Music, Knowledge, Faith and Reform in the Thought and Practice of Robert Grosseteste and J. S. Bach.

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Abstract

MUSIC, KNOWLEDGE, FAITH AND REFORM IN THE THOUGHT AND PRACTICE OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE AND JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH

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This thesis seeks to see how far our knowledge of J. S. Bach's (1685–1750) religious music and musical method can be further illuminated in light of early Franciscan writings on *scientia* and music, especially the works of Robert Grosseteste (*c*. 1168–1253), and so also further consider the impact Bishop Robert had on an aspect of Christian thought and practice in Europe down to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A key figure in the high Middle Ages, in medieval scholasticism, and latterly the diplomatic life of medieval England Grosseteste may not appear to be an immediately obvious candidate for linking to the orthodox Lutheran Bach. But the fact remains that the least-explored area of Grosseteste's thought is found in his conception of music – certainly by comparison with his philosophical, theological and scientific thought. As such each chapter considers a specific part of the nature of music in Grosseteste's vision for the pastoral life of Lincoln Cathedral and the largest diocese in medieval England.

Having established Grosseteste's very personal view of music's role in temporal life, we move on to find connections to Bach through ideas such as Beverley Clack's redefinition of *homo religiosus*, Martin Luther's reforming mission (alongside that of his collaborators Bugenhagen and Melanchthon) and come to a view of Bach the orthodox Lutheran. The final chapter considers the idea of the extent to which – through the lens of the duties of a medieval master of theology: *legere* (to teach), *disputare* (to hold disputations) and *praedicare* (to preach) – we could describe Bach's working method as being similar to Grosseteste's own, indeed Grosseteste could be described as one of the Bachian working method's progenitors as there are enough connections between the two men to suggest that this idea is indeed a plausible one.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

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Ad susceptum perficiendum

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of others, that this Thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Owain Guy Richard Gardner BA MA.

Introduction

> PER BACVLI FORMAM, PRAELATI DISCITO NORMAM
>
> 'By the shape of the staff, learn the model of the bishop'.
>
> (Inscription on Bishop Grosseteste's crozier)

Separated by nearly half a millennium, Robert Grosseteste (*c*. 1168–1253) and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) are two towering and vaunted figures within their respective fields, often being viewed solely within confines of them; Grosseteste through the lens of medieval scholasticism and scientific demonstration, and Bach through the lens of his music. Any suggestion that there is a direct connection between the two men would be near impossible to prove, but through the course of research it has become increasingly apparent that they do share a number of elements within their working practices and thought which are particularly intriguing. Indeed, it has been striking quite how under-explored Grosseteste's conception of music and its place within the world has been. The ability of music to not only order knowledge, but equally to illuminate the mind or to keep the human, temporal mind on the good life is perhaps the best place to begin consideration of similarities between Grosseteste and Bach. Not only has A. C. Crombie described Grosseteste as the real founder of the tradition of scientific thought at Oxford University, but he also suggests that:

> Grosseteste's contribution was to unite the two twelfth–century traditions of technology and logic. From the almost pure empiricism of such practical sciences of the twelfth century as practical mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, and the almost pure rationalism of the theoretical speculations in contemporary philosophy on scientific method, he produced a science in which he tried to show the principles according to which the world of experience could be experimentally investigated and rationally explained.[1]

While the relevance and basis of Crombie's thought has been queried since 1953, he nevertheless provides a particularly helpful point of view to consider both Grosseteste and Bach in the round. Both men were preternaturally intellectually inquisitive, they sought to employ all their faculties in their responses to the world around them and ultimately strove to rationally

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[1] Alistair Cameron Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science 1100–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 43.

explain the world of experience by way of experiment and investigation. Equally, both men were concerned with their efforts to ensure their soul was saved come judgement day and employed all the means at their disposal to rebind humanity to itself.

Chapter 1 considers the state of the literature regarding Robert Grosseteste and Music, this is in an effort to provide an overview of the mentions, in the first instance of music in the single author biographies from Crombie's own 1953 work onwards. What becomes quickly apparent is that, not only was music incredibly important to Grosseteste – even leading him to having a harpist in his episcopal *familia* – but also that music was a particularly underexplored part of his thought, despite it providing order and understanding of proportion. Indeed, music is mentioned frequently in relation to Grosseteste's education and/or celestial harmony, but then left largely without explanation as to its importance to him and his pastoral vision for the medieval diocese of Lincoln.

Chapter 2 takes up the idea of music's role (through the lens of celestial harmony) within Grosseteste's consideration of the human body and the soul, specifically in relation to his letters. Archbishop Stephen Langton's (*c.*1150-1228) appeals to rustic exhortation, the idea that fine preaching alone was not enough to ensure that the care of souls was achieved, help to provide us with a lens through which to view Grosseteste's commitment to all souls in his care and also his requirement that all those who are directing thought back to the good life must, equally, be suitably qualified lest they somehow bring in some form of impurity to thought processes. Grosseteste's pastoral vision, then, was intent on ensuring that the perfect or infinite was the singular basis for the priest, cleric, or friar, without this his pastoral vision would fail in its mission. The universality of music, whether temporal or that of celestial harmony, allowed for Grosseteste and those under him to be a mirror to reflect the good life – it is even possible to suggest that Grosseteste saw himself as lens through which light could pass, thus focussing it to ensure all could be moved towards the good life.

It is the role of the early Franciscans and their insurgent liturgy, in the sense that it is new, which Chapter 3 considers in relation to Grosseteste's light focussing salvific vision. Reflecting Langton's rustic exhortation, the Franciscans were able to gain the ear of those they encountered through their use of the vernacular, their temporal poverty and life of prayer. While Grosseteste was not himself Franciscan, the Order quite obviously intrigued him sufficiently enough for him

to have an episcopal *familia* of two Franciscans and two Dominicans alongside his harpist. For both the Friars Minor and Grosseteste, the facility and affordance of music was threefold. First, it enables understanding of celestial harmony by providing order, second it was an art within the schools ensuring illumination of the mind more generally; and third, music itself was a way of warding off evil thoughts or demons allowing the mind to be fully concentrated on God. As such music was not only so commonplace that it did not need mentioning except in specific circumstances, for example in the provision of an allegory for explaining a specific subject, but also had the ability to order knowledge. Music had, for Grosseteste, the ability to promote salvation for all in his flock and thus for himself too. The promotion of salvation to all parishioners, whether through fine preaching or rustic exhortation, is considered in Chapter 4 coming to the conclusion that thanks to the elite language of Anglo-Norman French becoming more anglicised during the thirteenth-century language itself was just another tool by which Grosseteste could put into effect his theology, thought and practice. In turn leading us to the idea of *homo religiosus* or a human's life being inherently religious, and to reflect this all our faculties or abilities must be set to work to guide the mind away from evil.

An essential part of Grosseteste's pastoral vision was an insistence on self-reflection, perhaps mirroring his ideas on experiential scientific learning, through which one could come to a considered viewpoint. Chapter 5 considers this and other points besides in relation to the discovery of linking ideas between Grosseteste and Bach, prime among which is the idea that the seven liberal arts were attendants (*ministrae*) on the philosophy of nature. For Grosseteste, the Franciscans were attendants and not simply handmaids of Christendom, on account of their active participation in temporal life, something like Bach for whom music was an attendant on life itself in an effort to return the human mind to the good life either through ordering of knowledge or proper direction, whether spiritually or intellectually. Indeed, singularity of purpose and the use of a multifaceted approaches to achieving goals is a common theme of both men's lives, not least in relation to the co-dependency of the laity and the clergy in the life of medieval parishes or benefices and the same in the parishes of Lutheran Germany from the sixteenth century onwards. As such, the first similarity between Grosseteste and Bach is the idea of their holding fast to the idea that expression of faith should be seen in all aspects of their work. Or, put most simply, common understanding is the prime consideration of their work bearing in mind that all subjects feed off one another in turn leading to the idea that music could

directly illuminate the mind of humankind. For Bach, we find this expressed most clearly in his *Endzweck*, or the ideal of a well-regulated church music to the Glory of God.

The return of the medieval Trivium/Quadrivium to Thuringia, following Luther's reforms, helps to direct Chapters 6 and 7 within which we find striking parallels between the orthodox Lutheran Bach and Robert Grosseteste. Certainly, when considering the duties of a medieval Master of Theology – *legere*, *disputare*, *praedicare*, 'to teach', 'to hold disputations' and 'to preach' – we find a lens through which to view both men as *homo religiosus*. That said, Willem Hofstee's definition is somewhat limited and thanks to Beverley Clack's redefinition of it we come to a view of both men by which they can be considered as directors of a rebinding of human to human through the quiet space, outwith the temporal noise of everyday life, which religious practice or observance brings to mankind.

