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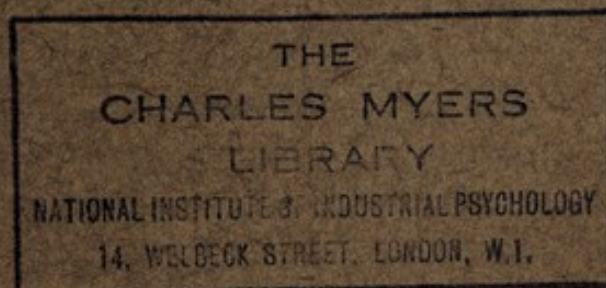
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INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN LISTENING TO MUSIC

BY

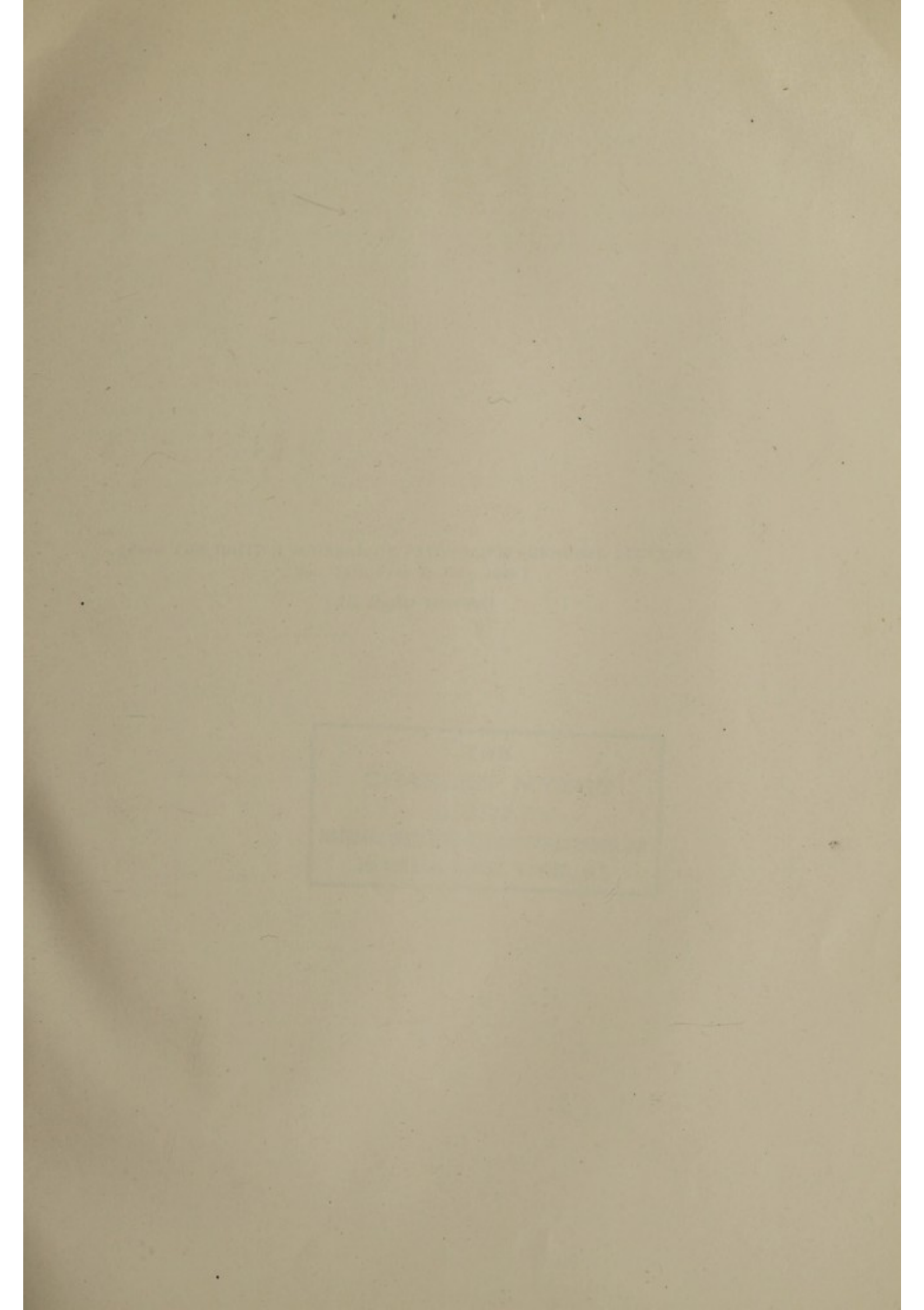
CHARLES S. MYERS

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INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN LISTENING TO MUSIC

BY CHARLES S. MYERS.

(From the Cambridge Psychological Laboratory.)

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1. PLAN OF THE INVESTIGATION.

IN 1914¹ I published the results of an inquiry into the individual differences of aspect adopted in listening to the *tones* of tuning forks, simple and combined, presented singly and in pairs. This inquiry was planned as complementary to the previous work by Bullough² on individual differences in the appreciative aspect towards *colours* and *colour combinations*; and it was intended to be introductory to the study of individual differences in listening to *music*, which is attempted in the following paper.

This study is based on the investigation of fifteen subjects, nine men and six women, all University graduates or their wives, eight of whom

¹ *This Journal*, 1914, VII, 68-111.

² *Ibid.* 1908, II, 406-463; 1910, III, 406-447.

had also been my subjects during the simpler experiments with tones just mentioned. These fifteen persons were in various degrees musical. Two of them, J. and M., were highly gifted professional musicians; three, B., F. and G., though not averse to music, may be regarded as relatively unmusical. Between these extremes are to be ranged three subjects, H., K. and N., who were fairly accomplished amateur musicians; five, C., E., L., O. and P., who, though unable to perform music, were of extremely artistic temperament; and two, A. and D., who may be described as having an average degree of musical taste. One of my subjects, E., was a Japanese.

