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# Assessing the Ethos Theory of Music

**James O. Young**
University of Victoria

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**Abstract**
The view that music can have a positive or negative effect on a person's character has been defended throughout the history of philosophy. This paper traces some of the history of the ethos theory and identifies a version of the theory that could be true. This version of the theory can be traced to Plato and Aristotle and was given a clear statement by Herbert Spencer in the nineteenth century. The paper then examines some of the empirical literature on how music can affect dispositions to behave and moral judgement. None of this evidence provides much support for the ethos theory. The paper then proposes a programme of research that has the potential to confirm the ethos theory.

**Keywords**
character, ethos theory, music.

## 1 Introduction

The view that music can have a positive or negative effect on a person's character has been defended throughout the history of philosophy. Listening to some sorts of music, many philosophers have believed, can make people more virtuous (or moral) while listening to other sorts of music can make people less virtuous (or less moral). This is known as the ethos theory, from the Greek word for character. Pythagoras, Damon, a fifth century associate of Socrates, Plato (1963), Aristotle (1946), Aristides Quintilianus (1983) and others adopted versions of the ethos theory in the ancient world. Confucius, in China, had a version of the ethos theory. The theory was widely held in the Middle Ages, particularly among Islamic writers. The ethos theory was revived in the Renaissance and was

held by a variety of thinkers from the sixteenth century until well into the eighteenth. It was revived again in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by writers such as Spencer (1857/1986), Haweis (1899) and Britan (1911). More recently, philosophers such as Carr (2006), Alperson & Carroll (2010) and Higgins (2018) have held that music has moral effects. This paper will identify the most plausible version of the ethos theory (a version that can be traced to Plato and Aristotle), show that none of the available experimental evidence supports this theory and, finally, propose a research programme that could confirm the theory.

## 2 Origins of the ethos theory

Various versions of the ethos theory have been proposed, but these theories fall into two broad categories. The first category includes Pythagorean theories, according to which music somehow harmonises the soul. The second broad category of ethos theory can be traced to various other ancient authors, including Damon, Plato and Aristotle.

Boethius adopted a Pythagorean version of the ethos theory. He states that, "the order of our soul and body seems to be related somehow through those same ratios by which…sets of pitches, suitable for melody, are joined together and united." Listening to music, the body responds with motion "somehow similar to the song heard." Boethius takes this to be evidence that "music is so naturally united with us that we cannot be free from it even if we so desired" (Boethius 1989: 7–8). Aristides Quintilianus hints at a similar position when he writes that music is "extended through all matter—so to speak—and reaches through all time, adorning the soul with the beauties of harmonia" (Aristides Quintilianus 1983: 72).

The Pythagorean view seems to be that something like sympathetic vibration is responsible for music's effects on the soul. Sympathetic vibration occurs, for example, when a sufficiently loud note is sounded in the presence of undamped strings. Any undamped string at the same pitch as the note and any undamped string with a common partial harmonic will begin to vibrate in sympathy with the note. On this view, when people hear harmonious music, their souls become harmonious by receiving harmony from the music. This view depended on the Pythagorean doctrine that the soul is a harmony of the body. Pythagorean versions of the ethos theory may be summarily dismissed. They depend on an untenable account of the soul and their account of the mechanism whereby music influences the soul is incompatible with modern science. Our souls do not, somehow, harmonise with music.

Another version of the ethos theory seems to begin with Damon. Little is known of

Damon, though Plato credits him in the *Republic* with having developed the ethos theory. Aristides Quintilianus mentions the legacy of Damon when he writes that "notes, even of continuous melody, mold through similarity a nonexistent ethos in children and in those already advanced in age and bring out a latent ethos, the disciples of Damon showed" (Aristides Quintilianus 1983: 145). Plato adopted this view, writing that

> the child's soul …may not learn the habit of feeling pleasure and pain in ways contrary to the law and those who have listened to its bidding, but keep them company, taking pleasure and pain in the very same things as the aged—that …proves to be the real purpose of what we call our 'songs'. (Plato 1963: 659e)

Aristotle also adopted the ethos theory and writes that what "we have said makes it clear that music possesses the power of producing an effect on the character of the soul. If it can produce this effect, it must clearly be made a subject of study and taught to the young" (Aristotle 1946: 1340b). All three of the writers just quoted make reference to children listening to the right sort of music. In order for music (of the right sort) to make people more moral, these writers agree, they must listen to it over a long period of time, ideally starting as children.

