

Animals in *Early Modern* *Histories* *of Music*

JAN ANDREAS WESSEL

Independent Scholar, Copenhagen, Denmark

Email: janawe123@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Although the place of animals in early modern musical thought has received some scholarly attention, their role in the works that inaugurated music historiography in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries remains unexplored. The present study seeks to address this gap by examining the representation of animal musicality in two foundational works of the genre: Wolfgang Caspar Printz's *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (1690) and the multi-authored *Histoire de la musique, et de ses effets, depuis son origine jusqu'à présent* (1715). It focuses on the specifically historical dimensions in the two sources' engagement with animal musicality, exploring how this phenomenon is expressed through the historical example – the defining genre feature of the era's historiography. The historical example, it will be argued, shapes the articulation of animal musicality in ways that reflect its three established epistemic functions – demonstrative, representative, and paradigmatic—each manifested through a distinct mode of reasoning in the source texts. Attention is also given to the underlying criteria by which knowledge of animal musicality is valued and justified in music-historical writing.

Keywords: animals, music historiography, early modern Europe



Figure 1. Orpheus playing for the animals, the frontispiece of the original edition of Wolfgang Caspar Printz's *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (1690), <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1213716/m1/5/>, accessed 15 Aug. 2025.

The genre of music history might seem an unlikely place to encounter animals. History, as practiced over the past few centuries, has largely confined animals to the margins, as items in events belonging to the human past. Animals nevertheless occupy a surprisingly prominent place in the corpus of texts that marked the emergence of music history as a literary genre in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This study will examine how animals are represented in two pioneering works from this formative period: Wolfgang Caspar Printz's (1641–1717) *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* [Historical Description of the Noble Song- and Sound-Art, hereafter as *Historische Beschreibung*] published in 1690 and the multi-authored *Histoire de la musique, et de ses effets, depuis son origine jusqu'à présent* [History of Music, and Its Effects, from Its Origin to the Present, hereafter as *Histoire de la musique*] published in 1715.¹ My reading of the latter text will center on the thirteenth chapter, titled 'On the sensitivity that animals have for music' (*De la sensibilité que les Animaux ont pour la Musique*).² Myrna Herzog attributes this chapter to the pen of Jacques Bonnet (1644–1724), citing literary style and the dating of described events as evidence.³ The following discussion will adhere to Herzog's authorship attribution. In Printz's *Historische Beschreibung*, I will focus on two thematically defined chapters that follow directly on his chronological narration of music history: Chapter XIV 'On the Purpose of Music and its Various Uses,' (*Von Der Music Endzweck / und mancherley Gebrauch*) and Chapter XV 'On all kinds of Strange and Marvelous Music' (*Von Allerhand seltsamer und wunderbarerlicher Music*). Both texts present a diverse

¹ The project was initiated by Pierre Bourdelot 1610–1685, court physician to the French King. After his death, the task of finishing the work was taken over by his nephew Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot (1638–1708), also a court physician. After Bonnet-Bourdelot's death, his brother Jacques Bonnet (1644–1724), a treasurer of the Parliament, would eventually finish the book and bring it to publication in 1715. Cf. Myrna Herzog, 'Reassessing Bourdelot-Bonnet's First French History of Music (1715)', *Mirabilia*, 27 (2018), 191–193.

² The full title of this thirteenth chapter is *De la sensibilité que les Animaux ont pour la Musique, & d'une Chasse que les Grands Mogols font au son des Instrumens* (On the sensitivity that animals have for music, and of a hunt that the Great Moguls conduct to the sound of instruments). All translations are the author's own unless otherwise indicated.

³ Herzog, 'Reassessing', 213.

range of accounts, drawing on sources from ancient myths to contemporary eyewitness reports, including the authors' own observations. Among these are stories of animals singing or playing instruments, as well as ones that emphasize their capacity to perceive, respond to, or be influenced by music. The fact that animal musicality features prominently in these written histories of music begs the question of how it is that history – a discipline that in modern definitions is concerned with the past and human culture – could accommodate a topic that seems to belong to the natural sciences.