In order to secure uniform presentation of the material, I employed the gramophone for the production of the music, using the best available records and instrument for the purpose. Most of my subjects found little difficulty in dismissing from their minds the artificial conditions of the experiment. They listened to the music as they would have listened to it in a concert hall. Indeed, one subject, C., of extremely artistic temperament though without musical training, remarked that the conditions were "ideal" for listening, as the comfort was greater than at a concert and there were "no aggravating people and no worrying illumination!" The music consisted of Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont* (Op. 84), Tschaikowsky's Valse des Fleurs from his *Casse Noisette* Suite (Op. 71 *a*) and his Italian Capriccio (Op. 45), Mendelssohn's Overture to the *Hebrides* (Fingal's Cave) (Op. 26), the first of Grieg's Symphonic Dances (Op. 64), and Kreisler's setting and playing of Couperin's *Aubade Provençale*—all, save the last, being orchestral performances.

Each subject listened to two or three of these six records at a single sitting. More than one subject never listened on any one occasion. Most of the subjects gave me two sittings, so that the average number of records to which each of them listened was between four and five. Before a subject first listened at any sitting, he was always initially given a record to hear (not one of the above six), in order to become accustomed to the experimental conditions. He was seated in a comfortable arm-chair, with his back to the gramophone. The first time he heard any one of the six records, he was left absolutely free to relate his impressions and his attitudes at the close of it. He was then given a pencil and paper and allowed to hear it a second time, noting down any further impressions in a mnemonic form, so that he would not fail to communicate them to me at the close of the second hearing and could describe how that hearing differed from the first. By a simple arrangement of a travelling index and a fixed scale which I attached to the instrument, any required

part of the piece could be reproduced from the record at will. With the help of this contrivance, certain selected short passages were finally presented to the subject and he was asked to record his impressions of them.

2. COMPARISON WITH THE RESULTS OF THE WRITER'S PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION.

In all those subjects who had previously submitted to introspection in the tuning-fork experiments, it was easy to recognise broadly the same aspects as they had there displayed when they came to listen to the more complex material of a musical work. That is to say, the material might appeal to them (i) for the sensory, emotional or conative experience which it aroused, (ii) for the associations which it suggested, (iii) for its use or value considered as an object, or (iv) for its character personified as a subject. These four aspects, which, following in the main Bullough's valuable work¹, I had distinguished respectively as (i) the intra-subjective, (ii) the associative, (iii) the objective, and (iv) the character, were readily recognisable, more or less according to the prominence they had exhibited in the introductory, more elementary, tonal experiments. Thus one subject, A., of average musical taste, who, when listening to tones, had proved predominantly of the associative type, recorded such associations as the following when listening to the music: "I was in the Queen's Hall, a fair girl in a pink dress was playing and another girl was accompanying her. The violinist had a sad look about her. I felt she had had a sorrow in her life." "I saw F— playing it as a duet as he used to do." "It started with a stage full of people—a tremendous lot of movement about it and brightness. The people were all in costumes. Then a singer came on from a house on the right side of the stage, telling a pathetic love-story. Then I lost the solo part, the stage became dark, and all the people left, except, I believe, the singer who remained in some quiet corner." "It reminds me of Ely Cathedral." Compare these with the subject's previous replies when a series of pure tones was given her: "I saw a woman in evening dress as if she were singing." "I saw a certain room with F— at the instrument just starting to play with his right hand." "I think I saw the inside of a church." Or take another subject, G.,

¹ My main departures from Bullough's scheme consisted in (i) the inclusion of conative experience in his 'physiological' aspect which I termed the 'intra-subjective' (a term since adopted by Bullough), and (ii) the extension of his 'objective' aspect to include the consideration of the material not only in relation to the subject's standard of purity, pitch, etc., but also in regard to its use and meaning generally as an object. In this paper, I propose to separate the last-named extension and to designate it the 'pragmatic' aspect.

relatively unmusical, who, when confronted with single tones had always shown a keen conative tendency—a strong desire to do something with them, *e.g.*: “I tried to connect it with piano sounds but couldn’t.” “I can’t join it on to piano sounds: I try to imagine it in its place in a piece played by a pianola.” “It made me wonder whether it was a sound that could come into a tune.” “I considered what was the difference between this and the last.” He is always trying to give the tone utilitarian value. When listening to the gramophone records, he proved to be one of the few who were preoccupied with the drawbacks of the instrument. “I don’t like it. It’s the fault of the gramophone, its tinny sound....Then I liked it, but my mind was much occupied trying to pick out the instruments of the orchestra. It seemed to me as if certain instruments felt the ill-effects of the gramophone...more than others.” “I did not seem able to keep up with the more excited mood, and I had a feeling of disappointment at this inability.” Another subject, C., who, in the case of the tuning-fork experiments, had referred frequently to the “movement” which the sound underwent when his attention was directed from one tone to the next, constantly alluded to the “patterns” formed by the music in the present experiments. “It falls into a pattern.” “It is the sequence of sounds of different pitch that makes the pattern.” “Then the pattern changed.” “Then came a pattern of different type.”