Music is able to have effects on characters, many ancients believed, because it is an imitative art. For example, Aristides Quintilianus states that music is mimetic and adds that, "music imitates the ethoses [characters] and passions of the soul" (Aristides Quintilianus 1983: 119). In the *Laws*, Plato writes that, "it would be universally allowed of music that its productions are all of the nature of representation and portraiture" (Plato 1963: 668b). Later he adds that "rhythms and music generally are a reproduction expressing the moods of better and worse men" (Plato 1963: 798d). Aristotle agrees that music is an imitative art, writing that "epic and tragic poetry, as well as comedy and dithyramb (and most music for the pipe or lyre), are all, taken as a whole, kinds of mimesis" (Aristotle 1987: 32). Another passage, in the *Politics*, also indicates that Aristotle believes that music is an imitative art: "Musical compositions…are, in their very nature, representations of states of character. This is an evident fact" (Aristotle 1946: 1340b).

Plato apparently believed that music influences characters by setting a good example. With regard to poetical imitations, Plato writes in the *Republic* that such "imitations, if continued from youth far into life, settle down into habits and second nature of the body, the speech, and the thought" (Plato 1963: 395d). In this passage, Plato suggests that, if a poet regularly imitates shameful things, he may become shameful. In contrast, if a

poet imitates virtuous men, he will acquire salutary habits. Likely Plato also believes that audience members who are consistently exposed to imitations of shameful things will also become shameful. Plato probably believes that something similar happens with musical representations of shameful and virtuous characters. The standard by which music is to be judged is "likeness to the model of the noble" (Plato 1963: 663b). The view seems to be that listeners will emulate the good characters that they hear represented.

According to Aristotle, music has a salutary effect on listeners' characters in another way, by influencing listeners' emotions. He holds that,

> listeners will be differently affected according as they listen to different modes. The effect of some will be to produce a sadder and graver temper—this is the case, for example, with the mode called the Mixolydian. The effect of others (such as the soft modes) is to relax the tone of the mind. (Aristotle 1946: 1340b)

This passage indicates that Aristotle believes that musical imitations have an effect on listeners' emotions. The emotions that people habitually feel have, in turn, an effect on their characters. Aristotle believes that the young must begin to listen to salutary music at an early age, presumably because his general view is that a virtuous character results from habituation.

## 3 Emotions and moral judgement

Recently, Angelika Seidel and Jesse Prinz have conducted research that, they believe, "suggests that there may have been some truth in Aristotle's" views on music and ethos (Seidel and Prinz 2013: 634). It is unclear, however, whether these authors have a clear understanding of Aristotle's ethos theory. Certainly, the hypothesis that they test is not the hypothesis that Aristotle and others advanced. Most of the other empirical evidence similarly fails to provide support for the ethos theory as articulated in antiquity. Contemporary experiments are cross-sectional and simply test whether music-induced emotions have an effect on actions and moral judgements.

In one sort of experiment, listeners hear music and then their disposition to engage in prosocial behaviour is assessed. An early study (Fried and Berkowitz 1979) found a correlation between hearing certain kinds of music and prosocial behaviour. This study used three pieces of music as stimuli: "soothing" music (Mendelssohn's 'Songs Without Words' Op. 19, No. 1 and Op. 38, No. 4), a "stimulating" piece of music

(Duke Ellington's 'One O'Clock Jump') and an "aversive" piece of music (John Coltrane's 'Meditations'). A control group heard no music. The researchers ascertained that the music induced the intended emotions and then asked the test subjects whether they were prepared to offer further assistance to the researchers. The results showed a clear correlation between the music heard, the emotion felt and the probability of engaging in prosocial behavior. 90% of the subjects who listened to the Mendelssohn were prepared to assist the research. This is opposed to 65% of those who heard the Ellington, and 45% of those who heard the Coltrane. 60% of those in the control group were prepared to offer further assistance to the researchers.

In a similar study (North, Tarrant and Hargreaves, 2004), 646 users of an English university gym heard either "annoying" (avant-garde computer music) or "uplifting" (British top twenty singles) music. In a manipulation check, gym users were in significantly better moods after listening to the uplifting music. On leaving the gym, the subjects were asked to sign a petition in support of the fictitious British Disabled Athletics Association and distribute leaflets on behalf of the Association. Almost everyone signed the petition but those who heard the uplifting music were significantly more likely to offer to distribute leaflets. This is evidence that a musically induced positive mood promotes prosocial behavior.