At its most fundamental level, history concerns itself with the particular. This has been its defining feature since Aristotle distinguished historical knowledge from universal knowledge, assigning it to the realm of what is or has been – as opposed to what could or ought to be, explored in poetry and philosophy.⁴ History's confinement to the actual placed it farther from the universal, and lower on Aristotle's epistemic ladder. Its practitioners have nevertheless regularly maintained a claim to universality, albeit with varying interpretations of how the link between the particular and the universal should be constructed. This study investigates how the interplay between the particular and the universal is manifested in Printz's and Bonnet's histories of animal musicality. It focuses on identifying the modes of reasoning by which narrated examples of animal musicality are transformed into claims of universal knowledge that extend beyond the individual case. Alongside this examination of modes of reasoning, I will pursue a parallel line of inquiry, one that operates somewhat in its shadow but is no less essential for explaining the phenomenon under investigation. It is based on the premise that the production of knowledge requires not only a *how* but also a *why*. Whereas the analysis of modes of reasoning operates at the level of argument, examining implicit logic, reasoning forms, and the rules that govern historical discourse, this other path reveals the values ascribed to knowledge, which motivate, justify, and give meaning to historical inquiry and its dissemination.

Alongside Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi's *Historia Musica* (1695), *Historische Beschreibung* and *Histoire de la musique* form a trio of largely chronological accounts of music history, all written in the vernacular around the same period. All three use terms derived from the Latin *historia* in their titles, which sets them apart from earlier texts sometimes

included in overviews of the genre. In doing so, their authors signaled a commitment to a tradition rooted in Classical Antiquity, whose standards continued to be defined and legitimized by authoritative ancient models.⁵ Printz and Bonnet's decision to include animals in their histories of music reflects the continuing influence of earlier historiographical traditions.

Compared to our present-day use of the term 'history', early modern historiography remained broad in scope, encompassing not only the past but also the present, the future, and the sempiternal. Its reach extended beyond human affairs to include both the natural world and the supernatural order. Human or civic history was only one of the three recognized subdivisions of history codified in historical treaties and handbooks published from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the other two being divine and natural history.⁶ While later periods have situated the history of music firmly within the domain of human culture, one should not assume that the authors of these pioneering texts shared the same understanding of the scope of inquiry. In fact, much of what we today regard as human culture would have been seen as belonging to the domain of natural history.

The object of natural history, both in its ancient and early modern iterations, was the natural world and human interactions with it, including human use of natural resources and their manipulation of nature for human ends. The iconic work of the genre, Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, contains a wealth of examples spanning this whole gamut, from unattended nature to its human appropriations, not only by farmers, fisherfolk, and herbalists, but also by goldsmiths, sculptors, and painters. Although Pliny only affords musicians minor roles, their self-defined place within early modern society as artisans who, through skill and artistry, transformed natural materials (such as wood, metals, and animal intestines) into phenomena that fulfilled human purposes, positions them as paradigmatic subjects of natural history. As Printz reminds his readers, history has shown that music could serve a wide range of practical purposes, such as luring or herding animals, healing various ailments, or quenching rebellions, to mention just a few of the many examples presented in the fourteenth chapter of the *Historische Beschreibung*. A similarly close connection exists between early modern

⁵ George H. Nadel, 'Philosophy of History before Historicism', *History and Theory*, 3/3 (1964), 304.

⁶ See, for instance, Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 28–29.

⁴ Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle, Volume Two*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton, 1984), 2322–23.

music historiography and divine history. Music was commonly attributed with a divine origin, created as a gift to humans with multiple uses, including as a God-pleasing ornament to divine worship. The Bible, and the Old Testament in particular, remained the most important source for music historical inquiry well into the eighteenth century. Works such as *Historische Beschreibung* and *Histoire de la musique* should therefore be viewed as composite histories, incorporating aspects of human, divine, and natural history, insofar as their accounts of music intersect with the three orders of reality.

If we are to propose a heuristic definition of history, one may describe it as a discipline and genre situated at the intersection of inquiry, didactics, and rhetoric, and structured around the concept of exemplarity. The historical example serves as a faithful representation of a specific object or event that also exemplifies a universal truth. The interplay between the particular and the universal proceeds along several paths, reflecting the semantic nuances in the terminology derived from the Latin *exemplum*.