Here is an example of a subject, D., who, in the earlier experiments with tuning-fork tones had shown herself to belong to the physiological sub-group of the intra-subjective aspect, returning such answers as: “I felt a touch on the tympanum”; “I felt a stinging up the right arm, as if the first finger touched a copper spring that rebounded”; “I felt warm in the ear”; “I had a lazy feeling.” I give some extracts from her reports on the gramophone pieces: “A restful feeling throughout..., like one of going down stream while swimming....I wanted to throw myself back and be carried along.” “During the dance movement I imagined a gentle breeze and felt diaphanous things floating in the wind....The breeze came in contact with my right cheek.” “Suddenly it seemed as if the orchestra was in a pavilion in a garden, which then revived all kinds of organic sensations—walking about in the garden, feeling warm. Then I realised that I had been warm before.” “My two ears seemed joined together, drawn to one another by something elastic.” “A circular movement. I was being turned round very slowly.” “An echo heard after each chord, with definite vibration inside the right ear.” “A very definite olfactory sensation of open air and grass.” In the tuning-fork experiments this subject had shown tendencies also to the character

type and to visual symbolism, describing, for example, a given sound "as purple and maroon, which are like the lights one feels rather than sees, as in shutting the eyes in a bright light or in pressing on the closed eyelids. There is no outline or demarcation between the purple and maroon. They seem to fill the entire field¹." So, too, in listening to music, she reports: "Flourishes, flamboyant architecture, suggested." "A ball raised by something elastic and falling back by its own weight: this happened three or four times." "The piece seemed represented by long and short dashes. No sense of extent, no feeling of areas—only contrast by dashes."

It is, I think, of no little psychological and experimental interest to note the consequent value of investigations with the simplest materials for our understanding of the aspects adopted, the kind of appeal made, in the case of works of art. It seems probable that the experience of beauty is rooted in man's remote past when it could be evoked by such simple material as one or two tones or splashes of colour, *i.e.* by the most primitive *forms* conceivable of art material, just as to-day it is evoked by more complex forms. As Bullough well remarks², the more abstract material evokes an aesthetic experience in miniature. But it would be absurd to expect too close a correspondence between the attitudes of listening to tones and listening to music, for reasons to which I shall allude presently (page 57).

3. COMPARISON WITH THE RESULTS OF BULLOUGH'S PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION.

As I stated in my previous paper³, there are exceptions to the general correspondence between the aspects of listening to tones and of regarding colours. In the case of the subject A., for example, whom I have already described as having proved strongly of the associative type for tones and music, "a colour is almost a human being and is endowed with such personal attributes as morose, cheerful, insincere, serious, playful, etc." When, however, she comes to listen to music, this character aspect, though by no means abolished, is largely replaced by the intra-subjective aspect, *i.e.* the sensory effects, the changes in feeling, the experiences of self-activity obtained from the music. She reports: "That was lovely.... Something lifting, raising you inside. Like what one gets in church." "I imagine I am going to die, as if life were just ebbing out." "A great feeling of happiness, followed by expansion inside, leading to great excitement and breathlessness for a moment." Nevertheless, the

¹ *Op. cit.* 84, 85.

² *This Journal*, 1910, III, 447.

³ *Op. cit.* 86-90.

character aspect may be detected, *e.g.* "Very very beautiful, but very mournful and sad: a drawing out of the agony." "It tried to be light-hearted, but was all the time very sad." "The first two bars are like feelings of anticipation, then that lovely feeling of depth and goodness coming out of you that you get in church. Yet all through, very very sad. Sensations of something coming up from the abdomen and surging up to the head." "I cannot get anything out of it but depression....A delightful feeling of welcoming the end....I had feelings of sorrow and dissatisfaction with everything. They gained on me. All the time I was trying to get the better of those feelings, but they wouldn't leave me." We see here how the character aspect may be inhibited and replaced by the intra-subjective aspect, *i.e.* by the strong feelings to which in this subject the music gives rise.

Comparing Bullough's experiments with colours and mine with tuning-fork tones, I found that in the latter purity of type was far rarer. I seldom met with a subject whose replies were consistently given from a single aspect. This I attributed to our different procedure. "Bullough was occupied solely with the determination of that aspect or attitude which evoked acceptance or rejection of the colour. His object was to find out why a colour was disliked," whereas it was my purpose "to investigate the entire and spontaneous attitude of the subject towards musical sounds and not merely to ascertain the attitude which he would adopt in order to pronounce an aesthetic judgment upon them¹."

In the case of the musical experiments described in this paper, the multiplicity of attitudes increases still further. Hardly any subject shows himself absolutely pure to one type, to the complete exclusion of others. The material here is far more complex, comprising no longer merely pure tones, but also melody, rhythm, tone colour, polyphony, harmony, etc. Even in my simple experiments with tuning-fork tones, I had found indications that, whereas the liking or disliking of a single tone was determined more often by sensual changes, in the case of two simultaneous tones it was determined rather by emotional and conative changes². Moreover—unlike a tone, a colour or a picture—a musical piece is not presented all at once as a whole, but is unfolded gradually, like a poem or drama. Such differences in complexity and in mode of presentation will naturally result in a many-sided appeal to the subject's possible aspects, now inviting one, now another, now a third, whereas, in the case of the more abstract, simpler material and with less natural, more

¹ *Op. cit.* 86.

² *Ibid.* 95, 96.

restricted methods of procedure, fewer aspects are appealed to, and of these only the more habitual and the more ready.

From these considerations we should expect to find that different kinds of music may evoke different aspects in the same listener, so that he comes to realise that there are many different ways in which he can appreciate music. As one of my subjects, K., remarked, "Sometimes I listen to music seeing the orchestra and attending to the *technique*, sometimes enjoying visions of forests, etc., that come before me, sometimes paying regard to the meaning, the sadness, etc., of the piece."

An artificial purity of type may arise from the process, conscious or unconscious, of inhibition. We have seen, for example (p. 56), how the character aspect may be inhibited by the intra-subjective aspect: instead of regarding the music as a personality, the listener's attention is directed to the sensations, emotions and impulses evoked in him. Here a 'higher' aspect is replaced by a 'lower' (for aesthetically the character aspect stands unquestionably higher than the intra-subjective¹). But the converse may also occur. Instead of the lower aspect being released, it may be controlled by higher inhibition. One of my subjects, N., observed: "I should have felt distinctly wretched....but I very rarely let myself go." Such higher control is especially exercised over the associative aspect. "I object to these suggestions (*i.e.* associations)," says another, D., "for I find then that the music...is not listened to for itself. I want to do that." "If I had not had to give introspective data," says yet another, H., "probably the images would have passed unnoticed." (Cf. also p. 60.)