One of the experiments by Seidel and Prinz (2013) had subjects listen to Japanese noise music, with "harsh, dissonant, and jarring sounds," Grieg's 'Morning Mood' or no music. They were then asked two questions about a vignette in which a young mother needs help getting a baby carriage down some stairs. The first question asked of the test subjects was, "How good would it be for you to help the young mother?" The second was, "Do you think that you ought to help her?" On a nine-point scale, average answers to these questions given by those primed by the Grieg were 6.90 and 6.85 respectively. Those who heard the noise music gave average answers of 4.30 and 4.48. The average answers of those in the control group were 5.40 and 5.70. This is more evidence that listening to happy music inclines people to prosocial behaviour.

Another sort of experiment shows that emotions aroused by music can affect moral judgement. In one study, participants heard a fake radio ad about a website that tells people how to cheat on retirement benefits (Ziv, Hoftman & Geyer 2011). Half of the test subjects heard the ad while also listening to the Allegro from Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, a work that has been shown to produce a positive mood. The other half heard no music. 53.1% of the subjects who heard the ad with music stated that cheating is an advantage of the website as opposed to 13.3% in the control group. 87.5% of the participants who heard the ad with music would recommend the ad to their friends as opposed to 13.3% in the control

group. In a similar experiment, test subjects heard music inducing four different emotions (joy, relaxation, sadness and annoyance). The subjects then read vignettes about moral transgressions. Subjects who heard sad or annoying music were significantly more likely to judge these transgressions more harshly than were those who heard music that aroused joy or relaxation (Ansani, D'Errico & Poggi 2019). This is evidence that musically-induced emotions have an effect on moral judgements that test subjects make.

These results were partially confirmed by another study (Steffens 2018) in which subjects were shown two film clips. In the first, from *A Simple Plan* (1998), money is taken from a dead criminal. In the second, from *Amour* (2012), a husband euthanizes his terminally ill wife who has expressed a desire to die. The clips were combined with music arousing tension, happiness, anger and love/tenderness. A control group viewed the clips without any music. Only music that arouses happiness was found to increase the probability that the depicted actions are believed to be right.

In another experiment (Seidel and Prinz 2013), Japanese noise music was again used to induce anger and Grieg's 'Morning Mood' was used to induce happiness. A control group heard no music. A manipulation check found that the intended emotions were induced. Test subjects were then asked to consider three situations involving immoral actions. In the first, a man finds a wallet on the street and keeps the money it contains. In the second, a man includes fake credentials on a resumé. Finally, a man cuts off other cars in order to beat traffic. Subjects were then asked to rank, on a seven-point scale, the wrongness of the actions described. Those who heard the noise music provided an average immorality ranking of 6.10. Those who heard the Grieg gave an average assessment of 3.48. The average assessment given by the control group was 4.19. Happier people were inclined to judge the actions more leniently.

Another recent paper (Pastötter et al. 2013), has investigated the relationship between music and moral judgements. Pastötter and his colleagues presented test subjects with a version of the trolly problem in which the subjects were asked whether they would push an old man off a footbridge onto some trolly tracks and, as a result, prevent a runaway trolly from killing five children playing on the tracks (Thompson 1986). Prior to being asked this question, half of the subjects heard Mozart's happy *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* and the other half heard Barber's sad Adagio for Strings, Op. 11. The experimenters found that these musical works had succeeded in arousing, respectively, happiness and sadness. Half of the subjects were then asked "Do you think it is appropriate to be active and push the man?" and the other half were asked "Do you think it is appropriate to be passive and not push the man?" The experimenters found an odd result. The happy test subjects were significantly

more likely than the sad ones to push the old man off the bridge when asked if they would push him. However, the sad subjects were more likely than the happy ones to respond to the second question by saying that they would not push the man.