Indeed, while a comparison of Robert Grosseteste and J. S. Bach is unusual, we see as we make our way through the below chapters that there is not only a significant number of useful parallels between the two of them but also that there is much more which Grosseteste's conception of music has to offer modern scholars of Bach. For Grosseteste, Luther and Bach music has a unique ability in the temporal world as it provides a context in and a medium by which the infinite can be comprehended. As we come to a close it becomes apparent that by viewing Bach through the lens of Grosseteste we can view both men within the context of an evolving continuum of history and, perhaps most excitingly, come to the conclusion that Grosseteste had a Metaphysics of Music similar to his Metaphysics of Light. In turn, this leads to the idea that there is very much more Grosseteste can teach us as his thought on music is not only underexploited but also has parallels with Bach's own thought on the same and his musical method in its ability to appeal to the heart, soul and body of a human being.

CHAPTER 1

Grosseteste and Music: the State of the Literature

The aspect of Robert Grosseteste's work that has received least attention is his conception of music. Indeed, when considering *scientia* – his way of learning – we find that music is an essential part of the liberal arts education over which he was effectively presiding as Bishop of Lincoln, from 1235 onwards.[1] Certainly it has been shown that music was very much within, rather than without, the quadrivium;[2] alongside this it has also been indicated music played an unusually important, and particularly personal, role in Grosseteste's life.[3] 'Long after his death', noted Richard Southern, 'it was remembered that his greatest delight was in the music of the harp, and that he kept a domestic harpist in the room next to his study', thus enabling him to hear music day or night, whether this was to drive off Satan, remind him of the joys of Heaven, or recall Psalm 150.[4] Yet, the fact still remains that Grosseteste's conception of music is more often than not overlooked in favour, for example, of his role in the foundation of the modern scientific method. Indeed, very few students of Grosseteste have considered the impact of music on his way of working, his educational thought, and his pastoral vision for the diocese of Lincoln. Apart from Southern's passing recognition of the significance of music-making in Grosseteste's daily life, a notable exception to the scholarly trend is Nancy van Deusen, who has associated Grosseteste's work with the work of Anonymous IV (the late thirteenth-century author, probably English, of a treatise on the theory of music) on account of their shared vocabulary in respect of music exemplifying motion.[5]

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1 James Hannam, *God's Philosophers: How the Medieval world Laid the Foundations of Modern Science* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), p. 143; Evelyn A. Mackie, 'Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman treatise on the loss and restoration of creation, commonly known as *Le Château d'amour*: an English prose translation', in *Robert Grosseteste and the Beginning of a British Theological Tradition: Papers delivered at the Grosseteste Colloquium held at Greyfriars, Oxford 3rd July 2002*, ed. Maura O'Carroll (Rome, 2003), pp. 151–79 (at p. 155).

2 Alastair Cameron Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science 1100–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 19.

3 Robert William Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 318.

4 See Robert Mannyng's translation of William de Wadington's *Manuel des Péchés* in Francis Seymour Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century* (Miami, FL: Hardpress, 1889), pp. 334–5; James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); and Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p.318.

5 Nancy E. van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

Why this is of importance now is twofold. First, the liberal arts have seen a return of scholarly attention since 2000. Examples such as the Ordered Universe Project at Durham University, directed by Giles Gasper, and the Ordered Human Project at Bishop Grosseteste University in Lincoln, directed by Jack Cunningham and Steven Puttick, show that far from being irrelevant Grosseteste's thought is becoming more important for the twenty-first century. Second, given the influence of Boethius, Aristotle, Arab thinkers, and many more besides, on Grosseteste's thought it seems somewhat odd that music has not been looked into more thoroughly in respect of Grosseteste himself. To a certain extent, this may be do with the lack of, prior to 2020, a suitably high-quality translation of *De generatione sonorum*, Grosseteste's treatise on a *scientific method* (in its modern sense) to aid understanding of how sounds are produced and then transmitted to a person or ear. While it is not specifically to do with music, such a translation does provide a starting point for an understanding of Grosseteste's conception of music; certainly, when combined with van Deusen's work around Anonymous IV – not least given that there appear to be two people writing at the same time in a similar voice. Cecilia Panti's 2020 translation of *De generatione sonorum* provides us with the first opportunity to place music, whether celestial harmony or that created by the hand of man, at the heart of our understanding of Grosseteste's *scientia* or way of learning; not least because of his appeals to understanding music's ability to order the mind.

The subordinate nature of music, as a science or an art, in Classical Antiquity is not in doubt, given its position in relation to God and the universe, having a mediating rather than an autonomous role.[6] This, while being free from the vagaries of everyday life.[7] Although an integral part of the *quadrivium*, music was often perceived as being of a second order to the other arts, yet we can see in Grosseteste's work a way of understanding holy scripture and Christian doctrine that allowed for an acceptance of the discord inherent in celestial harmony.[8] Why this may have evaded students of Grosseteste, given his translations of the Greeks into Latin, is somewhat of a mystery; whether or not it was a choice or simply their overlooking its importance.[9] Indeed, such work cannot be said not to have had an impact upon him, especially given the harpist he employed near in his *familia* or episcopal household.

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6 Herbert M. Schueller, *The Idea of Music: An Introduction to Musical Aesthetics in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), pp. 132–5

7 Schueller, *The Idea of Music*, pp. 5–6.

8 Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 209.

9 Francis Seymour Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1899), pp. 228–40.

An interesting parallel can be found in Adam Nicholson's response to the changes in attitudes towards the use of imagery in early seventeenth-century churches and the homes of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, insofar as he and Grosseteste were seeking after what can be described as 'a subtle shift away from the dominance of the word, and an embracing of the idea that majesty, godliness, enrichment and ceremony could all be part of one new vision'.[10] It is godliness and enrichment which Grosseteste was most keen on, throughout his writings – from letters to sermons and treatises – we find a unique way of thinking which is very difficult to compartmentalise.[11] Within this, every subject from theology to music, learning as a scientific endeavour, was inextricably linked together to enable human understanding of God and His ways. That is something which strikes the modern student, notes James McEvoy, 'no less forcibly than it did for [Roger] Bacon':

> for it would appear that Grosseteste wrote primarily for himself, and only secondarily for a readership. He did not teach these scientific topics at his school, for there he did the work of a theologian, lecturing and disputing. Scientific writing was his literary hobby. Yet much of the originality of his scientific work derived in fact from his professional interest. There is nothing paradoxical about this; Grosseteste was simply too intelligent to compartmentalize his mind.[12]

Taking the principal single-author studies of Grosseteste we can see the mentions of music as sparse (see the table below). Indeed, James McEvoy did not mention the subject at all in his study of Bishop Robert.[13] However, taking it back to a more abstract level, we can begin to see music in its home context, that of the seven liberal arts. Certainly, Grosseteste wrote widely on this and how the arts could be employed to educate not just the clergy but also those engaged in more secular work. 'It is strange', James McEvoy states, 'that Hubert *[Hubertus Frater]* makes no mention of Grosseteste's love of music, which became legendary in Medieval England. From his own writings we learn that, like Boethius, he looked on music as a therapy for the mentally ill'.[14] Furthermore, as Hannam has suggested, Grosseteste frequently referred to *experimentum*;

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[10] Adam Nicholson, *When God Spoke English: The Making of the King James Bible* (London: HarperCollins, 2011), pp. 186–7.
[11] James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 17.
[12] Ibid.
[13] See James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[14] McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 42.

indeed, for Grosseteste the study of nature, and by extension, the liberal arts, required the ability to observe, passively and unobtrusively, to ensure that experience could then enable a fuller understanding of the real world.[15] One other crucial point to note is that, during Grosseteste's early life, there was a wealth of texts being translated from Arabic into Latin: for a considerable part of the middle ages the intellectual hub of western Europe was Islamic Spain.[16] While the specific impact this had on Grosseteste cannot be precisely measured, it can be said that there may have been a profound impact on him in respect of music. Especially given the writings of Alpharabius (Al-Fārābī), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) and Averroes (Ibn Rushd) had all been, or were in the process of being, translated into Latin for the first time. All of this allowed for the (re)discovery of the Greeks and their conception of intellectual life and/or science.

A. C. Crombie (1953) – *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science*

Crombie, in his 1953 work, sets out to furnish the academy with an understanding of Grosseteste's role in the formation of the modern scientific method: with particular reference to the period 1100-1700. This period covering the High Middle Ages to the beginning of the Enlightenment. In his introduction, and indeed throughout his work, he refers specifically to the Greek ways of learning, for example the works of Plato and others in respect of method. 'The Greek science,' Crombie suggests, 'which stimulated this thirteenth-century work on method was dominated by the desire to discover the enduring and intelligible reality behind the constant changes perceived through the senses.'[17] He goes on to examine this further, suggesting that the object of science was to show that observed effects followed from the 'nature' or 'substance' of a physical thing.[18]

Crombie, necessarily, places music within the *quadrivium* in the sense that music is one of the four mathematical sciences concerned, along with arithmetic, with the relations of discontinuous quantities to each other. Further to this, Callus suggests – on turning away from the *trivium* (Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric), towards the *quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and

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15 Hannam, *God's Philosophers*, p. 144.
16 For Islamic Spain's contribution to musical theory, see Henry George Farmer, *Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music* (Glasgow: Civic Press, 1934).
17 Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 3.
18 Ibid, p. 4.