In the chapter on the musical sensitivity of animals, Bonnet uses the French term *exemples* to refer to observations – his own or those of his friends – which, as he puts it, demonstrate beyond doubt (*prouvent incontestablement*) the strong inclination that animals have towards music.⁷ Underlying this claim is an inductivist ethos, rooted in the belief that a sufficiently extensive collection of examples will demonstrate a proposition beyond doubt, not merely give it support. At the beginning of the chapter, Bonnet adopts a more tentative tone, writing: ‘A great number of observations [*d’expériences*] seem to convince [*semble nous persuader*] us that Music extends its power over all that breathes in Nature.’⁸ Notwithstanding differences in rhetorical posture and shades of conviction, both claims reflect the inductive logic that underpins the chapter. Despite Bonnet’s frequently whimsical and conversational style, these scattered methodological statements make the chapter appear as a protracted argument. In gathering an array of examples guided by the principles of quantity and situational variety, it reinforces the overarching proposition that music exerts a universal influence throughout the natural world.

It is also noteworthy that Bonnet situates his examples in the external, observable world – as events anchored in a specific time and place. Once rendered in language, the observation takes on a narrative form, with a beginning and an end, often culminating in a resolution, explanation, or punchline. Bonnet also appears to privilege visual observation over other forms of evidence. In his strong epistemic claim for demonstrative knowledge, he cites examples that have taken place before his own eyes (*passés à mes yeux*) or those witnessed by trusted friends and relayed to him through conversation. The latter element points to the rich context of orality in the early modern transmission of knowledge.⁹ He returns to the connection between examples and observation close to the end of the chapter, noting that he has seen many other examples (*J’ai vu bien d’autres exemples*) of animal sensitivity to music, which he could have included, if not for fear of tiring the reader.¹⁰ He concludes the chapter by directing the reader to the works of three prominent natural historians, which, he notes, contain numerous other examples (*quantité d’exemples*).¹¹ These references to a broader, unlisted body of evidence reflect a rhetorical strategy rooted in the Aristotelian principle of inductive quantity: the greater the number of particular examples, the firmer the universal proposition they support.

We find the corresponding German *Exempel* being used in a similar sense by Printz, as when – after having presenting stories of children being lulled to sleep with the help of music – he states that he can demonstrate with many examples (*mit vielen Exempeln erweisen*) that music is also capable of lulling adults and the elderly into sweet sleep.¹² He limits himself to presenting three examples: two drawn from textual sources and one based on his own direct observation. As in Bonnet, the framing of these examples as part of a larger set implicitly invokes the principle of inductive quantity, whereby a proposition gains support by the implied presence of many further unmentioned examples.

⁹ As Elizabeth Horodowich points out, not only was ‘the exchange of ideas and information in the early modern world [...] predominantly and overwhelmingly by word of mouth’, but oral information was often considered more reliable than that in print. Elizabeth Horodowich, ‘Introduction: Speech and Oral Culture in Early Modern Europe and Beyond’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16/4–5 (2012), 301, 305.

¹⁰ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 478.

¹¹ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 482.

¹² Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (Berlin, 1979), 459.

⁷ Pierre Bourdelot, Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot and Jacques Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique, et de ses effets, depuis son origine jusqu’à présent* (Paris, 1715), 468. In this particular passage, Bonnet refers to birds.

⁸ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, *Histoire*, 463.

What value is inherent in this type of knowledge, though? Knowledge acquired through inductive demonstration can, in principle, carry various types of value, but the examples above are closely linked (either directly or indirectly) to practical utility. In Printz, this pragmatic aspect is obvious, and throughout the fourteenth chapter he consistently uses demonstrative examples to support claims concerning music's practical value, for instance, of music being used to manipulate animals for herding or military purposes. While Bonnet's demonstration of animals' musical sensitivity has a more indirect connection to utility, this link between animals taking pleasure in music and its deliberate exploitation for human purposes underpins the entire argument. Human utility is one of the factors, perhaps the strongest one, that endow the knowledge of animal musicality with value and justification. After stating his opening thesis, he immediately adds that animals will 'often put their freedom and even their lives at stake to the allure of a beautiful voice and the sweetness of Instruments. Not only will they yield to the pleasure of hearing them, as we also observe how music makes them more disciplinable [obedient and easily trained].'¹³ He distinguishes animal enjoyment of music from its use as a tool for control, but acknowledges the connection between them – as pleasure facilitates subjugation.

Such demonstrative use of examples is not the only way in which historical reasoning unfolds in these texts. In the fifteenth chapter of the *Historische Beschreibung*, the examples clearly operate according to a different logic. Rather than serving to prove a specific proposition, they function to typify general classes of phenomena. Each example takes on the role of a specimen – a particular instance that exemplifies a broader category to which it belongs. Here, the aim is taxonomic rather than demonstrative. Examples are employed to illustrate and clarify general classifications, not to establish or defend a particular argument.

