ancient GREECE, and adopted Subjects of *Distress* and *Terror*, He seems to have taken That for a *Cause*, which was a *natural Effect* of the ruling *Manners* of the *Greek Republics*. The Reasons which support the general Truth, already given in the correspondent Article, will hold their Force when applied here. For thus the *Greeks* animated each other to *Victory* and *Revenge*, by a Representation of what their Friends had *done* and *suffered*. These Subjects would likewise be most accommodated to the natural Taste of the poetic Chiefs of such a People; whose *Atchievements* produced and abounded with Events of *Distress* and *Terror*. Such then was the natural Origin and Adoption of these Subjects in the *Greek Tragedy*: But after they were established on this Foundation, 'tis probable that the Statesmen encouraged and applied them to the *Ends* of Policy. For as the leading View of a fierce and warlike People must be to *destroy Pity* and *Fear*; so This would most effectually be done, by making themselves familiar with distressful and terrible Representations. Under these Restrictions, the Opinion of ARISTOTLE may have a Foundation in Nature: Farther than this; and as applied to any People whose End is not *War* and *Conquest*, it carries the Appearance of a refined Idea, which hath no Foundation in Nature. The grand scenic Representations of the *Peruvians* and *Chinese* (as will

will appear below [d]) whose leading Object was *Peace*, are known to be of a quite contrary Nature; formed on their gentler Manners; and such as would have been altogether incompatible with the warlike Character, and insipid to the Taste of the Tribes of ancient GREECE.

25. “ Their Tragedy being designed as a visible Representation of their ancient Gods and Heroes, they invented a Method of strengthening the Voice, and aggrandizing the Visage and Person, as the Means of completing the Resemblance.” It is generally known, that the old *Grecian Gods* were supposed to be of a Stature exceeding that of ordinary Men: And the true Reason of that Opinion was, because in the early Ages they (like every other barbarous People [e]) selected the tallest and strongest Men for their *Chiefs*: Which Chiefs in Course of Time became their *Gods*. Hence the *Buskin* and *Masque* had their natural Birth: For the first brightened the Stature, as the second enlarged the Visage, and strengthened the Voice of the dramatic Actor. And although the common Accounts mention nothing of the *Inlargement* of the *Body*; yet we learn from LUCIAN, that the *Breast*, *Back*, and all the *Limbs*, were amplified in Proportion to the *Visage* and *Stature* [f]: Manifestly as the Means of completing the Resemblance of their Gods and Heroes.

By thus tracing the *Buskin* and *Masque* to their true Origin, we shall now be able to give a Reason for a Fact, which hath hitherto been regarded as merely the Effect of Whim and Caprice. THESPIS and his Company bedaubed their Faces with the *Lees* of *Wine*: Whence arose this Practice, seemingly so wild? THESPIS and:

[d] Sect. viii.

[e] See LAFITAU, and other Travellers.

[f] *De Saltatione*.

his *Company* were the Votaries of BACCHUS, and exhibited his Exploits, and sung his Praises to their Countrymen: Their use of the *Lees* of *Wine*, therefore, was intended as the Means of compleating the *Resemblance* of their *drunken God* and his *Crew*.

26. “As their *tragic Poets* were *Singers*, so they were “*Actors*, and generally performed some capital Part, in “their own Pieces for the Stage.” This Fact hath generally been held extraordinary and unaccountable: And hath been resolved, it seems, by some Talkers on this Subject, into the *Want* of *Actors* in the *early* Periods. We now clearly discover a contrary Cause: The Practice took Place when the *highest* Characters were *proud* to signalize themselves as *Actors*: When Legislators and Bards assumed the *Lyrists*’s and *Actor*’s Character, as the Means of civilizing their surrounding Tribe: Therefore, till some extraordinary Change in Manners and Principles should ensue, the original Union established by Nature and Custom was of course maintained in GREECE. SOPHOCLES was the first on Record who quitted this honourable Employ: And He, only because his Voice was unequal to the Vastness of the *Athenian* Stage. That he quitted it on this Principle alone, appears from his Conduct on other Occasions: For he not only *Sung* his *own* Verses, but likewise *led* the *Dance* at a public Triumph [g].

27. “MUSICAL *Contests* were admitted as public Exercises in the *Grecian* States.” For the Truth of This, we have the concurrent Evidence of many ancient Writers. That Union of *Gymnastic* and *musical* Exercises which took Place in the early Periods of the *Greek* Repub-

lics, hath by some Writers been regarded as *unnatural*: by all, as *accidental*. Thus a learned Author says, “To these *Gymnastic* Exercises were added others of a quite “*different Nature* [b].” But by following this Establishment up to its first Principles, we have now found, that in Fact the *Gymnastic* Exercises were originally a *Part* of the *musical* [i], being no more than the improved *Dance*, which was a Branch of ancient *Music*. In Process of Time, as hath been proved, the *Dance* or *Gymnastic* Art was generally separated from the *Melody* and *Song*: But it is remarkable, that in all their public Games or Contests, from the earliest to the latest Periods, these several Branches of Music, either separate or in Union, composed the essential Parts of their public Exhibitions.

The learned STRABO hath left us the most particular Account of the Rise and Progress of the Pythian Games; which entirely coincides with the Principles here given [k]. “In ancient Times, there was a Contest of Musicians, who sung Pæans in Celebration of the God APOLLO. “This was established at DELPHI, after the *Crissean* “War.”—So far, we see, the musical Contest maintained its original Savage Form, without any Separation of the Dance. “Afterwards, the *Amphictyons*, under EURY-“LOCHUS, instituted the *equestrian* and *gymnastic* Contest; “appointing a Crown as the Conqueror’s Reward: And “these Games were called the *Pythian* [l].” Here, we see, in a later Period, the Establishment assumed its political Form; a Separation ensued; the *Dance* was heightened into the *Gymnastic* Art, for the Reasons assigned above.

[b] POTTER *Arch. Græc.*

[i] See above, Art. 19.

[k] Ibid.

[l] STRABO, ib.

We have already seen the Form of this musical Contest, as described by STRABO [m]. We have observed, that other ancient Authors, with great Shew of Probability, deduce its Origin from APOLLO himself [n]. SCALIGER, speaking of the Rise of these *Pythian* Games, makes no Doubt of their having been instituted by APOLLO [o]. But not knowing the true Origin of the *Gymnastic* Art, as having originally made a Part of the *musical*, and supposing (according to the common System) that these Games were established as an *imitative Memorial* of the *particular Action* performed, he adds with great Candour, “ I wonder, considering that he killed the *Python* with an *Arrow*, that he did not institute a *Contention* of *Archers*, rather than *Musicians* [p].” This Doubt, so candidly expressed, throws new Light upon the Question; and is a collateral Circumstance of Proof, that these Games had their Origin in the savage *Song-Feast*, which in aftertimes branched out into the *Gymnastic* Arts.

So much concerning the Rise and Progress of the *Pythian* Games; which sufficiently clears our Subject. As to the Origin and Progress of the *Olympic* Games, it is much hid in the Darkness of distant Ages. They are generally ascribed to the *Idæan* HERCULES, who is said to have given them the Name of *Olympic*. But if we attend to Arguments of Probability, arising from the Analogy of Names, we shall rather be led to attribute their Institution to the *Olympian* JUPITER; especially, as Tradition supports this Conjecture at least as strongly as the other. For PAUSANIAS informs us, that “ there are

[m] Art. 19.

[n] Ibid.

[o] *Poet.* l. i. c. 23.

[p] Ibid.

“ who,

“ who say, that JUPITER contended for Empire with
 “ SATURN, in this very Place: Others affirm, that having
 “ vanquished the *Titans*, He (JUPITER) instituted these
 “ Games, in which others too are said to have been Con-
 “ querors; that APOLLO vanquished MERCURY in the
 “ *Race*, and overcame MARS at *boxing* [q].” All this
 agrees so entirely with the Character and Contentions of
 savage Chieftains, as to create a strong Probability of the
 Truth of the Tradition. This we know, however, that
 Musical Contests made an essential Part of these magnifi-
 cent Exhibitions; and that PINDAR sung his Odes, and
 was often *crowned* as *Victor* in these public Contests.

The *Isthmian* and *Nemean* Games, having been instituted
 in later Periods, when a Separation of the Dance had been
 already made, and consequently the *Gymnastic* Arts already
 established, we cannot properly draw any Conclusions from
 These, relative to the present Question.

The *tragic Contests*, which followed on the Improve-
 ment of that Species of Poetry, are too well known to
 need any particular Delineation. Let it suffice, that we
 have traced them up to their first rude Form and Origin,
 in the musical Contest at DELPHI, as described by STRA-
 BO [r]. They were re-established in their more improved
 State by CIMON, when that General brought the Remains
 of THESEÛS to ATHENS. The three great tragic Bards,
 ESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, all *contended*
 and were *crowned* by turns.

This general Establishment of musical Contests, which
 hath been so often held trifling and unaccountable, appears

[q] PAUSANIAS, l. v.

[r] See above, Art. 19.

now to have been founded in true Policy and Wisdom. “ For as the leading Articles of their Religion, Morals, “ and Polity, made a Part of their public Songs; so, public Contests of this Kind were justly regarded as the “ surest Means of keeping up an Emulation of a most useful Nature; and of strengthening the State, by enforcing “ the fundamental Principles of Society, in the most agreeable, most striking, and most effectual Manner.”

28. “ The Profession of *Bard* or *Musician* was held as “ very *honourable*, and of high Esteem.” We have seen the Foundation of This, in the fifteenth Article of the present Section. For he was vested with a Kind of public Character; and if not an original Legislator, was at least a subordinate and useful Servant of the State: And as the Utility of his Profession was such as arose from *Genius*, personal Respect and Honour was the natural Consequence in a *well ordered Republic*. The Facts which support this Truth, with regard to ancient GREECE, are commonly known; from the *Crowns*, *Triumphs*, and other Marks of public and appointed Regard, bestowed on the *Victors* in the musical Contests.

29. “ ODES and *Hymns* made a Part of their domestic Entertainment; and the Chiefs were proud to signalize themselves, by their Skill in *Melody* and *Song*.”—This is generally known; and needs no particular Proof. It is introduced here, that it may be accounted for: Because it hath been held a Practice unworthy the Character of *Legislators* and *Heroes*, to be ambitious of *singing* and *playing* on the Lyre. But if we examine the Nature of the ancient Songs of GREECE, we shall find that the Performance of them was worthy of the highest Characters. It was usual for all

who were at their Entertainments, first to sing together the Praises of the Gods [s]: Then they sung successively, one by one, holding a Branch of *Myrtle* in their Hand, which was sent round the Table [t]. In later Times, when the *Lyre* came more into Use, *this* Instrument was sent round instead of the *Myrtle*; and in this Period it was, that their Songs assumed the Name of *Scolia* [u].

The Songs were chiefly of the three great Classes, *religious, political, and moral*. Of the first Class, ATHENÆUS hath preserved no less than five: One to PALLAS, one to CERES, one to APOLLO, one to PAN, and one to all the tutelary Gods of ATHENS [w].

Of the second Class, the *political*, in which their *Heroes* were celebrated, though not advanced to the Rank of *Gods*, the same Author hath given us several; in which, AJAX, TELAMON, HARMODIUS, the *Heroes* who fell at LEIPSYDRION, ADMETUS, the *Olympic* Victors, and others, were celebrated at their private Entertainments [x].

Of the third or *moral* Class ATHENÆUS hath likewise transmitted to us a Collection. Of this Kind we find one upon the *Vanity* and *Mischiefs* of *Riches*, one upon *Prudence*, one upon the comparative Excellence of the *Goods* of Life; one upon *Friendship*, one upon the *Choice* of *Friends*, one upon *false Friends*; and a fine one of ARISTOTLE on the *Force* of *Virtue*, which may be said in some Measure to comprehend all the three Kinds, *religious, political, and Moral*.

[s] PLUT. *Symp.* l. i. q. i. ATHEN. *Deip.* l. xv.

[t] PLUT: ib.

[u] PLUT: ib. ATHEN. ib.

[w] ATHEN. ib.

[x] ATHEN. ib.

[y] ATHEN. ib.

Such :

Such being the Nature of the old *Grecian Songs*, and the whole Nation having been prepared to perform and listen to them with Reverence by a correspondent Education; no Wonder that the highest Characters in the Commonwealth bore a Part in their Performance at private Entertainments: “For their Songs being enriched with the great and important Subjects relative to their public State, and being the *established Vehicle* of *Religion, Morals, and Polity*; nothing could be more suitable to a high Station in the Commonwealth, than a Proficiency in this *sublime and legislative Art.*”

30. “When *Music* had attained to this State of relative *Perfection*, it was esteemed a *necessary Accomplishment*: And an Ignorance in this Art was regarded as a capital *Defect.*” Of this we have an Instance, even in *THEMISTOCLES* himself, who was upbraided with his Ignorance in *Music* [z]. The whole Country of *Cynæthe* laboured under a parallel Reproach [a]: And all the enormous *Crimes* committed there, were attributed by the neighbouring States to the *Neglect* of *Music*. — What Wonder? For according to the Delineation here given of the ancient Greek *Music*, their Ignorance in this noble Art implied a general Deficiency in the three great Articles of a social Education, *Religion, Morals, and Polity.*

31. “The Genius of their *Music* varied along with their *Manners.*” Of this Truth we have had abundant Proofs, in the Course of this Dissertation; where we have seen *Music* (in its ancient and enlarged Sense) emerge from the Rudeness of barbarous Life, and improve through

[z] *CICERO Tusculanæ*. l. i.

[a] *ATHENÆVS, POLYBIUS.*

the successive Periods of improving Manners. We shall soon see a parallel Decline of this noble Art, arising from an equivalent Cause: For Manners being the leading and “most essential Quality of Man, All his other Tastes and Acquirements naturally correspond with These; and accommodate themselves to his Manners, as to their original Cause.”

32. “As every Change of Manners influenced their Music, so by a reciprocal Action, every considerable Change of Music influenced their Manners.” The Facts which prove this, will be given in the thirty fourth Article. In the mean Time, the Reason is evident: For not only the Passion for *Novelty* and *Change* was immediately dangerous to the *Stability* of *small Republics*; but still farther, as *Music* was the established *Vehicle* of all the great Principles of *Education*, a Change in *Music* inevitably brought on a Change in *These*.

33. “There was a provident Community, of Principles uncommonly severe, which fixed the Subjects and Movements of Song and Dance, by Law.” This provident Community was that of SPARTA. The Practice was not peculiar to this wise though barbarous Commonwealth. It was borrowed from CRETE; and came originally from EGYPT; where the same provident Institution had taken Place in earlier Ages.—In that great Fountain of ancient Polity, not only the Art of *Music* in its enlarged Sense, but even that of *Painting*, was fixed and made unalterable by Law [b]. PLATO, who informs us of This, gives a particular Detail of the musical Establishment, which sets the Principle in a clear Light, and corroborates what is here

[b] PLATO *de Legibus*, l. ii.

advanced. “ All their Songs and Dances are consecrated
 “ to the Gods: It is ordained, what Sacrifices shall be
 “ offered to each Deity, and what *Songs* and *Choirs* shall
 “ be appointed to each Sacrifice: But if any Person makes
 “ use of *Hymns* or *Choirs* in the Worship of the Gods,
 “ other than what is appointed by *Law*, the Priests and
 “ Magistrates expel him the Community [c]. “ Hence
 (saith PLATO in another Place) “ their *Music* is found to
 “ have continued *uncorrupted*, and the *same*, for thousands
 “ of Years [d].” A Stroke of Polity, fatal indeed to Art,
but excellent with Respect to the Stability and Duration
of a State. This uncommon Effort of *Egyptian* Legislation
 the *Spartan* Lawgiver adopted from CRETE; and by this
 severe Establishment is said “ three Times to have saved
 “ the State.” Innovations were attempted by three diffe-
 rent Musicians, TERPANDER, TIMOTHEUS, and PHRYN-
 NIS [e]: And as the very Sentence of the *Spartan* Senate
 against one of these Incroachers on the severe Simplicity of
 the Commonwealth is yet preserved; it may not be dis-
 agreeable to the Reader, to present him with this curious
 Remnant of Antiquity. “ Whereas TIMOTHEUS the
 “ *Milesian*, coming into our City, and despising the ancient
 “ Music; rejecting also that Melody which ariseth from
 “ seven Strings; and setting off his Music by a Multiplicity
 “ of Strings, and a new Species of Melody, corrupts the
 “ Ears of our Youth; and instead of That which is legiti-
 “ mate and pure, corrupting the *Enbarmonic* by new,
 “ various, and *Chromatic* Sounds; and being called to the
 “ *Eleusinian* Mysteries, did divulge the Secrets of that Insti-

[c] *De Leg.* l. vii.[d] *Ibid.* l. ii.[e] *ATHEN. Deip.* l. xiv.

“ tution;

“ tution ;—It seemed good to the *Senate* and *Rhetors*, that
 “ TIMOTHEUS should be called to Account for these Pro-
 “ ceedings; that he should be compelled to cut off the
 “ four superfluous Strings from his Lyre; leaving the seven
 “ ancient Tones; and that he be banished to a Distance
 “ from the City; that hence forward none may dare to
 “ introduce any new and dangerous Custom into SPARTA;
 “ lest the Honour of our musical Contests should be de-
 “ filed [*f*].”

In this Edict, we see the jealous Spirit of a Republic,
which could only subsist by a rigorous Simplicity of Man-
ners, and an unalterable Obedience to its Laws. There
 hath been much ill-founded Ridicule thrown on the
Spartans for this Decision: For if we consider the danger-
 ous Effects of mere *Innovation* in *small Republics*, and the
 close Connexion between the *Melody* and the *Subject* in
 ancient *Music*, together with the early and continued Ap-
 plication of *These* to the *Education* of their Youth, we shall
 find, that in this Instance the *Spartans* only acted a cautious
 and consistent Part. Their Principle was, to admit no
Change in Manners, and therefore no Change in Music.
 The designed Innovation of TIMOTHEUS, therefore, would
 have destroyed the first leading Principle, the very Genius
 of their Republic; and, consequently, must have been fatal
 to the Republic itself.

34. “ In the Commonwealths which were of more li-
 “ bertine and relaxed Principles, and particularly in that
 “ of ATHENS, the Corruption of Manners brought on the
 “ Corruption of Music; and this Corruption of Music

[*f*] ARATI PHÆNOMENA, *Ed. Oxon.* at the End of which this Edict
 is preserved.

“ still farther corrupted Manners; the Musicians, Bards,
 “ or Poets, being the immediate Instruments of the Cor-
 “ ruption.” This mutual Influence of Manners and Mu-
 sic on each other hath been already explained in two pre-
 ceding Articles [g]. And the Truth of these Reasonings
 is confirmed by Facts, which PLATO gives us at large,
 in the following most remarkable Passage.

“ The People (of ATHENS) did not in former Times
 “ controul the Laws, but willingly obeyed them. I mean
 “ those Laws which were made concerning Music. For
 “ Music was then precisely distinguished into its several
 “ Kinds: One was appropriated to the Supplication and
 “ Praises of the Gods: These were called *Hymns*. An-
 “ other Species was the lamenting or pathetic: A third
 “ was the *Pæan* or Song of Triumph: A fourth was the
 “ *Dithyrambic*; and a fifth consisted in singing ancient
 “ *Laws* or *Proverbs* [b]. In These and other Subjects
 “ established by Law, it was not allowed to use one Kind
 “ of Melody instead of another: Each Kind had its par-
 “ ticular Appropriation. The Power of deciding on
 “ These, and of condemning in Case of Disobedience, was
 “ not committed to the Hisses and foolish Clamours of
 “ the Multitude, as is now the Practice: Neither was
 “ the Liberty of intemperate Praise allowed to a noisy
 “ Cröud: This Decision was left to Men distinguished by
 “ their Sense and Knowledge; and a general Silence was
 “ maintained, till they had heard the Conclusion of the
 “ Work. The young Men, their Governors, and all the
 “ People, were obedient to the Motions of a Wand.
 “ While this good Order was maintained, the Multitude

[g] Art. 31, 32.

[b] See Art. 6.

“ willingly

“ willingly obeyed, nor dared to decide any thing in a
 “ tumultuous Manner. But in Course of Time, the Poets
 “ themselves were accessary to a fatal Change in Music:
 “ They wanted not Genius; but had no Regard to what
 “ was just and legitimate; running into Extravagance,
 “ and too much indulging the Vein of Pleasure. Hence
 “ they confounded all the several Kinds together; affirm-
 “ ing that *mere Taste and Pleasure*, whether it were that
 “ of a *good* or a *wicked* Man, was the only *Criterion* of
 “ *Music*. In Consequence of this, they composed their
 “ *Poems* on the same Principle; and thus rendered the
 “ *Multitude* so bold and daring against the *established Music*,
 “ that they assumed to themselves the sole Right of de-
 “ ciding on it. Hence the Theatres began to be in Up-
 “ roar, where formerly Silence had reigned: And thus the
 “ Privilege of judging fell from the Rulers of the State to
 “ the Dregs of the People. Had this Authority been
 “ assumed by the *liberal* Part of the City, no great Harm
 “ had followed: But now, from this *corrupt Change* in
 “ *Music*, a *general Licentiousness of Opinion* hath ensued.—
 “ The Consequence of this hath been, that we no longer
 “ are disposed to obey the Magistrate: Hence too, that
 “ other Evil flows, that we despise the Authority and
 “ Precepts of our Parents, and the Advice and Wisdom of
 “ Old Age. And as we are rising towards the Extreme
 “ of this Corruption, we now refuse Obedience to the
 “ Laws: And to fill up the Measure of our Iniquities, all
 “ *Religion* and mutual *Faith* are lost among us [i].”

Such is the Picture which the philosophic PLATO hath left of his Time and Country: A Picture too well con-

[i] *De Legibus*, l. iii.

firmed by the concurrent Testimony of XENOPHON [k], in whose Accounts, together with those of PLUTARCH [l], we shall soon see a particular Delineation of the Progress of this Evil, which PLATO here describes in general Terms.

Let us conclude this Article with the Explanation of Subjects which hath not hitherto been clearly treated of, for want of a just Idea of the ancient *Greek Music*. The learned VOSSIUS thus expresseth himself: "It is a doubtful Point, whether we should say, that on a Change of Music, a Change of Manners ensues; or that a Change of Manners produceth a Change in Music: The first was DAMON's Opinion which PLATO follows: But CICERO leans to the latter System [m]." On this Passage it is necessary first to observe, that both VOSSIUS and CICERO use the Word *Music* in its *modern* Acceptation, as implying mere *Melody*. No Wonder, therefore, if they had but an imperfect Comprehension of PLATO's Argument. Secondly, On the Principles delivered in this Dissertation, it will appear, that PLATO was of both these Opinions, "That Manners influenced Music, and Music influenced Manners." In the Passage which VOSSIUS refers to, where the Opinion of DAMON is delivered, PLATO speaks of a Change in Music as influencing the Manners of a Commonwealth: This Change he regards, as opening a Door for Confusion, and Novelty in an Affair of public Consequence; similar to a Neglect of Reverence to old Men, Parents, or Magistrates, or any other ancient and approved Customs that were connected with the public Welfare: and in this Respect, the Influence of the Greek

[k] See below, Sect. vii. Art. 5.

[l] See ib.

[m] VOSSIUS.
Music,

Music, as now explained, on the Manners of Mankind is too evident to need any farther Proof.

On the other Hand, it is no less evident, that PLATO was of Opinion, that a Corruption of Manners must corrupt Music. He hath shewn us in the Passage given above, that the Boldness and Degeneracy of the People of ATHENS first allured the Poets to debase their Art, by singing such Poems as were accommodated to their vicious Taste founded on their vicious Manners: That as Manners had thus debased Music, so this corrupt Music by a natural Reaction still farther corrupted Manners, and completed the Destruction of Religion and Virtue.

35. “ In Consequence of these Progressions, a gradual and total Separation of the Bard’s complex Character ensued. The Leader of the State no longer was ambitious of the musical Art; nor the Poet descended to the Profession of Lyrist, Singer, or Actor: Because these Professions, which in the earliest Ages had been the Means of inculcating every thing laudable and great, grew by Degrees of less and less Importance; and being at length perverted to the contrary Purposes, were in the End disdained by the wise and virtuous.” These gradual Separations of the several Branches of the Bard’s complex Office, and of Melody, Dance, and Song, are not incurious in their Progression. — We have seen, that in the earliest Ages, the Gods or Legislators themselves assumed the full and complex Character; that they were Poets, Lyrists, Singers and Dancers. The Dance seems first to have been separated from the Melody and Song, being soon heightened into the Gymnastic Art. The Legislators by Degrees quitted the several Parts of the Musician’s Character; a Separation which naturally

naturally arose from decreasing Enthusiasm, and increasing Cares of Government. As LINUS and ORPHEUS were the first, so PYTHAGORAS and SOLON seem to have been the last, who *composed* Songs and *sung* them to the surrounding People.—The Profession of *Bard* or *Musician* was now become a *secondary*, but *respectable* Character, as being an Assistant to the Magistrate, and an useful Servant of the State, a Teacher of Religion and Morals. The Bard *sung* and *played* always, and led the *Dance* occasionally: But when HOMER'S Poems had eclipsed every other Epic Strain, another Separation followed: The *Rhapsodists* arose in GREECE: They sung HOMER'S Poems to large surrounding Audiences: They were strictly his *Representatives*, who now gave his Poems to the People, with that poetic Fire and Rapture which the Bard himself had possessed and exerted: For in PLATO'S *Ion*, the *Rhapsodist* says, that “when he sings a piteous Tale, his Eyes swim “with Tears; when he sings a terrible Event, his Heart “beats, and his Hair stands erect.” In the earlier Ages of Tragedy, the Poet both acted and sung: But in the Time of SOPHOCLES, another Separation, parallel to the last, ensued; and the Province of *Actor* began to be distinct from that of *Poet*.—Soon after this Time, we find in the Passage quoted above from PLATO, that a Separation of the *whole* Art of *Music* from its *proper Ends* took Place at ATHENS: Its salutary Effects were now lost: and as at this Period the Passion for illiberal *Comedy* came on, so we learn from the concurrent Testimony of PLUTARCH [n] and other Authors [o], that the Exhibition of

[n] *Sympos.* l. vii.