4. THE OBJECTIVE ASPECT IN THE TECHNICIAN.

It is interesting to find that the objective aspect in which the musical material is considered in reference to the listener's standard, occurs most frequently among those technically trained in music, who tend to adopt a critical attitude and are interested in the material of their art. Consider, for example, the reports of the professional musical subject, M.: "I noticed the second horn was too loud....When the second tune came with the 'cellos, it didn't stand out enough." "I noticed by what simple means in these modern days he gets his effects. I noticed also...how he gathered up his climax by syncopation." "As always in Beethoven, one must notice the tremendous...contrasts, especially dynamic contrasts. His crescendoes always give me pleasure. Beethoven makes scale passages so much more interesting than, say, Liszt." "As usual, the violinist uses too much *vibrato*....The sweep up the strings made me feel

¹ Cf. Bullough, *This Journal*, 1910, III, 417.

quite sick." This subject remarked: "I now nearly always view music from the critical standpoint. I conduct: I compose. I always want to know how the conductor is getting effects if it is a new work, and what will be his rendering, if it is an old one....I never think of 'programme' unless it is suggested to me....To me music is never sad or joyful. I only get aesthetic impression."

This highly musical subject believes, then, that in listening to music he suppresses not merely the more lowly intra-subjective and associative aspects, not merely all personal feelings, activities and imaginations, but also the character aspect, in favour of the objective aspect, the critical, analytical standpoint. Now it is interesting to find that this very subject, when he was presented in my earlier experiments with tuning-fork tones, had shown very distinctly the character aspect, personalising tones as 'trivial,' 'grim,' 'mysterious,' 'stupid,' 'silly,' 'bony,' 'bare.' Even in the present musical experiments, a tendency towards the same aspect is revealed. "The cadenzas," he remarks, "are rather vulgar and horrid." "That is simply a piece of empty pomposity, holding you up to expect something beautiful, and then you get *that*." "The introductory solo accompaniment...is in the last degree trivial."

Upon the release of the character aspect even the associative aspect occasionally escapes in this subject from its inhibition. Thus the trivial character of the music suggests to him the stage. "I saw the orchestra and footlights." The same escape of associations had occurred when he was listening to the tuning-fork tones; a 'stupid' note suggesting 'a stupid parrot,' and a 'materialistic' tone suggesting 'a successful tradesman.' These associations seemed to be determined exclusively by recent experience. Thus the stupid parrot was connected with a recent visit to the 'Zoo.' The stage music, just mentioned, "carried me back to the time I heard the opening of Rimsky-Korsakow's opera, *Ivan the Terrible*, last night." So, too, his recognition of the *Hebrides* Overture brought up visual images of "a cave, rocks, sea-waves...a sea-serpent poking its head out of the cave [suggested by the trombones], dancing spray, with the sun on it. I could draw the exact picture. I have been reading lately about Hebridean folk songs."

The occurrence of these associations filled M. with amazement. "It is not like me at all," he protests. On another occasion he observes, "I opened this with a dog fight....The opening of the second part was a dance of savages (this is *amazing* to me). I could see the red and blue round the loin cloths. Then, I think, I pulled myself together." In other words, he checked or inhibited all tendency to association, which

under these experimental conditions was specially favoured. Another subject, D., emphatically of the intra-subjective type, similarly remarks (cf. p. 58): "I always try and banish all imagination when listening to music." What a contrast this presents to the highly artistic, but musically untrained subject, P., who insists, "Music always gives me the sight of so many charming things. That's why I like listening to it."

Trivial, unreal or meretricious music is specially liable to evoke in imagination stage scenery, the subject regarding the feelings or actions of the persons imaged from a distance without sharing himself in them. "I was up in the theatre," reports K., "looking down." "I," reports E., "felt no deep emotion. But there was much emotion in the soldiers." "The beginning," says L., "reminded me of a stage, people coming on. It was trivial, theatrical." Observe now the contrast: "Then it passed to out-of-doors, real not stage-like, in a wood, with sunlight, a vast procession of people slowly moving...with gold-coloured dresses, some green, all brilliant."

5. THE ABSENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE MOST UNMUSICAL.

It would be indeed surprising if the *tendency* to associations were really lacking in the most musical persons. For in all the rest of my subjects associations are present in a varying degree, save in C., who is ever occupied with his 'patterns,' and in F. and G., the two most unmusical. Both the two latter adopt predominantly the intra-subjective aspect (cf. p. 54). F. allows the sounds to act physiologically upon him and it is only as a *pis aller* that he advances reasons for his preferences from the objective aspect. He does not "trouble about the meaning" of music, probably because it has none consciously for him (musically or otherwise). He never attends concerts. He hardly knows one tune from another. The following are samples of his reports: "It's just the kind of thing I like. But...why I like it, I can't see....I didn't like the beginning when the high notes came. I never can stand high-pitched notes." [Here he is driven to the objective aspect.] "I always like a thing of low intensity, gentle: that, I feel, is a much better kind of thing than a good crash of sound....I was soothed almost as if asleep.... Very charming indeed. Just the kind of thing I like....I can't think of any meaning of the slow and the quick themes....I shouldn't trouble about the meaning." Despite the fact that he is extremely unmusical and gets so little aesthetic enjoyment from music, F. shows almost invariably correct taste in his judgment of good and bad music.