The chapter begins with a definition of the subject. Strange and marvelous music is music that is exceptional and uncommon (*ungemein und rar*), and of such a nature that one must marvel at it (*daß man sich darüber verwundern muß*).¹⁴ Printz then goes on to outline the five

species belonging to this genus: 'the Silly-Laughable, the Artful-Laughable, the Fantastic, the Unusually-Sounding, and the Exceptionally-Artful'.¹⁵ We find his discussions of animals in the section dedicated to the artful-laughable and the fantastic species of music. Among the fantastic forms of music, we find a story about a concert performed by a parrot and a dog, another about wild sloths singing humanlike songs in the forest at night, and a musical concert performed by undomesticated monkeys in the wild.

The artful-laughable is exemplified by stories of so-called pig and cat organs. These instruments, made up of living animals, produced sound by a mechanism that inflicted pain on the animals' tails or hindquarters, causing them to scream at pitches corresponding to the musical scale – determined by the size of the selected animal. These much-quoted stories depict figments of the imagination, since there is no evidence that any such instruments were ever actually constructed. Rather, they must be understood as literary devices, revealing aspects of early modern humor in conflict with present-day sensibilities. While Printz describes both a pig and a cat organ, Bonnet includes only the latter. Despite drawing on different sources and settings, they all follow the same narrative pattern: The instrument is played before a noble figure, typically of elevated status and emotionally reserved. In Printz's story of the cat organ, it is a young gentleman afflicted by melancholy; in Bonnet's, it is Philip II of Spain, whom he presents as 'the most serious and solemn of men'.¹⁶ Each story ends in laughter, representing music's healing effect on the princely soul, which playfully parallels the biblical tale of David and Saul – almost as if the author was parodying it. In Printz's account on the pig organ, the instrument is played before King Louis XI of France and his courtiers. Printz carefully shapes the narration to fit the definition of the class it is meant to represent, aligning the example with the genus and species it intends to illustrate. He describes how laughter was provoked by the bizarre harmony (*die wunderliche HARMONIE*), while amazement (*Verwunderung*) arose from the instrument's ingenious conception and well-planned design (*die künstliche Erfindung und artliche DISPOSITION*). The audience's response, embedded

13 Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 463–464. '... puisqu'ils exposent souvent leur liberté & même leur vie aux charmes d'une belle voix, & à la douceur des Instrumens: ils ne s'abandonnent pas seulement au plaisir de les entendre; mais on voit encore combien la Musique les rend disciplinables.'

14 Printz, *Historische Beschreibung*, 460.

15 Printz, 461. 'Daher wollen wir diese Music abtheilen in eine Einfältig-Lächerliche / Kunstreich-Lächerliche / Abentheuerliche / Ungewöhnlich-Lautende und Ungemein-Kunstreiche.'

16 Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 481.

in the narrative structure of the anecdote, thus serves a definitional purpose.

A third dimension of the example becomes apparent where its role is not merely to prove or represent the universal, but to *embody* it. In such instances, the example functions as a particular manifestation of the universal within the world. This is what one might call a *paradigmatic* use of the example. The Greek term *paradeigma* refers to something set beside another for comparison or illustration. In historiography, this involves two particular cases that reflect or mirror each other through the lens of a universal principle. Paradigmatic exemplarity is usually called upon for instruction and persuasion, and it is aimed at shaping behavior by illustrating how one should (or should not) act in particular circumstances. Printz invokes this sense when he uses phrases such as ‘after the example’ (*nach dem Exempel*) when referring to a recapitulation of something done (paradigmatically) by someone else. In *Histoire de la musique*, we find the term used similarly throughout the work. For instance, after recounting the story of Thamyris,¹⁷ the author writes that it ‘should serve as an example for musicians, as well as for others who take pride in their knowledge; for pride is as displeasing to God as it is unbearable to men.’¹⁸ Although the chapter on animals does not explicitly use the term in this sense, paradigmatic exemplarity nevertheless permeates the discussion, especially in passages where animals exemplify virtues; as when Bonnet recounts a monkey’s performance at the Saint Laurent Fair earlier that year, which all of Paris had gone to see (*tout Paris a vu*). The monkey had performed twenty different acts with as much skill and judgment (*d’adresse & de jugement*) as a human could.¹⁹ Among these, he mentions that it danced a minuet dressed as a woman and was learning to play the violin in order to achieve greater perfection (*pour être plus parfait*). Bonnet finds another example of animal self-perfection in the writings of the ancient historian Suetonius: Emperor Domitian had a troupe of elephants trained to perform a ballet:

teaching them steps and figures difficult to remember. [...] One of these animals, having been beaten for not properly remembering its lesson, was observed the following night practicing it of its own accord by moonlight in order to avoid further punishment; with the consequence that the ballet was performed to perfection in Rome, to the great astonishment of the spectators.²⁰