[o] JUSTIN, l. vi.

Tragedy at ATHENS had now degenerated into mere *Pomp* and *Shew*, equally expensive and pernicious. The same respectable Ancient assures us, that the *Dance*, which had formerly been separated from the *Song* for warlike Purposes, was now corrupted by the *Mimes* in a very extraordinary Degree [p]. The Consequence of these Corruptions soon shewed themselves in a subsequent Period: Hence, in the Age of PLATO, another Separation had come on: For now the complex Name of *αοιδος* or *Bard* was difused; and that of *ποιητης* or *Poet* had assumed its Place: And as the *Legislator's* Office had formerly been separated from the *Bard's*; so now, in Consequence of this Corruption, and as a natural Effect of Music's sinking into a mere *Amusement*, the *Poet's* Character became quite distinct from that of *Chorist*, *Actor*, or *Dancer*, and these distinct from each other [q]. For the *moral End* being now *forgot*, and nothing but *Amusement* attended to, a higher Proficiency in these Arts became necessary, and consequently a more severe Application to each.—We must now go back a little, to catch the Rise of another Separation: An Inroad was made into the Muse's Territories: The public musical Contentions admitted *Prose*, as an Aspirant to the Palm originally due to *Poetry* and *Song*. HERODOTUS was the first who was crowned for *writing* and *speaking* (or more properly for *singing*) *History* at the public Contest [r]: And it is remarkable, that although He brought down the *Song* to the *prosaic* Manner, yet still his Work retained the *fabulous Air*, as well as the

[p] *Sympos.* l. ix. qu. 15.[q] PLATO *de Repub.* l. ii.

[r] LUCIAN, HERODOTUS.

Appellation of the Muses: All which Circumstances, considered in Union, may lead us to the true *poetic* and *fabling* Genius of his celebrated History. THUCYDIDES hints at this Practice in the Beginning of his noble Work [s]: Declaring, that he means it not as a mere Exercise for the *public Contest*; but as a valuable Possession for *After-Ages*. In later Times it became a common Practice for *Sophists* and *Rhetoricians* to contend in *Prose*, at the *Olympic Games*, for the Crown of Glory [t].—The *Delphic Oracles* kept Pace with these progressive Separations: In the early Periods they were delivered by the *Pythia*, with frantic Gesture (*Dance*) *Melody*, and *Rythm* [u]. In a succeeding Age, we find the *Pythia* hath quitted her complex Character; *Poets* are appointed for the Service of the Temple, and turn the *Oracles* into *Verses*: But in the later Times, this Practice had also ceased; and the *Oracles* were given in plain *Prose* [w].—In the Days of ARISTOTLE, a general and almost a total Separation had taken Place. The Art of playing on the *Lyre*, which had been the *Glory* of their early *Legislators*, was now regarded as a *Reproach* to a young *King*: The Art of *singing*; which had once been a distinguishing Attribute of their *Gods*, was now reckoned an ignoble Practice for a *Man* [x]: The *Chorus* of some of their Dramas gave Way to *Melody* merely *instrumental*, which now first assumed the Name of *Music*: The *Rhapsodists* had, about this Time, begun to quit a Part of *Their* Profession; and instead of *singing*, often *recited*

[s] L. i. c. 6.

[t] LUCIAN *de Salt.*

[u] Above, Art. 8.

[w] STRABO, l. ix. CICERO *de Div.* l. ii.

[x] ARISTOT.

Polit. l. viii. c. 5.

HOMER's Poems [y]. To conclude all, the great Master-Critic and Politician of GREECE, viewing Music in that corrupt State which it held in his own Time, though he still asserts its Use in private Education, gives up the public Musical Exhibitions, as only fit to gratify the Taste of an abandoned people [z]. But in the later Period when PLUTARCH writ, its Utility had vanished even in private Life: For He declares, that *Music*, which had formerly been so important and salutary in its Effects, was now become a mere Amusement of the Theatre, and no longer applied to the Education of Youth [a].

36. "Hence the Power, the Dignity, and Utility of "*Music* sunk into a general Corruption and Contempt." This is a Consequence too manifest to need a Proof. — And thus we have attempted to unfold the Nature, Rise, Progress, Power, Perfection, and Corruption, of MUSIC in ancient GREECE; from the earliest Times, when it was the *Glory* of their *Legislators*, down to the later Periods when it became the *Employment* of their *Slaves*.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Origin and Progression of Comedy in ancient GREECE.

THERE is one considerable Branch of the MUSIC of ancient GREECE, I mean COMEDY, the Rise and Progression of which, together with their Causes, have been designedly passed in Silence: Because, if this Disquisition had been mixed with what hath been

[y] ARISTOT. *Poet.* c. 26.

[z] *Polit.* 1. viii. c. 7.

[a] *De Musica.*

T

delivered

delivered concerning the *Ode, Epic, and Tragedy*, the Chain of Argument would have been broken; and that Order and Clearness destroyed, which it was necessary to preserve as much as possible in this involved Subject.

Let us now proceed, therefore, to reduce the Origin and Progress of the *Greek Comedy* to their natural and essential Causes.—To point out the Rise of this Poem from savage Life; to unfold the true Reasons why it was so late in taking its legitimate Form in GREECE; and then to explain, on what Foundation the *old, middle, and new Comedy*, appeared in their respective *Successions*.

In the Description of the savage Song Feasts, given above from LAFITAU, it appears that these warlike Tribes
 “ are still quicker at rallying, than at praising, each other.
 “ He who dances, takes whomsoever he pleaseth by the
 “ Hand; and brings him forth into the midst of the Assem-
 “ bly; to which he yields without Resistance. Mean
 “ while the Dancer continued to *sing*, and sometimes in
 “ his Song, and sometimes in the intervals, he throws his
 “ Sarcasms on the Patient, who hears him without Re-
 “ ply.—At every *bon Mot*, loud Peals of Laughter arise
 “ along the Galleries, who animate this Sport, and often
 “ oblige the Patient to cover his Head in his Mantle [*b*].”

Now, if we again suppose, as we have already done, that the Use of *Letters* should come among these savage Tribes, and be cultivated with that spirit which is natural to a free and active People; from this Picture, as given by LAFITAU, the following Consequences would naturally arise.

[*b*] See above, Sect. ii.

I. “ Their

1. " Their casual Strokes of Raillery would improve into written Invectives, which would occasionally be sung by their sarcastic Choirs." Because nothing could be more alluring to a People of this satyric Turn, than such a Repository of Wit and Raillery; which, like a Quiver stored with the keenest Arrows, would be ever at Hand, ready to be discharged against the occasional Objects of their Repentment.

2. " Narrative or Epic Poems of the *invective* or *comic* Kind would likewise arise, and be occasionally sung at their public Festivals." For the Spirit of Sarcasm being once awakened, it would of course proceed from occasional Strokes of Raillery, to the Recital of ridiculous Actions, for the Gratification and Entertainment of a lively and satyric People.

3. " From these two Species (the *choral* and *narrative* united) the first rude Outline of *Comedy* would arise." We have seen how *Tragedy* arose from parallel Causes: And These would naturally take Place in producing *Comedy*. For the *Narrative*, already animated by Action, would easily slide into dramatic Representation, as in the Rise of *Tragedy*; and the correspondent *Peals of Laughter* (by the Assistance of written Invectives) would assume the Form of a *comic Choir*.

4. " While the salutary Principles of Legislation should prevail, Comedy thus formed, would be little encouraged by the Leaders of the State." For the grander Kinds of Poetry, already treated of, containing the Principles of Religion, Polity, and Morals, would draw their main Attention; while their Comedy, being no more than the

Vehicle of Ridicule and vague Inveſtive, would (at moſt) be only *endured* by prudent Legislators.

5. “ A provident Community, of Principles uncommonly ſevere, might even baniſh this Species of Poem, “ as deſtructive to their State.” Becauſe nothing could be more dangerous to a Commonwealth eſtabliſhed on Severity of Manners, than the unbounded Licentiousneſs of Sentiment and Speech, which this Comedy muſt tend to produce.

6. “ If in a State of more relaxed Principles, where “ ſuch Comedy had been tolerated, a general Corruption “ of Manners ſhould take Place among the People; and “ if by any means, ſuch a corrupt People ſhould over- “ power the Magiſtrates, and aſſume to themſelves “ the Reins of Government; then, this Species of Comedy would riſe into Credit, and be publicly eſtabliſhed.” For the *upright Leaders* of the State being *depoſed*, and the *Creatures* of ſuch a *corrupt People* being ſeated in their *Place*, that Comedy would now be *authorized* by Law, which was moſt accommodated to the *Taſte* and *Vices* of ſuch a *corrupt People*.

7. “ The Ridicule and Inveſtive of their Comedy, thus “ eſtabliſhed, would be pointed chiefly againſt thoſe Magiſtrates, or private Men, whoſe Qualities would be “ hateful to the debauched Populace.” For Corruption being now eſtabliſhed as it were by Law; that is, by the Voice of a degenerate People which ſtood in the Place of Law; the Poets would find it neceſſary to gratify the People’s Vices as the ſureſt Road to Succeſs; and the moſt certain Road to this muſt be by the *Ridicule of Virtue*.

8. “ If a *Tyranny* should suddenly erect itself on the Ruins of such a People, it would by its Authority *silence* this Species of *Comedy*.”—For every thing hateful to the People being now the established Subject of the comic Muse, the Tyrants, who had taken away the public Liberty, must expect to become the Subject of Comedy, if permitted to revel in its former Licentiousness.

9. “ The Poets would probably find a Subterfuge, for the Gratification of the People; and continue to represent *real Characters* under *feigned Names*.” For this would be the only Species of Comedy they could pursue with a Probability of Success: And this might be continued without much Danger, if they were cautious with Respect to the Persons of the Tyrants.

10. “ If a great Conqueror should arise, and, by subduing a Variety of Nations, should open a Communication between such a State and others of more luxurious and refined Manners, this *second* Species of Comedy would naturally receive a *Polish*; and, instead of the indirect personal Invektive, would assume the more delicate Form of general Raillery, and become a Picture of human Life.”—For one of the first Efforts of a growing Politeness is to avoid all Occasions of *Offence*; and this, without Respect to any Consequences, either good or bad, which may affect the Public; but merely from a selfish Regard to the Opinion of *Elegance*, and the Pride of *Urbanity*.

In Support of these Deductions, let us now endeavour to *realize* them; by shewing, that such Consequences did arise in GREECE: And in the Course of this Argument, the Writer hopes he shall be able to disclose the true Causes

of,

of the Progression of the ancient Comedy, so different from that of the higher Kinds of Poetic Composition.

1. “ In the earliest Periods of the Greek States, their “ Casual Strokes of Raillery were improved into written “ Invectives, and were occasionally sung by their sarcastic “ Choirs.” These written Invectives were in Fact so early, that all the Greek Writers with one Voice confess themselves altogether ignorant of their Origin. Their first Appearance is ascribed by different Authors to different Nations [c]; and no Wonder if Evidence be wanting in Support of each Pretence, when it is probable, that these sarcastic Choirs arose in many of the *Greek* States nearly at the same Time; that is, in or about the first Periods of Civilization and Letters. For we have seen, that such a Period would naturally produce them: “ Because nothing “ could be more alluring to a People of the satyric Turn, “ than such a Repository of Raillery and Sarcasm.” However, we must not omit to observe, that their Traditions are much more accommodated to Nature and Probability on this Subject, than on the Rise of the tragic Choir, which they seem generally to have attributed to the single Practice of the drunken Votaries of BACCHUS.

2. “ Narrative or Epic Poems of the invective or comic “ Kind arose, and were occasionally sung at their public “ Festivals.” For the truth of this Fact we have the Testimony of ARISTOTLE, who tells us, “ that although “ we know not the names either of these Poems or their “ Authors; yet there is Reason to believe that many had “ been written before HOMER; and that his *Margites*

[c] See VOSSIUS *Inst. Poët.* l. ii. c. 23.

“ brought

“ brought this Species to its Perfection in the same Manner
 “ as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had compleated the Form of
 “ the Epic Poem [d].” That HOMER, as well as other
 Bards of the early Periods, sung their comic Poems at the
 festal Solemnities, needs no farther Proof here.

3. “ From these two Species (the *Choral* and *Narrative*
 “ united) the first rude Outline of Comedy arose.” The
Narrative, already animated by a lively Action, did easily
 slide into *dramatic* Representation; and the correspondent
 Peals of *Laughter* excited among the surrounding Audience,
 by means of written *Invectives*, assumed the Form of the
comic Choir. In this Point, we have again to contend
 with the general Body of Critics, from ARISTOTLE down
 to the present Times, who all concur in ascribing the
 Rise of the legitimate Form of Comedy to HOMER’S
Margites; in the same Manner as they have ascribed the
 Rise of *Tragedy*, to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But notwith-
 standing this general Concurrence of Opinion, it seems
 evident that the Progression of Comedy was founded in the
 same Causes with that of Tragedy: That they both natu-
 rally arose in the Course of Things, from an Union of the
Narration and the *Choir*, without any Respect had to HO-
 MER’S Poems. The same Arguments that have proved the
 one, will confirm the other. We see the natural Seeds of
 Comedy and scenic Representation in savage Life, no less
 than those of Tragedy [e]: Nay, even in the earliest Periods
 of GREECE itself, we shall find the first rude Form of
 Comedy, arising from an Union of *dramatic Representation*:
 and a *Choir*, long before HOMER existed: In the Account:

[d] *Poët. c. 4.*

[e] See above, Sect. ii.

already,

already cited from STRABO and others, of the *musical Contest* established at DELPHI, which in Time branched out into the *Pythian Games*, as we have found the first rude Form of *Tragedy*; so now we shall find likewise a faint Outline of the first rude Form of *Comedy*. For it appears, that APOLLO with his Choir, and his Worshipers in after-times, not only represented his Victory, and sung a Pæan in Consequence of it (in which Union we see the first rude Form of *Tragedy*) but likewise, in the Way of *Ridicule* they represented the *Hisses* of the dying Serpent, and sung an *Invective* or *Sarcasm* on his overthrow [*f*]. For so I understand the Word *ιαμῶς* and *ιαμῶδες*, used by these ancient Writers on this Occasion; as implying only *Sarcastic Verses*, and not *Iambics* in the strict Sense; which are generally believed to have been first formed by ARCHILOCHUS, many Ages after the Fact here alluded to: And hence the true Reason appears, why the *Greek Comedy* was written in *Verses*; because it was originally *sung*.—Now, in this Union of *comic Representation* and a *satyrical Choir*, we see the genuine, though imperfect and *rude Form* of the *old Greek Comedy*.

4. “While the salutary Principles of Legislation prevailed, Comedy, thus formed, was little encouraged by the Leaders of the State.” The Authority of ARISTOTLE is clear and decisive on this Point. “Comedy remained obscure and unknown, because little Regard was had to it from the Beginning; the Magistrate being late in appointing it a Choir.” He assigns no Reason for this Conduct of the Magistrate: But a sufficient

[*f*] See the Authors cited above, Sect. v. Art. 16.

Reason

Reason appears to be given above. “ For the grander
 “ Kinds of Poetry containing the Principles of Religion,
 “ Polity, and Morals, drew their main Attention; while
 “ their Comedy, being no more than the Vehicle of Ridi-
 “ cule and vague Invective, was only *endured* by prudent
 “ Legislators.” The Truth of this Article will receive
 Confirmation from the two succeeding.

5. “ There was a provident Community, of Principles
 “ uncommonly severe, which even banished this Species of
 “ Poem, as destructive to their State.” We have already
 seen the Providence and Caution of the *Spartans* in regu-
 lating their *Music* for the Security of their Republic [g].
 We shall now see the admirable Consistency of their
 Conduct, with Respect to the very Beginnings of *Comedy*,
 when it first dawned among them in the Verses of ARCHI-
 LOCHUS. “ The *Spartans* ordered the Writings of
 “ ARCHILOCHUS to be banished from their City, because
 “ they thought the Perusal of them was dangerous to the
 “ Purity of Manners. They did not chuse that the Minds
 “ of their Children should be tainted with them, lest they
 “ should more hurt their Morals, than sharpen their
 “ Wit [b].”

6. “ In the Republic of ATHENS, which was of
 “ more relaxed Principles, where this Comedy had been
 “ tolerated, a general Corruption of Manners took Place

[g] See above.

[b] VELL. *Paterc.* l. vi. c. 3.—In after Times, when the severe Man-
 ners and the Glory of this Republic sunk together, we find its Conduct
 altogether correspondent with these Principles. The *Mimes*, the most
 dissolute Species of Comedy, were then admitted. See SUIDAS, ATHE-
 NÆUS, and other Authors of the later Periods.

“ among the People: The corrupt People overpowered
 “ the Magistrates; assumed to themselves the Reins of
 “ Government, and on this Foundation the old Comedy
 “ arose into Credit, had a Choir appointed by the Magi-
 “ strate, and was publicly established.” This was the
 natural and necessary Consequence of the Power of a
 corrupt People. For the upright Magistrates being de-
 posed, and the Creatures of this corrupt People seated in
 their Place, *that* Comedy was now authorized by Law,
 which was most accommodated to the Vices and Taste of
 a dissolute Populace.

These Causes clearly account for the Establishment
 of the old Comedy, at that very Period when it took
 Place. But as other Causes, void of all Foundation, have
 been assigned for this, by various Authors; it will be
 necessary to prove the Truth of the Causes here alledged,
 from the Authority of the Greek Writers.

PLATO, in the Passage cited above [k], gives us the
 History of the Corruption of the People, and of Music;
 but in such general Terms, that, without some farther
 Evidence, it is impossible clearly to fix the Time when,
 or the Means by which, this Change was brought about,
 so fatal to the Republic of *Athens*. It happens fortunately,
 that PLUTARCH hath recorded the Event with such
 Particularity of Circumstance, as leaves no Room to doubt
 on this Subject. PERICLES was the Man, who for his
 own private Ends of Popularity, effected this ruinous
 Change: For “ By giving the People the Plunder and
 “ Possession of the Lands taken from the Enemy, and by

[k] See Sect. v. Art. 34.

“ squandering

“squandering the public Monies (formerly reserved for the
 “Uses of War) in SHEWS and PLAYS for their *Enter-*
 “*tainment*, and by Grants of Largeſſes and Pensions, he
 “changed them from a ſober, modeſt, and thrifty People,
 “who maintained themſelves by their own Labour, into a
 “riotous and debauched Multitude; and thus roused them
 “into ſedition againſt the Court of the *Areopagus* [1].”
 From this Paſſage it is evident, that PERICLES not only
 debauched the *Athenian* People; but that the Exhibition
 of Plays and Shews was one of the very Engines of Cor-
 ruption [m].—The concurrent Teſtimony of XENOPHON
 clears the whole Affair; and gives as a full View of the
 Conſequences of this general Corruption, ſo far as the *old*
Comedy is concerned. For in his Diſcourſe on the *Athe-*
nian Republic, he informs us, 1^{ſt}, That, at the Period we
 have now fixed, “The Body of the People expelled All
 “Good Men from the Magiſtracy, and advanced wicked
 “Men in their Places.” 2^{dly}, That “they took the
 “*Gymnaſtic* and *Muſical* Exerciſes out of the Hands of the
 “better Sort; and gave the Practice and Profit of them
 “to the Dregs of the People.” 3^{dly}, That “in their

[1] *In Pericle.*

[m] Thus CICERO ſpeaks of the old Greék Comedy.—“Eſto: popu-
 “lares Homines, improbos, in Rempublicam ſeditioſos, *Cleonem, Cleo-*
 “*phontem, Hyperbolum* læſit:—Patiamur:—Sed PERICLEM, cum jam ſuæ
 “Civitati maxima Auctoritate plurimos annos Domi et Bello præſuiſſet,
 “violari Verſibus, et eos agi in Scena, non plus decuit, quam ſi *Plautus*
 “noſter voluiſſet, aut *Nævius, P. et Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni,*
 “maledicerè.” Ex Frag. Cic. de Rep. l. iv.—Where, we may ob-
 ſerve, the Judgment of CICERO is falſe concerning PERICLES: As it ap-
 pears, that he was the firſt Corrupter of the People: And it ſeems to have
 been a juſt Punishment, that he was laſhed by that illiberal Comedy, which
 His own Influence firſt let in upon the State.

“ among the People: The corrupt People overpowered
 “ the Magistrates; assumed to themselves the Reins of
 “ Government, and on this Foundation the old Comedy
 “ arose into Credit, had a Choir appointed by the Magi-
 “ strate, and was publicly established.” This was the
 natural and necessary Consequence of the Power of a
 corrupt People. For the upright Magistrates being de-
 posed, and the Creatures of this corrupt People seated in
 their Place, *that* Comedy was now authorized by Law,
 which was most accommodated to the Vices and Taste of
 a dissolute Populace.

These Causes clearly account for the Establishment
 of the old Comedy, at that very Period when it took
 Place. But as other Causes, void of all Foundation, have
 been assigned for this, by various Authors; it will be
 necessary to prove the Truth of the Causes here alledged,
 from the Authority of the Greek Writers.

PLATO, in the Passage cited above [*k*], gives us the
 History of the Corruption of the People, and of Music;
 but in such general Terms, that, without some farther
 Evidence, it is impossible clearly to fix the Time when,
 or the Means by which, this Change was brought about,
 so fatal to the Republic of *Athens*. It happens fortunately,
 that PLUTARCH hath recorded the Event with such
 Particularity of Circumstance, as leaves no Room to doubt
 on this Subject. PERICLES was the Man, who for his
 own private Ends of Popularity, effected this ruinous
 Change: For “ By giving the People the Plunder and
 “ Possession of the Lands taken from the Enemy, and by

[*k*] See Sect. v. Art. 34.

“ squandering

“squandering the public Monies (formerly reserved for the
 “Uses of War) in SHEWS and PLAYS for their *Enter-*
 “*tainment*, and by Grants of Largeſſes and Pensions, he
 “changed them from a ſober, modeſt, and thrifty People,
 “who maintained themſelves by their own Labour, into a
 “riotous and debauched Multitude; and thus roused them
 “into ſedition againſt the Court of the *Areopagus* [l].”
 From this Paſſage it is evident, that PERICLES not only
 debauched the *Athenian* People; but that the Exhibition
 of Plays and Shews was one of the very Engines of Cor-
 ruption [m].—The concurrent Teſtimony of XENOPHON
 clears the whole Affair; and gives as a full View of the
 Conſequences of this general Corruption, ſo far as the *old*
Comedy is concerned. For in his Diſcourſe on the *Athe-*
nian Republic, he informs us, 1ſt, That, at the Period we
 have now fixed, “The Body of the People expelled All
 “Good Men from the Magiſtracy, and advanced wicked
 “Men in their Places.” 2dly, That “they took the
 “*Gymnaſtic* and *Muſical* Exerciſes out of the Hands of the
 “better Sort; and gave the Practice and Profit of them
 “to the Dregs of the People.” 3dly, That “in their

[l] *In Pericle.*

[m] Thus CICERO ſpeaks of the old Greek Comedy.—“Eſto: popu-
 “lares Homines, improbos, in Rempublicam ſeditioſos, *Cleonem*, *Cleo-*
 “*phontem*, *Hyperbolum* læſit:—Patiamur:—Sed PERICLEM, cum jam ſuæ
 “Civitati maxima Auctoritate plurimos annos Domi et Bello præſuiſſet,
 “violari Verſibus, et eos agi in Scena, non plus decuit, quam ſi *Plautus*
 “noſter voluiſſet, aut *Nævius*, *P.* et *Cn. Scipioni*, aut *Cæcilius M. Catoni*,
 “maledicerè.” Ex Frag. Cic. de Rep. l. iv.—Where, we may ob-
 ſerve, the Judgment of CICERO is falſe concerning PERICLES: As it ap-
 pears, that he was the firſt Corrupter of the People: And it ſeems to have
 been a juſt Punishment, that he was laſhed by that illiberal Comedy, which
 His own Influence firſt let in upon the State.

“ Comedies they suffered none to be ridiculed, but those
 “ of higher Station and Worth; unless one of their own
 “ Rank happened to distinguish himself by something
 “ praise worthy; and then He became the Object of
 “ theatrical Derision [n].”