The empirical evidence shows that certain pieces of music are more likely to produce prosocial behaviour in listeners than are other pieces. As we saw, subjects who heard British top twenty music were more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour than were those who heard avant-garde computer music. Subjects who heard Mendelssohn's 'Songs Without Words' were more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour than were subjects in other groups. Certainly, these results are compatible with the ethos theory. They may even encourage us to investigate the ethos theory further. The results do not, however, show that the theory is correct. These results only show that individuals who are happy are more inclined to engage in prosocial behaviour at the moment when they are happy. This is not a startling result but, rather, a commonplace one. The experiments do not show that listening to music has long term effects on listeners' disposition to engage in prosocial behaviour.

The available experimental evidence often does not give us reason to believe that listening to certain kinds of music makes people more likely to reach correct moral judgements. In fact, the results seem contrary to this conclusion. Consider again the experiment in which the movies *A Simple Plan* and *Amour* were among the stimuli provided to test subjects. Each film deals with a complex moral situation. In particular, it is not clear what the correct course of action is in the scenario represented in *Amour*. Perhaps the husband was right to end the life of his terminally ill wife once she had expressed the desire to die. Perhaps the husband acted wrongly. All we know, on the basis of the experiment, is that someone who is happy is more inclined to judge that the husband acted rightly. That is different from showing that he actually acted rightly. Consider now the experiment that used the fake ad about cheating on retirement benefits. As we saw, the subjects who listened to *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* were more likely to think that the fact that the ad enabled them to cheat was an advantage of the ad and they were more likely to recommend the ad to other people. In other words, listening to music made people less likely to make correct moral judgements. Similarly, the subjects who heard Grieg's 'Morning Music' were less likely than those who heard other works to judge that certain actions are immoral. But the actions, such as faking credentials and failing to return property to its owner, are immoral by any reasonable standard. All that the experiments show is that people who are in a good mood are more likely to look with favour on immoral actions. Consequently, the experiments indicate that music can make people *less* moral.

The experiment of Pastötter et al. provides no support for the ethos theory either.

Clearly the emotional effects of music have an impact on the moral judgements that subjects make. There is, however, no evidence that people in one emotional state rather than another are more likely to make the correct moral judgement. The experiment simply shows that subjects in different emotional states respond differently to different ways of presenting the trolley problem.

In summary, the existing empirical literature provides little evidence for the ethos theory. According to the ethos theory, music has a long-term effect on a person's character. In particular, it can dispose them towards sympathy (or compassion) for their fellow humans and dispose them towards pro-social behaviour. Cross-sectional studies of the sort conducted by psychologists do not establish, and are not intended to establish, that music has a beneficial effect on listener's characters. The empirical literature does not provide any evidence that people who listen to music are likely to make the right moral judgement. The existing experimental literature tests the Pythagorean view that music can have a temporary effect on emotional states, not the view associated with Plato and Aristotle, according to which music can improve character in the long term. Experimenters have, however, made a useful proposal in suggesting that a correlation between listening to music and prosocial behaviour would be evidence in favour of the ethos theory. What is needed is evidence that long-term exposure to certain sorts of music is correlated with prosocial behaviour.

## 4 Music and group solidarity

Philip Alperson and Noël Carroll have proposed another way in which music can have moral value, stating that the arts, including music, "are intimately bound up with moral education" (Alperson & Carroll 2010: 513). They note that, around the world, the music that most people hear most of the time is not purely instrumental, of the sort found in the canon of Western classical music. They note that "hymns, dirges, love songs, work songs, union songs, social dances, liturgies, anthems, movie music" and a host of other genres are incorporated into our daily lives (Alperson & Carroll 2010: 514). Music has played a role in important social movements, such as the civil rights movement and the peace movement. It has galvanised nations to pursue difficult projects and comforted them in times of affliction. In this way and others, music performs "important functions in the ethical life of a culture" (Alperson & Carroll 2010: 514).

Alperson and Carroll make an effort to explain how music promotes moral development. They suggest that music can promote a common mood among members of a community and they hold that people are "thereby…prepared emotionally to act in con-

cert to achieve certain aims." They also propose that an "ethical community is a community of feeling, and music can function as an important ingredient to confect shared feeling" (Alperson & Carroll 2010: 521). Music may also activate pleasure centres in the brain with the result that the fellow feeling promoted by music is reinforced by its association with pleasure. Alperson also finds significance in the fact that the moral views of many peoples, from the ancient Greeks on, are encoded in words set to music. The result is that music helps engrain "the ethos of their culture" since it is "readily available for retrieval, guidance, and application" (Alperson 2014: 29).