Astronomy) – that music played a central role in Grosseteste's thought process. He suggests that in that movement away from the trivium to the quadrivium:

> we perceive at once that Music gives proper measure and tone to all corporeal movements. Music in Grosseteste's opinion is a kind of universal art directing all knowledge. It deals in fact not only with the proportions and melody of sounds, with the modulation of human voice and expression of gestures, with musical instruments, and with the harmony of things celestial and non-celestial, but also with the harmony of times and of every movement…it follows that to Music pertains the investigation of the inner structure of things composed of the four elements, and even of the elements themselves.[19]

The elemental nature of music, therefore, within the Greek style of learning which was becoming more and more prevalent prior to and during Grosseteste's lifetime cannot be underestimated. Indeed, Callus helps to illuminate Crombie's point that music, alongside arithmetic, considered the relations of discontinuous quantities such as space and motion.[20] The universality of the mathematical sciences, including music, becomes the starting point for knowledge – for to experience is to learn – and without experimenting a conclusion could not be reached. In this respect, this is where Crombie's attention to music waivers towards the modern scientific methods he argues were nascent in Grosseteste's own method of learning:

> Theoretical music considered proportions and harmonies in the abstract and practical music was concerned with the production of sound by voice or instruments…The science of 'mathematical devices' turned the principles of the other mathematical sciences to useful purposes […] for music and optical instruments […] [21]

By being reliant on Aristotle's works, Grosseteste's conception of practical music relied equally heavily on the notion that music was the primary mathematical science residing close to geometry; the science which governs all forms of natural bodies.[22] This returns us to the idea that music was elemental, requiring an understanding of not just practical music which lies in the proposition that to grasp a melodic phrase is to do more than experience sensation, but also

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[19] Daniel A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar', pp. 16–17 in *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. Daniel A. Callus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 1–69.

[20] Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 33.

[21] Ibid, pp. 39–40.

[22] Schueller, *The Idea of Music*, p. 378.

of theoretical music.[23] In this, we can see that Grosseteste's own works, sermons and more reflected the growing interest of twelfth and thirteenth-century scholars in the works of Aristotle, Ptolemy and others when turning their minds to the natural sciences. Thanks to this, as according to Crombie, Grosseteste was able to unite the traditions of technology and logic to help produce a science in which the world of experience could be investigated experimentally and, thereby, rationally explained.[24] But, this is really where Crombie's interest in Grosseteste and conception of, or uses for, music more generally ends.

James McEvoy (1982) – *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*

Where Crombie leaves music James McEvoy, in his 1982 work on Grosseteste's philosophy, takes up an interest and perspective on Grosseteste's conceptions of music. Not only are these references to Grosseteste's scientific understanding of music – based in motion and an understanding of the multifaceted nature of his work – but also references to how he believed music could be used, in this case for the cure, or at least, temporary salve of the mentally ill. Something which was shown above, in respect of Frater Hubertus. Further to this, these indications found both within McEvoy's work, and that of others, suggest that Grosseteste was – in McEvoy's terms – '*au fait* with the nascent contrapuntal style of his time'.[25] But, following from this there is little specifically indicated, beyond Grosseteste's *Cessatione Legalium*, about how this might have come about.

In with mentions of Grosseteste's ideas on music and mental health we find McEvoy mentioning the potential for Grosseteste's, ultimately unsuccessful, canonisation.[26] Something which could help us understand the glowing references given by so many of his followers in anticipation of this, equally this then means we must approach such ideas or references fully in the knowledge that they may well be entirely subjective and have a specific agenda. McEvoy suggests:

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[23] Ibid, p. 379.
[24] Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 43.
[25] McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 43; and see James McEvoy, appendix to 'Robert Grosseteste and the reunion of the Church', *Collectanea Franciscana* 45 (1975), reprinted in James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste: Exegete and Philosopher* (Aldershot: Routledge, 1994), with original pagination, 39–84 (at pp. 83–4).
[26] See Lorna E. M. Walker, 'Hamo of Sauvigny and his companions: failed saints?', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), pp. 45–60 (at p. 56) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmedhist.2003.12.004>; and E. W. Kemp 'The Attempted Canonisation of Robert Grosseteste', in *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. Daniel A. Callus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 241–6.

> Hubert's poem is 200 lines long […] It concludes with the […] fragment of a sequence which, Dr Hunt surmised, Hubert may have composed in anticipation of Grosseteste's canonisation […] [27]

Furthermore, we see in Thomas of Eccleston's account of Grosseteste's coming to the Franciscan's school, where Thomas would have attended lectures, possibly the warmest and most personal illustrations of Grosseteste friendship with the friars;[28] but no specific mention of music.

Moving further on and returning to the use of music in a medicinal setting, McEvoy relates how natural philosophy gains from the ministry of the arts. Its ultimate extension being found in the use of musical modulation in the cure of illness, something requiring an understanding that illness can be cured by ordering and tempering the spirits.[29] In effect, when a person is ill – or disordered – they can be cured by the mathematical understanding of the soul as found in the teaching which Masters of Arts had received.[30] By necessity such teaching was based in Augustinian psychology, something which Grosseteste remained committed to throughout his life. But he was able to place this alongside other, potentially new, thinking; for example, his interest in the newly translated works of Aristotle.[31] Through this Grosseteste was able to move beyond traditional schema of understanding around the soul to something along the lines of the soul acting upon the body in a physical rather than mystical sense. That is not to say that this was merely a passing phase, or simply an academic exercise, as it appears that Grosseteste maintained his belief in the use of music as a cure for illness throughout his life. [32] Indeed, it could be said that through his *scientia* Grosseteste was fully able to avoid the pitfalls in Aristotle's metaphysics to allow him to move towards an understanding of the world based in experimentation and mathematics. The latter enabling such understanding due to error seldom occurring in mathematics, leading to a fuller illumination of the mind due to mathematical entities being clearly visible.[33]

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27 McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 42, n. 44.
28 Ibid, p. 43.
29 Ibid, p. 257.
30 See ed. Baur, 4.35–5.20 in McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 258.
31 McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 78.
32 McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 476
33 Callus, *Grosseteste as Scholar*, p. 26.

R. W. Southern (1986) – *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*

Following this line of thought, Richard Southern sets out in his 1986 work an idea of Grosseteste's theological vision. This includes an understanding of illumination of the mind by allowing understanding of the contradictions and discords in the *discors Concordia* of Holy Scripture. Something which also impacted upon Christian doctrine, whilst having a deeper and much more positive role than some of his contemporaries might have allowed for.[34] Indeed, quite curiously there is an indirect reference to Southern given by Stephen P. Marrone in respect of human cognition, with Marrone making absolutely clear that:

> One of the virtues of the image of divine light was, after all, to make God's intervention logically independent of the precise formal arrangements of reference.[35]

By being independent of any normal means of simple human frames of reference, we are better able to come to an understanding of the *discors concordia* – and celestial music or harmony – as mentioned above. Furthermore, it could be suggested that we could not come to an understanding of everyday life without being able to accept the inherent contradictions of the same. By having such a flexible way of understanding where knowledge might come from, a better truth could be arrived at especially thanks to a more holistic view of what particular terms of reference may be; based on one's own terms of reference or 'light in which truth must be seen'.[36] To reiterate, the very fact that there may not be any immediate resolution in scholastic argumentation, or understanding of celestial harmony, meant that Grosseteste allowed himself to consider such words as 'beginning' in such a way as to provide fresh insight on what divine illumination might mean for simple truths, or those which we hold without thought.[37] An understanding of which could be said to be the essence of Grosseteste's conception of education – that of an endless pursuit in which we can all join.[38] But, this has the potential to us away from Grosseteste and Music towards his reliance upon the centrality of man in the Universe; while

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[34] Southern, *Robert* Grosseteste, p. 209.
[35] Stephen P. Marrone, *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 195.
[36] Ibid, p. 196.
[37] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 209.
[38] Ibid, p. 210.

this is a given in medieval thought – given Genesis 1:16 – it would be remiss to suggest that there is anything more in Southern's first mention of music than its celestial form.

