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"This Musique Hath Life in It": Harmony in Lancelot Andrewes's Preaching

Natalya Din-Kariuki

ABSTRACT This essay examines the significance of music, especially notions of musical harmony, to the preaching of the influential English clergyman Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626). Natalya Din-Kariuki argues that Andrewes reconfigured classical and early modern understandings of harmony, ranging from the legend of Pythagoras's discovery of harmony to the new form of the verse anthem, to create a unique set of controlling metaphors with which to speak from the pulpit. By placing his preaching within the context of discourses of music, especially the debates about church music that took place in early modern England, she demonstrates connections between Andrews's engagements with music and elements of his "avant-garde conformity," including his ceremonialism, his ideals of Christian community, and his view of the role of good works in salvation. **KEYWORDS:** sermons; music; Elizabethan settlement; debates about ceremonialism in worship; early modern education; Richard Mulcaster; Pythagoras

AS PART OF A SERIES OF EXEGETICAL LECTURES on Genesis delivered in the 1590s and published in *Apospasmatia Sacra* (1657), the English clergyman Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626) sets himself the task of interpreting Genesis 1. In his exegesis of verse 6, he frames the Creation of the world in terms of human artisanship, describing the firmament (or, in Hebrew transliteration, *Rachia*) as "*expansio*, a stretching forth abroad" of material. To explain his choice of image, he turns to the etymology of *Rachia*. The term originally signified the process by which "metals are driven thin and beaten abroad into plates, as Smiths with their hammers use to doe."[1] Later it acquired a broader range of meanings, referring to several other activities

1. Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmatia Sacra, or, A Collection of posthumous and orphan Lectures: Delivered at St. Pauls and St. Giles his Church* (London, 1657), 40. Italics in original. Where necessary, I have modernized spellings by substituting *u* for *v* and *j* for *i*. The quotation in the title comes from a Lent sermon that Andrewes delivered at Greenwich in 1590, and which is discussed later in this essay. See Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons*, ed. William Laud and John Buckeridge (London, 1629), 264.

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that involved "spreading or drawing out": pulling curtains, building vaults, stretching paper or parchment, and blowing glass. Andrewes likens this work, the domain of "handy-Crafts men," to God's crafting of the sky on the second day of the Creation, reinforcing the analogy by identifying God as the "Ironmonger and Smith," "Draper," and "Taylor," maker of both the "matter" and "form" of the world.[2] He ends the Genesis 1 lectures with a discussion of that book's ending, the final verse in which God "surveyed all his former works" with satisfaction. These works were "*very good*" because they consisted of "Good things joyned together" through "disposition and ordering," and in them he beheld "an excellent harmony."[3]

The characterization of God as a blacksmith disposing, ordering, and joining disparate "things" together in "harmony" recalls the legend, circulated by a number of philosophers writing on music, including Nicomachus and Boethius, that Pythagoras came to understand the principles of harmony by investigating the sounds made by the hammers of a group of blacksmiths. It is likely that Andrewes composed the Genesis lectures with this legend in mind. He does not attribute the discovery of harmony to Pythagoras explicitly, however. Instead, his lectures offer several other possible explanations for the origins and purposes of music, including the claims that the "instruments . . . of Musick" came "out of the fruits of the earth"; that birds benefit humankind through "chirping and singing," producing "notes of musick" superior to any "devised by art"; that it is our duty to "open our mouths to sing some praise" to God; and that the biblical figure Tubal is "said to be the father and author of Musick," while his brother Jubal is credited with the "invention of Instruments, whether they be such as are to be played on with fingers or with the winde."[4] In making these claims, Andrewes touches on a set of questions that were at the heart of the musical culture of his time and that preoccupied him throughout his career. Where did music come from, and who invented it? What was it for? Did it belong to nature, or to art? And what was its role in worship?[5] Music, particularly notions of musical harmony, was central to Andrewes's intellectual, theological, and political commitments. Indeed, it informed his conception of Christianity itself: as he puts it in the Genesis lectures, "Christianity" is "well taught" when it is understood as a "harmony of music."[6]

This essay examines Andrewes's treatment of harmony, in the musical and philosophical senses, by placing his preaching within the context of contemporary discourses of music, especially the debates about church music that took place in early modern England. It shows that Andrewes drew strategically on the language

2. Andrewes, *Apospasmatia Sacra*, 40, 46.
3. Andrewes, *Apospasmatia Sacra*, 109–11.
4. Andrewes, *Apospasmatia Sacra*, 70, 88, 104, 72, 208, 476.
5. For a discussion of the treatment of these topics in early modern English musical treatises, see Katherine Butler, "Origin Myths, Genealogies, and Inventors: Defining the Nature of Music in Early Modern England," in *Music, Myth and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (Woodbridge, U.K., 2019), 124–38.
6. Andrewes, *Apospasmatia Sacra*, 639.

and ideas of these debates to articulate his own position as a conservative defender of music in liturgy. In doing so, it establishes the importance of music to aspects of Andrewes's "avant-garde conformity," including his ceremonialism, his ideals of Christian community, and his view of the role of good works in salvation.[7] It reveals that Andrewes reconfigured classical and early modern understandings of harmony to create a unique set of controlling metaphors with which to speak from the pulpit. It considers the ways in which he exploited the political resonances of harmony, harnessing its associations of balance, proportion, and order to provide a conceptual model for good governance. It suggests, moreover, that there is a conceptual link between Andrewes's concern for "*analogie, symmetrie, harmonie*"—the intrinsically analogical relation between different aspects of the universe underpinning the concept of the "harmony of the spheres"—and his analogical approach to exegesis.[8] As we will see, in these engagements with harmony, Andrewes gave his auditors a way in which to understand their relationships to each other and to God, by encouraging them to view themselves as constituent parts of a greater whole.