The monkey and the elephant in these examples embody the distinctly early modern virtue of self-perfection – an ideal that, while newly articulated in this period, draws on a longstanding tradition dating back to the Antiquity, where accounts of animals engaged in self-training served as a bridge between human and animal musicality. We find this theme in Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, in his account of the mother-nightingale, which was observed giving singing lessons to a young bird.²¹ Another example is the domesticated jay found in Plutarch’s *On the Intelligence of Animals*, which withdrew into silence for several days – a type of behavior interpreted by Plutarch as self-training – before returning with an imitation in the full range of melodies, intervals, and rhythms of the music it had heard before falling silent.²²

In *Historische Beschreibung*, paradigmatic exemplarity is most prominent in examples of what one might call pure animal music: animals producing music naturally, without human training. One such instance is from the fourteenth chapter, where Printz illustrates the uses and purposes of music, including for religious worship. Here we find him invoking the birds that ‘sing to honor their Creator, both in the evening and in the morning’²³ as a rhetorical example that compels pious Christians to sing and make music throughout the day. Printz’s use of birds as models for church music must be understood within the context of the ongoing seventeenth-century Lutheran debates concerning worship practices. Radical Lutherans criticized the use of instruments

¹⁷ A singer in Greek mythology who was punished after losing a musical contest he had challenged the Muses to.

¹⁸ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 129. ‘Cette Histoire doit encore fervir d’exemple aux Musiciens, comme aux au tres qui seprévalent de leur sçavoir; l’orgueil écant ausi désagréable à Dieu, qu’insupportable aux hommes.’

¹⁹ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 472–73.

²⁰ Bourdelot, Bonnet-Bourdelot and Bonnet, 464–65. ‘l’Empereur Domitien fit encore dresser une troupe d’Elephans pour danser un Balet, ausquels on monroit des pas & des figures difficiles à retenir; un de ces Animaux ayant été battu pour n’avoir pas bien retenu sa leçon, on remarqua que la nuit suivante, il la repeta de son propre mouvement au clair de la Lune, pour éviter le châtement; de sorte que ce Balet fut représenté parfaitement dans Rome, au grand étonnement des Spectateurs...’

²¹ Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, 848.

²² Stephen T. Newmyer, *Plutarch’s Three Treatises on Animals: A Translation with Introductions and Commentary* (London, 2020), 38.

²³ Printz, 450. ‘Singen doch die unvernünftigen Vögel ihrem Schöpfer zu Ehren / so wohl Abends / als Morgens: Warum nicht vielmehr ein vernünftiger Mensch?’

and professional musicians, arguing they lacked scriptural basis and distorted true worship.²⁴ Printz's detailed discussion, presented in chapter four of the *Historische Beschreibung*, of the music performed for divine worship at the time of the Old Testament kings David and Solomon responds to this challenge by anchoring current practice in the Holy Scripture. His paradigmatic use of birdsong as a model of worship further anchors church music in the 'book of nature.' Since Antiquity, animals have been used as models for how it would look to be acting in harmony with nature – unlike humans, who can stray from it.²⁵ In Christianity, particularly among Protestants who regarded tradition with suspicion, nature came to exemplify a divine order, serving as a reliable teacher of truths aligned with God's will.²⁶

In the fifteenth chapter Printz presents us with an account of a concert performed by monkeys in the wild. The passage is taken from Erasmus Francisci's *West-Indianischer Lust-Garten* [*West Indian Pleasure Garden*], which he quotes *verbatim*. It begins with an outline of the monkeys' appearance and general behavior before moving on to a description of their musical practices:

Every day, several times in the morning and afternoon, [the monkeys] assemble. One of them takes a seat in an elevated spot, right in the middle, while the others sit slightly below in a circle around him. Then the one in the center plays the role of a cantor and precentor [*Vorsinger*], singing loudly and making gestures with his hand, while the entire assembled choir follows his lead. They continue singing in this manner until the head cantor [*Oberste Singe=Meister*] and choir master [*Chor=Herr*] gives another signal with his hand, at which point they all instantly fall silent. Only he, the Kapellmeister and music director, continues with a strong voice and finishes the final verse of the song. Several of our people, who have witnessed this amusing habit of the monkeys with their own eyes and ears, can confirm this.²⁷

²⁴ See, for instance, Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York, 1993).