These Evidences are so clear and precise, as to leave no
 Foundation of a Doubt on this Subject.

Lord SHAFTESBURY hath greatly mistaken this Matter
 in his *Advice to an Author* [o]; and is as careless or defect-
 ive here in the Circumstance of Erudition, as at other times
 in that of Reasoning. He seems in one Passage to attri-
 bute the late Cultivation and Establishment of the old
 Comedy to its being of more *difficult* Composition than
 Tragedy: “ In this Part (Tragedy) the Poets succeeded
 “ sooner than in Comedy, or the facetious Kind; as it was
 “ natural indeed to suppose, since this was in reality” the
 “ easiest (easier) Manner of the two.” This is deciding a
 doubtful Point by a mere Affirmation: For the com-
 parative Difficulty of these two Kinds hath been treated
 at large by a learned and most judicious Writer, who after
 a candid and profound Discussion of the Question, thinks
 it best to leave it undecided [p]. The noble Writer,
 next, seems to attribute the late Cultivation of Comedy
 to “ the Spirit of literary Criticism, which in the Nature

[n] XENOPHON, *de Rep.* ATHEN,

[o] *Characteristics*, vol. i.

[p] BRUMOY *Theatre des Grecs*, tom. vi.—This Question hath indeed
 been said, by a learned Writer, to admit of a *decisive Answer*, on this
 Principle; that “ Tragedy, whose End is the *Pathos*, produces it by
 “ *Action*, while Comedy produces its End, the *Humorous*, by *Character*.
 “ Now it is much more difficult to *paint Manners*, than to *plan Action*;
 “ because That requires the *Philosopher’s Knowledge* of *human Nature*;
 “ this, only the *Historian’s Knowledge* of *human Events*.”—But in the
 Course of this Argument, it seems entirely forgot, that the tragic Poet’s

“of things could not arise, till it had Materials to work on; and This he supposeth to have been the *false Sublime* of their *Tragedies*, which were often *parodied* in the *old Comedy*.”—But neither can this Cause be sufficient to account for the Effect; because it appears that the best Men, as well as the best Tragedies, were parodied or ridiculed more commonly than the worst. Of this, the Fate of SOCRATES may stand as a convincing Proof. This Fact could not entirely escape the Notice of the noble Writer; for he acknowledges, that “even this *Remedy* itself was found to turn into a *Disease* [r].” But we have already proved, that it was a Disease even on its first Appearance. In a Word, the Authorities given above, in Support of the true Causes of the Cultivation and Establishment of the old Greek Comedy at ATHENS, contain the clearest Proof that the noble Writer’s Deductions on this Subject are *specious*, but *not solid*; and that he discovers but little of what he seems to value so much, “a Comprehension of

Province is not only to *plan*, but to *paint* too. Had he no farther Task, than what depends on the mere *Historian’s Knowledge* of human Events, the Reasoning would hold. But as it is the first and most essential Effort of his Genius, in the Construction of a *complete Tragedy*, to *invent* and *order* a *pathetic Plan*, *consistent* in all its Parts, and *rising* towards its *Completion* by a *Succession* of Incidents which may *keep up* and continually *increase* *Terror* or *Pity*; it is manifest, that the *Perfection* of his *Plan* depends not on his mere *historic Knowledge* of human Events, but on his *philosophic Discernment* of human *Passions*; aided by a *warm* and *enlarged Invention*: Talents as rare, at least, as the *Knowledge* or *Discernment* of human *Characters*.—If to this we add the subsequent Task, of giving the *high Colourings* of *Passion* to the tragic *Plan* thus *ordered*, the *Difficulty* of writing a *complete Tragedy* may seem to be in some Respects *equal*, in others *superior* to that of producing a *complete Comedy*: For in the *Conduct* of this last Species, it is acknowledged, that a *small Degree* of *poetic Invention* will *support* it.

[r] P. 248.

5.

“ancient”

“ ancient Manners and ancient History.”—But, what is odd enough, after having separately assigned these fictitious Causes as being each the Foundation on which the old Comedy arose and was established, He at length glances accidentally upon the true one: Yet manifestly without any particular Knowledge of the Facts which support it. “ According to this *Homeric* Lineage of Poetry, *Comedy* “ would naturally prove the *Drama* of *latest Birth*. For “ though ARISTOTLE cites HOMER’s *Margites* as analogous to *Comedy*, yet the *Iliad* and *Odysssey*, in which the “ heroic Style prevails, having been ever *highest in Esteem*, “ were likeliest to be *first wrought and cultivated*[s].” We may conclude, then, upon the Authority of the three great Ancients cited above, that “ the Cultivation and “ *Establishment* of the old *Greek Comedy* arose from the “ united *Corruption* and *Power* of the *Athenian* People.”

7. “ The Ridicule and Invective of their Comedy, thus “ established, was pointed chiefly against those Magistrates “ or private Men, whose Qualities were hateful to the “ debauched Populace.” For the Proof of this, the Reader is referred to the Passages already cited from PLATO, and XENOPHON: And on this Solution, the Fate of SOCRATES is clearly accounted for. Nor could any thing be more natural, if the Causes here assigned for the Establishment of the old Comedy be true. “ For Corruption “ being now established, as it were, by Law: that is, by “ the Voice of a degenerate People, which stood in the “ Place of Law; the Poets found it necessary to gratify “ the People’s Vices, as the surest Road to Success; and

[s] *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 253. Notes.

“ the only Road to this, was now by the *Ridicule* of
“ *Virtue.*”

8. “ A Tyranny suddenly erected itself on the Ruins of
“ the corrupt *Athenian* People, and at once silenced this
“ Species of Comedy.” This Event happened on the taking
of ATHENS by LYSANDER; and thro’ the Authority of
the thirty Tyrants whom he established there. These *Op-*
pressors did That from *Fear*, which *upright* Magistrates
would have done from *Virtue*. The plain Reason hath
been assigned above: “ Because every thing hateful to the
“ People being now the established Subject of the comic
“ Muse, the Tyrants who had destroyed the public
“ Liberty, must expect to become the Subject of Comedy,
“ if permitted to revel in its former Licentiousness.”
Here again the noble Author of the Characteristics seems
to assign a fictitious Cause for this Event, drawn from his
own Conjectures, instead of History. “ Nothing could
“ have been the Cause of this gradual Reform in the
“ Commonwealth of Wit, beside the real Reform of Taste
“ and Humour in the Commonwealth or Government
“ itself.”—For, saith he, “ it *little concerned* the *Foreigners*
“ *in Power* (the thirty Tyrants) after what Manner those
“ *Citizens* treated *one another* in their *Comedies*; or what
“ sort of Wit or Humour they made Choice of, for their
“ ordinary Diversions [1].” It can hardly be necessary
to point out, in what Circumstance this Reasoning is
defective. Had the private Citizens buffooned *each other*
only in their *Comedies*, the *Thirty Tyrants* would indeed
have had little to fear: But as it is evident, that the *public*
Magistrates, and their *Conduct*, had been the standing

[1] *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 250. 249.

Objects of theatrical Ridicule, it certainly *much concerned* these *Foreigners in Power*, to prevent that farcaſtic Representation of their oppreſſive Government, which they muſt neceſſarily expect from the keen Spirit of an exaſperated and licentious People. The noble Writer endeavours to confirm his Opinion by a parallel Inſtance drawn from the *Roman Commonwealth*; where a ſimilar Prohibition took Place with regard to the *Atellane Fables*, at a Time, when no Effects of foreign “Power, or of a home Tyranny can be pretended [*u*].” But this Inſtance, joynd to the Evidences already given on the Subject, inſtead of confirming, overturns his System: It only proves what was alledged above, that the *Athenian Tyrants* did that from *Fear*, which the *Roman Magiſtrates* did from *Virtue*.

9. “The Poets found a Subterfuge, for the Gratification of the People; and continued to represent real Characters under feigned Names.” Thus the *middle Comedy* was naturally eſtabliſhed. For this was the only Species which they could now purſue with any Probability of *Success*: And this was continued without much *Danger*, as we find they were cautious with Reſpect to the Perſons of the Tyrants.—That ſuch was the true Origin of this Change in the Character of the Greek Comedy, appears farther from the two following Conſiderations. Firſt, there is not the leaſt Reaſon to believe the Athenian People were at all changed from their coarſe Manners and profligate Character, at the Time when the old Comedy was ſilenced: And ſecondly, by the Accounts left concerning the Genius of the *middle Comedy*, it appears, that it was in all Reſpects as

[*u*] P. 251.

illiberal and buffooning, in its Beginnings as the old Comedy had been; the single Circumstance of *nominal Designation* only accepted.

10. "A great Conqueror arose: And, by subduing a Variety of Nations, opened a *Communication* between the Commonwealth of ATHENS, and the *eastern Kingdoms* which were of more *luxurious* and *refined* Manners: On this Event, the *second* or *middle* Species of Comedy naturally received a *Polish*; and, laying aside the indirect personal Invective, assumed the more delicate Form of general Raillery; and became a Picture of human Life." The learned Reader will easily see, that ALEXANDER *the Great* is the Conqueror here alluded to: in his Reign it was, and not till that late Period, that the *middle* Comedy was polished into the *new*. This was the natural Effect of that Politeness, which was introduced at ATHENS by a frequent and familiar Commerce with the effeminate Nations of the East. Till then, although the *Athenians* justly boasted a Superiority in the *Arts*, yet in their Converse and Treatment of each other, the concurrent Authority of ancient Historians, as well as the more certain Testimony of their own remaining Comedies, assure us, that they were of an *illiberal* and *buffooning* Turn. But no sooner were the *Asiatic* Luxuries and Refinements brought to ATHENS, by the Conquests of ALEXANDER, than their coarse Manners melted gradually into false Politeness and Effeminacy. Now, "one of the first Effects of a growing Politeness, is to avoid all Occasions of Offence; and this, without Respect to any Consequences, either good or bad, which may affect

the Model of the severe *Egyptian* Legislation. After MINOS, THALES arose: In whom we find the united Characters of Legislator and Musician: He composed Laws, for the *Cretan* State, and sung them to his Lyre [y]. But Music being fixed to certain Forms by Law, we are not to wonder that its Progression stopped, as at SPARTA; which Commonwealth was modelled on the rigorous Establishment of CRETE.

With Respect to EGYPT, the Beginnings of that famous Kingdom are so lost in its Antiquity, that we know nothing of the first Advances there made in *Music* from its original Savage State. We only read, that in some early Period of Civilization its Forms were unalterably fixed by Law, and therefore all *Improvement* and *Corruption* alike prevented.

As to the more *northern* Nations of *Europe*, it is remarkable, that we know little of them from ancient History till the second Period of Music commenced, that is, till the *Legislator's* Character had been separated from that of the *Musician*. The clearest Instance of the Union of the *Legislator's* and *Bard's* Character is found in SNORRO-STURLOSON, who, about five Hundred and fifty Years ago, was at once the chief *Legislator* and most eminent *Bard* in the Isle of ICELAND [z]. In the second Period, we meet with the poetic and musical Character united in almost every northern Clime, under the revered Denomination of *Scaldi* or *Bards*. It hath been already observed, that ODIN the *Scythian* Legislator, boasted that the *Runic*

[y] As THALES succeeded RHADAMANTHUS and MINOS, who had both copied the EGYPTIAN Forms of Legislation; his composing *Laws in Verse* could only be the Effect of mere *Imitation*.

[z] Preface to NICHOLSON'S *Irish Hist. Library*.

Songs had been given him by the Gods [a]. A Circumstance which proves, that the Character of *Heroe* and *Musician* had been united in the Chiefs of that fierce and savage People, in the Period which immediately preceded him. We learn from SHERINGHAM and BARTHOLINE, that after the first Separation had been made, the *Scaldi*, *Musicians*, or *Bards*, were a Race of Men highly honoured among the *Scythian* or *Danish* Tribes: That their Songs were of the *legislative* Cast; that they sung the great Actions of their Ancestors, were themselves renowned Warriors, and kindled the Valour of their Armies by their Songs: That none were admitted of the Order, but those of the most distinguished Families [b]: That they were above the Meanness of Flattery; and were revered, even in the Courts of Kings [c].

We meet with the *Gaulish Bards* under the same Period of Separation: But their Spirit seems to have been controuled by a more *peaceable* Species of Legislation. For STRABO tells us, that “throughout the whole District of GAUL, there are three Kinds of Men, who are held in singular Honour: The *Bards*, the *Vates*, and the *Druids*: The *Bards* are *Poets*, and *sing* their Hymns: The *Vates* perform *Sacrifice*, and *contemplate* the Nature of Things: The *Druids*, besides this, hold Discourses on *Morals*. They are esteemed the justest of Men; and therefore are intrusted with the Determination of all Differences, public and private; and sometimes peaceably end a Quarrel, when Armies are drawn out, and ready to decide it by the Sword [d].” The Evidence of

[a] See above, Sect. v. [b] SHERINGHAM *de Angl. Orig.* p. 173.

[c] BARTHOLINUS *de Contemptu Mortis apud Danos*, l. i. c. 8. 10.

[d] L. iv.

DIODORUS is still more particular; and proves, that they were not insensible to the original Sallies of comic and farcaſtic Wit. “ They ſing (ſaith He) to Inſtruments “ reſembling our Lyres; *praiſing* ſome, and *ſatyriſing* “ others. When Armies are ready to engage, if they “ but come between, they immediately put an End to “ the Battle; as if their Warriors were ſo many wild “ Beaſts, which they had charmed by the Power of their “ Songs [d].”

The *Britiſh Bards*, about the ſame Time, were preciſely of the ſame Character; as we learn from their contemporary *Roman Authors* [e]. In a ſucceeding Period, when the Diſtractions of our Country, had driven the native *Britons* into WALES, an *Engliſh* King ſtill felt their Power, amidſt the Mountains and Poverty of that barren Region. He was ſo highly exaſperated by the Influence of their Songs, which breathed the Spirit of Liberty and War, and retarded his Conqueſt over a hardy People, that he baſely ordered them to be ſlain: An Event, which hath lately given Birth to an elegant and ſublime Strain of Poetry [f].

Of the Genius of thoſe *Britiſh Bards* who inhabited the northern Diſtricts of the Iſland, we have a noble Proof in the Poems lately publiſhed under the Name of OSSIAN. Theſe appear to have been compoſed and ſung, during the ſecond Period of Muſic; that is, when the Bard's Pro-

[d] DIOD. l. v.

[e] A ſingular Circumſtance relative to the *Britiſh Bards* deſerves Notice. It is ſaid, that “ although they were *inferior* to the *Druids* in Rank, “ yet they were *prior* in *Antiquity*.” [SAMMES'S *Phœnic. Ant. of Brit.*] A Circumſtance which, though improbable in it's firſt Appearance, is clearly accounted for, on the Principles of this Diſſertation; as it only implies that *Melody* and *Song* were *prior* to *religious Rites*. [See Sect. v. Art. 7.]

[f] An Ode, by Mr. GRAY.

feſſion

feſſion had ſeparated from that of the Legiſlator, yet ſtill retained its Power and Dignity in full Union. For OSSIAN, the declared Author of the Poems, was the Son of the royal FINGAL, accompanied him in his Wars, and ſung his Atchievements to the Harp. Theſe Poems give a noble Confirmation to many of the Principles advanced in this Analyſis. They are of various Forms; though none of them properly unmixed. The *Song*, in the Days of this ſublime and original Bard, appears evidently to have worn the *inartificial* and *mixed* Forms of Compoſition, which we have found generally and of Courſe to prevail in the early Periods. Thus, FINGAL is chiefly *Epic*; yet the *hymnal* Species abounds in it: Others are *dramatic*; yet in theſe, the *narrative* often takes Place: Others, again, are in the Form of *Odes*; yet even theſe are ſtrongly mixed and marked with the *Epic* and *dramatic* Manner [f].

The natural Flame of ſavage Muſic and Poetry is now almoſt entirely quenched in the ſeveral Parts of this Iſland:

[f] As theſe Circumſtances are internal Proofs of the *Antiquity* of the Poems; ſo there are other collateral Evidences of the ſame Nature, which ſeem clearly to confirm it. Such are the grand Simplicity of Imagery and Diction, the ſtrong Draughts of rude Manners and uncultivated Scenes of Nature, which abound in all theſe Poems; Pictures, which no civilized Modern could ever imbibe in their Strength, nor conſequently could ever throw out. Such, again, are the frequent Alluſions (wrought into the very Eſſence of the Poems) to the Principles of the old *Celtic* Religion, which in ancient times had overſpread theſe Kingdoms: Of this Nature is That which the Tranſlator calls the *moſt extravagant Fiction* in all OSSIAN's Poems; I mean, the Battle between FINGAL, and the Gholt or Spirit of LODA*: Now this, though it carries the Appearance of Extravagance and ill-judged Improbability, yet, upon a nearer View, will be found to contain an internal Evidence of the *Antiquity* of the

* *Carric-Thura*: A Poem.

In *England*, it lost its Power by the Migration of the native *Britons* into WALES: In *Wales*, it was quenched by the Cruelty of EDWARD: In the Highlands of SCOTLAND, the Writer is well informed, that the Bard's Profession was upheld in some Degree of Honour, till near the Beginning of this Century. About which Time, the Communication of the Inhabitants with the more civilized Parts of the Kingdom by Degrees assimilated their Manners to those of their Neighbours; by which means the Profession became extinct [g].

The History of the *Irish Bards* is perhaps of all others the most extraordinary; and will therefore deserve a particular Regard. History doth not carry us up to the first Period, in which the *Legislator's* and *Bard's* Character are united in the same Person. But of the second Period we have large Accounts in the *Irish* Historians. For we are informed, there were three principal Tribes among the ancient *Irish*. “The First were *Leaders*, “*Chiefs*, or *Legislators*: The Second were *Druids* or “*Priests*: The Third were *Bards*. The two last were

Poem; as it is drawn from the very Essence of the old *Celtic* Belief. Thus speaks the learned BARTHOLINE:—“*Summa Audacia credebatur* “*Lucta cum Spectris non formidata* †.” “It was esteemed the highest “Act of Courage, to dare to encounter a Ghost.”—But it must be observed, that the Spirit of their chief God ODIN was an Exception to this Rule: The Living and the Dead were all deemed subject to his Controul: therefore, the Spirit of LODA was not the Spirit of ODIN, but of some inferior Deity.

[g] About the Close of the last Century, JOHN GLASS and JOHN MACDONALD, *Bards* by Profession, who resided and were respected as such in the Houses of two *Highland Chiefs*, traveled fifty Miles and met by Appointment in LOCHABAR, to vindicate their own Honour and that of their respective Chiefs at a public Meeting, in a *poetic* and *musical Contest*.

† *De Contemptu Mortis apud Danos*, l. ii. c. 2.

“honoured

honoured with an Appellation equivalent to the Name of *Gods* [g].

The *Bards* had estates settled on them, that they might be free from worldly Cares: They lived in perfect Independence, and were obliged to no Service: Their Persons were inviolable: To kill them, was esteemed the blackest Crime; and it was held an Act of Sacrilege to seize their Estates, even for the public Service, and in Times of the greatest Distress [b].

The Profession was hereditary: But when the *Bard* died, his Estate descended not to his eldest Son, but to the most accomplished of his Family in the musical Profession. A Law was made by OLLAMH FODHLA, one of their greatest Kings, that none should be invested with the Dignity of a *Bard*, but those of the most illustrious Families [i].

The *Bards*, the *Druids*, and *Nobility*, were summoned by the same King, to a *triennial Festival*, which was thus by him established, to transmit to Posterity the *Authentic Songs* of the *Bards*, as the Materials of their future Histories. In Consequence of this, the approved Songs of the ancient *Bards* were preserved in the Custody of the King's Antiquary; and are appealed to by KEATING, as the Foundation of his History [k]. Many of them were fabulous; but this Circumstance hath no essential Relation to our present Inquiry.

Garments of different Colour were appropriated to the various Ranks of the Kingdom: So high was the Power

[g] KEATING's *Hist.* of IRELAND, p. 48.

[b] *Ib.* p. 132, &c.

[i] *Ibid.*

[k] *Ib.* p. 132. & Preface, p. 23.

and Dignity of the *Bards*, that they wore the *same Colour* with the *royal Family* [1]:

Thus invested with Honours, Wealth, and Power; and possessed of an Art which gave them a natural Influence over the Minds of the People; we find, that about the year 558, they had become insolent, deeply corrupted, and dangerous. Hence, the reigning King convened a general Council of the Nobility and Gentry (for Christianity being now planted in IRELAND, the *Druids* were no more) with Intention to expel them the Island. They were now become a Kind of *sacred Order*, or *College*; which was grown so numerous, that one third of the Kingdom is said to have ranked themselves in this Class, as a safe Asylum for Idleness and Hypocrisy. When the *Principal Bards* assembled in a Body to divert this impending Storm, they met, to the Number of a *Thousand*. This may account for the Numbers that claimed to be of the Profession; for every *Principal Bard* retained *thirty* of inferior Note, as his Attendants; and a *Bard* of the *second Order* was followed by a Retinue of *fifteen*. In this Convention, after many Debates, it was resolved that they should leave the Island, and retire into SCOTLAND, before the Sentence of their Banishment was pronounced.— However, the Sentence was mitigated: They were allowed to disperse themselves over the Island, and promised to live in a Manner less offensive to the Public [m].

In a succeeding, and no very distant Period, we find them again grown troublesome to the Kings, who com-

[1] KEATING'S *Hist. of IRELAND*, p. 127.

[m] *Ib.* 370, &c.
plained

plained of them, as a Burthen to the People, lazy, covetous, and insatiable. On this, their Number was lessened and regulated: By the Advice of St. COLUM CILL, every provincial *Chief* had *one* learned *Bard* allowed him in his Retinue, to record the *Atchievements* of his Family: Their Independence, with a competent Revenue, was preserved: And this Regulation was the Standard, by which the Society of Bards were directed in succeeding Ages [n].

'Tis to be observed, that in some unrecorded Period, a *Separation* had taken Place in the *Bard's* Profession: In the early Times, the Offices of *Poet* and *Lyrist* were united in the same Person: In the later Ages, it appears, that the *Bard* only composed the *Poem*; and that it was sung by a *Rhapsodist* or *Harper* at the public Festivals.

However, we find that on the Extinction of Learning, and Increase of Barbarism in this Kingdom, the native Vigour of the poetic Stock again shot up in a succeeding Age; and for Want of a proper Culture, was again become one of the ruling Evils of the Country, in the Time of SPENSER; Who gives the following animated Description of their *Songs* and *Character*: “ There is amongst the *Irish* a certain Kind of “ People called *Bardes*, which are to them instead of “ *Poets*, whose Profession is to set forth the *Praises* or “ *Dispraises* of Men in their Poems or Rythmes; the “ which are had in so high Regard and Estimation amongst “ them, that none dare displease them for Fear to run “ into Reproach through their Offence, and to be made

[n] KEATING'S *Hist.* of IRELAND, p. 380, 381.

“ infamous in the Mouths of all Men. For their Verses
 “ are taken up with a general Applause, and usually *sung*
 “ at all *Feasts* and *Meetings* by certain *other Persons*,
 “ whose proper Function that is, who also receive for
 “ the same great Rewards and Reputation amongst them.”—
 “ These *Irish Bardes* are for the most Part so far from
 “ instructing young Men in *moral* Discipline; that they
 “ themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined:
 “ For they seldom use to choose unto themselves the
 “ Doings of *good* Men for the Arguments of their Poems;
 “ but whomsoever they find to be most *licentious* of
 “ Life, most *bold* and *lawless* in his Doings, most *danger-*
 “ *ous* and *desperate* in all Parts of Disobedience and rebel-
 “ lious Disposition; Him they *set up* and *glorify* in their
 “ *Rythmes*, Him they *praise* to the *People*, and to *young*
 “ Men make an *Example* to follow.”—Thus “ evil things
 “ being decked and attired with the gay Attire of
 “ goodly Words, may easily deceive and carry away the
 “ Affection of a young Mind that is not well stayed, but
 “ desirous by some bold Adventures to make Proof of
 “ himself. For being (as they all be) brought up idely
 “ without Awe of Parents, without Precepts of Masters,
 “ and without Fear of Offence; not being directed, nor
 “ employed in any Course of Life which may carry them
 “ to Virtue; will easily be drawn to follow such as any
 “ shall set before them: For a young Mind cannot rest:
 “ If he be not still busied in some Goodness, he will find
 “ himself such Business, as shall soon busy all about him.
 “ In which; if he shall find any to praise him, and to
 “ give him Encouragement, as those *Bardes* and *Rythmers*
 “ do for little Reward, or a Share of a *stolen Cow*, then
 “ waxeth

“ waxeth he most insolent and half mad with the Love
 “ of himself, and his own lewd Deeds. And as for
 “ Words to set off such Lewdness, it is not hard for them
 “ to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed
 “ even from the Praises which are proper to Virtue itself :—
 “ As of a most notorious *Thief* and wicked *Outlaw*;
 “ which had lived all his Life Time of *Spoils* and *Robberies*;
 “ one of their *Bardes* in his Praise will say, that he was
 “ none of the idle *Milk-Sops* that was brought up by the
 “ *Fire-side*; but that most of his Days he spent in *Arms*
 “ and valiant *Enterprises*: That he did never eat his
 “ Meat, before he had won it with his Sword: That he
 “ lay not all Night slugging in a Cabin under his Mantle;
 “ but used commonly to keep others waking to defend
 “ their Lives; and did light his Candle at the Flames of
 “ their Houses, to lead him in the Darknes: That the
 “ Day was his Night, and the Night his Day: That he
 “ loved not to be long wooing of Wenches to yield to
 “ him; but where he came, he took by Force the Spoil
 “ of other Men’s Love, and left but Lamentation to their
 “ Lovers: That his Music was not the Harp, nor Lays
 “ of Love, but the Cries of People, and the clashing of
 “ Armour: And finally, that he died, not bewailed of
 “ many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly
 “ bought his Death.” —“ I have caused divers of these
 “ Poems to be translated unto me, that I might under-
 “ stand them: And surely, they favoured of *sweet Wit*
 “ and *good Invention*; but *skilled not* of the *goodly Orna-*
 “ *ments* of Poetry: Yet were they sprinkled with some
 “ *pretty Flowers* of their *natural Device*, which gave good
 “ Grace and Comeliness unto them: The which it is
 great.