Returning to the idea of music, that providing proper measure to the human body or mind, which Callus offered in 1955 we find in Crombie's offering that Grosseteste held that the fundamental physical substance was light.[39] By extension, illumination of the mind enabled better understanding of God. However, as Southern suggests instruction in the work of God will have required some degree of popular instruction – certainly in relation to education.[40]The ultimate expression of this is in Grosseteste's *Le Chateau d'Amour* where we find advanced scientific learning and theological concepts flowing out of his 'poetry of popular instruction'.[41] Through the comprehension of God on a person's own terms, rather than in Greek or Latin, for example, a more nuanced understanding could be reached. In this case, it could also be suggested, but if not actively inferred, that the popular understanding required could be reached through music.

Certainly, and moving back to the harpist Grosseteste employed next to his room,[42] the illumination of the mind could come in various ways, not just through the divine. Expression of this can be found in Marrone's comments on Grosseteste's ideas around light:

> From one perspective it seems as if Grosseteste meant to speak of the light of God's Truth, while from another it would seem he was talking about light solely from the human mind.[43]

Thanks to Grosseteste's interest in the natural order of the world, and his understanding that everything in the natural world was the mirror of the eternal mind,[44] it can be said that the best way in which to understand celestial music was through illuminating the human mind in such a way as to comprehend that discord was an inherent part of it. Rather than suggest that there was a single way of arriving at a conclusion, or at the very least a single way of being educated, Grosseteste was at pains to show that human instincts were a necessary, but subordinate, part of the greater whole. 'Nature,' Southern suggests, 'therefore, did not point towards a greater

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39 A. C. Crombie, 'Grosseteste's Position in the History of Science', pp. 110–11, in *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop*, ed. Callus, pp. 98–120.
40 Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 229.
41 Ibid, p. 228.
42 Ibid, p. 318.
43 Marrone, *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 199–200.
44 Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 244.

freedom for natural instincts, but towards greater subordination of these instincts to an overriding authority…there was no room for dualism in Grosseteste's mind…'[45] In other words, the smaller parts coming together begat the greater whole.

We know that music was an important part of the medieval quadrivium, that Grosseteste believed music could help salve the mentally ill and that it would have been at the heart of much of everyday life in the period in which he lived. Which is why it remains curious that music does not play a greater role in the understanding of Grosseteste himself, despite Southern's mention of the harpist employed by Grosseteste so he could hear music day or night. This brings us on to Nancy van Deusen's work around Anonymous IV.

Nancy E. van Deusen (1995) – *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*

Following, almost directly, on from Southern's work Nancy van Deusen suggests that he had opened up the case of Grosseteste by questioning details of his life which had been assumed to be correct, in many cases without sufficient evidence.[46] What becomes starkly apparent, even in her introduction, is the centrality of music not only to Grosseteste's thought but also his theology; certainly insofar as philosophical-theological ideas can be exemplified in music – the two are not mutually exclusive.[47] Similar to his ideas around mental health, we can deduce from this that order can be found in life through music's ability to show both discord and consonance at one. Van Deusen suggests that it is achieved through Grosseteste's reconciliation of traditional concepts – for example the trinity, harmony, and material – with:

> […] his own external and internal intellectual milieus, coupling […] opposing parts tempered by a creator, traditional *armonia* with a concept of simultaneous harmony which included dissonance and consonance, a tradition of the trinity with a richer concept of unity in trinity-trinity unity, that is, three distinct parts functioning together within a totality. In every case, a traditional concept was reconciled with a totally new, fresh way of viewing the concept […] [48]

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45 Ibid, p. 244.
46 Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, p. xi.
47 Ibid, pp. ix–xi.
48 Ibid, pp. xi–xii.

It is this understanding of the greater whole being made up of smaller parts, *multum in parvo* – much in little, which allowed Grosseteste to come to his own understanding of God. An understanding which relied heavily on evidencing claims, then testing this through disputation. In this case, the role of motion is crucial to understanding Grosseteste and music.

The importance of motion, as a concept, had been growing in the thirteenth century thanks to the translations of the Greeks which had been arriving in Christendom up to the point when Grosseteste went up to Oxford. Thanks to this, motion was an integral part of each of the liberal arts. Given the mathematical definition and nature of music at the time this is not a surprise. Indeed, Grosseteste himself not only actively wrote in language which was rich in what could be termed musical significance but came to understand the newly translated works of Aristotle through musical exemplification – as we have seen above. Music itself was a process which combined all of the properties of motion, it was continuous and capable of almost infinite division into tones.[49] As Schueller suggests, Grosseteste was heavily influenced by Aristotelean thinking, but was also working under a system in which music had been confined within the Church to ensure that human passions could not be inflamed to any great degree. Such a move had been prompted by St. Augustine's later writings, the passions were suppressed rather than purged and '…human emotion [was] to be transcended and artistic pleasure tolerated only to the extent it served religion.'[50] This can be said to be have allowed for a higher degree of intellectual interest in music in the centuries following his death, returning it to the academic sphere to be understood within the confines of mathematics. Grosseteste himself repeated Augustine's analysis of musical perception directly.

It is in music, then, that we find possibly the best expression of Grosseteste's thought processes. Not only does it appear in his *Commentary on the Posterior Analytics*, but also *De Generatione Sonorum*, *De artibus liberalibus* and more. This suggests that van Deusen's contention is correct; that knowledge transfer – to Grosseteste – was multidisciplinary and that the best way in which to gain access to knowledge was through its entire, necessarily, multidisciplinary context.[51] Furthermore, music enabled abstract concepts to be given voice to:

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[49] Ibid, pp. 5–7.
[50] Schueller, *The Idea of Music*, p. 256.
[51] Van Deusen, *Theology and Music*, p. 9.

> Music's capacity to bring abstractions to sensory perception can be seen in music theoretical discussions of 1) substance authentically related to sign in writing, of *figura-modus*, 2) in time measure and the presentation of rhythmic gestures by which time is controlled and given characteristic format, 3) in the mention of demonstration – "show plainly" – or *cantus planus* and the use of the term *simplex*, and, finally, 4) within discussion of *proprietas* and *perfectio.*[52]

While a discussion of the above being written by either Anonymous IV or Grosseteste himself is not the main thrust of this thesis, it is still interesting to note that two almost contemporaneous figures could write similar things at the around the same time. However, more importantly, it does show the impact of Boethius' *Musica* in the writing of Oxford men who were not necessarily specialists in the field of music – thanks to the text being a standard one at the university.[53]

The relevance of Boethius to any discussion of Grosseteste and music cannot be underestimated, not least because of his *Musica*. Music was just as much a mathematical discipline as Geometry, indeed without Boethius there would be no concept of the *quadrivium* – that educational system which relied upon the liberal arts themselves. Within this, scholars, such as Grosseteste, would have become familiar with the idea that music (and, therefore, knowledge) must be known and controlled.[54] The control of musical knowledge had to rely on mathematical understanding, indeed musical instruction in the song schools of cathedrals included:

> […] the study of musical sounds and their relationship to mathematical numbers, consonant and dissonant intervals, the position of half steps, the formation of scales – all taught by means of […] the monochord […] Many [musical] treatises conclude with a *tonarium*, a collection of melodic formulas used in psalmody showing the *initiae* and *differentiae* of the various psalm tones (modes) and grouping parts of the chant according to mode. Such vocal formulas […] were mnemonic devises making it easy for pupils to learn the different modes […] [55]

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[52] Ibid, pp. 31–2.

[53] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 76–7.

[54] Calvin M. Bower, *The Role of Boethius: De Institutione Musica in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought*, p. 174, in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Massi (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981), pp. 157–74.

[55] Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, p. 24.

We cannot be sure that Grosseteste himself attended the song school of a cathedral establishment, but his education, at Oxford and potentially also at Paris, will have required some degree of understanding of mathematics. The very mathematics found in Boethius' writings, these unlike other ancient writer's works had survived and were widely disseminated through the educational establishments and the disputations found in Christendom. It must be noted that writing on music in the thirteenth-century had a very different purpose to today's practice-oriented writing. Rather, writing concerned with music in Grosseteste's lifetime was based on the service it was expected to perform – essentially to the glory of God.[56]

Van Deusen is at pains to point out that medieval music, and any writing concerning it, took place in an intellectual environment, that is to say that the learning of music was an intellectual process provided by universities and song schools. As such and using her example of *conductus* (a metrical Latin song of ceremonial character for one, two or three voices),[57] it is shown that there is a preoccupation within the early university of relating disciplines, as opposed to the largely autonomous subjects of music, mathematics and history – for example – now taught at the modern university.[58] Indeed, the interdisciplinary nature of the early university suggests the following to van Deusen:

> Music in the thirteenth-century, was part of an interdisciplinary collaboration. Despite the formidable intellectual, and, perhaps, cultural differences in dealing with the topics of the early thirteenth-century, one of the most rewarding factors is the sense of community, as well as the atmosphere of the excitement pervading the early university milieu. Songs, as well as music notation, are in the mainstream of the most important intellectual concerns, representing and making available the tool by which discourse was possible: signs in syntax, event in continuity – and showing its relevance to life, *curriculum vitae*.[59]

It is this exciting intellectual environment which Grosseteste was steeped in, so he was more than used to music playing its part throughout educational careers and it being a part of the quadrivium, with all subjects sharing a mathematical basis.