In attending to the uses of harmony in Andrewes's writings, I take my cue from the critical and editorial work of Peter McCullough. McCullough, who characterizes the style of a typical Andrewes sermon as "a relentless, ever-increasingly pitched ascent," a "carefully calibrated crescendo," and like "a complex canonic fugue by Bach" in its "contrapuntal composition," foregrounds the influence of music on his preaching.[9] He places particular emphasis on Andrewes's engagements with music in the period 1605 to 1610, arguing that Andrewes proposes a "combination—rather than opposition—of sermon and song, preaching and liturgy."[10] In what follows, I consider a longer span of Andrewes's career, examining several of his sermons delivered in 1590–1621. By doing so, I assess the full extent of his knowledge of and interest in music, and, at the same time, identify ways in which his sermons were inflected by, and sought to intervene in, ongoing developments in musical discourse. The result is a reconstruction of hitherto underexamined aspects of Andrewes's intellectual interests.

This essay also contributes to a growing body of scholarship at the intersection of early modern music, literature, and history. In 2010, Christopher Marsh described the "neglect of music" in histories of the period, claiming that most "tended to contemplate the past with their ears partially plugged," paying "only fleeting attention to

7. The phrase "avant-garde conformity" was first used in Peter Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda L. Peck (Cambridge, 1991), 113–33.

8. Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons*, ed. Laud and Buckeridge, 421.

9. *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. Peter McCullough (Oxford, 2005), xxxix–xl. See also the reference to music on xv.

10. Peter McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?," in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham, U.K., 2013), 109–29 at 117.

music."[11] This is no longer the case: interdisciplinary studies of music in early modern England have flourished over the past decade, with scholars offering new insights about topics as diverse as the politics of music at the Elizabethan court; the acoustic, affective, and embodied dimensions of song performance; the uses of music on the stage; musical settings of poetry; the place of music in English Catholic communities; and the practice of change ringing and its relationship to mathematics.[12] In studies that are especially germane to the concerns of this essay, Joseph Ortiz and Katherine Steele Brokaw have shown that early modern dramatists participated in contemporary debates about music and used the stage to contest the social, cultural, and political implications of ideas of harmony.[13] By focusing on the theater, Ortiz and Brokaw expand the scope of classic studies of music in early modern literature, which primarily focused on the relationship of music and poetry.[14] Like them, I examine the interactions of music and literature in a further generic context, a context in which debates about music were especially urgent. Moreover, I suggest that music was central to preaching in early modern England, in ways Andrewes's output exemplifies; music provided him with a repository of language, images, and ideas with which to explain scripture to his listeners, and it shaped his attitudes to the court, to the spaces in which his sermons were delivered, and even his understanding of his role as a preacher. I begin with an overview of classical and early modern theories of harmony, paying particular attention to Andrewes's own musical education under Richard Mulcaster.

11. Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 25.

12. See, for example, Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge, U.K., 2015); Katherine R. Larson, *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air* (Oxford, 2019); Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603–1625* (Cambridge, 2017); Lucy Munro, "Music and Sound," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre,* ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford, 2011), 543–59; Katie Bank, "Dialogues of Byrd and Sidney: Performing Incompleteness," *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 3 (2017): 407–25; Simon Jackson and Gordon J. Callon, "A Newly-Identified Setting of Herbert's 'Even-Song' by John Jenkins," *George Herbert Journal* 36, nos. 1–2 (2012/2013): 23–51; Emilie K. M. Murphy, "Music and Catholic Culture in Post-Reformation Lancashire: Piety, Protest, and Conversion," *British Catholic History* 32, no. 4 (2015): 492–525; and Katherine Hunt, "The Art of Changes: Bell-Ringing, Anagrams, and the Culture of Combination in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 48, no. 2 (2018): 387–412.

13. Joseph M. Ortiz, *Broken Harmony: Shakespeare and the Politics of Music* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2011); Katherine Steele Brokaw, *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2016).

14. Examples of classic studies include John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); and Elise Jorgens, *The Well-Tun'd Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry, 1597–1651* (Minneapolis, 1982). For a discussion of critical commonplaces on the affinities of music and poetry, see Ortiz, *Broken Harmony,* 3–4.

Harmony in Context

The early Pythagoreans understood the universe in terms of mathematical proportion, or, what for them was the same thing, musical harmony. Through experiments with the monochord, they came to conceptualize harmony in terms of ratios or relative proportions. Such ratios and proportions, they argued, offered the best route to knowledge of the cosmos. Pythagoras's theory of the "harmony of the spheres" held that there was a correlation between the motions of the universe and the intervals of music and that the heavenly bodies themselves produced music in scales that resulted in their movement.[15] These elements of Pythagorean thought had a significant impact on philosophical writing on humankind's place in the universe, including interpretations of the *scala naturae*, the "scale of creatures" or "great chain of being," which codified living beings as constituent parts of a natural hierarchy, and, in so doing, reinforced notions of universal harmony.[16]

By the early modern period, other, newer understandings of harmony had emerged, many of which had their basis in church music. In particular, the late medieval development of polyphonic music, including polyphonic settings of the Magnificat in the fifteenth century and the use of complex counterpoint, introduced a new understanding of harmony as chordal blending.[17] Early modern music was enriched further by the new form of the verse anthem, which brought together soloists and a full choir in a set of sung exchanges, and, in so doing, created what the seventeenth-century music theorist Charles Butler described as "heavenly Harmoni."[18] Because, as Ortiz writes, "the history of Western music has often been presented as a steady narrative of progression," it is tempting to assume that older theories of harmony were supplanted by such developments.[19] But Pythagorean teachings remained influential in early modern England. As S. K. Heninger put it, they "permeated almost every learned discipline," existing alongside more recent modes of practice and thought.[20] These various conceptions of harmony, from Pythagorean cosmography to choral polyphony, coexist in Andrewes's writings, too: he engaged with particular

15. For overviews of Pythagorean interpretations of harmony, see Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, 26–31; and S. K. Heninger Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, Calif., 1974), 91–104.