“ great Pity to see so abused, to the gracing of *Wickedness*
 “ and *Vice*, which with good Usage would serve to adorn
 “ and beautify *Virtue* [o].”

This Account of the *Irish Bards* is not inserted here, as a mere History of Facts; but with a farther View of confirming the Principles on which this Dissertation is built. And the Writer thinks that all the Facts (from the *early State* of the *Bards* when they were esteemed as *Gods*, down to their *last Condition* when they were sunk into the *Abettors* of *Thieving* and *Robbery*) arise so naturally from the Principles given above, that he is disposed to leave the particular Application to the Reader's Sagacity.

S E C T. IX.

*Of the natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song in
 CHINA, PERU, and INDIA.*

SUCH have been the natural *Union* and *Progressions* of *Melody* and *Song*, in the barbarous Nations of EUROPE. If we travel to the Extremes of East and West, on the vast Continents of ASIA and AMERICA, we shall find new and strong Confirmations of the Progressions of these Arts, as they have been here deduced from savage Life and Manners.

The *Chinese* have ever been of a *mild* and *peaceable* Character: Their *Music* will be found analogous. 'Tis generally supposed, that CONFUCIUS established their *Music* and *Rites*: but it appears from some curious Fragments of ancient *Chinese* History, that *Music* and the *Rites* existed in *Union*, long before the Age of that Philosopher [p]. “ TCHO-

[o] SPENSER'S View of the State of IRELAND.
Hist. Chinois, published by Mr. GOGUET, p. 550.

[p] *Extraits des*

“ YONG, the sixteenth Emperor of the ninth Period, hearing
 “ a Concert of Birds, invented a Species of Music, whose
 “ Harmony was irresistible. It touched the intelligent
 “ Soul, and calmed the Heart of Man; so that the exter-
 “ nal Senses were found, the Humours in a just Poise,
 “ and the Life of Man lengthened [q].” Here we find
 the genuine Picture of a *Chief*, at once *Legislator* and
Bard, civilizing a savage People.

The *Dance* was improved in the same Manner, by the
 twentieth King of the ninth Period, to the Ends of peace-
 ful Life [r]. And of such Importance has this Branch
 of the musical Art been always held in CHINA, that it
 it is an established Maxim, “ that you may judge of any
 “ King’s Reign, by the *Dances* that are then in Use [s].”

These Evidences are traditionary, and relate to the
 fabulous Times: But even in a later Period, we find the
kingly and *musical* Characters united, in the Person of Fou-
 HI, their first great imperial Legislator. “ Fou-HI de-
 “ livered the Laws of Music: After he had invented the
 “ Art of *Fishing*, he composed a *Song* for those who ex-
 “ ercised that Art. He made a *Lyre*, with Strings of
 “ *Silk*, to banish all *Impurity* of Heart: And in his Time
 “ the *Rites* and *Music* were in great *Perfection* [t].” All
 this is evidently in the true Spirit of a peaceable Legisla-
 tion. “ CHIN-NONG (a succeeding Emperor) composed
 “ Songs on the *Fertility* of the Earth. He made a beauti-
 “ ful *Lyre*, and a *Guitar* adorned with precious Stones,
 “ which produced a noble Harmony, curbed the Passions,
 “ and elevated Man to *Virtue* and heavenly *Truth* [u].”

[q] *Extraits des Hist. Chinois*, published by Mr. GOGUET, p. 552.

[r] *Ib.* 555. [s] *Ib.* p. 556. [t] *Ib.* p. 567. [u]. *Ib.* p. 572.

This is the same Character continued under a Period of higher Civilization. The last Emperor whom I find to have retained the poetic or Musical Character, was CHAO-HAO; who is said to have invented “ a new Species of Music, to unite Men with superior Beings.” After him, the *complex* Office seems to have *separated*: And the first great *Bardlike* Character we meet with is CONFUCIUS, who established *Music* and the *Rites*, according to that Form which they still maintain in CHINA [w]. For here, as in ancient EGYPT, CRETE, and SPARTA, every thing is unalterably fixed by Law; by which Means, Improvement and Corruption are alike prevented.

With Respect to the Extent of the *Progression* of Music in this vast Empire; it appears, that they have no musical Notation; that Composition in *Parts* is altogether unknown; and that the whole *Choir* sings the *same* Melody: That their Music is altogether of the *diatonic* Kind, and even wretched to an *European* Ear [x]: Yet they boast of its wonderful Powers in former Times: Whence some of the Historians seem to guess that it hath degenerated; while in reality, no other Consequence can be justly drawn, but that either the People are less *ignorant* and *barbarous*; or that Music is now less assiduously and powerfully *applied*; or that certain *Separations* have ensued, similar to those which took Place in ancient GREECE: Any of which Causes must naturally destroy its Force.

It appears, however, that the *Progression* had advanced so far in some former Period, prior to CONFUCIUS, as to produce *dramatic Representation*, mixed with *Song*: And

[w] DU HALDE *Hist. Chinois.*
DU HALDE.

[x] See Specimens of it, in

in Conformity to the Principles given above, we find, that as they regard not the *Unities* of Action, Place, or Time, so neither is any *continued Choir* in use; though there be manifest Remains of it in their *Plays*: For at the Conclusion of Scenes or Acts, as well as at other Times when a *pathetic* Circumstance occurs, the Persons of the Play, instead of *declaiming*, begin to *sing*. The *Prologue* resembles that uncouth one of GREECE, that is, he tells you *who* he is, and *what* is his *Errand*. All their Plays have a *moral* or *political* Direction, suited to the Genius of the People and the State. They know not the Difference between *Tragedy* and *Comedy*; another Circumstance which confirms the Principle given above, concerning the true Rise and Distinction of these two Kinds in GREECE: For the *Chinese*, as they have ever been of a *timid* and *peaceable* Character, so neither are they given to *Raillery* or *Sarcasm*, but altogether to *Civility* and mutual *Respect*. Hence, neither the *Tragic* nor *comic* Drama could probably arise, so as to be marked as a *distinct Species*. Accordingly, their *Plays* are generally of an *intermediate* Cast, between *Terror* and *Pity* on the one Hand, *Sarcasm* or *Ridicule* on the other. The "*little Orphan of CHINA*," indeed, which is given as a Specimen by DU HALDE, borders on the *tragic* Species: But this Play is but one of a hundred, most of which are of a different Cast; and was selected by him, because he thought it the best adapted in its Genius, to the Spirit and Taste of the *Europeans*: For he tells us expressly, that the general Character of their Plays are altogether different from this; that they are commonly of a *middle* Kind, and neither *Tragedy* nor *Comedy*. Another Circumstance of the Progression must be marked; which

is, that their *Actors* are a *separate* Rank from their *Poets*; that they are formed into *Companies*, and have lost their original Dignity of Office and Character.

In the ancient Kingdom of PERU, the Progression of *Music* had reached the same Period, though somewhat different in its Circumstances. GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA informs us, that their fabulous Songs were innumerable; that he had heard many, and learnt some of them, from his Ancestors, who were the last of the royal Family of the INCAS. They were of various Kinds, founded on a Variety of Passion, religious, warlike, and amorous. They had invented a Kind of *unequal Pipe*, formed of Reeds of different Lengths, precisely the same with that of ancient GREECE. They had also a Species of Flute, with four or five Stops: Their Music was simple, like that of all unpolished Countries. Their INCAS or *Chiefs* had been *Poets* or *Musicians* in the early Periods; and the Author of the Commentaries gives a Poem composed by one of them, which bears all the Marks of a spirited and savage Original. They had their *dramatic* Representations, in Part *resembling*, and in Part *differing* from those of the *Chinese*. Their Manners and Character, *brave* though not *ferocious*, had naturally produced *Tragedy*, though of a Kind rather *grand* than *terrible* [x]. But their *mild Temper*, in Time of *Peace* little given to *Sarcasm*, seems to have *prevented* the Birth of *Comedy*. GARCILASSO, indeed, divides their *Drama* into *Tragedy* and *Comedy*: But this was manifestly the Effect of his own preconceived Opinions, and arose from a Habit of considering all *dramatic* Composition as belonging to one

[x] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 24.

of these *Species*. For he tells us that “ their *Tragedies* “ represented their military Exploits; the *Triumphs*, “ *Victories*, and *heroic Actions* of their renowned Men : “ And the Subject or Design of their Comedies was to “ demonstrate the Manner of good *Husbandry* in *culti-* “ *vating* and manuring their *Fields*, and to shew the “ Management of domestic Affairs, with other familiar “ Matters.” A Circumstance, which ought to give them the Title of *Bucolic* or *Georgic Drama*, rather than that of *Comedy*. For not a Word occurs concerning *Ridicule* or *Character* ; the *Union* of which two Circumstances may seem to constitute the *Essence* of true *Comedy*. These Plays were *composed* by the *Amautas* or *Bards*, whose Office was separated from that of the *INCAS*, but still held in Honour, as in other barbarous Politicks. But in another Respect, the Progression was different from that in *CHINA*. The *Actors* maintained the original Dignity which they had held in the early Periods : For the *Lords* and *Officers* of the Court were the *Actors* ; and as soon as the Play was ended, they took their *Places* according to their *Degrees* [y].

To these we may add one Instance more, concerning the natural Union and Progression of Music and Poetry : An Instance less known, yet more singular than any of these already given. When the *Christian Missionaries* arrived on the Coast of *proper India*, they found a Sect called the “ *Christians of St. THOMAS*,” living in great Simplicity and Innocence ; and retaining many of the original Customs of their savage Forefathers [z] : among others, they

[y] GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA *Comment. Real.* l. ii. c. 14, 15.

[z] LA CROZE *Hist. du Christ.* p. 38, &c.

found these Christians, as well as the Pagans of the Country, possessed of rude *Music* and *Poetry*, in their *natural Union* and *Power*. They acquiesced in the Application of these Arts, already made by the Christian Tribe, and wisely laid hold of their Influence, for the Conversion of the Pagan Natives. Under these Circumstances, the following Accounts will appear natural and probable, on the Principles already delivered.

First, it appears that the general and Fundamental Practice of *singing* the *Praise* of *great Men*, had been maintained from the most ancient Times. In Consequence of this, “ The Synode being ended, the Partisans of the “ Union composed in the *Malabar* Tongue a long *Ode* or “ *Song*, which contained the whole *History* of the *Portu-
“ guese* *Prelate*, and a pompous Detail of what had passed “ at the Synod. This Nation hath preserved the ancient “ Custom of consecrating to Posterity by this Kind of “ Poem all the most remarkable Events. The Song was “ caught and immediately dispersed every where; and “ during the Visits which the Prelate made, the People “ sung it in his Presence; which together with their “ *Dances* and *Music* made the chief Part of his Entertain- “ ment [a]. When he went to *ANGAMALE*, the Way “ was spread with Carpets: And it was a fine Sight, to “ see a *Child* of six Years old, very beautiful, and richly “ dressed, who *sung* melodiously the whole *Song* we “ have spoken of, as containing the *Labours* of the *Pre-
“ late* [b].”

The religious *Song* and *Dance* were no less remarkably and singularly maintained in a Kind of imperfect *Union*,

[a] LA CROZE *Hist. du Christ.* p. 282.

[b] *Ib.* p. 294.

as they had been transferred from *Pagan* Objects to those of *Christianity*. “ In the same Place, the *Christian Malabars*, to amuse the Archbishop, gave him a *Ball* after the Manner of the Country. It was of so singular a Nature, that I am persuaded, the Reader will not be displeas’d with the Description. These *Dances* are generally practis’d at *Night*. This begun at eight in the Evening, and lasted till an Hour after Midnight. None but the Men dance; and their Modesty and Reserve are admirable. Before the *Dance* begins they all make the *Sign* of the *Cross*, and sing the *Lord’s Prayer*, which is followed by a *Hymn*, in Honour of *St. Thomas*. Their other *Songs* rowl chiefly on the *illustrious Actions* of their *Forefathers*, or the *Virtues* of their *Saints*. In a Word, this Entertainment has all the Air of an *Act of Devotion*; on which, the *Portuguese Historian* takes Occasion to inveigh against the *prophane Songs* of the *Europeans*, which seem compos’d only to inspire *Debauch* and *Immodesty*. [c.]”

The Missionaries who have visited the opposite Coast of *COROMANDEL*, give us Proof, that the *Progression* of *Music* and *Poetry* had not stopped at this early Period, but advanced to *theatrical Representation*; which, we shall see, they were bold enough to apply even to the great Purpose of *Conversion*. “ In this Country they have an extreme Passion for the *Theatre*. Good Poets are held in great *Veneration* among this People, who are by no means of a barbarous Cast. In *INDIA*, Poetry enjoys the Favour of the Great. They give its young Professors the Honour of the *Palanquin*, which is a very

[c] LA CROZE *Hist. du Christ.* p. 296.

“high

“ high Distinction. The *Theatre*, which was prepared
 “ near our Church, was of vast Extent. Indeed I found
 “ not there the Rules of HORACE or BOILEAU put in
 “ Practice; but was agreeably surprized to find the *Acts*
 “ distinguished, and varied with *Interludes* or *Choirs*, the
 “ Scenes well connected, the Machines judiciously in-
 “ vented, Art in the Conduct of the Piece, Taste in the
 “ Dresses, Propriety in the *Dances*, and a kind of *Music*,
 “ harmonious though *irregular* and *wild*. The *Actors*
 “ displayed great *Freedom* and *Dignity* in their Speech:
 “ They were taken from one of the *Superior Orders* or
 “ *Castes*. Their Memory was good, and there were *no*
 “ *Prompters*. That which edified me most was, that the
 “ Piece began with an authentic Profession of Christianity:
 “ And contained the keenest *Ridicule* and severest *In-*
 “ *vectives* on the *Gods* of the Country. Such are the
 “ *Christian Tragedies*, which they oppose here to the *pro-*
 “ *phane Tragedies* of the *Idolaters* [*d*]; and they are, for
 “ this Reason, an excellent Mean of Conversion [*e*].—
 “ The Audience was composed of at least twenty thousand
 “ Souls, who listened in profound Silence.—The Charac-
 “ ter of their Theatre is that of a *lively* and *perpetual*
 “ *Action*; and a strict Caution of *avoiding long Speeches*,
 “ without proper *Breaks* [*f*].”

Such is the State of *Melody* and *Song* in proper INDIA. Some of its Appearances are singular; and at first View, may seem unnatural. But after a mature Considera-

[*d*] Hence it appears that the *History* of their *Gods* made the Subject of their *native* theatrical Representations.

[*e*] How far this was a proper Method of Conversion, will be considered in the Work advertised at the End of this Dissertation.

[*f*] *Lettres Edifiantes, Recueil*, xviii. p. 28.

tion of what hath been delivered on the Union, Progression, and Separation of these Arts in ancient GREECE, 'tis presumed, the sensible Reader will easily account for all these apparent Singularities.

S E C T. X.

Of the natural Union and Progressions of Melody and Song amongst the ancient Hebrews.

LET us now, in Conclusion, analyze the State of Melody and Song, among the ancient *Hebrews*.

The leading Singularity of this extraordinary People was their Rejection of Idolatry, and their established Worship of the *one* GOD, the *Creator* of the World. As this Circumstance gave a peculiar Colour to their *Religion*; so, upon the Principles of this Dissertation it will follow, that it must give a Peculiar Turn to their *MUSIC*; because we have seen, that the Genius of the *original MUSIC* of every Country depends on its *Religion* as its chief *Basis*.

In Consequence of this Principle, their *Song* or *Poem* was chiefly dedicated to the *Celebration* of the *true* GOD, the *Creator* of all things: At other Times it is composed of *moral Exhortations*, delivered as the Dictates of his Will, or thrown out in prophetic Raptures concerning the great Intents of his Providence.—Hence the *Hymn*, *Ode*, or poetic *Rapture*, which we have found to be naturally the first Form of Composition among all Nations, appeared with unrivaled Splendor in the *Hebrew* Poetry, because its *Object* is so much *Superior* to that of other Nations: The one being no more than the limited and narrow Power of supposed *local* Gods; the other, the

the Omnipotence and Wisdom of an *eternal and universal Creator*. Of this Distinction their *Bards* were fully sensible. "As for the Gods of the Heathen, they are but *Idols*; but it is the *Lord*, that made the *Heavens*." The Book of Psalms, the Lamentations, the Songs of MOSES, DAVID, ISAIAH, and other Prophets, all written in Measure, and sung by those who composed them, are so many striking Instances of the true and unequalled Sublime.

With Respect to the *Form*, it may be observed, that their *Songs* or *Hymns* are of that *mixed* Species which naturally ariseth first, before any Separations take Place, or produce the several Species of Composition. Though the *hymnal* Form be chiefly *predominant*, yet we find them frequently to be a Mixture of *Ode*, *Narration*, and *Dialogue*; and thus they contain the Seeds or Principles of the three great succeeding Kinds, of *unmixed Ode*, *Epic*, and *Tragedy*.

It may be regarded as an extraordinary Circumstance, that this first *mixed* Form of Composition should have continued unchanged for a Period of at least a thousand Years; and that from first to last it should never move forward, so as to produce the *Epic* and *Dramatic* Species: But on Examination it will appear, that the same Cause (the Worship of the one GOD) which produced the highest Degree of Sublime in the *hymnal* Species, naturally *checked* the Course of Poetry among the JEWS; and prevented that *Progression* which we have found to arise from the natural State of Things, in *Pagan* Countries.

With Respect to the *Epic* Poem, we have seen that, in its first and original Conception and Formation, it is no other

other than “ A fabulous History, rowling chiefly on the
 “ great Actions of the Gods and Heroes of the Nation ;
 “ and composed under certain Limitations with Respect to
 “ its Manner, for the Ends of Pleasure, Admiration,
 “ and Instruction.” Hence, the *true* GOD being the sole
 Object of the Adoration of the HEBREWS, and their Re-
 cords being the sacred Depositary of the *History* of his
Providence, the Truth of which it was deemed the highest
 Crime to violate ; the Invention and Construction of an
Epic Fable could never be the Result of a natural and un-
 taught Progression.

If the *Epic* Form was thus naturally prevented by
 the Severity of Truth, the first Form of *Tragedy*, and
dramatic Exhibition must of Course be checked from
 the same Principle : For we have seen that the native and
 original tragic Species is but an Union of the Ode and
Epic Fable, animated by personal Representation. To
 this we may subjoin, that an additional Absurdity would
 here present itself: The Absurdity of cloathing the *Deity*
 in a visible and *human Form* : A Circumstance strictly
 forbidden by the *Jewish* Law.

If it be said, that although these Reasons are good,
 against their introducing the *Deity* as the leading Subject
 either of *Epic* or *dramatic Fable*, yet still their *Heroes*
 might have furnished Subjects for *Both*: We may reply,
 that all the great Actions of their Heroes were so inti-
 mately connected with the important History of Provi-
 dence, which this People were destined both to *execute*
 and *preserve*, that even *These* became improper Subjects
 for the Mixture and Alloy of Fable. And farther; The
 very Tendency of Fancy towards such a Progression of

Poetry was quenched *here* also, in its first Conception. For the first and original Enthusiasms of an untaught Tribe are awakened by the Belief, that their deceased Heroes are advanced to the Rank of *Gods*, and still maintain their former *Relation* and *Affection* to their native *Country*: Hence the Imagination is kindled by Hope of their Favour and Assistance: Hence Adoration riseth; flattering Fables of their Power, Prowess, and Atchievements, are invented; and the Genius of *Epic* and *Tragic* Song is awakened into Action. But where (as among the *Jews*) their greatest Men are represented as what they were, weak, ignorant, and mortal; often humbled for their Sins; always under the Controul of an over-ruling Providence; and after Death, lost to every earthly Connexion; here, the first natural Enthusiasms of the Soul could meet with no Objects to excite them: A Collision was wanting: And the artless Mind, instructed only in sacred Things, returned of itself to the unmixed and in-artificial Celebration of the *all-wise* and *all-powerful* God.

As, from these Causes, the Forms of their *Song* never had any Progression; so, it seems probable, that their *Melody* stood still, in the same Manner. Its Application was chiefly to the Service of Religion; and as their Hymn continued unchanged in its Genius, we may reasonably believe that the Melody which accompanied it, had the same Fate. For though there was nothing particular ordained, with Respect to Music, in the *Mosaic* Law; yet, where almost every other Circumstance relative to Worship was particularly prescribed, this Severity of Institution would give a Kind of Sanctity to every ancient Custom that stood connected with it; and hence their Modes of Melody would probably remain unchanged.

CLEMENS.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS informs us, that their Hymns were composed in the *Dorian Mode* [g]: Which, whatever it was, we know to have been one of the most *ancient*, as well as *grave* and *sedate*; and therefore fit for the Service of the Temple.—Their Instruments were various, but simple: That which DAVID chiefly used, appears to have been the *Nabla* or *Trigonon*; a three-cornered Instrument, of the *Harp-Species*. Its Compass we know from his own Authority; and that it was an Instrument of *ten Strings*. We may be assured, too, that his Melody was not only simple, but single: For he must have held his Harp with one Hand, and played with the other, when he led the *religious Dance* before the Ark.

As their *Song* and *Melody*, so their *Dance* seems to have been chiefly employed in the Service of Religion. The most frequent Exercise of this religious Rite devolved upon the Women. It appears too, that the Prophets had some Kind of *solemn Movements*, suited to the State and Circumstances of their divine Enthusiasm: This Branch of the triple musical Alliance seems (as in other Countries) to have made the earliest Separation. It appears to have been chiefly exercised by the lower Ranks, in the Time of DAVID: And hence it was, that MICHAL, the Daughter of SAUL, like a true fine Lady, despised that Monarch, for exercising a Mode of Piety, which in her Days was *no longer fashionable*.

As to the united or complex Character of *Legislator* and *Bard*, it is remarkable, that this was preserved among the JEWS through a longer Succession of Ages than in any other Nation, from the same Cause which prevented any

[g] STROMAT. l. vi.

Progression or Change in the Forms of their Song: For the musical Art being chiefly exercised in the Praises of the true GOD, was in less Danger of being *corrupted*, and therefore not only its *Utility* was longer *preserved*, but likewise its *Professors* were in less Danger of being *debased*, than in other Countries where trifling or immoral Applications of the Art ensued. Consequently, the Rulers of the People could have no Temptation to quit any Part of that Character or Office, which still maintained its pristine Use and Dignity. Accordingly, we find, that from MOSES down to SOLOMON, during a Period of at least a thousand Years, the *complex* Character of *Legislator* and *Bard* often appeared in the most distinguished Leaders of their State, and from first to last remained unbroken. MOSES, their first great Lawgiver, led the Song of Triumph, on the Overthrow of the *Egyptians* in the *Red-Sea* [b]: MIRIAM, a distinguished Prophetess, led the female Dance and Choir, on the same Occasion [i]. While the *Judges* ruled in ISRAEL, this complex Office still remained: DEBORAH is an Instance of this Truth: She *judged* ISRAEL; and sung her noble Song of Triumph, on the Death of SISERA and JABIN. We find, that whoever was raised to the Station of a *Judge*, or *Chief*, was commonly invested not only with the *prophetic* but the *bard-like* Character: For we know, that the Prophets generally sung their prophetic Raptures to the Harp [k]. In After-times, when SAUL was elected *King*, he too assumed at once the prophetic and musical Office. The Songs and bard-like Powers of DAVID, his *kingly* Successor, are too well known

[b] EXODUS.

[i] Ibid.

[k] I SAM. x.—I CHRON. xxv.

to need an Illustration. The same musical and poetic Character maintained its Union with that of *King*, in his Son SOLOMON; whose *Songs*, we are told, were no less than a *thousand and five*. After him the *complex* Office of *Legislator* and *Bard* seems to have *separated*: The peculiar Causes which had so long upheld it in the *Jewish State*, now began to cease: For *Idolatry* more and more prevailed, *Manners* became *corrupt*, and public Misery and Ruin ensued. The *Prophets* and *Bards* were now no longer found in the Courts of Kings, or among the Rulers of the People: Yet still they continued to throw out the Emanations of prophetic and moral Truth, accompanied with the Enthusiasm of *Song*, in the more retired, and yet uncorrupt Situations of private Life: And such were the *later Prophets*, whose Writings still remain in Scripture.