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[56] Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, pp. 33–5.
[57] 'Conductus', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/art/conductus, Accessed: 17 April 2019; and David Hilley, 'Conductus', *Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Alison Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 295.
[58] Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, p. 49.
[59] Ibid, pp. 49–53.

Such a scientific, codified understanding of music – on Grosseteste's part – can be seen throughout the rest of van Deusen's work. Certainly, in relation to the concept of equivalence and *ordo*. Chapter IV indicates the importance of order to the academic and musical process, for example:

> Both the process of constructively 'bringing together' and its counterpart, division, or the process of 'breaking up' in order to observe and scrutinise – in short the analytical process – leads to a concept of *ordo*. The parts within a whole, separated into particulars, must be organised, and ordered for the process of analysis and interpretation to take place.[60]

Further to this, the ability of musical modes to distinguish and divide the individual components of music itself therefore leans towards an understanding of the greater whole in which we live. Modes enable, rather than hinder, the cognitive process due to their mobility and character.[61] This brings us back to the idea of harmony, or at the very least *discors concordia* mentioned by Southern[62] and the universality of mathematics, as mentioned by Crombie:

> Mathematics was a universal science 'because it contains under itself seven arts, which are arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, the science of aspects [i.e., optics], the science of weights and the science of mathematical devices […] Theoretical music considered proportion and harmonies in the abstract and practical music was concerned with the production of sounds by voice or instruments.[63]

The desire to find order in the world, via scientific experimentation, is neatly summed up in the relation of musical modes to time and, in many ways, enables us to understand the interdisciplinary nature of the medieval university better too. Van Deusen suggests that music 'exists in time, therefore, the concept of modes of time, perfectly integrated with animation or motion within time, can certainly be applied to music.'[64] Furthermore, existing within time as it does, music began to take on a highly explicatory role in the understanding of Grosseteste's ideas around the prevailing idea that their works, or *opus*, could take on a multiplicity of forms.

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60 Ibid, p. 64.
61 Ibid, p. 65.
62 Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 205–32.
63 Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 39.
64 Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, p. 59

Indeed, '…the succession of suggestions that a work of art was a composite – a composition – with a carefully conceived beginning, middle, processional phase, and a distinct, articulate termination was both powerful and influential.'[65] It is surprising, then, that such a complex understanding, or at least personal comprehension, of music typifies what Southern calls Grosseteste's '…natural inclination to stretch out beyond the limits of the known to the area of conjecture.'[66] It is this which will become important in the discussion of J. S. Bach and the, hoped for ultimately successful, linking of him through Luther and the early Franciscans to Robert Grosseteste

Jack P. Cunningham and Mark Hocknull (eds.) (2016) – *Robert Grosseteste and the pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning in the Middle Ages*

Grosseteste's scientific turn, as discussed by both Crombie (1953) and Southern (1986), is updated in this 2016 volume edited by Cunningham and Hocknull. Containing essays which examine subjects such as Grosseteste's *De Luce*'s consideration of unity and symmetry and three-dimensional colour space, to corruption of the elements and medieval lessons for the modern science/religion debate, the edited compilation provides a comprehensive view of Grosseteste himself. However, as with all of the previous editions, minus van Deusen's monograph, music is a very minor part of the total work. That said, there are a number of specific instances where music becomes the principal explicator of Grosseteste's scientific mind.

The essay, 'Unity and Symmetry in the *De Luce* of Robert Grosseteste', by Brian K. Tanner, Richard G. Bower, Thomas C. B. McLeish and Giles E. M. Gasper, is the first in the collection. They consider the development of the consequences of Grosseteste's metaphysics of light towards the physics of light, combining the stability of solids into a complete cosmogony.[67] What is most relevant for us are the references to music in their section considering the number of celestial spheres and symmetry, in this we find that to come to an understanding of form itself Grosseteste appeals to numerical sequence to describe the four fundamental characteristics of

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[65] Ibid, pp. 155–6.

[66] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 208.

[67] Brian K. Tanner, Richard G. Bower, Thomas C. B. McLeish, and Giles E. M. Gasper, 'Unity and Symmetry in the *De Luce* of Robert Grosseteste', in *Robert Grosseteste and the Pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jack P. Cunningham and Mark Hocknull, Studies in the History of Philosophy of Mind 18 (Cham: Springer International, 2016), pp. 3–20 (at p. 3).

the most simple bodies. What is striking in this part of the chapter is that the authors place specific importance on the simplicity of the sequence, the idea that adding all of the parts together delivers the number ten which in turn is the perfect number for the universe; ultimately, we are all made of the various forms which can be found in the universe, even of celestial harmony. As the authors suggest, there is a rationale for behind nine perfect celestial spheres there is one sub-lunar perfect sphere,[68] whether the latter sphere refers to man himself is not contended with but given we have already seen that Grosseteste believed that music could salve the mentally ill it is an interesting idea nonetheless especially as this sphere in Greek astronomy consisted of the four classical elements of earth, water, air and fire.

What is of most interest to this chapter is what appears on pages sixteen and seventeen, this is where the authors of the essay detail Grosseteste's reinforcing of his point, or simplistic explanation to aid understanding, by appealing to the characteristics of music; in this Grosseteste connects the five ratios generated by the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 with the mathematical relations underlying music.[69] As such:

> He asserts: '…only the five ratios found in these four numbers [one, two, three and four] ……are harmonious in musical measures, gestures and rhythms (Panti, 2013[b] Lewis, 2013). The five ratios that can be generated by the four numbers are ½:1/3: ¼:2/3: and ¾. In the sixth century BCE, the Pythagoreans showed that there was a fundamental relation between musical pitch and the length of a vibrating string. When the string is divided into the proportions of the five ratios, the octave, the twelfth, the double octave, the fifth and the fourth musical intervals are generated. These were the perfect intervals of the quadrivium described by Boethius who was the main transmitter of Pythagorean ideas to the late antique and medieval West (Boethius, 1989). Similarly, the fundamental rhythmic metres found in music are these four numbers.[70]

Such an intensely musically based, and personally experiential, explanation of a complex problem goes to show quite how important music was to Grosseteste as it not only served to aid understanding but also appealed directly to the knowledge of the quadrivium that his audience would have had; thereby neatly encouraging further personal study. Likewise, in the following

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[68] Ibid, p. 15.
[69] Ibid, p. 16.
[70] Ibid.

sentences the authors extend the fundamentality of rhythmic metres in music and poetry as described in a quote from *De artibus liberalibus* regarding proportion and celestial harmony. Through this the connection of celestial and terrestrial motion is made evident for the reader, with the planets influencing the most appropriate time to undertake certain actions. The authors' conclusion to this section is that to Grosseteste, as found in his reasoning in *De Luce*, there is a connection of celestial properties, through the harmony of music, with motion on earth; Grosseteste thus finds parallels between number associated with music and number associated with the heavenly spheres.[71] Unfortunately, at such an exciting moment the authors move on to modern analogues between Grosseteste's thought on unity and symmetry such as physicists – from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries – appealing to aesthetic principles, but there is no further mention of music itself.[72]

The final mention of music in Cunningham and Hocknull's volume comes in an essay by Tom McLeish about the medieval lessons for modern science. McLeish suggests that due to Grosseteste's thought and practice modern science should, based on his 2014 monograph,[73] recognise and incorporate a set of seven foundational principles.[74] Of which, the first is of particular interest and is reproduced in full below:

> [Science] would recognise a long, complex history of relationship between human and non-human. The ancient beginnings of the story recognise the Biblical (and other ancient wisdom traditions) embedding of the need to be reconciled to a world that puzzles and threatens. It removes the damaging analysis that science is exclusively modern, or represents an awakening from inappropriate, superstitious, or ignorant shackles of thought. Rather it assists in relocating the deeper seeing, the imagination constrained by observation, the recreation of nature – all that we now call 'science' as part of a longer and deeply human story. In this view, science belongs with art, story, drama, music in the collective creative, therapeutic and constitutive human endeavours.[75]

McLeish's appeals to modern science to incorporate the medieval forms of research, alongside a need to understand the interconnectedness of the human and natural worlds, are possibly the

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71 Ibid., p. 17.
72 Ibid., pp. 17–19.
73 Tom McLeish, *Faith and Wisdom in Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
74 See Appendix, pp. 34 –35, for the seven foundational principles reproduced in full.
75 Tom McLeish, 'Medieval Lessons for the Modern Science/Religion Debate', in *Grosseteste and the Pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning*, ed. Cunningham and Hocknull, pp. 281–300 (at pp. 296–7).

best expression of Grosseteste's *scientia* (or way of learning). But it is the fact that he also locates music within its collective therapeutic, creative and constitutive human endeavours where we find Grosseteste writ large. Not only does McLeish encourage modern scientists to follow Grosseteste's example, but he also allows for imagination to be a vital part of the observed nature which scientists are seeking to explain through their experiments; indeed, he requires for science to be an integral part of lived lives – from the Biblical to what is now called science being part of a longer human story. When placed alongside the other six fundamentals which McLeish requires for modern science, we find the exciting possibility that we are all or could become – should we take on the full list – quasi-Grossetestes in our ways of learning, teaching, and thinking. Something which will be explored in specific relation to J. S. Bach later in the Thesis.