²⁵ Stephen T. Newmyer, 'Human-Animal Interactions in Plutarch as Commentary on Human Moral Failings', in Thorsten Fögen and Edmund Thomas, eds, *Interactions between Animals and Humans in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Berlin, 2017), 238–239.

²⁶ See for instance, Nicole Maceira Cumming, "'Whether or Not There Be Any Difference between Men and Beasts ...?': Animals, Dominion and Natural Law in Post-Reformation Scotland", *Scottish Church History*, 54/1 (2025), 18. For a wide-ranging study of how nature has been viewed as a source of moral authority throughout history, see Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal, eds, *The Moral Authority of Nature* (Chicago, 2004).

²⁷ Printz, 464–465. 'Alle Tage kommen sie Vor- und Nach-Mittage etlich mahl zusammen. Da setzt sich einer unter ihnen an eine erhabene Stelle recht in die Mitten: Die andern sitzen etwas

The scene described reflects a striking resemblance to seventeenth-century choral practice, with the roles and hierarchies among performers echoed, almost parodically, in the behavior of the monkeys. The anecdote functions as a *paradeigma*, holding up a mirror to draw a parallel between the animal and human worlds of music. The passage nevertheless resists a straightforward paradigmatic reading. Rather than affirming a divine or natural foundation of contemporaneous choral music, the account seems to veer into the realm of the curious. Its placement in the fifteenth chapter as an example of fantastic music, coupled with the description of the monkeys' actions as a ridiculous habit (*lächerlicher Gewohnheit*), underscores its humorous, possibly satirical intent. The presence of human witnesses within the narrative serves to authenticate the event while simultaneously drawing attention to its curious nature. While the example of the birds is clearly prescriptive, the epistemic value of this monkey concert is less unequivocal. But perhaps it need not be one or the other. Such a duality may fail to do justice to the richness of historical exemplarity, which allows a single example to offer both marvels to satisfy the readers' curiosity and a window into the divine order.²⁸

To sum up, Printz's and Bonnet's historical inquiries into animal musicality employ at least three distinct modes of reasoning, linking particular examples to universal truths: the demonstrative, the representative, and the paradigmatic. The demonstrative example proves a proposition; the representative one typifies a class; and the paradigmatic models the universal. I have also dedicated attention to the implicit criteria by which examples of animal musicality were justified and selected for inclusion in historical accounts of music. These criteria align with key values that underpinned the rise of textual engagement with nature in the sixteenth and seventeenth

niedriger rings um ihn her. Alsdann spielet der Ober=sitzer einen Cantor und Vorsinger; singet dem gantzen Hauffen mit lauter Stimme und Zeichen=gebender Hand vor: Derne der übrige gesamte Chor nachsinget; und halten mit solchen ihren Gesinge so lang an / bis der Oberste Singe=Meister und Chor=Herr abermahl mit der Hand ein Zeichen gibt: Worauff sie alle zugleich in einen Augenblick erstummen: er aber / der Capell-Meister und MUSIC-DIRECTOR allein mit starcker Stimme aushält / und den Gesang FINALisiret. Und solches können unterschiedene von unsern Leuten bezeugen / die mit ihren Augen und Ohren sich dieser Affen lächerlicher Gewohnheit gnugsam versichert.'

²⁸ This is an idea we find explored in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998).

centuries. Reflecting on the surge of natural philosophy writings in the late Renaissance, Ann Blair observes that '[a]uthors in many different professions and circumstances extolled the virtues of the study of nature, as morally uplifting, useful, and pleasantly varied.'²⁹ Although my sources were written a century later and belong to a different literary genre, the subject of animal musicality seems to crystalize around a comparable, though not identical, trio of knowledge ideals.

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Jan Wessel holds an MA in the History of Ideas from the University of Oslo and a PhD in Musicology from the University of Copenhagen. His doctoral dissertation explored the development of the idea that musical listening has a history, as reflected in writings from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Over the past five years, his research has focused on musical historicity, particularly on examining its emergence at the intersection of various knowledge domains in early modernity. ORCID iD: 0000-0002-8093-3817

²⁹ Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, 2017), 14.