As this appears to be a true Analysis of the State of *Music* among the ancient HEBREWS; it will now lead us to an easy Solution of a Fact which hath been regarded as mysterious by some of the Learned; “That while most other Nations had their *Bards* or *Poets*; the JEWS, though their Compositions are uncommonly sublime, never had any *Poets by Profession*, nor even a Word in their Language which denotes the Character [1].” The Principles here given afford a clear Solution of this Singularity. Their *Prophets* were indeed their *Bards*; and appear to have been invested with all the Dignity belonging to that Office in its most honoured State. But as the Almighty God, and the great Events of his *Providence*,

[1] CALMET. *Dissert. sur la Poësie, &c.*

were the continued *Object* of their *Songs*; so, the *poetic* or *musical* Character was but *secondary* to the *religious*: Therefore the Name of *Bard* was swallowed up and lost in the higher Title of “*The* PROPHEET of the MOST “HIGH.”

S E C T. XI.

Of the State of Music and Poetry in ancient ROME.

WE have now traced the Progress of *Melody* and *Song*, through the most remarkable Periods of those various Nations, in which their *Rise*, *Union*, and *Progress* was *native* and *original*. Let us now view them in their more *weak*, *borrowed*, and *separate* State: This Inquiry will bring us down to our own Times: And here we must occasionally quit the ancient Names of *Melody* and *Song*; and sometimes adopt those Titles which the two Arts (now separate) received in the later Ages of GREECE, and which they have ever since retained among the polished Nations of EUROPE, I mean those of MUSIC and POETRY.

The first Flight which *Music* and *Poetry* took from GREECE was to ROME: For in this imperial City, they were not *native*. The Causes of this original Defect, together with the State and Progressions of these Arts at ROME, on their Arrival from GREECE, will make the Subject of this Section.

The only Cause that hath been assigned for the Want of Music and Poetry among the *Romans* in the early Ages of the Republic, hath been “that their Attention to War
“ and Conquest swallowed up all other Regards; and
“ therefore

“ therefore Music and Poetry were of course neglected.” This Reasoning might hold, if these Arts made no more than a mere *Amusement* in the *early* Ages, as they generally do in the *later* Periods of a State. But as it appears in the Course of this Dissertation, that Melody and Song are the natural Produce of savage Life, however warlike; that the Continuance of this warlike Character tends rather to heighten than extinguish their Power; and that the History of human Nature confirms this Truth; We must therefore seek for this peculiar Defect in some other, and more hidden Cause.

There is a Principle which relates to the Establishment and Character of *Colonies*, which will hereafter appear attended with extensive Consequences, and which will assist us in unfolding the true Foundation of this Defect.

Melody, Dance, and Song, being the natural Effects of savage Manners continuing through several Ages, it must follow, that *Colonies* will in general be found to possess them in a very imperfect State. For *Colonies* are seldom sent out, till that early Period is past, when the *Legislator's* and *Bard's* Character are *united* in the same Person. Hence, the *Leader* of the new Colony not being possessed of the poetic and musical Enthusiasm, can neither have *Ability* nor *Inclination* to instil or propagate these Arts among his Followers. Thus the first leading Flame of Enthusiasm is quenched: And the inferior Ranks, being busied in the Affairs of their new Settlement, have not that Leisure which the unemployed savage State affords, to turn their Attention on these natural Pleasures: For Colonies of Men seldom depart from their native Country, unless when driven by some Kind of *Necessity*: And there-
fore.

fore must betake themselves, for Subsistence, either to *Industry* or *War*. The last of these was the chief Occupation of the *Roman State*: And thus, not because they were a *warlike* People, but because they were a *needy Colony*, the *musical Arts* which were so *powerful* in early GREECE, were so *weak* in early ROME.

This Observation will hold true of most other Countries peopled by foreign Nations after a certain Period of Civilization. Thus CARTHAGE was a Colony which went out from TYRE: And *Music*, which was of Weight in the *native City*, was of no Consideration in the *descendant State*. Thus again, the *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *Scots*, are strictly *natives*; and accordingly, have a Music of *their own*: The *English*, on the contrary, are a foreign Mixture of late-established Colonies; and as a Consequence of this, have *no native Music*. He who would find the *original Music* of ENGLAND, must seek it in WALES.

Here, then, appears the true Cause of this Defect in the early Ages of ROME. So ignorant were the *Trojan Founders* of the Empire in the musical Arts, that they had not even the first Rudiments of *Song*: For we are told by a learned *Roman*, that when ENEAS brought the Images of the Gods to Shore, “the *Women bowed and danced* at the “Solemnity [m].”

The History of the musical Arts in ROME confirms this general Principle: Their Music and Poetry was always *borrowed* and *adopted*: Let us trace its Progress through the several succeeding ages.

[m] DIONYS. *Halicarn.* l. i. c. 55.

NUMA POMPILIUS first introduced these Arts into the Roman religious Ceremonies. Had he been a *Native* of ROME, he had been a clear Exception to the Principle here given: But instead of overturning, he confirms it: For he was a retired, philosophic, and illustrious *Sabine*; And the *Salian* Priests which he established, were *Musicians* or *Bards*, who had been brought by EVANDER from ARCADIA into ITALY [n]. Thus, the *Salian* Songs were not *native*, but *transplanted* into ROME.

We find no farther Progress in the musical and poetic Arts, for many Ages: Save only, that a vague Rumour prevailed in the later Periods of the Commonwealth, that in ancient Times it had been usual to sing the Praises of great Men at Feasts [o].

The next Progression of the musical Arts in ROME, was the *Adoption* of the *Thuscan Shews*: These, as LIVY informs us, were called in from ETRURIA during a fatal Pestilence, with a View of appeasing the angry Gods [p]. The borrowed Flame was soon caught and spread among the Roman Youth; who by Degrees gave *Voice* to the *mute Action* of the *Thuscans*.

To these the *Atellane* Plays succeeded; being in the same Manner *borrowed* and adopted by the Roman People from the OSCI, a neighbouring Province: Both these, and the *Thuscan Shews* seem to have been *native* in their respective Districts; and therefore we need go no farther in Quest of their true Origin, than to the untaught Progression and Separation of *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*: But on their first

[n] DIONYS. Hal. l. i.
Hist. l. vii.

[o] CICERO de Leg. l. ii.

[p] LIV.

Entrance into ROME, these dramatic shews were no longer in their *natural*, but in an *ingrafted* State. The first Idea, then, of *Comedy* was caught by *Adoption* in this Republic: Here, as in the Adoption of the *Salian Songs*, they were mere *Imitators*. And thus, contrary to the natural Course of Things (as we have proved above [q]) *Comedy* had, by Accident, an Establishment prior to *Tragedy* in ancient ROME.

As it appears that in the first Periods of theatrical and dramatic Representation, it is natural for the *Poet* to *act* a Part in his own Plays [r]; so LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, the first known dramatic Poet of ROME [s], maintained this natural *Union* of the *Poet* and *Actor*, which he had received from the adopted Shews. But so little were theatrical Representations the Effect of Nature at ROME, and so much were they received as mere Shews of *Pleasure* and *Amusement*, that even at this early Period an unexampled *Separation* commenced; a Separation more absurd than any that had taken Place in GREECE. For now, “LIVIUS “ acting his own Play according to the Custom of the “ Times, was compelled by the People to repeat some “ favourite Passages, till his Voice grew hoarse: On which, “ he obtained Leave to substitute a Slave to *sing* the Poem: “ along with the *Musician*, while he himself performed “ the *Action* in dumb Shew [t].” Thus an *absurd Separation* was established; and continued so established through the succeeding Ages of the *Roman Empire* [u]. Hence ROSCIUS himself, of whom the World hath heard so,

[q] Sect. vii.

[r] Sect. vi.

[s] Art. 26..

[t] Liv. *Hist.* l. vii.[u] LUCIAN *de Salt.*

much, was often no more than an Imitator by *mute* Action. We may safely pronounce it impossible that this Separation could have come on, unless the theatric Representations had already degenerated into a mere *Amusement*. When a *slave* was permitted to *sing* the *Poem*, we may be sure the chief Attention was turned on the *Gesticulation* of the *Actor*. That which in a *sound* State of things had been *subordinate*, was now become *principal*.

However, the theatrical Shews in this Period seem to have had little Effect; the Manners of the People continuing much the same with those of more ancient Times. After the Succession of a few Ages, the principal Progressions came on; and these arose from their Acquaintance with, and their Conquest of GREECE.

As this Event happened many Years after the musical Arts had lost their *Union*, their proper *Ends*, and original *Genius* in the *Mother-Country*; so it was natural, that the *Romans* (now verging towards a Decline of Manners) should greedily borrow and adopt them, in that *separate*, *imperfect*, and *perverted* State which these Arts held when the *Greeks* were conquered by the *Romans*. Let us therefore trace them from their first to their last Progressions in ROME; where we shall find, that from being of mere Amusement or little Utility, they degenerated by Degrees into Things pernicious.

In the early Periods of GREECE, the Poet composed the Melody for his Plays: In the Decline of the Greek States, the Melody was the distinct Labour of another Person [u]. This Separation the *Romans* maintained: A Conduct

[u] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 35.

natural among those who considered these Arts as the Instruments of Pleasure only. The necessary Consequence of this was the gradual Introduction of an effeminate and luxuriant Melody; of which both CICERO [w] and HORACE [x] in their respective Times complain.

In Consequence of these, a new and fatal Separation ensued. The *Player*, who in the uncorrupted Ages of GREECE was often of the *first Rank* in the Republic, was generally of *slavish Birth* at Rome; and was by Law excluded from the Freedom of the City [y].

A whimsical Change was made in the Form of the *Masque*: For in order to give a *Variety of Expression*, which became necessary as the Fable of their Comedy grew more *complicated*, the two Sides were marked with *different Passions*. “ The Father, who is a principal Character in the
“ Comedy, as he is sometimes *pleased*, and sometimes *angry*,
“ hath one of his Eyebrows even, and the other *raised aloft* :
“ and the *Roman Actors* take Care to shew *that Side* of
“ the *Masque* to the Audience which suits with his *present*
“ *Temper* [z].”

With Respect to the *Subjects* of their *Tragedy*, they were here no less mere Imitators. For although they had one Species in which their own Great Men were the *Heroes* of the Poem, yet even this was not original, but altogether built on the *Grecian Model*. But farther, we learn from HORACE, that the most approved *Subjects* were those which were drawn from HOMER's Poems. He gives this as a Rule to the Poets of his Time and

[w] *De Leg.* l. ii.
l. xxiv.

[x] *Epist. ad Pis.*
[z] QUINTIL. *lisp.* l. ii. c. 11.

[y] *Liv. Hist.*

Country; "That to throw the Fables of the *Iliad* into "tragic Scenes is a safer and better Practice, than to attempt Subjects yet untouched." A Passage which contains the clearest Proof, that Tragedy was now separated from its highest Purposes; and that the *great Ends* of this *Poem*, which gave it so much *Power* in GREECE, were utterly lost to the Roman People.

The primary Applications of *Tragedy* being thus little known in ROME, even on its first Admission; we cannot wonder that it became a weak and languid Amusement; Especially, among a People whose Manners were now sinking into That Character which tended to give *Comedy* the Ascendant, as in the declining Period of the *Greek* States. Thus the true Cause appears, why *Comedy* was cultivated so much more than *Tragedy*, in every Period of this Republic.

The *Ode* or *hymnal* Species seems to have been as effectually separated from the Ends of *Public Utility*, as the *Tragic Poem*. HORACE often declares his Inability to attempt any thing *Great* in this Kind. The general Character of his Odes corresponds much with his own Sentiment: They are always elegant, seldom majestic. His *Irreligion* even *disqualified* him from excelling in the *highest Species* of the *Ode*: For of this, we have seen, *Religion* must be the *Object*: And although there be a variety of fine *moral* Apothegms, and frequent Allusions to the *public State* of ROME; yet these are always *checked*, and made *subservient* to the FAVOUR of MÆCENAS and AUGUSTUS. In a Word, they are but *secondary*: *Urbanity* of Sentiment, *Elegance* of *Phrase*, and of *Compliment* to his Masters, were manifestly his *first Object*.

Ode → Tragic
poem

With Regard to the Character of the famed *Roman Epic Poem*; notwithstanding the inordinate Praises that have been lavished on VIRGIL's *Æneid*, it may with Truth be affirmed, that neither the *original* nor *legislative* Spirit of ancient GREECE appear with any uniform Splendor through the Course of this celebrated Work. Elegant in Diction, a Master in Rythm and Numbers, nervous in Figures, majestic in Description, pathetic in tragic Incidents, strong in the Delineation of Character, accomplished in all the *secondary Qualities* of an *Epic Poet*; yet still VIRGIL wanted that all-comprehensive Genius which alone can conceive and strike out a great original Epic Plan, no less than that independent Greatness of Soul which was quenched by the ruinous Policy of the Times, and which alone can animate true Genius to a full Exertion of its Powers in the Cause of public Virtue and Mankind. Through the first of these Defects, the *Æneid* abounds with Incidents that are borrowed, unconnected, broken, and ill-placed; through the second, though here and there the Spirit of *general Legislation* appears, yet the great Subjects *peculiarly relative* to the Roman State, the *Glories* of the Republic, the *Atchievements* of its *Heroes*, all these are cast into *Shades*, and seen as through a *Veil*; while the *strongest Lights* and *highest Colourings* of his Pencil are *prostituted* to the *Vanity* of the *ruling Tyrant*.

As both the *Ode* and *Epic* had thus degenerated from their original Character in GREECE, so we shall find that the *Recitation* of them kept Pace with this spurious Birth. We have already seen, that in the more early Periods of the *Greek Republics*, their Poems were *sung* to the surrounding Audience for the important Ends of *Religion*,
Morals,

Morals, and Polity. In ROME, as in the later Periods of GREECE, we find the *Song* brought down to *Recitation*, and these *great Purposes* swallowed up and lost in the *Vanity and Self-Importance* of the *Poet*. Hence we find their best Writers declaring their Dislike to the Practice of *public Recitation*, because Flattery was now become the Food of every reciting Poetafter. The whole Farce and Foppery of this Practice, which was indeed no other than the spurious Issue of the old *Grecian Song-Feast*, is given at large by VOSSIUS, to whom, for Brevity's Sake, we refer [a].

The musical Arts, being thus *separated*, and *perverted* from their *proper Ends*, no Wonder that we hear so little of their being applied to the *Education of Youth*, in any Period of ancient ROME.

On the contrary, as Manners and Principles grew more profligate, along with the inordinate growing Power and Luxuries of the Empire; so the Genius of the *poetic and musical Arts* kept Pace with them. *Poem*, which in the Days of ancient GREECE had been the *Handmaid of Virtue*, was now declared to be the *Barred of Licentiousness*; and to write *immodest Verses* was held a *blameless Practice* [b]. Thus the Art sunk so low, that the Name of *Poet*, was held unworthy a Man of *Age* or *Dignity* [c]. The *mimetic and musical Arts* grew not only an intolerable Burthen, but became at length of most pernicious Influence on the State. The Attention to the *mimetic Art* was now carried to a most ridiculous Extreme. CICERO informs us, that the Players practised several Years, before

[a] *De Imitatione*, c. 7, &c.
Verficulus nihil necesse est.

[b] *Castum decet esse Poetam: Ipsos*
 [c] *Turpe est Senem Versus scribere.*
 they,

they ventured upon the Stage [d]: That the Actors, in Imitation of the degenerate *Greeks*, gradually awakened their Powers of Speech in the Morning, left by too sudden an Exertion they should endanger the Voice [e]. They gargled the Throat with a Composition proper for the Purpose: And the Methods of managing and improving the Voice were now formed into a separate Science [f]. In a Word, LIVY complains, that “an Amusement which
 “ was harmless in its Beginnings, had now grown to such
 “ a Madness of Expence, that the wealthiest Kingdoms
 “ were hardly equal to it [g].”

In the later Periods the Mischief grew still more intolerable: For now, the serious Arts were cultivated by Few: Nothing was heard but light and effeminate Music: The Singer took the Philosopher's Place; the Libraries were shut up; and the general Attention was turned upon musical Instruments proper to accompany and sustain the Gesticulation of the Actors. The Effects of this Dissolute Taste soon appeared: For QUINTILIAN tells us, that “the effeminate and immodest Music of
 “ the Stage had no inconsiderable Part in destroying that
 “ small Degree of manly Character which had been left
 “ among them [h].”

The Evil still increased: So that in the Time of NERO,
 “ The City swarmed with *Pantomimes*: Every private
 “ House now became a Theatre; and the Husband and
 “ Wife contended, which should most successfully *pro-*
 “ *fitute* themselves to the *Favour* of the *Actors* [i].”

[d] Cic. *de Oratore*, l. i.

[e] Ibid.

[f] PERSIUS Sat. I.

[g] L. vii.

[h] *Inst.* l. i.[i] SENECA *Nat. Quæst.* l. vii.

There

There is a Time, when Nature struggles hard to free herself from peccant and deadly Humours. This Time was now come at ROME; but it came too late: The Body politic was expiring, and was not able to shake off the Evil: The Pantomimes were twice expelled; but still returned again [k]. At length, the barbarous Nations of the North broke in upon the dying Empire. TOTILA attacked and pillaged ROME: The degenerate Arts sunk with the degenerate City: And the Patrician Ladies, who lately had reveled amidst the Spoils of a subjected World, now begged before their own Doors.

The extravagant Passion of some of their later Emperors for the musical Arts, and these too of the most debauched and profligate Characters, particularly CALIGULA and NERO, is too well known to need a Delineation: This Essay is not intended as a *History of Facts*, but an *Investigation* of the *Causes* that produced them. On this Subject, therefore, there is one Circumstance which may demand our attention. We have seen above, that the first original Legislators turned their Attention strongly on the musical Arts; and we now find, that the abandoned Rulers of a decaying Empire adopt them with no less Eagerness: Doth not this Contrariety of Facts seem to shake some of the Principles which we have attempted to establish? So far from this, that it confirms them: For in both Instances, Music was made subservient to the Views or ruling Passions of those who led the People. The honest Legislators of early Times employed it for the Ends of public Utility; the profligate Emperors abused it to the Purposes

[k] TAC. *An.* l. xiii, xiv.

of Licentiousness. Among the former, by a legitimate Use, it became the Instrument of establishing Commonwealths: Among the latter, by a perverted Application, it shook the Foundations of Empire: ORPHEUS drew the barbarous Tribes from Theft, Adultery, and Murder, by his Songs and Lyre: NERO plundered his Patricians of their Estates to load his Musicians with Wealth; and amidst the forced Acclamations of a corrupted Theatre, violated a vestal Virgin on the Stage.

S E C T. XII.

Of the State and Separation of Music and Poetry among the polished Nations of EUROPE through the succeeding Ages.

THUS the musical and poetic Arts sunk along with the *Roman* Empire.—But Mankind, emerging from the Ruins of *Luxury, Profligacy, and Invasion*, are of a different Character from that of human Nature arising from mere *Barbarity* into *Civilization*. We have traced the natural Progress of these Arts in the *last* of these; but from the *former*, nothing consistent or steady can arise. The Views, Manners, Principles, and Passions of a furious Conqueror, meeting and mixing with those of a subdued and abandoned People, produce such a Compound of dissimilar and contending Causes, as approach in their Effects to the Appearance of mere Chance or Fortune.

But the Circumstance most worth remarking is this, that in such a Period, all the natural Seeds and Principles of the musical Arts are lost. The whole *local* Fabric of

Religion, Polity, and Morals, is commonly sunk in the general Ruin; and a barbarous Conqueror followed by an enraged Soldiery, who have left their own Country to invade another, have generally the *Vices of Savages*, without their *Virtues*.

Hence the *musical Arts* could not arise from the Ruins of the *Roman Empire*, but from the ineffectual Principle of *mere Imitation*. They wanted that *native Force and Vigour* which had given them so free and full a Growth in ancient GREECE.

Such therefore being the Birth of the *modern Poetry and Music* of EUROPE; having been the casual Offspring of the corrupted *Roman Arts*, which were themselves no more than partial Imitations of the *Greek*, in their State of Separation and Weakness; no Wonder if the *modern Transcript* be *inferior*, not only to the *Original*, but the *first Copy*.

This general Principle being given, we might perhaps end our Inquiry here: Leaving the more particular Investigation to the good Sense and Judgment of Mankind: But to give all possible Satisfaction on a Subject which may by some be regarded as a Matter of Curiosity, we shall trace the Rise and Progress of these Arts in their chief Appearances, so far as they have Relation to each other.

Before the Roman Empire fell to Ruin, its Rulers took Care, to the utmost of their Power, to extirpate the native Music of the barbarous Countries which they conquered. Of this JULIUS CÆSAR, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS and SÆTONIUS inform us. This was a high Stroke of Policy: For their native Songs being (as in ancient GREECE) the Repository of their Religious and Political System,

System, nothing could so effectually *subdue* the *Minds* of these Barbarians, as the Banishment or Destruction of their *Bards* and *Druids*. We have already seen EDWARD the First. of ENGLAND acting the same Tragedy in WALES, on the same Principle.

On the Revival of Learning, the three greater Kinds of *Poetry* were, in many Instances, necessarily *divorced* from *Music*. For the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets being the only approved *Models*, could be read and imitated by *Scholars only*. Thus, the *Art* which in ancient GREECE had been the genuine Effect of natural Enthusiasm, and aided by a native and correspondent Melody, had been delivered to the People by the inraptured Bard, could now be studied and attained only by the *sequestered Few*, who were swallowed up by a literary Application, often ignorant of the Powers of Music, and little acquainted with Society and Mankind.—Hence the *Epic Poet* (the Manners of the Times likewise forbidding [l]) could no longer appear at the Place of public Concourse, with his Lyre and festal Robes, to charm the listening Audience with his legislative Songs; but retired to the *Closet*, and with a more composed Mien delivered his Inspirations in written Verse, for the Pleasure, Admiration, and Instruction of Mankind.—This might have been indured: Because some of the general Ends of that calmer Species may be obtained by a *Home-application*. But the Misfortune was, that even *Tragedy* and *Ode*, whose End is to shake the Soul with Terror, Pity, or Joy, by a *theatrical Exhibition* [m], and the

[l] See below, Sect. xiii.

[m] It hath become a favourite Topic among certain Persons, to decry the theatrical Exhibition of Tragedy, as an Object below the Ambition of
Powers

Powers of Music;—even these, in many Instances and in different Periods, were *divorced* from their *Assistant Arts*, and became the *languid Amusement* of the *Closet*. For being often written by retired and speculative Men, unacquainted with the Workings of the human Soul, and attending only to the *external Form* and *poetic Ornaments* of the *Greek Drama*; their Vanity hath been either to *soar* or *dive* into *Obscurity*, to substitute mere *Imagery* in the Place of *Passion*, to plan and write in a *cold Style*, so far removed from Nature, as to be incapable of a *living Representation*; in a Word, to compose *Tragedies* that cannot be *acted*, and *Odes* that cannot be *sung*.

This false Taste in *Ode-writing* hath so strongly established itself in ENGLAND, that an *Ode* of the *true Character* is stiled (by Way of Distinction) *An Ode for Music*: Of this Kind we have two noble ones in our Language,

a Poet. Whether any fastidious tragic Muse hath *privately* knocked at the Door of the Theatre, and been *refused Admittance*, we shall not here *affirm*: But it belongs to our Subject to shew on what Foundation the theatrical Exhibition makes an essential Part of Tragedy; and that without it, the tragic Poem is an *imperfect Species*.

The Epic Poem not only imitates Actions, Sentiments, Characters, and Passions; but likewise delineates their chief external and attendant Circumstances of Place, Person, Voice, Countenance, Attitude, and Gesture: And hence a full and perfect Imitation ensues. In the Dramatic or Tragic Poem, little of this latter Kind can be admitted, without violating the Probability and Power of the Dialogue: On this Foundation, the Description of these external and attendant Circumstances is necessarily left to the Conduct of the *Actor*; who, in these Articles, assumes the Province of the Poet, and is a real *Imitator*. Hence a dramatic Poem, *written*, but *not represented*, is capitally defective in the great Article of *Imitation*; and is therefore a Species *essentially imperfect*.—ARISTOTLE hath overlooked this capital Distinction between the Epic and Tragic Poem, in his Comparison of these two Species. *Poet.* c. xxvi.

by

by DRYDEN and POPE: But these will be considered more at large below.

As the modern Poetry thus became often unfit for Music, so from a singular Cause the Separation was confirmed, and Music in its Turn became often unfit for Poetry. After many Centuries had passed in Darkness, GUIDO arose: And with a Force of Genius surpassing that of all his Predecessors, invented the Art of *Counter-point*, or *Composition in Parts*: Yet this very Circumstance, which seemed to promise so noble an Improvement in Music, was a strong concurrent Cause of compleating its Divorce from Poetry. For now, *instrumental* Music, having assumed a new and more inviting Form, and being ennobled by the principles of a complex and varied *Harmony*, was introduced as being of itself a *complete* Species, independent of Poetry or Song. This gave it an *artificial* and *laboured* Turn; while the Composer went in Quest of curious Harmonies, Discords, Resolutions, Fugues, and Canons; and prided himself (like the Poet) in a pompous Display of Art, to the Neglect of *Expression* and true *Pathos*. And thus modern Music, on its first Rise, was in a Manner divorced from *Poetry*, *Legislation*, and *Morals*.