16. For a classic study of the chain of being, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

17. See Edward E. Lowinsky, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15, no. 4 (1954): 509–53.

18. Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London, 1636), 41; quoted in Simon Jackson, "Prayer and Musical Performance: The Verse Anthem," in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge, 2018), 110–25 at 111. See Jackson, "Prayer and Musical Performance" on the verse anthem more generally.

19. Ortiz, *Broken Harmony*, 2.

20. Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony*, 45.

conceptions, and their particular connotations, in order to make particular arguments about music, the state, and the Church.

Andrewes first encountered ideas of harmony as a student. Richard Mulcaster, his headmaster at Merchant Taylors' School, developed a curriculum that foregrounded the study of music. Mulcaster's treatises outline the structure and content of the ideal musical education, encompassing singing and playing instruments such as the virginals and the lute, as well as a grounding in the principles of music, including "number, melodie, and harmonie."[21] James Whitelocke's reminiscences of his education at Merchant Taylors' attest to his teacher's regard for music. Of Mulcaster, Whitelocke writes, "His care was . . . to encrease my skill in musique, in whiche I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments."[22] These texts offer insight into the kind of education that Andrewes is likely to have had—that is, one that prioritized music in both its practical and theoretical forms.

Mulcaster's treatises also engage with contemporary debates about the purpose of music and thus anticipate issues with which Andrewes's preaching would later contend. For example, in the fifth chapter of his *Positions*, Mulcaster assesses, and responds to, arguments against music, including the use of music in church. He acknowledges that "in matters of religion . . . to some it seems offensive, bycause it carieth awaye the eare, with the sweetnesse of the melodie, and bewitcheth the minde . . . pulling it from that delite, wherein of duetie it ought to dwell." But he counters this argument by claiming that music should not be blamed for "Mans faulte," insisting that "*Musick* will not harme thee, if thy behaviour be good, and thy conceit honest."[23] In his own engagements with these debates, Andrewes would go on to make the case for church music in much more forceful terms. Whereas Mulcaster simply stated that music would "not harme" good men nor distract them from their "duetie," Andrewes went further, by positioning music as a central part of worship, a duty in and of itself.

Mulcaster's music lessons also seem to have had an impact on the writings of Edmund Spenser, Andrewes's contemporary at both Merchant Taylors' and Pembroke College, Cambridge.[24] Like Andrewes's Genesis lectures, the "House of Care" episode in book 4 of the *Faerie Queene*, which describes Care's servants standing at an anvil with "huge great hammers . . . / . . . heaping stroakes" that ring in order like "belles,"

21. Richard Mulcaster, *Positions . . . for the Training up of Children* (London, 1581), 59; Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie* (London, 1582).

22. James Whitelocke, *Liber Familicus*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1858), 12.

23. Mulcaster, *Positions*, 38–39.

24. On Spenser's education under Mulcaster, see Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford, 2012), 30–37. For a discussion of Mulcaster's influence on Spenser's poetry, with an emphasis on rhetoric, see Åke Bergvall, "To 'maister the circumstance': Mulcaster's *Positions* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *Spenser Studies* 34, no. 1 (2020): 1–24.

recalls the legend of Pythagoras's discovery of harmony.[25] There is an instructive difference between Andrewes's and Spenser's treatments of harmony, however. Spenser's blacksmith, and his servants, work "to small purpose," pursuing an endless, pointless labor.[26] But for Andrewes, as we will see, harmony acts on the world in real, meaningful ways, and it is fundamental to his understanding of good works.

Setting the Tune

The Elizabethan settlement of 1559–63 was at the center of debates about church music. Royal instructions issued in 1559 permitted "modeste and destyncte" songs in "the best sorte of melodye" in churches, calling for music that was easy to understand as well as spiritually improving.[27] As Nicholas Temperley has pointed out, this passage was cited repeatedly by conservative and reformist groups alike.[28] The passage's relativist language, and the conformist notion of music as adiaphora or "things indifferent" meant that there was not, at this point, a strictly uniform policy to which the Church was compelled to adhere.[29] A group of radical reformers in the Lower House of Convocation led by Alexander Nowell in 1562 proposed a program of reform, which included the suggestion "that the use of organs be removed."[30] This failed to win the majority vote, but attacks on music in church continued for several decades. These attacks often condemned the conservatism of the music in the "queens chappell" specifically, as in the *Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), published by John Field and Thomas Wilcox, which classed both organs and choirs as two of several "Popishe abuses."[31] From 1588 to 1601, as these debates about music and adiaphora continued to unfold, Andrewes's primary office was as one of the governing residentiary canons of St. Paul's under Alexander Nowell as dean. Probably to Nowell's dismay, St. Paul's never got rid of its organs, and it had a third of the "big three"

25. Edmund Spenser, *Faerie Queene,* in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, vol. 2, ed. J. C. Smith (Oxford, 2013), bk. 4, canto 5, st. 36, lines 3–4, 6, p. 67. On the Pythagorean underpinnings of the "House of Care," see John M. Steadman, "The 'Inharmonious Blacksmith': Spenser and the Pythagoras Legend," *PMLA* 79, no. 5 (1964): 664–65.

26. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ed. Smith, bk. 4, canto 5, st. 35, line 8, p. 67.

27. Church of England, *Injunctions Geven by the Quenes Majestie* (London, 1559), sig. Civ r–v.

28. Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1979), 39.

29. For an overview of church music under Elizabeth, see Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, U.K., 2010), 39–80. See also the important account of avant-garde attitudes to ceremonialism in worship in ca. 1590–1625, including discussion of Andrewes, in Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), 74–125.

30. See Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge, 1967), 35–36.

31. [John Field and Thomas Wilcox], *An Admonition to the Parliament* (London, 1572), sig. Bvr.

London choral foundations. Andrewes's defense of liturgical music in this period, including his service on a committee that recommended the reinstatement of singing ministers at Christ Church Newgate in 1595, was connected to his sympathy for music at the cathedral.[32]

In a Lent sermon delivered to Elizabeth I at Greenwich in 1590, Andrewes engaged with the language of the debates about church music directly, particularly the term *edification*. "Edification," as Jonathan Willis puts it, "was the new watchword of the Reformed English Church."[33] The term featured in one of the Thirty-Nine Articles, which declared that churches had the authority to "ordeyne, change, and abolishe ceremonies or rites of the Church ordeyned only by mans authoritie, so that all thynges be donne to edifying."[34] It also appeared frequently in printed tracts either defending or attacking liturgical music in the 1580s, 1590s, and beyond, as authors debated the extent to which such music could edify its listeners. Andrewes's 1590 sermon alludes to the etymological root of *edify*, the Latin *aedis* (building) and *ficare* (to make), to construct an argument in which music is, in its most literal sense, edifying: the very means through which the Church was built.[35] He preached on Psalm 75:3, "The earth, and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved: but I will establish the Pillars of it," using the text to draw connections between music, architecture, and the harmony of church and state.[36]

This sermon contains several allusions to England's victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 and draws a parallel between this victory and the division between the "Houses of *David* and *Saul*." In the exordium, Andrewes claims that Moses followed a "speciall direction" from God to "make *Musique* the conveigher of mens duties into their mindes" and that David "continued" and "brought to perfection" the use of music in worship, as follows:

> In which holy and heavenly use of his harpe, he doth, by his tunes of *Musique*, teach men how to sett themselves in *tune* (*Psal.* 15.) How not only to tune themselves, but how to tune their households (*Psal.* 10.) And

32. On the Christ Church Newgate case, see Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 92–123; and McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching."

33. Jonathan Willis, "Protestant Worship and the Discourse of Music in Reformation England," in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Mears and Ryrie, 131–50 at 133.

34. Church of England, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed* (London, 1571), sig. Ciiir.

35. The combination of etymology, music, and architecture in this sermon exemplifies Joan Webber's claim that Andrewes's words "become abstract musical shapes, to be used almost like building blocks in the construction of a sentence." See Webber, "Celebration of Word and World in Lancelot Andrewes's Style," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 64, no. 2 (1965): 255–69 at 257.

36. Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons*, ed. Laud and Buckeridge, 263. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent quotations to Andrewes's sermons will be to this work; page numbers will be given in the text.

> not onely there, but (heer) in this *Psalme*, how to preserve harmonie, or (as he termeth it) how to sing *Ne perdas*, to a Common-wealth (263–64).

Andrewes describes his references to Psalms 10 and 15 as a "key" to his sermon text (264). "Key" suggests the door key of a building or *aedis*. But it is also a technical musical term that stands for "the adherence in any passage to the elements of one of the major or minor scales, or tonalities."[37] More metaphorically, the key is often conceptualized as a "musical container" shaping the "melodic tendencies and harmonic relations" of an arrangement.[38] As the "key" of the sermon, then, the psalms on David's harp function as a hermeneutical key for the exposition of the main sermon text (Psalm 75:3) and, metaphorically, give his listeners access to the building of the church.

Further, Andrewes's notion of "tuning" the state recalls the claim, made in Peter Heylyn's biography of William Laud, that Elizabeth "used to *tune the Pulpits*, as her saying was; that is to say, to have some preachers in and about *London*, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at her command to cry up at her design, as well in their publick Sermons as their private Conferences."[39] Elizabeth's "tuning," in other words, involved using preachers strategically to disseminate her ideas and to advance her political aims. Andrewes's use of the tuning metaphor complicates this dynamic. Although he reinforces the idea of the queen as a tuner, he attempts to tune her in turn, by outlining her responsibilities as head of state. In doing so, he also articulates his own vision—or, to use Heylyn's term, his "design"—of the ceremonial disposition of the English church.

Expanding upon the "Pillars" referenced in the Psalm, Andrewes explains that David "found the Land a weake land, by meanes, the strength and *Pillers* of it, were all out of course. . . . he professeth, he will leave it a land of strength, by *re-establishing the Pillars* and re-edifying the State new againe" (264). He describes the state as a building with two pillars, and states that there is "a person, put in *trust*, with the *bearing them up*." This person, Andrewes tells his audience, is "heere" (268). The deictic "heere," like the "(heer)" in the exordium, points to the biblical text at hand. At the same time, it suggests a parallel between the musician-king David and the monarch "heere" at Greenwich, Queen Elizabeth.

Andrewes employs several other strategies to reinforce the implied parallel between David and Elizabeth I, who are both tasked with re-edifying the state and preserving harmony. First, the translation of Psalm 75:3 that Andrewes uses is significant. Although *establish* appears in the perfect tense (confirmavi) in the Vulgate, as

37. *The Oxford Companion to Music,* ed. Alison Latham, s.v. "Key," by Arnold Whittall, last updated 2011, https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001.

38. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Key (i)," by Brian Hyer, last updated 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14942.

39. Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (London, 1671), 153. Italics in original. See discussion in Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court, 1559–1625: Religion and Politics in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), 59.

well as in the Douai-Rheims, Andrewes uses the Geneva translation, which shifts the verb to the future tense: "*I will establish the Pillars of it*." This shift of tense transforms "confirmavi" from a completed act to an intended action, thus emphasizing the duty of the present, living English monarch.[40] Second, Andrewes describes David as "the *Head*" guiding "these two armes" and "all the body" (268). In so doing, he joins the Tudor body politic, in which the monarch is understood as the "Head" of state, to the military "armes" of Israel and, implicitly, to the arms of England against the Spanish in 1588. Third, Andrewes emphasizes the importance of music to the Church, as well as to the country. In language that possibly alludes to the body of Christ on the cross, Andrewes explains that "Esay" compares "the Prince to a *naile driven into a wall*, whereon are hanged all, both the *vessells of service*, and the *Instruments of Musique*; (that is) He *beares* them *up* all." These "*vessells of service*" hint at both the Eucharist and at a musical setting of text, known as a service. Envisioning a future in which the prince does not hold fast, Andrewes warns that "all our *Cuppes* would batter with the fall," "the *Musique* of our Quire be marred: (that is) both Church and Countrey be put in danger" (268). This claim is striking, in that it implies that music is not peripheral or secondary to the Eucharist but on par with it.

Emma Rhatigan explains that preachers aimed "to exploit the architectural and spatial dynamic of their performance space in order to enhance the rhetorical potential of their sermons."[41] And, indeed, Andrewes's emphasis on music is more striking still when situated within the context of its delivery. In addition to pointing to the text, and to Elizabeth, Andrewes's deictic "heere" gestures to the space of the chapel at Greenwich. As mentioned earlier, the correct use of organs as part of worship had been a major point of contention within the Church. Despite this, the fittings and ceremony of the Chapel Royal remained, under both Elizabeth I and James VI and I, extremely conservative, a conservatism with which only Westminster Abbey could compete. The apparatus for worship at Greenwich included "the greatte organes in the Chappell" and a Communion table. Previously, the chapel was also adorned by a silver crucifix that, as McCullough puts it, "had been such a lightning rod for godly wrath" in the 1560s.[42] Andrewes's references to music and the Eucharist, as well as his possible allusion to the cross, call attention to, and implicitly endorse, the chapel's conservatism. Through a combination of etymological, grammatical, and architectural strategies, therefore, Andrewes's 1590 sermon intervenes

40. For further discussion of Andrewes's grammar, including the relationship of tense and typology, as well as his use of deixis, see Kathryn Murphy, "The Look and the Like: Lancelot Andrewes's Real Words," in *The Tottering Universal: Metaphysical Prose in the Seventeenth Century* (forthcoming). I thank the author for access to her manuscript.

41. Emma Rhatigan, "Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon,* ed. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford, 2011), 87–119 at 88.

42. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 33.

in ongoing debates about church music, and about ceremonialism more generally, by making the case for the centrality of music to England's political and religious life.

When Andrewes returned to Greenwich for the Lent series of 1591, he amplified his earlier discussion of harmony, turning to the *scala naturae* or "great chain of being" and related ideas of musical scale. This time, he preached on Psalm 77:20, "*Thou diddest leade thy People like Sheepe, by the hand of* MOSES *and* AARON." In the exordium, he deploys a set of nautical images, presenting man "tossed to and fro in great anguish" by "great billowes" until he is brought to rest by the "*Anchor*" that is "the *remembrance of the right hand of the most High*" (273). Punning on the two senses of *right—right* as opposed to *left*, and *right* as just—he describes God's hand as "a *right hand* of pre-eminence and power," "an even tenor" in its constancy. Andrewes's use of "tenor" is the first of several technical musical terms in this sermon. *Tenor*, from the Latin *tenere*, "to hold," denoted, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, "the fundamental voice part of a polyphonic composition."[43] It is "against," or in relation to, the tenor that other parts of a piece are composed.

Having established that God is the "tenor," Andrewes proceeds to speak of governors in conventional pastoral terms, as shepherds of a flock. Here, he comments on Matthew 25:40, a verse on the Christian's obligations to the poor, or "the least," with "Thou hearest they be the *base people*, the *minims* of the world, and thou settest thy foote on them" (279). In music, *minim*, which derives from *minimus*, "smallest," refers to a note that is equivalent to half a semibreve, while *base* suggests the lowest part in terms of pitch.[44] For true harmony, Andrewes claims, all must participate in the nation's song, including the "*minims*" and the "*base*," those at the bottom of the "scale." Andrewes's consideration of different social strata is especially apt in the context of Lent, because the Lent sermons attracted a range of people, from members of the royal household to the wider public.[45]

Then, Andrewes focuses on the figures of Moses and Aaron, paying particular attention to the idea that they were "God's hands" on earth (274). He reminds his listeners, who would have included peers and courtiers, that these hands, representing "*Ecclesiastical*" and "*Civil*" authority, are "*payres*" (282). Moreover, he emphasizes the importance of "the hand," claiming that the hand is the bodily member "chiefe in *might*" as well as "of greatest *cunning*," because of its capacity to produce "*works*" through "the *pen*, the *pencill*, the *needle*, and *instruments of musique*" (282). The language and ideas of this sermon resonate with several aspects of Andrewes's "avant-garde conformity." As Peter Lake explains, Andrewes's emphasis on good works is

43. *The Oxford Companion to Music,* ed. Latham, s.v. "tenor," by Alex Lingas and Alison Latham, last updated 2011, https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001.