Jack P. Cunningham (ed.) (2022) – *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste by Philip Perry*

Philip Perry's *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste* is an eighteenth-century study of the medieval bishop Robert Grosseteste and was considered too scandalous to be published in Philip Perry's lifetime. Published, as edited by Cunningham, in June 2022 not only does this essay bring us right up to date in terms of publishing regarding Grosseteste himself but it also mentions music in direct relation to him. Likewise, it provides a very useful book end regarding Grosseteste and music. The primary mentions of music relate to the quadrivium and its role within this as well as the trivium, with Perry suggesting:

> From Cambridge Grosseteste passed to Oxford, whose studies were both more ancient and more renowned that those of Cambridge and there he finished his philosophic studies under a Professor named John…There he turned out so great an adept in all the Liberal Arts and Sciences, not only in the *Trivia* of Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick, but in the *Quadrivia* of Arithmetic, Musick, Geometry and Astronomy that he wrote upon every part of them, especially sayeth Trivet, and Knighton, upon Logick, Astronomy, and other useful parts of Philosophy. Tanner observes, that Grosseteste was the first, that opened the way to the Mathematicks which must be understood of the perfection of that Science. For Tanner himself gives many instances of English Mathematicians, anterior to our

> Philosopher and these of no small note, yet so interior to Grosseteste that he seemed to be the first introducer of those studies.[76]

While it must be noted that Perry was attempting to confirm Grosseteste's Catholicism in and for the eighteenth-century, hence the essay's scandalous nature, we see in the above quote not just the importance of music to Grosseteste's learning but also that every subject within the medieval Trivium/Quadrivium fed off one another. Indeed, he was so adept at the use of all subjects that Perry believes Grosseteste may have been the ultimate exponent of them. The reference of Perry's to the fact Grosseteste seemed to be the introducer of such a learning style could be a reference to Grosseteste's initial engagement with the Arabic science he would later bring to Christendom, however it is difficult to discern this as there is no specific mention of it. Curiously, this brings us to the second and last mention of music, on page seventeen, where Perry lists Grosseteste's works of which a twenty division *Compendium of the Sciences* has music at its heart in between Arithmetic and Geometry.[77]

A bookend to Grosseteste and Music is provided in Perry's essay in relation to the word harmony, of which there are three mentions with the third being by far and away the most important. The previous two mentions relate specifically to the disagreements Grosseteste had with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral in 1245, firstly over Thomas of Huntingdon's refusal to take up the prebend of Gretton due to the Bishop and Chapter's variance.[78] Secondly, Grosseteste took an opportunity to remove the deanery of Aylesbury from the Diocese of Lichfield to Lincoln giving the same to Robert de Marisco, who was succeeded by William de Sherwode. Something which, apparently, ended the dispute so perfectly that the Dean and Chapter closely cherished the bishop's charity moving forward, to such a degree it was almost as though there had never been a dispute between them.[79] But, it is the third mention of harmony which shows quite how long lasting the memory of Grosseteste's attachment to, love of and connection with music was. Again, it must be remembered that this essay is an eighteenth-century attempt to confirm Grosseteste's Catholicism; that said it is somewhat unusual for a story to be related by so many (from the Bishop of London's Chaplain, John de Crachdale to Matthew Paris and two Franciscans travelling towards Buckden (Bugden) in Cambridgeshire)

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[76] *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste by Philip Perry*, ed. Jack P. Cunningham (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2022), p. 15.
[77] Ibid, p. 17.
[78] Ibid, p. 86.
[79] Ibid, p. 114.

that the night Grosseteste died celestial music or at the very least a conventual bell tolling was heard at the same time he passed on.[80] Perry goes on to suggest that this is no great surprise given Grosseteste's stature within the diocese, thus:

> Nor will any one that reflects a little be surprised at the manner in which God declared his servant's happiness…What wonder then that Almighty God, to support the spirit of his elect still remaining in the combat should manifest this charitable joy of our blessed guardian spirits by some outward and sensible sign? And what sign so analogous, and so proper to express this joy of the angels conducting their pupil's spirits to bliss, as an heavenly and supernatural harmony, the daughter of joyfulness? God was so pleased to approve his faithful servant by other more general testimonies, which followed his inferior and mortal part.[81]

Perry goes further in the following pages, most likely attempting to confirm that the miracles which occurred at Grosseteste's tomb following his burial were real; yet Grosseteste would never be formally Canonised and is celebrated within the Anglican Communion on 9 October as Bishop rather than Saint. However, as we can see even at the time of his passing the importance of music to Grosseteste was so strong that stories about its appearing remained within the oral tradition about him well into the eighteenth-century. It is therefore striking, even after almost exactly five centuries and twenty generations since Grosseteste's death, quite how integral music's place in life – celestial or otherwise – was to him and how well remembered it was. Even in death, music was of prime importance to Grosseteste the man, Bishop, and potential saint. However, it is important to bear in mind Perry's underlying intentions and interpret his essay accordingly. Essentially, his essay can be seen as a form of counter-information, aiming to reintegrate Grosseteste into the English Catholic tradition of the mid to late eighteenth century, prior to the period of emancipation.

Given all of the above, it remains surprising that the centrality of music to the Greek way of learning, its rediscovery and translation into Latin, via Arabic, is largely missing in Grosseteste scholarship. There are, however, some exceptions. Nancy van Deusen has drawn explicit links between Grosseteste's *Hexaëmeron* and the medieval motet.[82] Yet, such works are few and far between. Indeed, it is also surprising that Grosseteste's conception of music remains under-

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[80] Ibid, p. 196.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, pp. 161–76.

explored not least given the allegorical use of it in his Letters and also, perhaps most intriguingly, the allusions to it we find in the *Complete Dicta in English* as edited and translated by Gordon Jackson. Furthermore, Grosseteste provided his understanding and exploration of the seven liberal arts, of which music could be considered the keystone of mathematical knowledge, in one of his earliest works of the same name *De artibus liberalibus* (1198); in this he states that the purpose of the arts is to 'restore the student to the condition that God had intended for humanity which had been lost in Eden'.[83] Therefore, it can safely be said that the initial contention is true. Certainly, insofar as music, the idea of it as an art, is the most neglected part of previous investigations in to Grosseteste's work, despite at the same time it being crucially important component of the seven liberal arts.

[83] Robert Grosseteste, *De artibus liberalibus*, trans. and ed. by Giles Gasper et. al., in *The Scientific Works of Robert Grosseteste, Vol 1.: Knowing and Speaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 7–196.

Research Questions

In view of the equal desire, described above, by both Grosseteste and Bach to find order in the world around them, three questions are proposed to guide what follows.

1) To what extent can it be said that Grosseteste's work was known in what has become modern Germany, for example Thuringia, in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries?

2) Can it be said that Luther's reforms to education, following his ninety-five theses, returned German education to a more Latinate formation based around the quadrivium?

3) To what extent were Grosseteste's *scientia* and, within this, his conception of music, necessary precursors to J. S. Bach's *Endzweck* (artistic goal) and *Entwurff*?[84]

[84] See John Eliot Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach* (London: Penguin, 2014), pp. 223–224.