These Causes sufficiently account for the present State of the two Sister Arts, in every Instance of their *total Separation*. Let us now consider them in those Situations where their Union is indeed in some Sort maintained, but this in an improper and ineffectual Manner.

The four distinct Forms in which these two Arts still maintain an imperfect Union are, 1. The common *Song* or *Canzonette*. 2. The *Opera*, or *Drama* for the Stage.
3. The

3. The *Anthem*, or *Motet*, for the Church. 4. The *Oratorio*, or *sacred Drama*.

1. The common *Song* or *Canzonette* hath sunk from the original Dignity which it maintained in ancient GREECE, from two evident Causes. First, The Separation of Music and Poetry from their important Ends, and from each other, naturally prevented the modern Poets and Musicians from considering this Species as being much worthy of their Attention. Secondly, The nobler Applications of the Song being thus relinquished and lost, no Wonder if Men of high Station and moral Dignity disdained the Practice of it (even where they had Ability) as being an Object unworthy of their Regard. Hence it hath come to pass, that this Species is hardly supposed to touch on any Subject religious, political, or moral, unless it be in *Jest* [n]. And thus the reigning Topics of the *Song* are generally *Love* and *Wine*. The French and English have adopted both these Subjects: The *Chansons à boire* of the former, and the *drinking Catches* of the latter, are Proofs of their Jollity rather than Taste: Yet they clearly display the different Characters of the two Nations. A parallel Remark might perhaps be made on their *Love-Songs*: With this Exception, however, that in a *Song* of this Kind, PURCEL hath left us one of the finest and best varied Pieces of musical Expression that ever was composed [o]: And in Justice to the present Times it must be farther observed, that in ENGLAND, this Species is

[n] There are some Exceptions to this general Observation; but they take Place chiefly among the *Vulgar*; among whom the *Ballad-Song* commonly retains its *moral* and *political* Applications.

[o] From *rosy Bowers, &c.*

now in a good Degree rescued from its former Indelicacy. The *Italians* and *Scots* have chiefly turned the *Song* on the Subject of *Love*. With Respect to the *Poetry*, the *Italian Canzonettes* are more elegantly written than the *Scotch*, though with less Nature and Passion. In the *Music* of the *Italian Canzonettes* there is little Variety: They soon disgust, by their Sameness of Expression: The *Scotch Airs* are perhaps the truest Model of artless and pathetic musical Expression, that can be found in the whole Compass of the Art. Some of them are said to have been the Composition of DAVID RIZZIO, who is supposed to have ingrafted the *Italian* Regularity and Elegance of Song, on the original wild and pathetic Manner of the *Scots*. This Tradition carries the Appearance of Truth: For the *Scotch Airs* are of two different Kinds, easily distinguishable from each other: The one *regular*, and subject to the Rules of Counterpoint: The other wild and desultory, and such as do not easily receive the Accompaniment of a Bass. The first of these may seem to have been the Composition or Reform of RIZZIO; but in Force of Expression and Pathos, the latter generally excel them: A Circumstance which proves how little the Rules of modern Counterpoint have to do with the *Powers of Music*.

The State of the *Opera* will deserve a more particular Elucidation: And to this End we must endeavour to trace it to its Origin, which lies in great Measure hid in Darkness. RICCOBONI is of Opinion that the first ever represented, was that which the *Doge* and *Senate* of VENICE exhibited for the Entertainment of HENRY the third of FRANCE, in the Year 1574 [p]. But this Ac-

[p] *Theat.* &c.

count

count is by no means satisfactory: For Sulpitius, an Italian, speaks of the *musical Drama*, as an Entertainment known in ITALY in the Year 1490 [p].

History traces the Rise of the *Opera* no farther: But a Circumstance mentioned by Sulpitius, who was a Man of Letters, may seem to lead us up to its true Origin. He is by some supposed to have been the Inventor of this *musical Drama*; but he ingenuously tells us himself, that he only *revived* it [q]. We have seen above, that the *Tragedy* of the ancient *Greeks* was accompanied with Music; that the same Union was borrowed and maintained through the several Periods of the *Roman Empire*: If therefore we suppose, what is altogether probable, that the Form of the ancient *Tragedy* had been still kept up in some retired Part of ITALY, which the Barbarians never conquered; we then obtain a fair Account of the Rise of the modern *Opera*, which hath so much confounded all Inquiry.

As VENICE was the Place where the *Opera* first appeared in Splendor, so it is highly probable, that *there* the *ancient Tragedy* had slept in Obscurity, during the Darkness of the Barbarous Ages. For while the rest of ITALY was over-run by the Nations from the North, the Seas and Morasses of VENICE preserved *Her* alone from their Incursions: Hence, History tells us, the People flocked to VENICE from every Part of ITALY: Hence the very Form of her Republic hath been maintained for thirteen hundred Years: And from these Views of *Security*, it was natural for the helpless Arts to seek an Asylum within

[p] MENETRIER *des Representations en Musique.*

[q] Ibid.

her Canals, from the Fury and Ignorance of a barbarous Conqueror.

Other Circumstances concur, to strengthen this Opinion. The *Carnaval* first appeared in Splendor, and still wears it at VENICE, beyond every other Part of ITALY: Now the *Carnaval* is, in many Circumstances, almost a Transcript of the ancient *Saturnalia* of ROME.

In the *Venetian Comedy*, the *Actor* wears a *Masque*: A palpable *Imitation*, or rather *Continuance*, of the old *Roman* Custom.

That the modern *Opera* is no more than a Revival of the old *Roman Tragedy*, and not a new-invented Species, will appear still more evident, if we consider, that it is an Exhibition altogether out of Nature, and repugnant to the universal Genius of Modern Customs and Manners. We have seen the natural Union of Poetry and Music, as they rise in the savage State; and how this Union forms the tragic Species in the natural Progression of Things. Hence we have deduced the musical Tragedies of ancient GREECE: But in ancient ROME, it appears, they arose merely from *Imitation* and *Adoption*. Nor could it be otherwise; because the *Romans* wanted the first seeds or Principles from whence the musical Tragedies of the *Greeks* arose. The same Reasoning takes Place, with Respect to the modern *Opera*: It emerged at a Time, when the general State of Manners in EUROPE could not naturally produce it. Had it been the Result from *Nature*, its Production would have been more general. It emerged in that very City, where most probably it must have lain hid: In a City, whose other Entertainments are evidently borrowed from those of ancient ROME. And if to these

2

Arguments.

Arguments we add this farther Consideration, that the Subjects of the very first *Operas* were drawn from the Fables of ancient GREECE and ROME [q], and not from the Events or Atchievements of the Times; and farther, that in their *Form*, they were exact Copies of the *ancient Drama*; these accumulated Proofs amount to near a Demonstration, that the *Italian Opera* is but the *Revival* of the old *Roman Tragedy* [r].

Such being the *Birth* of the modern *Opera*, no Wonder it inherits the *Weakness* of its *Parent*: For we have seen, that the *Roman Tragedy* never had its proper Effects, considered in a *legislative* View; having been separated from its important Ends before its Arrival from GREECE. As therefore it had declined into a mere *Amusement* when it was first adopted by ROME; and as we have seen, that in Proportion as the Roman Manners grew more dissolute, Tragedy sunk still lower in its Character, till at length it became no more than a Kind of mere *Substratum* or *Groundwork*, on which the Actors displayed their Abilities in *Singing* and *Gesticulation*; it was altogether natural that it should rise again in the same unnerved and effeminate Form.

From these Causes, therefore, we may trace all the Features of the modern *Opera*, however *unnatural* and *distorted* they may appear. The *Poem*, the *Music* and the

[q] The Subjects of the first *Operas* were APOLLO and DAPHNE, ORPHEUS and EURIDICE, ALCESTES and ATYS; which last, in the Title Page of the oldest extant Edition, is called a *musical Tragedy*.

[r] As these Circumstances prove that the *modern Opera* is a *Revival* of the *old Roman Tragedy*; so, we are led from hence to a probable Conjecture concerning the *measured Recitation* of the *Roman Tragedians*: And that it was something of the Nature of modern *Recitative*.

Performance, as they now exist in *Union*, are the manifest Effects of this spurious Origin.

First, That the *Subject* of the *Poem* should, even on its first Appearance, be drawn from Times and Countries little interesting, and *Gods* and *Wonders* and *celestial Machinery* introduced, which neither the Poet nor his Audience believed in, could only be the Effect of a *blind Principle* of *Imitation*, tending to mere *Amusement*.—The established Separation of the Poet's from the Musician's Art was productive of parallel Effects: For the Poet, ambitious only of shining in his particular Sphere, became generally more Intent on Imagery than Pathos: Or else, instead of being *principal*, he became *subservient* to the Composer's Views; from whence arose a Motley kind of Poem (calculated only for a Display of the Musician's Art) which degenerated by Degrees into a mere *Pasticcio*.

Secondly; the same Causes account for all the Absurdities of the *Musick*.—The *Recitative*, or perpetual musical Accompaniment in the declamatory Parts, is a Practice so much at Variance with modern Manners, that it extorted the following Censure from a candid Critic: “ I beg Pardon of the Inventors of the *musical Tragedy*, a Kind of Poem, as *ridiculous* as it is *new*.”—“ If there be any thing in the World that is at Variance with *tragic Action*, it is *Song*.” “ The *Opera* is the *Grotesque* of Poetry; and so much the more intolerable, as it pretends to pass for a regular Work [s].” Now if, along with DACIER, we regard the *Opera* as a modern *Invention*, this Circumstance of the perpetual musical Accompaniment is indeed *unaccountable*: But if we regard it as a mere *Imitation* or *Continuance* of the old

[s] DACIER *Rem. sur Aristote*, p. 85.

Roman Tragedy, and trace *this* upwards to its true Fountain, the Greek Drama; and again follow *this* to its original Source, the savage Song-Feast; we then see how naturally these extremes unite; and discern the rude Melody and Song of the barbarous Greek Tribes gradually melted into the Refinements of the modern Opera.—Again, as the Separation of the Poet's from the Musician's Art produced an improper Poetry; so the Separation of the Musician's from the Poet's Character was productive of improper and *unaffected* Music: For the Composer, in his Turn, intent only on *shining*, commonly wanders into unmeaning Division, and adopts either a delicate and refined, or a merely popular Music, to the Neglect of true musical Expression. Hence, too, the *Da Capo* had its natural Origin: A Practice which tends only to tire and disgust the Hearer, if he comes with an Intent of being affected by the tragic Action, or with any other View than that of listening to a Song [t].

Thirdly, with Regard to the Performance of the Opera.—The theatrical Representation is of a Piece with the Poetry and Music: For, having been regarded, from its first Rise, more as an Affair of astonishing Shew than of affecting Resemblance, it is gaudy, flaunting, and unnatural. The Singers (like the Poet and Musician) being considered merely as

[t] The *Da Capo*, which is so striking an Absurdity in the more modern Operas, was not used in those of older Date. Even COLONNA, who lived about the middle of the ~~fourteenth~~ ^{seventeenth} Century, employed it not; as appears by one of his Operas performed at the Academy in BOLOGNA, A. D. 1688. But in an Opera of Old SCARLATTI (intituled *La Teodora*) composed in 1693, the *Da Capo* is found, though not in all his Songs. After that Period, the Use of it seems to have become general: For in an Opera of GASPARINI (intituled *Il Tartaro nella China*) composed in 1715, the *Da Capo* is found in every Song.

Objects of Amusement, no Wonder if their Ambition seldom reacheth higher than to the Display of an artificial Execution.—As a Consequence of these Principles, the *Castrati* were introduced into all Sorts of Characters, in spite of Nature and Probability; and still continue to represent Heroes and Statesmen, Warriours and Women.—The flourished Close or Cadence arose naturally from the same Sources: From a total Neglect of the Subject and Expression, and an Attention to the mere Circumstance of Execution only.—The frequent *Encore*, or Demand of the repeated Performance of particular Songs was the natural Effect of the same Causes. No Audience demands the Repetition of a pathetic Speech in Tragedy, though performed in the finest Manner, because their Attention is turned on the Subject of the Drama: Thus if the Audience were warmed by the Subject of an Opera, and took Part in the main Action of the Poem, the Encore, instead of being desirable, would generally disgust: But the whole being considered as a mere musical Entertainment, and the tragic Action commonly forgot, the artificial Performance of a Song became naturally a chief Object of Admiration, and the Repetition of it a chief Object of Request.

Thus the whole Farrago of the *modern Opera* seems resolved into its clear and evident Principles: And hence the *Subject*, the *Music*, the *Action*, the *Dress*, the *Execution*, *Decorations*, and *Machinery*, are such a glaring Compound of trifling and absurd *Improbabilities*, that the *tragic Influence* is overlaid and lost; nor is it possible for any impartial and rational Spectator to take Part in the dramatic Action, or be moved by the *ill-feigned Distress*.

Let

Let not the Writer be thought to derogate from the Ability or Merit of all the *Poets, Musicians, and Singers*, who devote their Labours to the *Opera*. He knows there are Exceptions in each of these Departments [t]. Neither let him be supposed to censure the *Opera*, as an Entertainment unworthy all Attention, considered as a mere Amusement: On the contrary, whoever is inclined to hear a Succession of *Symphonies* and *Songs*, set off with all the Decorations that can dazzle the Eye, and all the Refinement of Execution that can enchant the Ear, let him attend the *Opera*, and he will find his Taste highly gratified. But this Inquiry aims at a far more important Purpose: Its Intention is, to point out the Union, the *Powers* and *primary Ends* of *Poetry* and *Music*: And when the modern *Opera* is viewed in this Light, the Writer presumes, its Defects are too conspicuous to admit a Vindication.

'Tis said, indeed, that the Weakness and Impropriety of this Entertainment is chiefly found in foreign Countries, where the *Italian* Poetry and Music are not *native*; but that in ITALY, its Power and Influence are considerable. This the sensible ROUSSEAU affirms in his Dissertation on the *French* and *Italian* Music. But particular and well attested Facts are stubborn Things, and will not bend to general Affirmations: And of this Fact, the concurrent Testimony of all observant Travellers assures us; That in the *Italian* Theatre, the Seats of the chief Hearers resemble so many separate Apartments, where the Nobility sit retired, conversing on indifferent Subjects, and regardless of the Progress of the Drama, till some celebrated Singer

[t] Some of METASTASIO's and QUINAULT's Operas are fine Tragedies in three Acts.

comes upon the Stage; and then, and then only, ensues a Burst of *Rapture*, of *Bravo's*, *Encores*, and *Applause*. The Passion, therefore, thus expressed on this Occasion, is evidently the Effect, not of a true *Feeling* of the *Subject* or tragic *Action*, which is entirely *disregarded*, but (as in the later Periods of ancient ROME) of an *extravagant Admiration* of the *Singer's Ability* and *Art*.

3. The modern State of the *Anthem*, *Motet*, or *Hymn*, comes next under Consideration.—With Respect to the sacred Poetry that hath ever been used in the *Christian Church*, it is various in different Countries. It appears that in ITALY, it hath been an allowed Custom from the earliest Ages, to permit the Admission of *Hymns* or *Motets* as a Part of divine Service. This Practice, in Course of Time, produced wild and incoherent Compositions: For the poetic Character being separated from the musical; the *Composers*, little skilled in the Art of Poetry, and yet considering themselves as *Principals*, have often formed their Motets of Sentiments and Passions *inconsistent* with each other [u]. Another Separation here, too, ensued: I mean the total Separation of *Sense* from *Sound*: For these Motets are generally composed in the *Latin* Tongue, and therefore *unintelligible* to the greatest Part of those who bear them.

As to the Church Music of ITALY and its once appendant Provinces, it hath assumed a Variety of Shapes, and in different Times hath undergone great Changes. In the second Century, it appears that the pagan Melody was

[u] For an Instance of this Kind, take the following, which is one of CARISSIMI's most celebrated *Motets*: "Peccavi, Domine, & miserere mei; te diligit Anima mea, te semper quæsit Cor meum; Ergo, mi Jesu, mi Creator, mi Salvator, dimitte Culpas, parce Peccatis meis," &c.

adopted,

adopted, and allowed under certain Restrictions of Modesty and Decorum [w]. It was afterwards established at CONSTANTINOPLE by CONSTANTINE; then at ALEXANDRIA, by ATHANASIUS. This Establishment was found to have bad Effects, through the effeminate Genius of the Music then in Vogue, and was therefore banished from the Church of ALEXANDRIA. No Wonder, if it was infected with the Genius of the pagan Music of the Times, which we find to have been dissolute and enervate [x]. From the general Prevalence of this debauched Taste, AUGUSTINE was tempted to banish Music from the Church: But AMBROSE reformed the Office of the Church of MILAN; and established a Melody austere in the Extreme: This was improved by GREGORY; whose Melody succeeded, and was established in the following Century: And now, the Devastations of the Barbarians coming on, this *Plain Song* naturally lay hid unchanged in the Christian Church, during the succeeding Ages of Ignorance and Cruelty.

On the faint Revival of Arts in the eleventh Century, the Appearance of GUIDO gave a new Genius to the Music of the *Roman Church*. For according to the natural Tendency of his Invention of the Art of *Counterpoint*, GASSENDI tells us that all the World now run mad after an artificial Variety of Parts. About four hundred Years after GUIDO, the debauched Art once more passed over into ITALY from GREECE: Certain *Greeks*, who escaped from the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, brought a refined and enervate species of Music to ROME: Where, meeting with a congenial Effeminacy, under the gay and dissolute

[w] JUST. MART. *Quæst* 107.

[x] See above, Sect. xi.

Pontificate of the Princes of the House of MEDICI, it ran into such an Extreme of Indecorum, that *Pope PIUS the Fourth* formed a Resolution to expel it from the Church. *PALÆSTRINI* had the Art and Address to divert this impending Storm; by composing some Pieces of such a majestic Gravity, as convinced the *Pope* that Music thus truly sacred might be made subservient to the noblest Purposes. This Severity of Composition still remains in the *Pope's Chapel*; where, ever since the Reform last mentioned, even musical Instruments are not admitted, for fear of creating new Abuses. But the common Genius of their modern Church Music or Motets is altogether different: It is infected with the same Puerility of Style with their Opera Airs: An unbounded Compass, extravagant Divisions on single Syllables, a Play upon particular Words to the Neglect of the general Tenor of the Song, form its general Character. How can it be otherwise? When the same Musicians, (and these seldom much interested in the Subject, or acquainted with the Language of their sacred Poetry) generally compose both for the *Opera* and the *Church*. Some noble Exceptions, however, may be found to this general Remark; Of these, *CARISSIMI* is one: But the most eminent Instance is in *BENEDETTO MARCELLO* a noble *Venetian*; many of whose Psalms, if we consider their Expression either as sublime, tender, graceful, or joyous, clearly excel the vocal Compositions of all his Countrymen, in Variety, Simplicity, and Truth [y].

With Respect to the *Performance* of their Church Music in ITALY, it hath naturally too much followed the Genius

[y] It must be observed, that *MARCELLO's* Compositions are not set to the *Latin Translation*; but to an *Italian Paraphrase* of the Psalms.

of the Art itself. They have no established Choirs of Priests: The *Castrati* are the chief Singers in the Church: In ROME, these Performers go round the City in Bands, as they are accidentally hired; and bring no great Credit to the sacred Music, either by their Characters or personal Appearance. The Truth is, Church Music, in ITALY, like that of the *Opera*, is considered more as a Matter of Amusement than Devotion. Hence the Decorations and musical Exhibitions of their Churches, in the Time of *Carnaval*, approach towards those of the Theatre at an *Opera*: And the general Attention is so far from being turned on sacred Subjects, that it is chiefly exercised in *Debates* and *Quarrels* about the Excellence and Superiority of the performing *Castrati*.

Such then have been the *Separations* and *Progressions* of sacred Poetry and Music in the Mother Country, from whence they have been chiefly derived and transmitted to the rest of EUROPE. However, as they wear an Aspect somewhat different in FRANCE and ENGLAND, it may be proper to point out the chief Variations, together with the Causes that have produced them.

In FRANCE the sacred Poetry of their *Motets* or *Hymns* is, in its general Turn, much superior to that of ITALY: For in FRANCE it is most commonly selected and borrowed, if not transcribed, from the *sacred Writings*. This insures to it a considerable Degree of Propriety, Dignity, and Force. How this came to pass, we may learn from an Authority no less than that of the great COLBERT; who, in his political Testament, acknowledges this among other Obligations which the Church of FRANCE hath owed to their Intercourse with the *Protestants*, that it hath given them a

more general and intimate Acquaintance with the holy Scriptures.—Their sacred Music, though not possessed of that Grace which the best Italian may truly boast, yet it may be justly regarded as the best that FRANCE hath produced; because it is set to a much better musical Language than their own: For the *Latin* Tongue hath a Variety of Accent and Measure, which adapts itself happily to musical Expression; whereas the *French* Language is hoarse, ill-accented, or of ambiguous Accent, void of Harmony and Variety, and incurably discordant: But still, the Composition of their *Motets* in the *Latin* Tongue is attended with the same absurd Consequence as in ITALY; that the People in general do not understand them.—In one Respect, however, their sacred Music hath not departed from its proper Character so far as the modern *Italian*; I mean, in its Gravity of Stile: And this, it seems probable, hath been owing in Part to the established Choirs in FRANCE, which are composed of regular *Ecclesiastics*, and therefore not so easily seduced to adopt a light and flaunting Species of Music, as the wandering Bands of *Italian Castrati*. Another concomitant Cause of this reserved and sober Music may probably have been the Mixture of the Protestant Party in FRANCE: For these (according to the Genius of every new-reformed Sect) adopted a grave and simple Melody: They were therefore a salutary Check upon the established Church; tending to the Prevention of open and scandalous Abuses.—Lastly, with Regard to the Article of *Performance*, the *French* have greatly the Advantage in Point of Propriety and Decorum; for, as we have observed, their Choirs are composed of an established Priesthood, who attend to this

4

peculiar

peculiar Profession; whose Characters are of higher Consideration than those of the *Italian Bands*; and whose Learning, as well as Religion and Manners, naturally lead them to a more reverent and devout Execution of their sacred Office.

IN ENGLAND the State of Things is in some Respects better, and in some Respects worse than in FRANCE. Our sacred Poetry, sung in the *Cathedrals*, is transcribed strictly from the *holy Scriptures*, and most commonly from the Book of Psalms: Except only the *Te Deum*, which is one of the most ancient and approved Hymns of the Church. This Restriction, by which no Hymns of new Invention are admitted as a Part of divine Service, we owe to the grand Reformation: This opened to us the Fountain of the sacred Writings, which had before been locked up, as in ITALY. From the same Cause, our *Anthems* are likewise given in our own Tongue; which though not so various as the *Latin*, is yet generally round and sonorous, clearly accented, and capable of being adapted to a Variety of musical Expression. But while we justly admire the *sacred Poetry* of our *Cathedral* Service, must we not lament the State of it in our *parochial Churches*, where the cold, the meagre, the disgusting *Dulness* of STERNHOLD and his *Companions*, hath quenched all the *poetic Fire* and *devout Majesty* of the *royal Psalmist*.

The Character of our *Cathedral Music* is of a *middle Kind*: Not of the first Rank in the great Quality of *Expression*; nor yet so improper or absurd, as to deserve a general Reprobation. Too studious a Regard to *Fugues* and an artificial *Counterpoint* appears in the *old*, and too *airy* and *light* a Turn, to the Neglect of a grand *Simplicity*,

city, in the *new*: Two Extremes which tend equally, though from opposite Causes, to destroy *musical Expression* [y]. Yet, there are Passages in PURCEL's Anthems, which may fairly stand in Competition with those of any Composer, of whatever Country. There are others who may justly claim a considerable Share of Praise. HANDEL stands eminent, in his Greatness and Sublimity of Style. —Our *parochial Music*, in general, is solemn and devout: Much better calculated for the Performance of a whole Congregation, than if it were more broken and elaborate. In Country Churches, wherever a more artificial Kind hath been imprudently attempted, Confusion and Dissonance are the general Consequence.

The *Performance* of our Cathedral Music is defective: We have no grand established Choirs of Priests, as in FRANCE; whose Dignity of Character might in a proper Degree maintain That of the divine Service. This Duty is chiefly left to a Band of *Lay-Singers*, whose Rank and Education are not of Weight to preserve their Profession from Contempt. The Performance of our parochial Psalms, though in the Villages it be often as mean and meagre as the Words that are sung; yet in great Towns, where a good Organ is skilfully and devoutly employed by a sensible Organist, the Union of this Instrument with the Voices of a well-instructed Congregation, forms one of the grandest Scenes of unaffected Piety that human Nature can afford. The Reverse of this appears, when a Company of illiterate People form themselves into a *Choir* distinct from the Congregation. Here Devotion is lost,

[y] For a full View of this Subject, see Mr. AVISON's *Essay on musical Expression*.

J. W. Croft

between the impotent *Vanity* of those who *ſing*, and the ignorant *Wonder* of those who *liſten*.