The absence of associations in my two most unmusical subjects is

of undoubted interest in regard to the origin and fundamental basis of musical enjoyment. The influence of sexual experience and of juvenile imagination is shown in the fact that the commonest figures evoked in the recorded associations were those of lovers, dancers, soldiers, villagers, savages, fairies, fauns, and goblins. Associations of a sexual character occurred in eight of my fifteen subjects (C., E., F., H., J., K., L., O.) and associations of dancing in ten (A., D., E., H., J., K., L., M., O., P.). Six subjects (A., B., J., K., M., P.) reported associations in which a stage full of moving people was presented; six (D., H., E., L., O., P.) in which the scene was laid in the open air; and five (A., B., D., M., P.) in which the orchestra, the conductor or a musical instrument appeared. Three subjects (A., H., K.) imagined themselves in a concert hall: three (A., H., O.) in church.

There can be no doubt that such associations were often responsible for the aesthetic enjoyment of the music in these experiments. Indeed, the close biological relation of the origin of music to sexual display and to movements of the body in dancing would have made this conclusion *a priori* probable. In the grossly unmusical music evokes no associations, because it evokes no corresponding emotion. In the professional musician, music also evokes few or no associations, because he tends to inhibit them by his assumption of a critical, objective attitude. Among the most highly musical, associations tend also to be repressed, because the music comes to be listened to for its own meaning and beauty, apart from the meaning and beauty derived from associations. In four of my five subjects whose temperament was extremely artistic but who had little or no technical knowledge of music, associations were to a large extent replaced by symbols, *e.g.* of pattern, colour, expanse, the activities of which, however, tended themselves to evoke associations.

6. THE OCCURRENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS AMONG THE MUSICAL.

When the average person listens to music, then, associations are enjoyed for their own sake, adding enormously to the total aesthetic appreciation obtainable. The associations may be in themselves beautiful: they invite the listener to share in the beauty of a story and in the emotions of the persons created in his imagination. Among the more highly musical I find that associations are more particularly apt to intrude when the music is felt to be 'stagey,' unreal, meretricious, or vulgar. Thus M. (cf. pp. 58-60) reports associations as the music "began to get more barbaric" and as he "lost interest in the music." He observes,

however, "The middle of the second movement [which he enjoyed] switched me off my imagery, and I returned to the pure consideration of the music."

It is by no means strange that associations should appear among the highly musical when music lacks interest or inherent beauty, whereas the less musical tend to appreciate music not so much on the grounds of its inherent beauty as for the enjoyment of the associations evoked. The explanation depends on difference of aesthetic level, the level of the musically gifted person standing higher than that of one averagely musical. So long as the former, attending merely to the music, *qua* music, can maintain his high level of aesthetic enjoyment, associations are debarred from consciousness. But when, for any reason, he fails to maintain that level, *e.g.* because his aesthetic appreciation ceases, then the products of lower-level aspects enter, *e.g.* associations more or less incongruous with the enjoyment of beauty.

In order that associations may be enjoyed for their beauty, either the music must be wholly neglected, and the story, the imagery, the wealth of colour enjoyed as if it were a work of art—which is seldom possible, or the associations must blend or 'fuse' in their general meaning (on which their beauty depends) with that of the music. Otherwise they can have no aesthetic value, but are merely affectively toned with pleasure or displeasure, or at most excite in the listener feelings of joy or distress, according to their cognitive or emotional content. In the following report from one of my subjects, D., we see the distinction between unfused associations and associations of actively aesthetic value which fuse with that of the music: "I object to these suggestions, for I find that the music...is not listened to for itself. But," she continues, "when the suggestions and the music absolutely blend, there is the completest and greatest enjoyment, greater than when there is music alone. They won't blend here, because the dramatic scene will go on quite well independently of the music."

To quote another occasion of this lack of fusion: "It produced," says D., "the idea of someone trying to be persuasive. I wanted to know how the persuasiveness would go on...if it would succeed....It seemed to be a dramatic development without any images. This dramatic is quite distinct from the musical development. They run parallel. There are two people concerned in the dramatic development—the persuader and the persuaded....There is no response to the persuasion: it is a failure. The characters disappear; and the music behaves like a Greek chorus, going over what has occurred in a philosophical manner." Fusion appears to

be here lacking between the wordless meaning of the music and the meaning of the imageless thoughts it evoked.

7. THE RELATION OF THE CHARACTER TO THE INTRA-SUBJECTIVE ASPECT.

Bullough places the character aspect at the highest level in regard to aesthetic enjoyment; and he is unquestionably correct in according to it a higher rank than the intra-subjective (his physiological) aspect. But, as in my previous experiments with tuning-fork tones, I find it difficult to accept his view that the character aspect is *derived* from the intra-subjective. As I observed in my previous paper¹, "such characters as 'jolly,' or 'high spirited,' may be ascribed to a sound or a colour even under conditions when he himself feels sad or depressed." As a further proof of the independence of the 'characterization' of music and of the intra-subjective experience to which the music gives rise, the following reports may be quoted. A.: "The piece sounded cheerful in certain parts. But I felt in a contrary grain all the time." N.: "It's all so intensely sad. All the time I was wondering whether it was cheap or not. I came to the conclusion that I ought to be moved. I *was* much moved by it after this conclusion. It was quite upsetting; it made me feel sad. I still see the long funeral procession." That is to say, the sadness of the listener was secondary to the sadness characterized in the music. So, too, another subject remarked: "I noticed first the mournfulness of the music and then its effect on me." Or N.: "A distinctly pathetic ring about it. I should have felt distinctly wretched, if I had got regularly into it, but I keep myself from this at a concert. I very rarely let myself go." Or J.: "There was a note of sadness among the dancers in parts, a sort of regretfulness. I think this sadness affected me secondarily to the stage sadness." Or H.: "The music seemed as if it were joking with me: it made me want to smile."