44. For a standard definition of *minim*, see Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (London, 1603), sig. B2v. On the *base*, see Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 3.

45. There is further discussion of puns on *minims* in Andrewes's preaching, including puns that exploit the paleographic sense, in Murphy, "The Look and the Like."

a logical extension of his desire for a "practical knowledge of Christ."[46] Andrewes's understanding of works is also related to his view of the secular and religious spheres being inextricably linked: the maintenance of order in the Church required the maintenance of order in the state and vice versa.[47] Andrewes had suggested the relationship of musical harmony to works previously, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's Hospital on "good workes" of charity. In that sermon, he explained that the rich could transform "discord" into "harmonie" by giving and lending to the poor.[48] By including the "*instruments of musique*" in his list of works, then, Andrewes reinforces his earlier arguments about the importance of music to worship, to social harmony, and to the functioning of Church and state.

As we have seen, in the 1590 and 1591 sermons to Elizabeth, his first substantial engagements with music, Andrewes preached on the Psalms. This is apt: a cappella psalm singing was a crucial component of post-Reformation worship in the late sixteenth century. Psalms were hugely popular in this period, and justifications for the versification and use of psalms in worship were plentiful.[49] But as the century came to a close, writing on church music began to question the primacy of the Psalms. For example, the fifth book of Richard Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, published in 1597, defended church music at length, explaining that a "harmonie of sounds" can travel "from the eare to the spirituall faculties of our soules."[50] Hooker made the case for hymns specifically, arguing that the hymns derived from New Testament texts, the "*Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*," may be "monthlie" or "even dayly" sung and read. He went so far as to say that these hymns are more relevant to Christians than the Psalms, because they "concerne us" and "toucheth us" with greater immediacy.[51] At this time, Andrewes, too, moved away from the focus on the Psalms and congregational psalmody that characterized his sermons in the early 1590s. In the sermons preached at the court of James VI and I, he took a greater interest in choral polyphony and examined the salvific power of music more explicitly.

46. Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," 120.

47. Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I."

48. Andrewes, *Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. McCullough, 70.

49. See, for example, the anonymous work *The Praise of Musicke* (Oxford, 1586), which discusses the use of psalms in worship at length. The authorship of this work has been attributed to John Case, but this is disputed. For further discussions, see Howard B. Barnett, "John Case—An Elizabethan Music Scholar," *Music & Letters* 50, no. 2 (1969): 252–66; and J. W. Binns, "John Case and 'The Praise of Musicke,'" *Music & Letters* 55, no. 4 (1974): 444–53. For a discussion of music in worship that considers the popularity of the Psalms, see Ian Green, "'All People That on Earth Do Dwell, Sing to the Lord with Cheerful Voice': Protestantism and Music in Early Modern England," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy,* ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot, U.K., 2001), 148–64.

50. Richard Hooker, *Of The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie. The fift Booke* (London, 1597), 75.

51. Hooker, *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie,* 79.

Not the Music of a Monochord

From 1601 to 1605 Andrewes served as dean of Westminster and, as a result, was involved in the country's second biggest choral establishment after the Chapel Royal. On November 3, 1605, he was consecrated bishop of Chichester; resigned from his various roles at Westminster, St. Giles, and Pembroke Hall; and was appointed Lord High Almoner, a position that required him to preach before the king on major feast days, including Whitsunday (Pentecost). The Whitsun sermons of 1606, 1608, 1619, and 1620—four of the sermons preached to the Jacobean court, of which fourteen total survive—reveal the importance of harmony to Andrewes's theology in sharpest relief. In these sermons, Andrewes drew on theories of harmony to articulate his positions on both Trinitarian doctrine and on the preparation required to receive the Holy Spirit.[52] Crucially, he also used the language of music to warn James about the dangers of valuing sermons above corporate liturgical prayer and the Eucharist.

By 1605, all three of Andrewes's diocesan cathedrals (Chichester, Ely, and Winchester) had choirs. This proximity to choral music inflected the Whitsun series, which makes the case for a liturgical practice that is more collaborative and inclusive than the single "tongue" of a preacher. In the 1606 Whitsun sermon, Andrewes explains that the Pentecost is harmonious in several ways: it illustrates a "*correspondencie* between the two *Testaments*"; it maps the traditional understanding of Pentecost as a harvest day onto a "great *Spirituall Harvest*" of the apostles; and it has numerological significance, in that the word *Pentecost* can be interpreted as the "number of the *Jubilee*" (598). Andrewes uses these scriptural, historical, and numerical correspondences or harmonies to argue that the sending of the Spirit was divine in its timing.