4. The *Oratorio* is a *dramatic Representation* of ſome Story taken from the ſacred Scriptures, or the Records of the Church, accompanied with Muſic. Its Origin is attributed to the barbarous Period of the *Croiſades*; when Companies of *Pilgrims*, returning from JERUSALEM, formed themſelves into *Choirs*, and ſung the Praises and Achievements of Saints and Martyrs [z]. Thus it is ſaid to have ariſen and been eſtabliſhed in FRANCE. But how it could aſſume the Form of *dramatic Representation accompanied with Muſic*, is hard to ſay, without ſuppoſing it (like the *Opera*) to have been the Effect of an *Imitation*. On this principle we may trace it to a probable Origin. It is well known, that the Pagan Shews were often exhibited in the Temples, or at the Tombs of deceased Heroes: 'Tis no leſs certain, that the early Chriſtians adopted the Practice, with a due Change of Objects, either from a mere Imitation of the Pagan Cuſtom, or with a View to the Conversion of Idolators. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural, than that the muſical Accompanyment ſhould remain, though the Objects were changed. Of this Mode of Piety we have a clear Inſtance in a Diſcourſe of AUGUSTINE, who condemned the Practice; where, ſpeaking of CYPRIAN'S Tomb, he ſays, "Not many Years ago, the Petulance of the Dancers had invaded this ſacred Place, where the Martyr's Body is laid: All Night long prophane Songs were ſung, and were accompanied with theatrical Geſticulations [a]."

[z] MENETRIER *des Reſent. en Muſique.*
in nat. Divi CYPRIANI.

[a] AUG. *Serm.*

Now

Now supposing this Practice to have still subsisted in some remote or obscure Part of ASIA or GREECE, it might naturally be adopted by Companies of devout Pilgrims, in their Peregrinations to the holy Land: And thus the sacred musical Drama would be *naturally produced*.

+ In ITALY the Origin of the *Oratorio* is said to have been more recent, and clearly the Effect of an Imitation. We are told, that the famous PHILIP DE NERY, a Native of FLORENCE, and Founder of the Congregation of the Priests of the *Oratory* in the Year 1540, observing the strong Passion of the *Roman* People for *musical Representations*, invented the *sacred Drama*, with a View to their Improvement in Piety. Hence it is said to have received the Name of *Oratorio*, which it still wears. The *Opera*, already established at VENICE and ROME, was his Model: He had little more to do, than to change the Objects from *Pagan* to *Christian*: And thus from ITALY it spread into other Parts of EUROPE [b].

The capital Impropriety and Defect of this Entertainment, while it wears the *dramatic* Form, is the perpetual Recitative or musical Accompaniment in the interlocutory Parts, similar to that of the *Opera*. This is a Circumstance so repugnant to modern Manners, and therefore so far out of Nature, that no Audience can be much affected by the Representation, or take Part in an Action so improbably feigned. The necessary Effect of This glaring Improbability is a general Inattention to the *Subject*, and a Regard centered chiefly on the *Music* and *Execution*.

Of this Species of *Poem* the *Italians* have some fine ones, written by METASTASIO. They cannot perhaps be rank-

[b] BOURDELOT *Hist. de la Musique*, tom. i. p. 256.

ed in the first Class, either for Sublimity or Pathos. But Elegance of Style, Simplicity of Plan and Conduct, animated by a noble Spirit of Devotion, prevails throughout these Compositions. The *Music* of the *Oratorio* in ITALY too much resembles That of the *Opera*: Simplicity, Majesty, and devout Expression, are sacrificed to the Composer's Vanity or ill-directed Art.

The *Performance* of this *sacred Drama* in ITALY is said to be attended with many of the same Circumstances of Impropriety with that of the *Opera*, from which it had its Origin: All tending to render it rather a Subject of mere Amusement, than of Piety and Virtue. Add to this, that being performed in the Churches, it may be questioned whether the Drama be dignified, or the Temple prophaned, by so inadequate a Representation.

In FRANCE, I do not find the *Oratorio* is now in Use: Its first rude Form produced *Comedy* and *Tragedy* in that Kingdom: But the Parent seems to have died at their Birth [c].

In ENGLAND, this *sacred Drama* is in some Respects *well*, in others, *ill* conducted. Next to the perpetual musical Accompaniment, the leading Impropriety hath arisen from an entire *Separation* of the *Poet's* and *Musician's Office*. Even when the *Poet* remains *principal*, this Separation tends to bad Effects: But to compleat the Evil, the *Musician's* Character hath here, in many Instances, assumed the *Precedence*; and the *Poet* become *subservient* to him, as his *Director*. How this came to pass, may be easily explained. This Kind of Poem being unknown in ENG-

[c] BOILEAU, *Art Poet.*

LAND when HANDEL arrived; and that great Musician being the first who introduced the *Oratorio*; it became a Matter of Necessity, that he should employ some Writer in his Service. Now this being a Degradation, to which Men of Genius would not easily submit, he was forced to apply to *Verseifiers* instead of *Poets*. Thus the Poem was the Effect either of Hire or Favour, when it ought to have been the voluntary Emanation of Genius. Hence, most of the Poems he composed to, are such, as would have sunk and disgraced any other Music than his own.

But although his exalted Genius bore itself up against this Weight of Dulness; yet such a leading Defect could not fail to have essential Effects on the Musician's Art. For although no Man ever possessed greater Powers of musical Expression; yet, when the Writer gave him sometimes little, and sometimes nothing to express, the main Foundation of his Art failed him: He was in the Situation of a great Painter, who should be destined to give Life by Colours, to a dead and unmeaning Design [d]. Nay, even where any Degree of poetical Expression happened to give Play to his expressive Powers, yet still, the general

[d] The MESSIAH is an Exception to this general Remark: Though that grand Musical Entertainment is called an *Oratorio*, yet it is not *dramatic*; but properly a Collection of *Hymns* or *Anthems* drawn from the sacred Scriptures: In strict Propriety, therefore, it falls under another Class of Composition, which we have already considered. — The *Oratorio* of SAMSON is properly *dramatic*: But the Poem is so much changed in the Attempt towards accommodating it to Music, that it can hardly be regarded as the Work of MILTON. — The L'ALLEGRO and IL PENSEROSO are two elegant Poems; and are finely set to Music by HANDEL: But being merely *descriptive*, and in no Degree *pathetic*, they cannot be ranked among the highest Forms of Poetry; nor could they give Play to his highest Powers of Expression.

Composition.

Composition being unconnected, weak, and unaffecting, there could be neither Contrast nor Succession of pathetic Songs and Choirs; which, when properly united in one great Subject, heighten each other by a continued Progression, like the successive Scenes of a *well-plan'd Tragedy*. Had HANDEL'S Airs and Choirs been composed in this connected Manner, and the Probability of the Representation in other Respects preserved, their Effect had been proportionable. At present, being often disjoined, and deprived of that Connexion which ought to arise from the Poet's Art, they lose all the Force which an Accumulation of Passion would have produced. They stand single: While in a well-conducted Poem, the Effect of every *succeeding* Song or Choir would be heightened by the Power of the *preceding*.

But while we pay all due Regard to the Memory of this great Musician; and acknowledge, nay maintain, that his Compositions often arise to the highest Pitch of *Sublimity* and *Pathos*; critical Justice demands some farther Remarks on this Subject, for the Sake of future Artists.—As a necessary Consequence, therefore, of the *Separation* of the *Poet's* and *Musician's* Province, and of his too great Attention to the *latter*; his Music is sometimes improperly conducted, even where it is not influenced by the Defects of the Poem. From this Separation, in which he only complied with the established Practice of the Times, the following incidental Defects naturally arose. 1. Too much musical Division upon single Syllables, to the Neglect of the Sense and Meaning of the Song.— 2. A partial Imitation of incidental Words, instead of a proper Expression of the ruling Sentiments; even when such Words and Sentiments happen to be con-

trary to each other.—3. Solo Songs often too much lengthened, without the Intervention of the Choir, to inspire and sustain them: Especially the *Da Capo* is almost in every Instance of bad Effect, as it renders the first and capital Part of the Song *insipid* by an *unmeaning Repetition*.—4. Choirs sometimes too much lengthened, without the Intervention of single Songs or Duets, for the necessary Repose of the Ear, which is apt to be fatigued and disgusted by such a long-continued and forcible Impression.—5. Choirs sometimes (though seldom) calculated more for the Display of the Composer's Art, in the Construction of *Fugues* and *Canons*, than for a natural Expression of the Subject.—6. The *Choir* in many Instances (and the *single Song*, in some) not *sudden* enough in its Intervention; being generally *prepared* by a correspondent Symphony of instrumental Music; which creates Expectation and Presentiment, destroys Surprise, and thus *lessens* the *Impression* and *Effect*.

+ Instances might be produced of all these Defects, in the Compositions of this great Master: But they arose not so much from Himself, as from the Period in which he lived.

Therefore the Writer chuseth to cast them into Shades, referring them to the Observation and Regard of musical Professors rather than seem to fix a Mark of Disrespect on any particular Composition of a Man whose exalted Genius he reveres. And upon the whole, his *Airs*, *Duets*, and *Choirs*, as they surpass every thing yet produced, in Grandeur and Expression; so, they will ever be the richest Fountain for *Imitation* or *Adoption*; and, even singly taken, will justly command the Regard and Admiration of all succeeding Ages.

The

The *Performance* of the *Oratorio* in ENGLAND, under its present defective State, in some Respects may be censured; in others, is to be approved. The Exhibition of the Choir and accompanying Band is not only decent, but grand and striking: A becoming Gravity attends it, both among the Performers and the Audience. The *Airs* and *Choirs* are often sung with a Decorum not unsuitable to the Dignity of the Occasion. On the other Hand, there are Defects which naturally arise from the *Separation* of the *Performer's* from the *Poet's* and *Musician's* Art.—The Singers are not always so animated in their Manner, as to create a Belief in the Audience (whenever a true poetic and musical Expression are united) that they feel the Sentiments they express. If a grand Simplicity of Performance were still more studied, it would give an additional Lustre to their Talents. Above all, the *flourished Close* or *Cadence* is below the Dignity of the *sacred Drama*, and absolutely destructive of all true musical Expression.

Thus we have traced the *Rise, Union, Power, Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music, together with the Causes of these several Gradations; from their first Appearance in the savage State down to their present Forms in the more polished Nations of EUROPE.*

S E C T. XIII.

Of the possible Re-union of Poetry and Music.

IT remains now to consider the Circumstances in which, and the means by which, 'tis possible, that the Arts of Poetry and Music may again be powerfully and effectually united, after these Separations have taken Place.

The

The *Legislator's* and *Bard's* Character cannot again be *generally* and *fully united*. We have seen, they naturally separate in an early Period of Civilization: And the Departments become so distinct, as to create a general Incompatibility and Repugnance too clear to need an Illustration. But although the Legislator cannot generally maintain the poetic and musical Character, he may still continue to *protect*, and sometimes even to *possess* it: And when Poetry and Music are united in their proper Ends, there are few *secondary Accomplishments* which do truer Honour even to the highest Stations. It was indeed a ridiculous Vanity in a late *Emperor* to sing in an Opera; as it was in LOUIS the Fourteenth to dance on a parallel Occasion; because, in these Instances, the Arts were separated from their Important Ends. But it was a noble Example in CHARLEMAGNE, when he dignified his Choir, by joining them in the public Act of Religion, and singing divine Service in his imperial Robes. HENRY the Second, and FRANCIS the First, of FRANCE; CHARLES the Great, of GERMANY; ALFRID the Great, of ENGLAND; were all distinguished, not only by their *Love* and *Protection* of the musical and poetic Arts, but by their *Proficiency* in them, as applied to their highest Ends.

And as the Legislator may still incidentally retain a Part of the Poet's Dignity; so the Poet, though no longer a Legislator, may still occasionally exert his salutary Power, by his Influence on the Passions of the Soul.—CHARLES the Ninth of FRANCE (who not only composed and performed Church Music, but writ elegant Verses) addressed a little Poem to RONSARD, which does equal Honour to the *Prince* and the *Poet*. And as it so nobly asserts the

Dignity of the musical and poetic Arts, and points at their original Alliance with the legislative Character, the following Citation seems to claim a Place under this Article.

*Ton Esprit enflammé d'une celeste Ardeur,
Eclatte par soy-meme, & moy par ma Grandeur.---
Ta Lyre qui ravit par de si doux Accords
T'asservit les Esprits, dont je n'ay que le Corps :
Elle t'en rend le Maitre, & te sçait introduire,
Où la plus fier Tyran ne peut avoir d'Empire..*

The *Poet's* and *Musician's* Office cannot probably be again united in their full and general Power. For in their present refined State, either of their Arts separately considered, is of such *Extent*, that although they may incidentally meet in one Person, they cannot often be found together.—One Expedient there is, indeed, by which the two Arts may be practically united by the same Person. That is, if the *Poet* select and adapt proper *Music* to his Poem; or the *Musician* select and adapt proper *Poetry* to his Music. Let us then consider, which of these Methods is most likely to succeed, in uniting the two Arts *effectually*. Now, though we suppose the Musician to be of sufficient Ability to distinguish *good* Poetry from *bad*; we must farther observe, that to collect various Passages from various Poets, and form them into one *whole* with Propriety and Force, would be a Task difficult, if not impossible: For the Expressions of Poetry are *particular*, and unalterably *appropriated* to their Subject: They are therefore generally incapable of a second Application. The Fact is quite otherwise in Music: For here, the Expressions are *general* and *vague*: it is the *Poetry* to which they are applied, which fixeth and gives them their *particular Expression*.

pression. Therefore, a Selection of various Pieces may be made, and united in one *whole*, with Propriety and Effect. This Union is indeed sometimes made in an unmeaning Way, in what the *Italians* call a *Pasticio*: Where we commonly see a Series of Songs thrown together, without Connexion or Design. But if we suppose a Poem properly conducted, and adapted to Music of the first Excellence, in Subserviency to the Genius of the Poem; 'tis plain, that the Music so applied may acquire a Force of Expression more powerful in the *second* Application than in the *first*. As (to resume a former Allusion) the same Kind of *Colours* may acquire a stronger Effect, by being employed on a *forcible* than an *insipid* Drawing. This is an *Union* far easier to *attempt*, than to *accomplish*. However; thus much it seemed proper to remark, lest every Endeavour of this Kind should be regarded as a mere *Pasticio*.

The *Singer's* Profession can seldom be united with that of the *Poet*, and not generally with that of the *Musician*. The same Cause will maintain the Separation here, as in the poetic and musical Professions. The Arts, in their present refined and complicated State, separately demand such continued Application and various Qualities, as seldom meet in the same Person.—'Tis the Performer's Province, therefore, in this State of Separation, to conform to the Genius of the *Poem* and the *Music*. As the *Musician* is subordinate to the *Poet*, so the Performer is subordinate to *Both*.

The *Epic* Poem cannot be again united with *Music*. The Reasons may be collected from the preceding Parts of this Dissertation. The long Narrations, the frequent Dialogue, the Mixture of calm Description and unimpassioned

passioned Sentiment, all these are clearly incompatible with the musical Alliance, unless where long-continued Custom, and a Pre-Establishment drawn from savage Manners, had produced and confirmed an Union. But this, once broken, can never be effectually restored: For it must ever want that Foundation of *Habit*, on which it first arose, and gained its Power [d].

The *Tragic* Poem can never again be powerfully united with Music. This repugnance ariseth from the same Cause with the last. For here, the continued musical Accompaniment, mixing itself with the dramatic Character and the perpetual Dialogue, forms a *whole* so incompatible with modern Manners, and so far out of known Nature, as destroys that Probability which is the first Foundation of a true Pathos.

The *Ode*, or *hymnal* Species, may be again properly and forcibly united with Music. We have already seen the Foundation on which this Species is more universally allied with Melody than any other [e]. The great Mean of their powerful Union must be a pathetic and correspondent Simplicity of Composition in Both.—With Respect to the pathetic Simplicity of the *Ode*; although the obscure, the learned, the cold, the florid, the wordy, the amusing Style, hath been too generally adopted by the Moderns; yet this false Manner is not so strongly established, as to preclude all Possibility of a general Reform: For we find, that where the Poem is written in the simple, intelligible, and pathetic Form, it is more generally approved (except only by *mere Scholars* who are ignorant of Nature) than

[d] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 10.

[e] Sect. vi. Art. 17.

the opposite Manner of false Refinement. In Proof of this, we need only alledge the two noble Odes of POPE and DRYDEN; which the world in general understand, feel, and admire.

+ A *simple* and *pathetic Melody* may be no less successfully adopted, and applied to Poetry. This is evident, from the incidental and frequent Practice of the greatest Masters. HANDEL, MARCELLO, BONONCINI, CORELLI, GEMINIANI, and their best Disciples, are often admirable in the pathetic Simplicity of Song: More especially they are so, when they are fortunate enough to forget the Ostentation and Parade of Art. The Success is answerable to their Desert: For this Simplicity of Style is admired beyond the artificial, by *All*, except only a *Few*, whose Taste (like that of the mere *Scholar-Tribe*.) is debauched by their own false Refinements [*f*].

+ [*f*] Here it may be proper to point out, on what Foundation a *simple Melody* is more *pathetic* than a *complex* and *artificial*. 1. In the Expression of the Passions, Nature doth not offer musical Sounds to the human Ear. For though the natural Tones of *Grief* and *Joy* (the two Passions which are most effectually expressed by Music) approach nearer to musical Precision than any other, yet still they are in a certain Degree inconcinuous and unmusical. 2. As the Tones of the Passions are in some Degree unmusical, so are they generally more simple in their Composition or Succession, than the Tones which are commonly employed to form a regular Melody. From the first of these Remarks it follows, that all musical Expression of the Passions must be *imperfect*: For the musical Sounds not being found in Nature, if the Artist strictly imitates the Sounds he hears, they will be unmusical; if he varies from Nature, so as to make them musical, the Imitation will be defective. Yet Imagination hath a Power of imposing its impressions on Reason, in a certain Degree. This we find at the proper Representation of a Tragedy; where, though the Scenery, the Persons, the Dresses, the Composition, and other accompanying Objects, are not a precise Transcript from Nature, that is, though the Imitation be defective, yet still it is highly affecting: But if the Representation
Yet

Yet there is one Circumstance, in which modern Poetry and Music, though both reduced to their full Simplicity, cannot obtain that perfect Union which they held in ancient GREECE. The Numbers of the Poem and the Mea-

departs from Nature beyond a certain Degree, Reason then revolts, and the affecting Power is lost: And thus musical Imitation, though imperfect in a certain Degree, still boasts its Power: If imperfect *beyond* a certain Degree, its affecting Power is lost. But as it follows from the second Remark, that the farther musical Sounds depart from *Simplicity*, the farther they depart from *Nature*; so, the Consequence is clear, that a *simple Melody* (though an imperfect Imitation) may be *pathetic*; while a *complex* and *artificial* Melody (by departing from Nature beyond a certain Degree) will entirely *lose* its *affecting Power*.

This naturally leads to the Consideration of a mysterious Circumstance, which lies yet unaccounted for, at the very Foundation of musical Expression. The Fact is this; that “musical Sounds which are employed to express Passions (as Grief or Joy) by an *imperfect Imitation*, are often “*more affecting* than the *natural or perfect Voice* of these Passions, when “given without musical Intonations.”—It seems not easy to assign a clear and sufficient Cause for this Appearance. Let the following Conjectures have what Weight they may.—1. Have not musical Sounds a mechanical Power over the human Frame, by which they awaken it into a higher Degree of *Sensibility* and *Sympathy*, than it possesseth in its more *cool* and *torpid* State?—2. Are we not generally so constituted, as to sympathize much more strongly with those in whom we find amiable Qualities, than their Opposites? And as Pity melts the Soul to Love, so doth not Love melt the Soul to Pity?—3. Doth not a *sweet Voice*, like a *fine Countenance*, create a strong *Prejudice* in *Favour* of its *Possessor*, and induce a *Belief* of *amiable* inherent *Qualities*?—4. May not the Voice and Figure of a distressed or joyous Object be so horrid or uncouth, ridiculous or ugly, as in a great Measure to lessen, if not totally to destroy the Sympathy of those who hear and see it?—If these Observations be true, then by carrying the Voices or Expressions of Grief or Joy into sweeter Tones and higher Degrees of Melody than they possess in Nature, yet still preserving the Resemblance so far as not to destroy Probability, may we not, on the Principles here given, create a higher Degree of Affection and Sympathy, than the natural Voice of the Passions can give?

ture of the Music will inevitably sometimes clash. That Variety of Feet with which the Greek Tongue abounded, gave such Play to the Musician's Art, in adapting a *various* and *correspondent Melody*, as no living Language can boast. For Want of this Variety of Feet, there is generally a *dead Uniformity* in the Structure of modern Verse. The musical Rythm or Measure, therefore, must either want the necessary *Variety*, or must *sometimes* be at Variance with the poetic Numbers.

The Arts of Poetry and Music, thus properly united and improved, may possibly by Degrees be made a Part of *Education*, and applied to the Culture of the youthful Mind, in Subjects *religious, political, and moral*. This is a large Field of Observation, which at present it may be more prudent rather to *open* than to *tread*. In Favour of this Opinion, we may recollect the wonderful Powers of these united Arts, exhibited above, not only in the Scenes of savage Nature, but among the civilized Republics of ancient GREECE. And as we possess a nobler System of Religion, Polity, and Morals, than they could ever boast; so the Application of the Sister Arts to these, under a strict Subordination to Truth, might seem to promise the noblest Consequences in the Education of Youth. Yet on the other Hand, it must be owned, that under the present State of Manners, and the established Forms of Education, this event is rather to be wished than hoped for. Instead, therefore, of urging a Theory which might be regarded as visionary and chimerical; the Writer will for the present content himself with pointing out, "In what Respects
" the four principal Kinds, in which Poetry and Music
" are now united, may be either improved in their Form,
" or more effectually directed to their proper Ends."

I. The

1. The first of these, the common *Song* or *Canzonette*, may perhaps be judged an Object too inconsiderable for any serious Proposal of a Reform. But the Writer will not be ashamed to follow the Example of the greatest Authors among the ancient *Greeks*, in recommending the early Practice of a proper domestic Music, as tending powerfully to sooth the discordant Passions; to influence the Taste, and fix the morals of Youth. If we reflect, how apt the youthful Ear is to catch musical Impressions, and how open the Heart to every Impression so forcibly convey'd, it cannot be regarded as a Matter of Indifference (among those who understand the Force of early Habits) whether these first impressions be *properly* or *improperly* directed. It may seem a Paradox, though perhaps a certain Truth, that the future and leading Colour of the Passions, in both Sexes, hath often been determined by a *Song*. Poets and Musicians, therefore, would do themselves the truest Honour, if they would religiously abstain from lending the attractive Colours of their respective Arts to the Embellishment of Licentiousness and Vice.

The Writer would not subject himself to such an Imputation of Ignorance, as to suggest the Possibility of renewing the old *Grecian* Practice, when Men of the first Rank and Dignity disdain'd not to grace the Feast with Songs *religious, political, and moral*; with the Celebration of *Gods, Heroes, and Virtues*: At the very Mention of this obsolete Practice, he sees Ridicule pouring in from every Quarter. 'Tis enough to hope from the present *fashionable* World, that they will *abstain* from *Songs* of an *opposite* Nature.

As the practicable Utility of the common *Song* or *Canzonette* seems to lie chiefly among the younger ranks, an easy and familiar Simplicity of Style and Manner seems peculiarly its proper Character. To this ought to be added (where the Subject will admit) a certain Festivity and Brilliancy of Taste; that the most attractive Colours of the Arts may be thrown on Virtue; and Benevolence, Generosity, and Greatness of Soul, may habitually mix themselves with domestic and social Amusement.

2. The *Anthem*, with Respect to its *Subject*, neither needs nor admits Improvement; being drawn from the sacred Scriptures [g]. A proper *Selection* of Words for Music is indeed a Work of Importance here: And though in many Instances this be well made, yet it were to be wished, that some superior Judgment would *oversee*, and sometimes (*negatively* at least) *direct* the Composer, for the Prevention of *Improprieties*. A parallel remark will extend itself almost to the whole Book of Psalms, as they are versified by STERNHOLD, for the Use of parochial Churches. There are few Stanzas which do not present Expressions, to excite the Ridicule of some Part of every Congregation. This Version might well be abolished, as it exposeth one of the noblest Parts of divine Service to Contempt: Especially as there is another Version already

[g] Although it be a prudent Reserve in the Church of ENGLAND, to admit no other Poetry than the *sacred*, into divine Service; yet still, for the high Purpose of domestic or private Devotion and Practice, the Composition of *Hymns* would be a noble Addition to the Poetry and Music of a rational Society of Christians. Here, the Poet would have Room for a Display of that Genius, which the Prudence of the established Church hath prevented, in the wise Regulation of her public Service. Of this Kind may be justly regarded that fine *Ode* of POPE, intitled, "*The dying Christian to his Soul.*"

privileged,

privileged, which though not excellent, is however *not-intolerable*.—The *parochial Music* seems to need no Reform : Its Simplicity and Solemnity suit well its general Destination ; and it is of Power, when properly performed, to raise Affections of the noblest Nature. It were to be wished, that the *Cathedral Music* were always composed with a proportioned Sobriety and Reserve. Here, as we have observed, the whole is apt to degenerate too much into an Affair of Art. A great and pathetic Simplicity of Style, kept ever in Subserviency to the sacred Poetry, ought to be aimed at, as the truest, and the only Praise. The same devout Simplicity of Manner may be attained in the Performance, and ought to be studied by the Organist and *Choir* : Their Ambition should lie in a natural and dignified Execution, not in a curious Display of Art. The Maxim of AUGUSTINE was excellent, and deserves the serious Attention both of those who perform, and those who hear : “ I always think myself blameable, when I am drawn to attend more to the *Singer* than to *what is Sung.*” But an additional Circumstance seems necessary, as a Means of bringing back Church Music to its original Dignity and Use : We have seen, in the Course of this Dissertation, how the Separations follow each other in the Decline of the poetic and musical Arts. And for the sake of Truth, we must here observe, that in the Performance of Cathedral Music, a Separation hath long taken Place, fatal to its true Utility. The higher Ranks of the Church do not think themselves concerned in the Performance. It were devoutly to be wished, that the musical Education were so general, as to enable the Clergy, of whatever Rank, to join the Choir in the Celebration of
their

their Creator, in all its appointed Forms: The Laity would be naturally led to follow so powerful an Example.—There is Reason to believe, that this Separation was in Part occasioned by the Introduction of an artificial Music, which became too difficult in the Execution for any but professed Musicians: Here, then, we find an additional Motive, for bringing down the Cathedral Music from its present complex and artificial Style, to that of Simplicity and easy Execution.