Mentions of Music in the Grosseteste Literature

Table 1 - Mentions of Music in the Grosseteste Literature

Author	Text	Mentions of Music
Crombie, A. C. (1953)	*Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science 1100–1700*	9 – one in notes
Cunningham, J. P. (2012)	*Robert Grosseteste: His Thought and Impact*	0 – although plenty of subjects mentioned which could relate to music and Grosseteste, for example the Psalms (pp. 79–110) and Universals (pp. 217–226)
Cunningham, J. P. and Hocknull, M. eds. (2016)	*Robert Grosseteste and the pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning in the Middle Ages*	3 – specifically in relation to musical rhythm and rhythmic meters in poetry regarding proportion (pp. 16–17)
McEvoy, K. (1982)	*The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*	4 – one in a quotation from William de Wadington's *Manuel des Péchés* celebrating the bishop's love of harping and singing (p. 43)
McEvoy, J. (2000)	*Robert Grosseteste (Great Medieval Thinkers)*	0
McEvoy, J. trans. and ed. (2003)	*Mystical Theology: The Glosses by Thomas Gallus and the Commentary of Robert Grosseteste on De Mystica Theologia*	0 – but several oblique references: one to 'divine sounds' (p. 76/7), a second to 'many voiced trumpets' (p. 78/9) and 'sensitive powers' (p. 108/9)
Stevenson, F. S. (1899)	*Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century*	0 – but often mentioned in passing, especially in relation to Grosseteste's Treatises (p. 49) and Greek learning (pp. 20–3)
Southern, R. W. (1986)	*Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*	3

Appendix

Tom McLeish's seven foundational principles that modern science should recognise and adopt:

(i) It [science] would recognise a long, complex history of the relationship between human and non-human. The ancient beginnings of the story recognise the Biblical (and other ancient wisdom traditions) embedding of the need to be reconciled to a world that puzzles and threatens. It removes the damaging analysis science is exclusively modern, or represents an awakening from inappropriate, superstitious, or ignorant shackles of thought. Rather it assists in relocating the deeper seeing, the imagination constrained by observation, the recreation of nature – all that we now call 'science' as part of a longer and deeply human story. In this view, science belongs with art, story, drama, music in the collective creative, therapeutic and constitutive human endeavours.

(ii) It entertains a high view of human aptitude to re-imagine nature. The special theological position of humankind, made *in imagio Dei* and under divine command as caretakers of the Earth, encourages, rather than suppresses, the adventure of discovery that re-imagines nature and illuminates the world's inner structures. The simplicity, the naturalness, with which Grosseteste explores scientific questions, aligns with the theological anthropology when this is explicit. Both warn against a view that doing science is 'unnatural' or disconnected with our ancient human origins.

(iii) It balances and integrates a science of illumination with the wisdom of cautious intervention in the world. The dual structure of Wisdom and Knowledge, *sapienta* and *scientia* is present in Grosseteste's Aristotelian source material, but becomes transformed through his Christian theology, drawing as it does on the wisdom of Job and the Psalms. This is not to say that we should retreat from nature – as Latour (the French Philosopher) indicates humankind has long passed the point at which this was a realistic option, even if it were ever appropriate. But it does insist that our technical transformations, our co-creations, should place the value of sustaining a fruitful natural world before our own profit.

(iv) Drawing on the traditions of the consequences of the Fall, and the repeated reminders in Proverbs, Psalms and Job of the 'thorns and briars' that characterise engagement with the earth, and with Paul's letter to the Romans of the groaning of creation (as if in childbirth), a theological narrative of science would recognise that engaging with nature is ambiguous and painful. Again, this is not to signify that it is inappropriate. But it is to recognise, with Job, that the search for wisdom

is a difficult and long one, and with Grosseteste that our starting point is one in which our understanding and our wisdom have been lulled to sleep. In the task of reconciling a natural world that hides itself and threatens, our unavoidable foolishness is likely to lead to painful mistakes.

(v) The experience of pain and difficulty in rediscovering a relationship with nature is due in part to the balance of order and chaos that constitutes a world in flux. Learning to live with uncertainty is as certain an experience in science as in any other lived experience. It is especially true of a world where the in-built predisposition of inanimate matter to explore new potential in structures on all levels from the molecular to the macroscopic can only evolve on a substratum of microscopic random motion. Although there could have been no notion of essential thermal ('Brownian') motion in the thirteen century, (although Lucretius has the atomic constituents of matter in constant motion [*De rerum natura*]), thinkers like Grosseteste were grappling with the science of the imperfect (sublunary) world…it takes intellectual courage to suppose that the logic and grammar of mathematics might bring some order, and not inappropriately, to the realm of the elements.

(vi) The astonishing fruitfulness of the *creative question* we read everywhere in Grosseteste's work addresses one aspect of the meagre current public narratives for science – that it is not the place to expect a role for creativity and imagination. In re-reading the intellectual history of the thirteenth century, we are struck repeatedly by how difficult it is to identify which questions will open doors to understanding, and at what time, and which are premature or even ill-defined. To read into a time when it was by no means obvious what science could become, humbles us today. It sharpens the realisation that our disciplinary methodologies have become narrowly defined, and dangerously close to new thinking.

(vii) Finally, it would recognise the role and work of love in rediscovering a participative and reconciliatory project of the human relationship with nature. One of Grosseteste's most striking and moving works is written, not in Latin, but in Anglo-Norman French – the *Château d'Amour* [Mackie 2003]. Full of physical structure, light and colour, the 'Hymn to the Virgin' is as faithful to a structural *sollertia* of nature as it is to the theology of faithfulness and love. A project that successfully engages a wider participation in the playful joys of science, as well as its necessarily painful task, will also be explicit in celebrating the centrality of love – both within the community that undertakes the task, and also of the object of our gaze, created in the first place from the same creative *caritas*.

CHAPTER 2

Rustic Exhortation, the Body, Soul and Celestial Harmony in the Letters of Robert Grosseteste

The purpose of this chapter is to come to a view of Grosseteste's conception of music in the pastoral life of the diocese of Lincoln, and how his pastoral vision was influenced by his work on Celestial Harmony. Archbishop Stephen Langton's notion of 'rustic exhortation' – the idea that polished or refined preaching should be avoided in the cure of souls – is considered first and provides a lens through which to investigate Grosseteste's Letters. Taken with poetry written about Grosseteste after his death and a short consideration of the Intelligences (angels), we will attempt to describe Grosseteste's insights into music's ability to affect the body and soul and why this was important for him during his episcopate.

Referring to Stephen Langton's commentary on Judges 3:31, Christian Frost has noted that the multi-valent settings, in the sense that rustic exhortation had a potentially infinite number of contexts in which it can successfully be employed to convert the laity, in which Grosseteste and Bishop Poore of Salisbury found themselves – those of the new practical theologies arising from the beginnings of Dominican and Franciscan practice – meant that they were open to the most radical realignments of contemporary ideas.[1] The passage from Judges, which Frost notes specifically, reads:

> After him was Shamgar the son of Anath, who killed six hundred of the Philistines with an oxgoad; and he too delivered Israel. (Judges 3:31 RSV)

The precursor to this verse is the slaying with a two-edged sword of Eglon the king of Moab by Ehud the Benjaminite (Judges 3:15–26). Langton's commentary relates to the way in which theology could be communicated in a locally specific manner:

> Ecce hic manifestum est quod non semper debet predicator uti predicacione polita et subtili, sed uomere quandoque, id est, exhortacione rudi et agresti,

[1] Christian Frost, 'Architecture, Liturgy and Processions: Bishop Grosseteste's Lincoln and Bishop Poore's Salisbury' in *Bishop Robert Grosseteste and Lincoln Cathedral: Tracing Relationships between Medieval Concepts of Order and Built Form*, ed. by Nicholas Temple et. al., (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018). pp. 155 –178 (at 156–7).

> multociens enim efficacius est exemplum uulgare, quam uerbum politum et subtile, et hoc bene patet in hoc loco, Aioth enim non nisi unum, scilicet, Eglon gladio ancipiti transegit, Samgar autem vi centos uiros uomere prostrauit, hoc est quod ubi per predicacionem rudem et impolitam laici conuertuntur de facile uix unus litteratus ab errore suo potest auelli.[2]
>
> See, here it is shown that the preacher ought not always to use polished and fine preaching, but sometimes a ploughshare, that is, a rough and uncultivated exhortation, for often an everyday comparison is more effective than a polished and ingenious formulation, and this is quite clear in this place, for Ehud put an end to only one man, that is Eglon, with a two-edged sword, but Samgar laid low six hundred men with a ploughshare. This means that where (on the one hand) the laity are converted by rough and unpolished preaching with ease, scarcely can one learned man (on the other hand) be torn away from his error.

If we take Grosseteste as someone who, whether in a position of high ecclesiastical office or as a prebend of Lincoln in Leicester, saw as necessary the idea of 'rustic exhortation' – that is, openness and honesty in all things no matter the context – for a godly life leading to eternal salvation, we can perhaps begin to see why he may have ruffled some people's feathers. Coming from a lowly background, indeed all we really know about his early life is its Anglo-Norman humbleness, perhaps the best way to be heard by all was to be outwardly as blunt a mechanism as the ploughshare. Yet, this belies the usefulness of the tool itself, to be able to sow a new patch of crop first the ground must be ploughed, and a new tilth made for the seed to grow in. Rustic exhortation, in this light, becomes not something which produces a typical 'reforming' Bishop, rather someone who understands that to change a way of life requires much more than simple, indeed subtle, nudging towards a good life. Rather, a change can be created through blunt honesty (the ground newly ploughed), salvation preached in terms able to be understood by all (the new tilth) and ultimately a soul saved come judgement day (the growth towards the light).