Having done so, he turns to discuss the need for congregational harmony in the Church. Recalling Cassiodorus's wordplay on *chorda* (string) and *cor* (heart), he states that the people who received the spirit of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost day were "*all with one accord*" and "*all in one place*," and he defines this accord as a "Unitie . . . of *hearts* (so is *accord*, *cordium*)." He extends the pun on *chords* in his description of the Holy Ghost itself as "the *union*, *Love* and *Love-knott*" of Christ's two natures. And he warns that "*discorde*" will bring about division, in which "accord is gone, that *Corde* is *untwisted*; they *cannot live*, the *Spirit* is gone too" (598–99). To his listeners, "accord" is likely to have sounded like "a chord." This passage resonates with the idea, central to most Trinitarian thought, that the Spirit plays a crucial epistemological role in allowing the believer to know God. Because God is invisible (or, unknowable in his essence), the believer can only know God *in* Trinitarian form, through the Son. However, Jesus cannot be recognized as the Son without the Holy Spirit enabling the believer to understand him as such. It is possible that Andrewes has this in mind

52. For a discussion of the theology of Andrewes's Whitsun sermons, see Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes, the Preacher (1555–1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1991), 208–88.

when he emphasizes that the heart has to be tuned properly, or in "accord" with the Spirit, for salvation to take place.[53]

This sermon also discusses the significance of preaching to the expansion of the Church. Andrewes explains that the sending of the Spirit was "a speciall favour from GOD, for the propagation of his *Gospell* farre and wide" (604). But he is keen to emphasize, as he did throughout his career, that preaching must be used in conjunction with prayer and the sacraments, as well as good works, particularly charity. The final section of the sermon places particular emphasis on the Eucharist. In it, Andrewes states that the "*Sacrament* of *breaking of Bread* is the *Sacrament of accord*; as that, which representeth unto us perfect unitie in the *many grains kneaded into one loafe*, and the *many grapes pressed into one Cupp*" (607). By defining the Eucharist as the "*Sacrament of accord*," Andrewes foregrounds its importance to salvation. He also recalls the notion of accord, introduced earlier in the sermon, by conceptualizing the ideal congregation as one that acts in harmony. Andrewes's emphasis on harmony deviates from the characteristically Jacobean political virtues of uniformity and conformity.[54] Instead, he recommends something richer and more complex: the functioning of a system comprising various parts. This sermon thus reinforces the conceptual and etymological connections between music and social, religious, and political harmony that Andrewes established in previous sermons, while adapting them to the liturgical context of Whitsunday, an occasion that placed particular emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit.

Andrewes returns to these ideas in his Whitsun sermon of 1608, on Acts 2:4: "*And they were all filled with the* HOLY GHOST, *and began to speake with other tongues, as the* SPIRIT *gave them utterance*" (608). This sermon extends his earlier discussion of the "tongues" of Pentecost. In it, he claims that "*speech* without *spirit*, is but a dead *sound* like the *tinckling of a cymball*" (609). Andrewes's phrasing alludes to 1 Corinthians 13:1: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." The Greek word ἀγάπη in this chapter of Corinthians, which is often translated as the Latin *caritas* (charity), refers to the highest kind of love: the love of God for man, and of man for God.[55] This allusion thus builds on Andrewes's earlier remarks about the place of preaching alongside other forms of worship, and about the necessity of good works, including charity, for salvation. It is also yet another example of Andrewes's use of musical metaphors to describe the relationship of man to God.

Later in the sermon, Andrewes discusses the aptness of the apostles speaking "with other tongues." He declares:

53. I am grateful to Daniel Brinkerhoff Young for suggesting this connection.

54. For a study of conformity in Jacobean religious discourse, see Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge, 2003).

55. On the place of love in Andrewes's understanding of faith, see Joseph Ashmore, "Faith in Lancelot Andrewes's Preaching," *The Seventeenth Century* 32, no. 2 (2017): 121–38 at 123–25.

> And indeed, it was not meet, one *tongue* onely should be imployed that way, as (before) one was: It was too poore, and slender; like the musick of a *monochord*. Farre more meet was it, that many *tongues*; yea, that *all tongues* should doe it; which (as a consort of many instruments) might yield a full harmonie (613).

Andrewes's reference to the monochord, the instrument that the Pythagoreans used to interpret musical pitch and that early modern music teachers used to teach the intervals of plainsong, is telling. One musical treatise, translated from German into English by the composer John Dowland in 1609, explains that

> The *Monochord* was chiefly invented for this purpose, to be judge of Musical voices and intervals: as also to try whether the song be true or false furthermore, to shew haire-braind false Musitians their errors, and the way of attaining the truth. Lastly, that children which desire to learne Musicke, may have an easie meanes to it, that it may intice beginners, direct those that be forward, and so make of unlearned learned.[56]

In other words, the monochord was a basic instrument, used to teach the rudiments of music theory. As Dowland's translation puts it, it transforms the "unlearned" into the "learned." By turning away from it, Andrewes suggests the limitations of the Pythagorean musical experiments as an analogue for congregational worship. At this stage of his career, he no longer defines harmony in terms of mathematical ratios and balance but as an unenumerated fullness, a diversity of participation, in contrast to the unsatisfying thinness of the monochord. While his 1590 and 1591 sermons represent the monarch as a musical composer, responsible for "setting" the nation's tune, the later Whitsun sermons emphasize the congregation's responsibility to make themselves more receptive to, and thankful for, the Holy Spirit.

Andrewes's Nativity sermons of 1610, 1618, and 1619 employ the language and ideas of harmony, too. As McCullough has shown, these sermons seem to gesture to the Gentlemen of the Choir, a group that would have included famous composers such as William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons.[57] Both of these men had worked with the new stylistically complex form of the verse anthem, which may have informed Andrewes's developing understanding of harmony. For example, in his 1619 Nativity sermon, Andrewes mentions the three tones of the tetrachord: "Hypate," "Nete," "Mese" (120). Early music theorists tended to understand the tetrachord as a practical instrument, unlike the monochord, which was better suited to the "speculative"

56. *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing*, trans. John Dowland (London, 1609), 23.

57. McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching," 116.

or theoretical study of music.[58] Andrewes's allusion to the tetrachord reinforces his gradual movement away from the highly theoretical, mathematical concept of harmony present in the early lectures and sermons of the 1590s. In the 1590s, he primarily used harmony as a metaphor to praise or advise Elizabeth I on her role in maintaining relations between Church and state. From 1606 onward, while musical patronage was at its peak under James I, Andrewes's writing on harmony was more closely related to the specific liturgical contexts of the Chapel Royal, exploited the full range of his technical knowledge of music, and made the case for more complex musical instruments and forms.

In the winter of 1618, Andrewes traded his royal almonership for the position of dean of the Chapel Royal. He held on to the *coram rege* sermons (typically given by the almoner) until Whitsunday 1620, after which he reluctantly accepted the limitations of his new role, the most pertinent being that his feast day sermons were no longer for the king but for the household below stairs. As McCullough has discussed, there is an increasing sense of bitterness and irritation in the sermons from this period, which mainly focus on sin. Andrewes was plagued by ill-health and disappointment, and harmony may not have seemed the most appropriate topic at this stage of his life. It might also have been too politically charged to be appropriate for his new audience, the royal household.[59]

Andrewes returned to harmony just one last time, in the exordium of a sermon preached at the opening of Parliament in 1621. In it, he repeats, through a kind of self-citation, part of the exordium of his 1590 Lent sermon to Elizabeth I. Once again, Andrewes speaks of God's "direction" to Moses to teach men their duty through song, and of David's "holy and heavenly" harp, which taught how to "preserve *harmonie* in a *Congregation*" (144). This repetition is significant, because Andrewes rarely repeated himself. His sermons are, with few exceptions, tailored to the specific place, audience, and occasion of their delivery.[60] It is thus out of keeping with his usual practice to replicate a section of text wholesale from an earlier sermon, especially when the text in question is reused in a sermon delivered thirty-one years after its original delivery, in a venue and to an audience far different from the first. This repetition illustrates the political connotations of harmony in Andrewes's prose: in the 1621 sermon, he exploited a rare opportunity to ascend the stairs of the royal

58. See F. Joseph Smith, "The Medieval Monochord," *Journal of Musicological Research* 5, no. 1–3 (1984): 1–34 at 1. On the distinction between speculative and practical music, see Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, "Annotations," 195–96: "*Speculative is that kinde of musicke* which by Mathematical helpes, seeketh out the causes, properties, and natures of soundes by themselves . . . . *Practical* is that which teacheth al that may be knowne in songes, eyther for the understanding of other mens, or making of ones owne."

59. Andrewes, *Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. McCullough, xxix–xxx.

60. The only other major site of self-citation in Andrewes's corpus is in the Good Friday sermons. See the discussion of the Good Friday sermons in Andrewes, *Selected Sermons and Lectures,* ed. McCullough, 365–78.

household and to preach to a political assembly, a different "*Congregation*," in the terms he had first used in 1590. The repeated passage also demonstrates the significance and longevity of Andrewes's engagement with harmony more broadly, which was, as we have seen, one of the defining themes of his career.

Conclusion

When John Buckeridge preached at Andrewes's funeral in 1626, he described the pity that the biblical figure of Lazarus inspired as "*conflatorium pietatis*; the very bellowes and Anvile of compassion."[61] This description, which is part of an extended discussion of the deceased's good works, resonates with the analogies that Andrewes himself used to define good works early in his career: as the labor of "handy-Crafts men," including the blacksmith, conceived in terms that recalled the legend of Pythagoras's discovery of harmony. Buckeridge's language underscores the importance of good works, and the relationship of good works and harmony, in Andrewes's preaching. Indeed, as we have seen, Andrewes's engagements with harmony, and with music more broadly, reveal some of the most distinctive aspects of his theology, churchmanship, and politics. Andrewes used music as a repository of metaphors with which to explain the role of the monarch, the relationship of Church and state, the need for congregational harmony, the role of the Spirit in the economy of salvation, and the relationship of preaching to other forms of worship. Andrewes did not think of music as only a metaphor, however. Given his support for church music, including his role in recommending the reinstatement of the singing ministers at Christ Church Newgate, there is reason for us to understand Andrewes's writings on the edifying properties of music literally, too, as interventions in ongoing debates about music's purpose and effects.

The study of music in Andrewes's preaching also raises questions of disciplinarity. Scholarship on early modern sermons occupies an unusual disciplinary position. Jeanne Shami explains that sermons "have tended to fall between the disciplines," while Lori Anne Ferrell, similarly, has described the "methodological slipperiness" of this area of study.[62] The issue stems, in part, from the fact that early modern sermons must be studied as both texts and events.[63] Andrewes's writing on music, which was always alert to the circumstances in which it was delivered, and which uses a set of language, images, and tropes to intervene in specific theological and political debates, is a case in point. But we should view the methodological slipperiness of this scholarship not as a problem but as a source of potential:

61. John Buckeridge, "A Sermon Preached at the Funeral," appended to Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons*, ed. Laud and Buckeridge, 11.

62. Jeanne Shami, "Introduction: Reading Donne's Sermons," *John Donne Journal* 11 (1992): 1–20 at 2; Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 10.

63. For further discussion, see Mary Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons," *Historical Journal* 42, no. 4 (1999): 1111–23.

interdisciplinary approaches to sermons will continue to illuminate the breadth and variety of their intellectual engagements. In this instance, I have sought to demonstrate that Andrewes's preaching had close ties to discourses of music, including the widely circulated myths and legends of music's origins, Mulcaster's pedagogical treatises, debates about adiaphora in the 1590s, and experiments with the verse anthem. I hope to have shown that Andrewes's engagements with music were more extensive, and more significant, than has previously been supposed, and, finally, to have laid the foundations for further studies on the relationship of preaching and music in early modern England.

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