We see then that the art material may be personalized and characterized as morbid, jovial, insincere, dainty, mystic, reckless, playful, etc. without necessarily having *previously* evoked or *consequently* evoking morbid, jovial, etc. feelings in the listener. The varying degree in which the subject may identify himself with the character ascribed by him to the music, is well illustrated by the following reports. H.: "I felt the yearning character of the first *motif*—a sense of tears in it—which was partly in the *motif* and partly in me. It reminded me of a time when I actually wept in listening to an intensely beautiful chorus, so beautiful

¹ *Op. cit.* 79.

that it hurt." O.: "It has expressions rather in the way that a face has expressions. I didn't see a face....I almost personified the music as having expression, a shade of feeling being implied." "There is something sinister about it. It gave me a feeling that made me appreciate how sinister it was."

We have to remember that a tendency to personify inanimate objects is extremely primitive and deep-rooted. As Stout remarks¹: "The cataract or the whirlpool appears a living thing to the poet in his poetic moods: for in these moods he ignores the fact that the water is behaving in accordance with certain abstract laws under certain given conditions. This fact is not *ignored* by the savage: it has never been realised by him. Hence what may be called a transient play of imagination in the civilised mind is the permanent and serious attitude of the savage mind." If Stout had at his own disposal a more strongly developed character aspect, he would realise that it is the persistence of this so-called mark of the savage that leads to the aesthetic personalization of colours, tones and music.

Now it is evident that for aesthetic enjoyment to be perfect, there must be no conflict between the feelings of the listener himself and those inherent in the character of the music. Nor must there be conflict between the character of the music and that of the persons or the story which the listener's imagination may call forth. The need for harmony between these three factors—the feelings of the listener, those inherent in the "character" of the music, and those of the persons in the story imagined—is well illustrated in the following report from one of my subjects. O.: "I almost personified the music,...a shade of feeling being implied. I felt that I had had that feeling before and could sympathize with what the chap was trying to explain." Such sympathy and understanding must add as much to the conditions favouring aesthetic appreciation as antipathy and ignorance must militate against them. *E.g.* A.: "The piece sounded cheerful in certain parts. But I felt in a contrary grain all the time." Or: "I don't know what the end was...I couldn't fit it into my lines of thought." Or G.: "I couldn't keep up with the more excited mood and was hence disappointed."

8. SYMBOLIZATION OF THE ART MATERIAL.

In some persons, as we have seen, instead of the music being endowed with the characters of a human personality, it is symbolized in material form, *e.g.* by dashes, prisms, cylinders, circles and patterns. D.: "The

¹ *Manual of Psychology*, 3rd ed. 685.

piece seemed represented by long and short dashes. No sense of extent, no feeling of areas—only contrast by dashes." C.: "A frightfully interesting medley of sounds from the pattern point of view." "The pattern is perhaps most like those of glass marbles. It is in three dimensions. Up and down, right and left for progress of melody, and thirdly depth, *i.e.* volume." "Then the pattern changed: the strands separated out, the lower patterns accentuated, the upper rippling." "Then came a pattern of a different type, beginning with zig-zags, obliquely transverse strands from lower left to upper right, going through a horizontally moving pattern." "I saw a frame," reports P., "containing a spiral growing larger and smaller. The spiral rotated: it had different coloured strands. The frame widened and narrowed, as the spiral changed in size." There is obviously a close analogy between the rise and fall of pitch, the blending, interweaving and segregation of different simultaneous themes, the motor effects of various rhythms and syncopations, on the one hand, and the forms and movements of geometrical designs, on the other¹.

Such tendency to ascribe form and movement to a series of sounds is doubtless related to the not uncommon endowment of sounds with colour; one tone, one tone quality, one key, one word or letter or vowel appearing of one colour, another of another colour. The actual colour is in part, though probably not wholly, determined by early, long-forgotten, perhaps for some reason repressed, experiences. But the *tendency* to such coloured hearing runs in families: it is inherited, not acquired. Such colours appear in actual visual imagery occasionally in the replies of my subjects. Thus P. reports: "I saw a beautiful grey, a lovely grey with light shadows.... I saw another grey, just lovely, like glacier water.... Don't you see the expanse, right on top of a hill?" H. reports: "At the pause I see a space, a grey misty space, clean-cut at each end, extending from left to right. This visual part is there all the time but it outlasts the auditory," *i.e.* when the music pauses the colour continues. Colours may be suggested not by the sounds alone but by the associations to which the music gives rise, and they may in turn suggest other associations. Thus, the just-mentioned 'grey' arose, explains P., because the music "reminds me of dawn—grey, fresh and nice." And having obtained the "lovely grey, I then saw a frieze, not a real good Greek one, but a Thorwaldsen or a Canova frieze."

"Following the pattern," says C., "is my greatest enjoyment in music. If I cannot follow it, I lose the beauty: I lose my bearings. There is no longer meaning in its movement. Right or left in the pattern may

¹ *Op. cit.* 84, 85.

be compared to the behindness of the past. When the pattern is absent, the beauty lies in its clear-cut character of gloom, menace, and langour and simplicity." "I am now able to distinguish the parts of the individual movements. This enhances my enjoyment. I am able to follow it better. It makes the pattern clearer." He says that he tends to move with the pattern and is willing finally to surrender himself to it. Apparently his intra-subjective experience is helped by the pattern to the full appreciation and to the aesthetic enjoyment of the music. The music then appears to him in a form mid-way between a living person and a mechanical object. But when he can get no patterns of rhythmic or polyphonic foundation to enjoy, when, *e.g.* he listens to a simple melody or to a single tone, the character aspect comes to the fore with such descriptions as 'plaintive,' 'poignant,' 'child-like,' 'wailing.' "I might," he explains, "cry out at any moment, not from pain or sorrow. On the contrary I enjoy it." It would appear as if the pattern or other symbolic figure was a half-way elaboration of the object-matter, not reaching to the height and the free organic independence of the character aspect, but kept low by the trammels of associative and intra-subjective factors.