Kathleen Higgins has identified the problem with the sort of argument advanced by Alperson and Carroll. In certain respects, Higgins agrees with Alperson and Carroll. She identifies a number of mechanisms by which listening to music can build group solidarity. Some of the mechanisms she identifies are similar to those proposed by Alperson and Carroll. Higgins believes that music can provide shared emotional experiences and it can lead to entrainment: while listening to music, "our activities synchronize, or entrain, with the regular rhythms that we hear in many kinds of music" (Higgins 2018: 4). The problem is that the "very mechanisms that enable music to create solidarity can solidify bonds within sectarian groups that identify themselves in opposition to non-members" (Higgins, 2018: 1).

This is a very serious worry, as empirical research indicates. Consider a series of experiments designed to show that music is an evolved mechanism for increasing social cohesion (Loersch and Arbuckle, 2013). In one of these experiments, at the University of Missouri, subjects listened to either a happy song ('Soul Makossa' by Manu Dibango) or a sad song (Mary Gauthier's 'Mercy Now'). The subjects were then asked to perform a resource allocation task. They could allocate resources to another University of Missouri student or to a member of an outgroup, namely a University of Toronto student. The experimenters found that the more moved by the music that subjects were, the more they were inclined to favour the ingroup member over the outgroup member. Both the happy song and the sad song had this effect. The experimenters took this result to confirm the hypothesis that music promotes social cooperation, and perhaps it does. However, the experiment provides no evidence for the claim that listening to music makes people more moral. On the contrary, it shows that Higgins' worry about the effects of music is well founded. In a resource allocation task of the sort used in this experiment, moral individuals will not show preference for members of their own group. We have every reason to believe that listening to music will make deplorable groups and organisations more inclined than ever to discriminate against their opponents. Think, for example, of the use of music at Trump rallies.

Higgins proposes a variety of ways in which music could promote group solidarity without running the risk that it is misused. She suggests that participatory performance and, in particular, jazz improvisation, may promote "commitment to peaceful co-existence" (Higgins 2018: 9). Perhaps, but if so, participation in a group activity rather than listening to music is responsible for the commitment to peaceful co-existence. Worse, she may be right in holding that "[p]articipatory music creates a sense of mutuality that is palpable" (Higgins 2018: 10), but that does not solve the present problem. Perhaps a group of fascists engage in participatory music-making and their sense of community is enhanced. We still have no reason to believe that they are any more moral than they would otherwise be without their participatory music-making.

Higgins also suggests that the "promotion of musical hybrids" may promote understanding between community members and holds that certain "musical structures can also resonate with the idea of conflict resolution" (Higgins 2018: 9–10). In particular, she suggests, sonata-allegro form, in which contrasting themes are reconciled, may be one such musical form. She may be right, but no empirical evidence for this proposal is available.

## 5 The ethos theory: a proposal

Plato and Aristotle may well have been right in holding that music can influence character. Possibly, they were also right in holding that music influences character by regulating emotions and providing exemplars for emulation. I hypothesize, however, that the most promising version of the ethos theory was proposed by Herbert Spencer. In certain respects, Spencer's view is akin to that of Plato and Aristotle. Like them, he believes that music is an imitative art in that music's resemblance to human expressive behaviour gives music its expressive character and that music can, consequently, arouse emotions. He also believes that listening to music that is expressive of emotion allows listeners to enter imaginatively into the lives of other people and that this can enhance listeners' capacity for sympathy for others. Spencer's proposal has a prima facie plausibility and it lends itself to empirical testing. Unfortunately, no efforts have been made to test his hypothesis that music makes listeners more sympathetic to their fellow humans. I suggest that psychologists take Spencer's proposal seriously and subject it to testing.

In "The Origin and Function of Music" (1857) Spencer argued that music takes as "its raw material the various modifications of voice which are the physiological results of excited feeling, intensified, combined." He adds that, "music takes its rise from the modulation of the human voice under emotion, and it becomes a natural consequence that the tones of

that voice should appeal to our feelings more than any others, and so should be considered more beautiful" (1857/1986: 413). This is the resemblance theory of musical expressiveness, traceable to Plato and Aristotle, and a large and growing body of empirical evidence suggests that Spencer is right about this much at least. That is, the empirical evidence suggests that the expressive properties of music are the result of the similarity between music and human expressive behaviour, including the human voice under the influence of emotions. For a review of the relevant empirical literature see Young (2014: ch. 1).