3. With Respect to the two dramatic Forms, the *Opera* and *Oratorio*, we have already pointed out their chief Defects, as they exist in their present State. But as to an effectual Reformation, such as may produce their proper *Ends*, it seems utterly impracticable, while the *dramatic Form* and the *musical Accompaniment* remain in *Union*. To hear Kings, Warriours, Statesmen, Philosophers, Patriarchs, Saints, and Martyrs, holding long Conversations with each other in musical Recitative, is a Circumstance so totally out of Nature, that the Imagination immediately revolts, and rejects the Representation as absurd and incredible. The *Recitative*, therefore, or perpetual musical Accompaniment which prevails in both, being thus unalterably at Variance with the *dramatic Form*, the *one* or the *other* must be *destroyed* ere *Probability* and *Pathos* can arise.

One Method of a Reform may be effected, by destroying the *Recitative*, or perpetual *musical Accompaniment*: And in this Case, the Interlocutory Part would sink into the common Form of *Tragedy*. A *musical Choir*, distinct from the Persons of the Drama, might still be introduced
occasionally,

occasionally, with much Propriety and Effect [b]. Above all, the Occasions must have a strong Reference to the most pathetic Situations of the tragic action: The *Choir* must consist of such Characters, as may with *Probability* appear in the musical Department: The Ode must be written in the Style of Passion; not with the Parade of unaffected Imagery, or tedious Allegory; which, instead of rowzing an Audience, would lull them to Repose: The Music and Performance must be of a correspondent Nature. In pointing out this Reform of the musical Drama, the Writer may seem to separate the two Sister

[b] I say, *occasionally*: For the *continuing Choir* of the old *Greek Tragedy* would be a Circumstance as far out of Nature, as the *Recitative* itself. Besides, the perpetual and continuing Choir would rob modern Tragedy of half her Powers and Graces: A strict Unity of Place and Time, as we have seen, are its necessary Consequences*: But with Respect to what is of far greater Importance, I mean the *Action*, its Effects upon the whole were *bad*. 'Tis true, that even here, it had the natural Effect of producing *Unity*: But while it secured the *Unity* of the *Action*, it generally destroyed its *Force*. For there are few great, distressful, or terrible Actions, which do not require some *Variety of Place*, in Order to unfold them in all their most pathetic Situations and striking Aspects: Many of these, therefore, must be lost to the Poet and his Audience, and a feeble and meagre Fable must generally arise from that strict Unity of Place which the continuing Choir produced. Hence we often find the *Greek Tragedians* reduced to the Necessity of conveying by Narration many affecting Incidents, which would have formed capital Scenes, could they have been introduced consistently with the Unity of Place. Were it necessary to enlarge on this Subject, which is not incurious, it might be proved by an Induction of particulars, that there is not a great and affecting Tragic Action in the whole Compass of Antiquity, but what is miserably cramped and maimed by this Constraint; *That* of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* only excepted, which indeed seems nearly, if not absolutely perfect, in all the Parts of its Construction.

* See above, Sect. vi. Art. 22.

Arts, instead of uniting them: But in Reality, he only proposes their Separation in one Circumstance, as the necessary means of compleating their Union in another.

But lest this should seem to confine the musical Art to an Alliance with the mere *Ode* or *Hymn* only, and to banish it entirely from the Representation of *Actions*; let us now proceed to another and more perfect Kind of Reform, in which many of the *Subjects* of the *Opera* and *Oratorio* may be exhibited in *full Union* with the *Powers of Music*, joined with *Probability* and *Nature*.

We have seen above, that from an Union of the *Ode* and *Epic*, a first rude Outline of Tragedy naturally arose, compounded of *musical Narration* and *choral Song* [*i*]. Here then let us fix, for the proper Form of the musical Exhibition of great, terrible, or pathetic Actions. This Union forms what may properly be styl'd the *Narrative* or *Epic Ode*. It arose from Nature, at a Period when the Actions represented were of the *simplest* Kind [*k*]. This Simplicity of Action is still necessary to be preserved, for the Perfection of this Species; because a complicated Action would inevitably produce long and unanimated Narrations, would unnerve the musical Recitation, and destroy the very Genius of the Poem. Supposing, then, the Action to be simple and impassioned; the *Poem*, the *Music*, and *Performance*, if well conducted, will be attended with such a Degree of *Nature* and *Probability*, as will give the Alliance of Poetry and Music their highest Power and Pathos. The intermixed Narrations must be short and animated: The Songs and Choirs various and

[*i*] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 19.

[*k*] See *ibid.*

expressive:

expressive; and being frequently interrupted by the brief Recitals, may by these Means be inspirited far beyond the simple and continued Ode, which from its unbroken Length often degenerates into Languor. By this Union, all the striking Parts of the Action may be brought forth to View, while every thing that is cold, improbable, and unaffecting, may be veiled in Darkneſs.—The *Recitative*, or muſical Accompanyment in the *narrative* Parts, will here loſe a great Part of that Improbability which incumbers it in the *dramatic* Representation: For here, the *Reciter* is a profeſſed Muſician, whoſe Province lies in the Enthuſiaſm of Song; and the *Narrations* being *ſhort* and *animated*, beyond what is poſſible in the continued Uſe of *Dialogue*, they approach nearer to the Genius of the *Ode*, and therefore may without Improbability or Impropriety receive a muſical Accompanyment which approaches nearer to a full and direct Song.—And laſtly, the *Songs* and *Choirs* are in their Performance ſo far from being unnatural, that they are no more than a powerful Transcript from Nature, impelling thoſe who hear the Recital of the Action, and are inſtructed in the Laws of Melody, to join in every repreſented Scene of Joy, Triumph, Terror, Exultation, Devotion, or Diſtreſs.

Of this *narrative* or *Epic Ode*, we have two fine Examples in our Language, written by POPE and DRYDEN. In Force of Paſſion, and Variety of correſpondent Verſification [1], they are admirable. The Songs and Choirs

[1] We have ſhewn above, that the Return of the *ſame Meaſure* in the *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*, of the ancient *Greek Ode*, was the natural Conſequence of its Union with the *Dance*. But this Union being irrecoverably loſt, the unvaried Meaſure of the *Ode* becomes at beſt an un-

are by Turns tender, joyous, and majestic, and are often calculated for the noblest and most powerful Union of Poetry and Music. On the other Hand, while their unrivalled Excellence is admitted, critical Justice demands, that we point out some Blemishes in these two immortal Odes, lest an undistinguishing Principle of Imitation should lead to an Adoption of their Faults along with their Beauties.—With Respect to Mr. POPE'S Ode on St. CECILIA'S Day, the *Subject* seems to want *Unity*: It is not a Recital of *one* great Action, but rather a poetic Description of the *Adventures* of ORPHEUS.—Mr. DRYDEN'S Ode is perfect in the Unity of the Action; but *imperfect* in the *moral End*: For it is a Representation of the abused Power of Music, in firing a young Prince to an Act of Revenge and Cruelty. In the Execution, there is but one Error of Consequence; which seems to run through both these Odes, so justly celebrated: The *Narrative Part* is not always sufficiently *distinguished* from the *Song*. They run into each other in such a Manner, that the musical Composer must often find himself embarrassed, whether to accompany with Recitative, or a more compleat Melody. Indeed, it is manifest, that these illustrious Poets were not aware of this Distinction: And hence it came to pass, that many Passages which they evidently meant for *Song*, are in the Form of *Narration*. But let this be added, as a Justice due to these celebrated Names, that the Nar-

meaning Thing; and is indeed an absurd one, as it deprives the Poet of that Variety of Measure, which often gives a great Energy to the Composition, by the incidental and sudden Intervention of an *abrupt* or *lengthened* Versification. The two Odes here mentioned, contain a Variety of fine Examples in this Kind of Beauty.

rations

rations are in some Parts so highly animated, that without any striking Impropry they admit the Accompaniment either of the Song or Choir. 'Tis obvious to remark, that HANDEL was sometimes perplexed by this Irregularity of the poetic Composition, when he set DRYDEN'S Ode to Music: For some Parts are thrown into Recitative which might seem rather to demand the Song; and others are thrown into Song, which, in their present Narrative Form, seem rather to demand the Recitative.—A Poet of inferior Rank [*m*] hath attempted to rectify this Disorder in DRYDEN'S Ode. But he had not sufficiently estimated his own Strength, when he adventured to tamper with the Bow of ULYSSES. Whenever he hath attempted a *Change*, he hath quenched the poetic Fire.

The Subjects of the narrative or *Epic Ode* may be drawn with Propriety either from *ethnical* or *sacred Story*. The *ethnical* will furnish those which are *moral* or *political*; the *sacred* is a rich Field of Subjects *moral* and *religious*. There is a peculiar Propriety in exhibiting the sacred Story in this Manner of the *Epic Ode*; because in the dramatic Representation of antique Subjects, through the great Dissimilarity of ancient Manners to our own, 'tis difficult to avoid the Introduction of Circumstances which will not be either manifestly *incongruous*, or *contemptible* to an Eye merely *modern*; two Appearances, which are carefully to be avoided in the Representation of sacred Story. The Way of *Narration*, therefore, is highly preferable; because in this, the Poet can produce the greatest and most striking Situations, and at the same Time preserve both *Probability* and *Respect*, by throwing the rest into Shades.

[*m*] Mr. HUGHES.

That

That this Representation of sacred Subjects is the highest and most interesting Union of Poetry and Music, needs no elaborate Proof: It stands intimately connected with all the sublime Truths, the great and affecting Events of our Religion, which, when thus exhibited by the united Powers of *Poem* and *Song*, call forth all the noblest Emotions of the human Soul; and exalt it to the highest Pitch of Elevation that our mortal Condition will admit.

S E C T. XIV.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THUS far then, at least, the poetic and musical Arts may admit an effectual Re-union, so as to produce their noblest Ends. As to any farther Consequences, they must be the Effect of this first Reform: And therefore, till something be done here, it can be of no Importance to point out higher Improvements, which in the present State of Things would certainly be esteemed chimerical.

Let us then, for the present, conclude with offering a Question, “Whether our Age and Nation might not still farther distinguish itself in its Regard for the nobler Arts, by the Institution of *A Poetic and Musical Academy*, for the more effectual *Re-union* of these two Arts, and their better *Direction* to their *highest Ends*?”—The Judgment of an able and disinterested Society, established for this Purpose, might perhaps effect every Reform here proposed in the four distinct Species in which the two Arts are still imperfectly and improperly united. The Prize must be Honour only; lest mercenary Spirits should

should intrude upon the Walk of Genius. It may be supposed, that the best Poets, of the rising Age at least, would court the Approbation of such an Academy: And from this Institution, as from a Nursery of these Sister-Arts, a Succession of approved Poems would naturally arise, in every Form that could properly receive the Colourings and Embellishments of Music.—The familiar *Song*, composed for domestic and social Entertainment, when thus chastised by the moral Decrees of the Academy, would gradually rise into its ancient Dignity and Use.—The Selection of the *Anthem* from the sacred Scriptures might receive the public Approbation of the Society: And the *Hymn*, controuled by the same sober Judgments, would assume that pathetic Sublimity and Simplicity of Style, which tends to elevate the Soul to the Contemplation and Love of divine Things.—The *tragic Choir*, properly restrained and limited by such an Authority, might *occasionally* be introduced and applied to the Increase of Pity and Terror, and to all the moral Ends of the dramatic Species. The *Epic Ode*, directed by the Taste and Wisdom of this Academy, would obtain its Completion. The greatest and most affecting Subjects, drawn from the History of our own or other Countries, would rise before us; while the sublimest and most interesting Events recorded in the sacred Scriptures, thus recommended and adorned, would make their Way through the nobler Passions to the Heart.

The State and Character of our *Music* would be no less influenced by the Authority of such an Institution. The Poems which should receive its unbiaſſed Approbation, would naturally become Objects of the Ambition of our
best

best *Composers*: Whose Genius, thus chastised and directed to its proper Ends, would no longer wander into the illegitimate Fantasies of Song; but in just Subordination to the poetic Expressions, would only be ambitious of joining its Powers, for the Production of a true *Pathos*.

The *Performance* of these approved *Poems* thus heightened by approved *Music*, would naturally correspond with the Genius of Both, if under the Controul of the same wise Judgments. The *Singers* would no longer think themselves at Liberty to desert their Subject for the Pride of Execution: But, under the Inspection of a superior Taste and Authority, would be led to adopt a true Simplicity of Manner; and, like the just *Actor*, would be only ambitious of assisting the Poet and Musician, in adorning and compleating the intended Representation.

The *Importance* of such an Institution may deserve our most serious thoughts. We have seen above, how congenial the *poetic* and *musical* Arts are with the Frame and Faculties of Man: That in every Period of Manners, whether savage, barbarous, civilized, refined, or corrupted, their Influence hath been felt in every Nation of the Earth. So universal and powerful are their Effects on the Passions of the Soul, that perhaps no Period of human Nature can be assigned (at least, the Writer knows of none) in which they have not been either *salutary* or *pernicious*: In which they have not either tended to promote and confirm Religion, Virtue, and public Happiness; or been the Instruments of Licentiousness, and public Ruin.

Add to this, that whoever will look back into the preceding Pages, will find that in all *polished States* these Arts have a natural Tendency towards *Corruption*, unless checked and chastised by wholesome Institutions. This Tendency ariseth not from the Nature of the Arts themselves; but from that *Period of Manners*, which tends to pervert them from their *proper Ends*.—Would you quench this natural Flame implanted in the human Breast? The Attempt were Folly. You must destroy our *Eyes* and *Ears*, those Inlets to the Powers of *Poetry* and *Music*, before you can accomplish such a Purpose. What then is to be done, but to regulate this mighty Stream, which will inevitably run either in the Channel of *Vice* or *Virtue*?

More particularly, in a great and powerful Kingdom, where additional Degrees of Wealth should flow in with every Tide; these, especially in a Time of Peace, must inevitably be followed by new Degrees of inventive Luxury, and an unwearied Passion for Dissipation and Amusement. Hence the peculiar Danger would arise, even where no ill Intentions should dwell, of a Perversion of the *mimetic*, and especially, of the *poetic* and *musical Arts*, from their proper and exalted, to their improper and ignoble Ends.—If in such a Kingdom, their lowest Forms should be sought for, while their higher were neglected; if Tragedy should give Way to Comedy, and Comedy to Farce, and Farce to Pantomime; if Privileges should be denied to the *Labours of Genius*, which were indulged to the Tricks of *Harlequin* and *Pierot*;—what could be more justly feared, than a general Decline of Taste, which by silent and unperceived Degrees might insensibly slide into the same

fatal Effects, which marked the later Periods of the *Greek* Republics, and the *Roman* Empire?

On the contrary; an effectual Union of these two powerful Arts, directed to their proper Ends, would be productive of the noblest Consequences: It would renew and augment the Dignity of every elegant Accomplishment; would refine the Taste, inforce the Religion, purify the Morals, strengthen the Policy, of the most prosperous Kingdom; in a Word, would give a proper and salutary Direction to that Overflow of Wealth, which must either *adorn* or *overwhelm* it.

An *Institution*, therefore, which may promote such *important Ends*, may seem not only to claim the Attention of the *Wise* and *Good* in every private Station; but might perhaps be regarded as not unworthy the *Protection* of the *best* and *greatest* KING.

T H E E N D.

A P P E N D I X.

The following Memoir, which was lately communicated to the Author by an honourable Gentleman, hath Reference to p. 160. of the preceding Dissertation: And though it was not received soon enough to be inserted in its proper Place, yet the Author thought it but Justice to the curious Reader, to add it as an Appendix.

“ By the QUEEN:

“ **E**LIZABETH; by the Grace of God, of England,
 “ France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the
 “ Faith, &c.: To our trusty and right well beloved Sir
 “ Richard Bulkely Knight, Sir Rees Griffith Kt. Ellis
 “ Price Esq. Dr. in civil Law, and one of our Council in
 “ the Marchesse of Wales, William Mostyn, Jeuen Lloyd
 “ of Yale, John Salisbury of Rhug, Rice Thomas, Maurice
 “ Wynne, William Lewis, Pierce Mostyn, Owen John
 “ ap Howel Fichan, John William ap John, John Lewis
 “ Owen, Morris Griffith, Symmd Thelwat, John Griffith,
 “ Ellis ap William Lloyd, Robert Puleston, Harri ap
 “ Harri, William Glynn, and Rees Hughes Esqs. and to
 “ every of them Greeting.”

“ Whereas it is come to the Knowledg of the Lord
 “ President, and other our Council in our Marchesse of
 “ Wales, that vagrant and idle Persons naming themselves
 “ *Minstrels, Rythmers, and Bards*, are lately grown into
 “ such *intolerable Multitude* within the Principality of
 “ North Wales, that not only Gentlemen and others by

“ their *shameless Disorders* are oftentimes disquieted in
 “ their Habitations, but also the *expert Minstrels and Musi-*
 “ *cians* in *Tonge and Cunynge* thereby much discouraged to
 “ travaile in the Exercise and Practise of their Knowledge,
 “ and also not a little hindred (*of*) Livings and Prefer-
 “ ment; The Reformation whereof, and the putting these
 “ People in Order, the said Lord President and Council
 “ have thought very necessary: And knowing you to be
 “ Men of both Wisdom and upright Dealing, and also of
 “ Experience and good Knowledge in the Science, have
 “ appointed and authorized You to be Commissioners for
 “ that Purpose: And forasmuch as our said Council, of
 “ late travailing in some Part of the said Principality, had
 “ perfect Understanding by credible Report, that the ac-
 “ customed Place for the Execution of the like Com-
 “ mission hath been heretofore at Cayroes in our County
 “ of Flynt, and that William Mostyn Esq. and his Ancestors
 “ have had the Gift and bestowing of the *Sylver Harp*
 “ appertaining to the *Chief of that Faculty*, and that a
 “ *Year's Warning* (at least) hath been accustomed to be
 “ given of the *Assembly* and Execution of the like Com-
 “ mission; Our said Council have therefore appointed the
 “ Execution of this Commission to be at the said Town of
 “ Cayroes, the Monday next after the Feast of the Blessed
 “ Trinity which shall be in the Year of our Lord 1568.
 “ And therefore we require and command You by the
 “ Authority of these Presents, not only to cause *open Pro-*
 “ *clamation* to be made in all *Fairs, Market-Towns*, and
 “ other *Places of Assembly* within our Counties of Aglere,
 “ Carnarvon, Meryonydd, Denbigh and Flynt, that all and
 “ every Person and Persons that intend to *maintain* their
 “ *Living*

“ *Living* by name or Colour of *Minstrels, Rytbmers,* or
“ *Bards,* within the Talaith of Aberffraw, comprehending
“ the said five Shires, shall be and appear before You the
“ said Day and Place to *shew* their *Learnings* accordingly :
“ But also, that You, twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen,
“ sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten,
“ nine, eight, seven, or six of you, whereof You the said
“ Sir Richard Bulkely, Sir Rees Griffith, Ellis Price, and
“ William Mostyn Esqs. or three or two of you, to be of
“ the Number ; to repair to the said Place the Days afore-
“ said, and calling to you such *expert Men* in the said *Faculty*
“ of the *Welsh Musick* as to You shall be thought con-
“ venient, to proceed to the Execution of the Premises,
“ and to admit such and so many, as by your Wisdoms
“ and Knowledges you shall find *worthy,* into and under
“ the *Degrees* heretofore (*in Use*) in semblable Sort to *use,*
“ *exercise,* and *follow* the *Sciences* and *Faculties* of their *Pro-*
“ *fessions,* in such decent Order as shall appertain to each
“ of their Degrees, and as your Discretions and Wisdoms
“ shall prescribe unto them : Giving streight Monition and
“ Commandment in our Name and on our Behalf to the
“ rest not worthy, that they return to some honest Labour,
“ and due Exercise, such as they be most apt unto for
“ Maintenance of their Living, upon Pain to be taken as
“ sturdy and idle Vagabonds, and to be used according to
“ the Laws and Statutes provided in that Behalf; letting
“ You with our said Council look for Advertisement, by
“ Certificate at your Hands, of your Doings in the Execu-
“ tion of the said Premises ; foreseeing in any wise, that
“ upon the said Assembly the Peace and good Order be
“ observed and kept accordingly ; ascertaining you that
“ the said William Mostyn hath promised to see Furniture
“ and

“ and Things necessary provided for that Assembly, at the
“ Place aforesaid.

“ Given under our Signet at our City of Chester, the
“ twenty third of October in the ninth Year of our
“ Reign, 1567.”

“ Signed

“ Her Highness's Counsaill

“ in the Marcheffe of Wales.

“ *N. B.* This Commission was copy'd exactly from the
“ Original now at Mostyn, A. D. 1693: Where
“ the *Silver Harp* also is.”

From this Commission it appears, 1st, That although many of the *Bards* were massacred by EDWARD the First, yet the whole *Order* was by no means exterminated. 2^{dly}, That in the Reign of ELIZABETH, Abuses had crept on among the *Welsh Bards*, similar to those which are recorded of the *Irish*. 3^{dly}, That public *Contests* for poetic and *musical Fame* had been established in *Wales* from ancient Times. 4^{thly}, That these *Contests* are now ceased.

In Wotton's “ *Leges Wallicæ*,” (Append. p. 547, 548.) there are two Laws of Henry the Fourth recorded, which relate to the Prevention of the Abuses of the Bard's Profession; but in such general Terms, that nothing relative to the particular State of their Music and Poetry can be collected from them.

The Author will esteem it a singular Favour, if any Gentleman can transmit to him an authentic Account of the final Decline of the Bard's Profession in Wales.

A N
I N S C R I P T I O N,

Written at a favourite RETIREMENT,
in May 1758.

*Finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi.*

WHAT tho' nor glittering Turret rise,
Nor Splendor gild these mild Retreats?
Yet NATURE *here*, in modest Guise,
Displays her unambitious Sweets:

Along each gentle-swelling Lawn
She strays, with rustic Garlands crown'd;
And wakes the Flow'rs at early Dawn,
To fling their bosom'd Fragrance round.

Here teach thy Vot'ry, blameless Guide,
To trace *thy* Step serene and free;
To shun the toilsome Heights of Pride,
Thro' these calm Scenes *to follow* THEE.

His silent Walk do *Thou* adorn,
O'er these green Slopes, from Tumult far;
Whether he greet the blushing Morn,
Or welcome up yon evening Star:

Intent, while thro' these tufted Bow'rs
Thy generous Whispers charm his Ear,
To hail from Heav'n thy kindred Pow'rs,
And meet fair *Peace* and *Freedom* here.

Yet prompt to stay his Country's Fall,
The stormy City's War he'll join,
When *Thou*, and *Truth*, and *Freedom* call:-
For *Freedom's* Voice, and *Truth's*, are *Thine*.

T H E E N D.

By the same A U T H O R,

With all convenient Speed will be published,

P R I N C I P L E S

O F

CHRISTIAN LEGISLATION,

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

B E I N G

An Analysis of the various Religions, Manners, and Politics
of Mankind, in their several Gradations :

O F

The Obstructions thence arising to the general Progress and
proper Effects of Christianity :

A N D O F

The most practicable Remedies to these Obstructions.

Lately published,

in OCTAVO.

I. **E**SSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS of the Earl
of SHAFTSBURY.

I. On RIDICULE, considered as a Test of Truth.

II. On the Motives to VIRTUE, and the necessity
of *Religious Principle*.

III. On *Revealed* RELIGION and CHRISTIANITY.
The Fourth Edition.

II. An ESTIMATE of the MANNERS and PRINCIPLES
of the TIMES. 2 vol. The Seventh Edition.

In the Press,

IN ONE VOLUME, Octavo.

T E N S E R M O N S

O N

V A R I O U S O C C A S I O N S.

By JOHN BROWN, D. D.

D