9. THE AESTHETIC VALUE OF THE PRAGMATIC AND OBJECTIVE ASPECTS.

The purely pragmatic and objective aspects in which the art material is considered in relation to its use and to the subject's standard of values are in themselves incapable of inducing the aesthetic experience. But they are indirectly of great importance. For the conception of a standard, although it cannot *induce* the experience of the beautiful, is of obvious use in forming a judgment of its aesthetic value. Thus we found that the subject F., despite the scant aesthetic enjoyment he derived from music, invariably showed himself correct in his judgment between good and bad music. To treat the art material as a mere inanimate object having a certain value in reference to the subject's standard is, as we have seen, merely a last resource in the case of the untrained; while in the case of the technician it is the consequence of his absorption in the material. It is the refuge of the untrained in the absence of the potentially aesthetic aspects of character, association, and intra-subjective experience. It is the resource of the artist, in his endeavour by repression to escape from the influence of the other aspects, in order, it may be, to attain the highest appreciable beauty of music—the beauty of musical meaning which is inexpressible in any other terms.

The pragmatic aspect may have considerable aesthetic value by entering into combination with the other aspects. The use of material

may readily evoke the intra-subjective attitude; the appreciation of the *import* of the art object being followed by, say, impulses to do something with it, or by sensory or emotional changes in the subject, all of which may come to have aesthetic significance. Lastly, the personifying process, seen in its full development in the character aspect, may invest the changing melodic, rhythmic and harmonic forms, as we have shown, with a *quasi-animate* activity, *e.g.* of moving patterns or forms which may enhance the aesthetic enjoyment of the music.

10. THE AESTHETIC VALUE OF THE INTRA-SUBJECTIVE ASPECT.

Meaning of some sort there must be for us to have experience of beauty, and the lowest form of meaning which any stimulus takes is just the sensations which it directly evokes in us. Thus the lowest kind of beauty is experienced when the subject adopts purely the intra-subjective attitude, surrendering himself to the sensory, emotional and impulsive effects of the music. So long, however, as the subject gives himself up to the enjoyment of such experiences, all that he gets is pleasure or joy, not beauty. As Bullough rightly points out¹, a process of psychical 'distancing' is required in order that any of his sensations or emotions may appear beautiful. He must look on them with a certain detachment, to a certain extent impersonally. He has to project the beauty into his sensory, emotional or conative experience instead of subjectively appreciating the pleasure or joy to which they give rise. He has to look on them as a spectator, and in some measure at least to regard that experience as constituting in and for itself a living unitary, independent entity.

Next in order of development to enjoying his own feelings comes the listener's submission to following the enjoyment of the feelings of others, *e.g.* of the imagined performers or, in the case of the character aspect, of the music itself. With this must develop a sympathy, more or less perfect, with the experiences he is following. *E.g.* one of my subjects, E., reports: "I cannot feel emotion in listening to music, unless I feel that I am moving in the same emotional attitude as the persons (imaged)." And B. observes: "Then a long pause which seemed annoyed and confused. I participated in the annoyance and confusion. Then appeared a master hand to arise out of the forces of confusion. Then a revolt. Then once again he subdued them. Peace and triumph seemed to reign....But I had no feeling in myself of success."

¹ *This Journal*, 1912, v, 87-118.

How frequently the subject tends to identify his feelings with those of the creatures of his imagination, while listening to music, is well illustrated by the following quotations. J.: "I got the impression of people dancing, I think on the stage. I saw the moving figures, young people of both sexes. It struck me as a representation of a dance in the open air. There was a note of sadness among the dancers, a sort of regretfulness. I think that the sadness affected me and came secondarily to the stage sadness." Or again: "I saw one person alone to start with, asking for or expecting others to come and gradually a great crowd came running towards him. I distinctly felt I wanted to move with them."

Complete surrender may induce a state of transport or ecstasy. My Japanese subject, E., reports: "Sometimes I lose myself in the music.... I am unconscious and forgetful of myself." Another subject, K., reports: "I felt the effect of being carried away, partly emotional, partly strain and tenseness of body." But the surrender must be under voluntary control, or, as another of my subjects says: "I distrust them (the noisy parts) rather as an attempt to carry me away by mere force."

Thus complete surrender is incompatible with aesthetic enjoyment. The latter, as we have suggested, depends on a certain detachment of the art material from one's Self, so that the object is judged to be itself beautiful. That beauty may be attached to sensations, feelings, etc., is indicated by the following extracts from the notes of one of my subjects, E.: "The special feeling I get from music makes it beautiful. It gives me a tender poetic feeling, almost pity." Or as another, H., explains: "Certain short phrases gave me quite a beautiful thrill, localised in the diaphragm—like the feeling that early morning brightness gives one." When those feelings are regarded as living entities from the standpoint of an onlooker, they may be deemed beautiful as objects of experience.

11. THE AESTHETIC VALUE OF THE MEANING OF MUSIC.

So, too, the beauty of music may be derived from the story it suggests. "There she is," says P., "the little fairy. A sentimental sort of pantomime for children....Children dancing, not grown-ups....Men dressed in red with feather plumes. Don't you see the fairies? Yes. It's a sylvan sort of thing." No wonder that she asserts, "Music always gives me the sight of so many charming things. That's why I like listening to it." "I generally try," says E., similarly, "to make a story out of a piece."