Spencer's next move is to hold that music enables

> the hearer not only to *understand* the state of mind they [modifications of the voice] accompany, but to *partake* of that state. In short, they are the chief media of *sympathy*. And if we consider how much both our general welfare and our immediate pleasures depend upon sympathy, we shall recognise the importance of what makes this sympathy greater. (Spencer 1857/1986: 418)

He goes on to say that, listening to music "makes us sharers in the joys and sorrows of others" and we sympathise with others. Sympathy is the basis of all the higher affections—that in friendship, love, and all domestic pleasures, it is an essential element" (Spencer 1857/1986: 418).

In these passages, Spencer makes two crucial claims. The first is that music arouses emotions in us because it resembles human expressive behaviour. This claim enjoys strong empirical support. The second is that the arousal of these emotions makes us more sympathetic individuals. The claim is not outlandish. Other philosophers have also hypothesized that listeners respond sympathetically to music. Roger Scruton, for example, writes that "Our response to music is a sympathetic response: a response to human life, imagined in the sounds we hear" (Scruton 2002: 121). That said, Spencer's second claim is in need of empirical support.

In principle, this evidence is available. Some empirical evidence already supports the hypothesis that reading literary fiction makes people more sympathetic. A mechanism whereby literary fiction has this effect seems to be that feeling a wide range of emotions in response to the condition of other people, albeit imaginary ones, leads readers to be more sympathetic. More evidence is needed before we can be certain that reading literary fiction has this effect, but the initial results are suggestive. For a review of this evidence see Young (2019). It is reasonable to hypothesize that listening to music that arouses a complex pallet of emotions will have a similar effect. I hypothesize that listening to highly expressive

music such as Western classical music will have this effect since it is music that arouses a wide range of complex emotions. I further hypothesize that listening to classical music enhances sympathy. This is an empirical hypothesis. Experimenters can potentially find a correlation between listening to classical music and increased sympathy for other people. Increased sympathy for others is likely to result in increased prosocial behaviour. It may also dispose listeners to make correct moral judgements since they are more sympathetic to other people and less self-centred.

In order to support the ethos theory, a longitudinal study needs to be undertaken rather than the cross-sectional studies undertaken up until now. A correlation between habitual listening to classical music and increased empathy needs to be established if results are to count as support for the ethos theory. In order to test the ethos theory, certain problems will need to be overcome. In particular, individuals who are more disposed to evince sympathy and display prosocial behaviour are possibly more attracted to the long-term study of music than the general population. A longitudinal study could rule out this possibility by testing the disposition to sympathy and prosocial behaviour in young music test subjects and comparing the results to the results for the general population. Ideally a longitudinal study would follow test subjects from an early age at least until they are university-aged. Conservatory students may be a good group to study since few other individuals listen to significant amounts of classical music from an early age. However, a four-year study of a wide range of university-aged students who listen to large amounts of classical music could also have useful results.

It is likely that experimenters will find that music does not have the same effects on all personality types. Some empirical studies have found that people's personality types have an impact on their experience of music. For example, individuals with trait empathy are more likely to enjoy sad music than less empathetic persons (Taruffi and Koelsch 2014; Kawakami and Katashira 2015). Results of this sort suggest that even if music can have a positive effect on character, it would likely have this effect only on individuals with certain personality types. In all probability, a psychopath could listen for ages to highly expressive music without manifesting any moral improvement.

## 6 Conclusion

We have some anecdotal evidence for the ethos theory. The fact that Plato and Aristotle and many others throughout the history of philosophy of music testify to the effects of music on character is evidence that ought to be taken seriously. Others, however, have

doubted the theory. In light of these differing opinions on the ethos theory we can only hope to find additional empirical evidence. We need better-designed experiments than have hitherto been conducted. These experiments need to do more than show us that when music has induced positive emotions in listeners they are more likely to reach favourable judgements about the morality of actions or have a short-term tendency towards prosocial behaviour. We need experiments that show that long-term exposure to highly expressive music is correlated with moral behaviour. Only then will we be in a position to judge with any confidence whether the ethos theory is correct.[1]

James O. Young
University of Victoria
Department of Philosophy
PO Box 1700 STN CSC
Victoria BC V8W 2Y2, Canada
joy@uvic.ca

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