The meaning of the music may be also expressed more generally, with reference to our affective 'attitudes.' Thus B. reports: "An in-

sistent questioning and perhaps an unsatisfactory reply....A muffled knock which is disregarded. Then it took more definitely the form of someone's conscience being appealed to in vain....It came in words, 'You know you should.' Then with 'Can't you see I can't do it?' All quite impersonal. The man had yielded to the temptation, but had not succeeded in quelling his conscience. Still the voice of menace came pricking out during the enjoyment."

We have already alluded to the need for appreciating true sincerity and genuineness in music (p. 62). An illustration may be quoted from O. who remarks: "...in the middle its expression changed to being true to life, real stuff, though I did not fully understand it"; and from E.: "I felt that there was no reality in it. It was a mere mechanical imitation ...like a painting imitating a great master."

The importance of finding one or other of such meanings, before aesthetic experience is possible for some persons, is exemplified by such reports as B.: "No central idea in it. Never knew where I was," and E.: "Too much bothered about finding meaning to be able to see any beauty." In default of any other meaning, a subject is liable to revert to the more primitive forms of imagination. "The whole," says one subject, D., "has no meaning in the least to me. I don't understand it. I am catching hold of any image I can get." (Cf. p. 62.)

The more completely the meaning is concerned with the listener's notions of utility, the more impossible is it *per se* to get aesthetic appreciation. Whether we consider an art object well- or ill-fitted to express its purpose will not determine in us an experience of beauty. If we find it ill-fitted, this will debar us from readily experiencing beauty in it. If we find it well-fitted to express its purpose, our experience of beauty may be enhanced by our admiration and wonder. But the realization of appropriateness or perfection alone will not suffice to evoke an aesthetic experience. Nor will the mere following of analysis and appreciation of musical form. The thing of beauty must be regarded not as a satisfying piece of man-made mechanism, but as a living organic whole, without direct reference to our own value and use of it.

But there is always a meaning in music apart from what may be obtained from feelings, stories, actions, colours, patterns, and language. Recognition of this fact becomes clearer with the development of musical appreciation. "When I see the pictures [the images evoked] they take up almost all my attention," protests L., "so that I have the feeling 'Dear me! I'm not listening,' and then I get back to the music." So, too, one of my subjects, C., objects: "I cannot...conceive music *saying*

anything," and another, H., explains: "Music has a meaning, but always in musical tones. I couldn't put it into words. It always irritates me to be asked to do this."

It need hardly be pointed out that when there is a possibility of so many different sources of meaning, some present in consciousness, others inhibited, but each tending to some particular response on the part of the listener, there must be a general harmony between these various meanings for aesthetic enjoyment to reach its climax. Likewise there must arise the ability to grasp the musical piece as a whole. Whereas painting is presented in space, music is presented in time. Whereas we seldom find that *parts* of a painting are beautiful, in music we are apt to get aesthetic experience here and there; and it is only after the highest flight of synthesis that we can find enjoyment in the beauty of the music as a whole. "I felt," says H., "the whole piece as one. I felt the player conceived it as a whole." "This part," says another, K., "jarred and worried me, because it didn't seem to fit in with the other." A third subject complains: "I haven't grasped it as a whole." "Not an artistic whole," is the criticism of a fourth subject, J. "I thought," says yet another, K., "of the general shape and balance of the whole....I liked the contrast of the two sections." "Making notes [of introspection]," objects D., "made me only see the pieces in bits."

12. THE IMPORTANCE OF 'DISTANCE.'

We can see now how the various aspects which we have distinguished in the listener may each play a part in the awareness of beauty, and how the different fundamental connexions of music, with courtship, with dancing, and with rudimentary language, may each contribute to aesthetic enjoyment. These different connexions may be differently stressed in different persons to-day so that one tends specially to sexual, another to dramatic, another to verbal associations with music. But we come to recognize that apart from these connexions music may be appreciated for its own inherent beauty, that is to say, apart from its sensuous, emotional or conative influences and from associations, symbols and the products of 'animistic' characterizations. The one common and essential attitude required for aesthetic enjoyment is one of detachment. The listener must view the music, as Bullough rightly insists, from a certain psychical 'distance.' If that distance be excessive, as occurs in listening for the first time to exotic music or to other unfamiliar styles of music, the subject feels too remote to get, as it were, to grips with the art material. It is over-distanced. On the other hand, it is under-distanced,

when he surrenders himself wholly to its influence in such a way that he is a more or less passive instrument, played upon by the music, interested in his sensations, images, emotions or impulses, solely in so far as they have immediately personal and 'practical' import.

13. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'MYSTIC' FEELING.

There are three main lines of activity which take us away from the purely practical, every-day aspect of our experiences. The simplest and most primitive is play. This fundamentally consists in giving a fictitious value to our motor behaviour. The second is phantasy, in which, as in day-dreaming, wrapped up in our selves, we allow our imagination full liberty, regardless of the realities of our environment. The third consists in mystical experience in which we lose the normal awareness of our own individuality and of its relation to our surroundings. The ecstasies (active and passive) of love and religion afford the most striking and undoubted instances of this kind of experience—the lost relation of the self to its environment. I believe—and this belief is supported by the introspective evidence of my subjects—that our experience of beauty always partakes in some degree of this mystical or ecstatic character. Nowhere in art or nature as in music do we more keenly feel this 'uplifting of the soul' as we term it, or as we may come to term it, this 'uplifting of the unconscious.' But the mystical or ecstatic feeling must not be allowed to go too far; otherwise we are carried away beyond our ability to experience beauty. On the other hand, unless we do, in however small degree, surrender our practical every-day attitude that defines the relation of ourselves to our environment, unless we feel ourselves in that mysterious poetical atmosphere, I do not believe that beauty can be experienced, whether in music, painting, sculpture, architecture or dancing, whether in imagination, in a mathematical problem, or in a purely sensory or emotional experience.

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