Given his desire to look after and save all the souls within the flock governed by Lincoln, such an apparently broad-brush approach makes sense. That is not to say that this worked, nor was understood, one hundred percent of the time – the lack of a Chapter welcome on Grosseteste's

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[2] Stephen Langton, *Glossa in Heptateuchum*, Commentary on Judges, from Paris BN, MS Latin 355, fol. 181r (transcribed and translated with the advice of John Reuben Davies from the online microfilm image at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90665773/f181.item# [accessed 18 January 2023]).

first official visitation to Lincoln Cathedral and his continual disagreements with the Pope and/or King go to show quite how abrasive such a manner might appear.[3]

[3] See Philippa Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 62–5 & pp. 101–127; James McEvoy, 'A Portrait of Robert Grosseteste', in *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 3–50; James McEvoy, 'The Council of Lyon and its Aftermath', in his *Robert Grosseteste*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 31–50 (at pp. 44–5), and 'Pastoral Writings', ibid., pp. 140–145.

Chronology of the Letters

The chronology of Grosseteste's letters relies on Mantello and Goering's translation.[4] The span of time covered by the letters includes Grosseteste's time as Master, aged fifty years old, in schools and ending just prior to his death in 1253, the nineteenth year of his episcopate.

Table 2 - Chronology of the Letters of Robert Grosseteste

Master in the Schools (perhaps in 1225)	**Letter 1**
Archdeacon and canon of Lincoln Cathedral (1229–34)	**Letters 2–10**
Bishop-elect of Lincoln (25 March–17 June 1235)	**Letters 11–13**
First year as bishop of Lincoln (June 1235–June 1236)	**Letters 14–28**
Second year (June 1236–June 1237)	**Letters 29–47**
Third year (June 1237–June 1238)	**Letters 48–57**
Fourth year (June 1238–June1239)	**Letters 58–72***
Fifth year (June 1239–June1240)	**Letters 73–85**
Sixth year (June 1240–June 1241)	**Letters 86–93**
Seventh year (June 1241–June 1242)	**Letters 9–9**
Eighth year (June 1242–June 1243)	**Letter 100**
Ninth year (June 1243–June 1244)	**Letters 101–5, 107–11**
Tenth year (June 1244–June 1245)	**Letters 106, 112–13**
Eleventh year (June 1245–June 1246)	**Letters 114–27**
Twelfth year (June 1246–June 1247)	**None**
Thirteenth year (June 1247–June 1248)	**Letters 129 and 132**
Fourteenth year (June 1248–June 1249)	**None**
Fifteenth year (June 1249–June 1250)	**None**
Sixteenth year (June 1250–June 1251)	**None**
Seventeenth year (June 1251–June 1252)	**None**
Eighteenth year (June 1252–June 1253)	**128** (this letter was added to some manuscripts of the collected letters by medieval scribes
Nineteenth year (June 1253–October 1253)	**Letters 130–1** (probably spurious; added to the collection by Luard)

[4] *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, translated with introduction and annotation by F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2010), pp. 22–24.

Anthony Carl Mantello and Joseph Goering set out in their introductory remarks to the collection, pages 1-32, its mode of transmission and circulation as a set. They suggest that the collected letters, along with their associated texts, were disseminated together, although not necessarily as a uniform text; the ultimate source for these was one or more registers or rolls of copies of all such items of correspondence, something which was maintained during Grosseteste's life.[5] Various editions of the collected Latin letters have been produced, H. R. Luard's for the Rolls Series being the most recent, published in 1861, and forming the basis for Mantello and Goering's translation. Luard notes in his Preface that it cannot be ascertained who curated the collection of letters nor why it was put together; yet despite this, the collection was clearly popular, as demonstrated by the number of extant manuscript copies and wide circulation of *Excerpta ex Epistolis R. Grosseteste*.[6] At the end of his Preface, Luard produces a list of the MSS used in his collection. We find that not only are copies of the letters held in the more obvious institutions, for example the collections of universities and colleges of Cambridge and Oxford, but also the Cathedral Library of Prague.[7] The Hospital of St. Francis, which was founded in Prague, in 1232 or 1233, by Agnes of Bohemia provides a good example of how texts such as Grosseteste's letters may have been shared between different Franciscan households. Every friary or mendicant house (*conventus*) functioned as a nodal point in the friars' network of communication, which was bound up with their multiple social functions, specifically that of itinerant preachers and their function as storytellers and professional communicators of the Middle Ages.[8]

By contrast with Luard, Mantello and Goering reached a conclusion regarding the original conception and execution of the collection. Grosseteste himself can plausibly be credited with the selection of the letters included, based on the manuscript evidence the translators provide; and an early version of the collection is shown to have been produced during Grosseteste's lifetime, in the eleventh year of his episcopate, 1246.[9] It is their conception of the reasoning around the nature and purpose of the collection of letters which is, perhaps, the most useful point of Mantello and Goering's introductory remarks with respect to music. Not only do they set out that we can see in the letters Grosseteste's tone changing from that of a Master to that of the

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5 *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering p. 5.
6 *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae*, ed. Luard, p. xvi.
7 Ibid., pp. xcvi–xcvii.
8 See Annette Kehnel, 'The Narrative Tradition of the Medieval Franciscan Friars on the British Isles. Introduction to the Sources', *Franciscan Studies*, 63 (2005), pp. 461–2.
9 *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 6–17.

supreme authority within his diocese – writing in the collection as prelate and shepherd of souls – ultimately suggesting that peace was the key pastoral responsibility of the Bishop seeking to imitate Christ through his pastoral vision.[10] This should, in many ways, not come as a surprise, certainly we will see in Chapter 5 ('Grosseteste and Bach'), quite how committed he was to his pastoral vision, the reform of the diocese of Lincoln and the employment only of parish priests or clerics who were suitably qualified. Lasting peace, or salvation, for Grosseteste could only be achieved by the illumination of the mind through correct, thorough, and upstanding pastoral care.

We find in the collection of letters that there is only a single mention of the word 'music', with Grosseteste making specific reference to Augustine of Hippo, *De musica*. Letter 1, from Grosseteste to Adam Rufus, a former student, helps to illuminate Grosseteste's thinking more broadly about music's role in life or pastoral care. Grosseteste considers two propositions posed by Rufus: that 'God is the first form and the form of all things', and regarding intelligences, in this case Angels, 'whether they are in distinct places or in any one place at the same time'. What is striking in these propositions is the potential for harmony, either celestial or that produced by humans, to be an inherent part of both the question and the answer. Augustine's acceptance of celestial harmony or order in harmony even prior to his conversion is interesting. Grosseteste hangs his response to Rufus around several books in Augustine's *Confessions*, and others of his works, although not in chronological order.

On the first proposition posed by Rufus that 'God is the first form and the form of all things', Grosseteste, while quoting directly and at length from Augustine, suggests:

> if you ask me what makes me think that God is form and the form of all things, my answer is the great authority of the great Augustine. For in the second book of *The Free Choice of the Will* he says this:[11] 'Whatever changeable reality you look at, you will be unable to grasp it either by a bodily sense or by mental scrutiny, unless it is held together by some form composed of numbers; take this away and it falls back to nothingness. So have no doubt that there exists some eternal and changeless form that ensures that these changeable things do not cease to exist, but pass through, so to speak, specific temporal stages with measured movements and a precise variety of forms. This eternal and changeless form is neither

[10] Ibid., pp. 18–22.
[11] Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, 2.16.44–5 (CCSL 29:267–8).

> confined or, as it were, spread out in space, nor extended by time. And it is through this form that all changeable realities are able to receive their forms and to realize and complete, each according to its kind, the number belonging to place and time. For every changeable reality must also be something that can receive form. Just as we use the term "changeable" to describe something capable of undergoing change, so I would call "formable" whatever is capable of receiving form. But nothing can impart a form to itself, because nothing can give itself what it does not possess, and certainly a thing is given a form so that it may possess it. So, if anything possesses a form, it has no need to receive what it already possesses. But if it does not possess a form, it cannot receive from itself what it does not possess. Nothing, then, as I have said can impart a form to itself. So, it is right to conclude that body and soul, as changeable realities, receive their forms from a certain immutable and everlasting form…. From this we are also to understand that all things are governed by providence. For if everything in existence becomes nothing if completely deprived of form, then this immutable form, through which all mutable realities subsist so as to reach perfection and completion by the numbers proper to their forms, is itself their providence, for if that one form did not exist, neither would they.'[12]

If we take as our starting point Langton's comment about ensuring that a given preacher should not use polished, subtle preaching in all circumstances, we can understand a hierarchy in which Grosseteste may have been comfortable. That is, God (the infinite) provides the ultimate form; a priest provides the message (that which enables understanding); and the lay person (that which is without form) requires teaching to find form.

In agreement with Augustine, to Grosseteste everything in life has a cause, effect, and reason to change. Everything feeds off another subject, verbal utterance, musical performance (think here of Grosseteste's harpist warding off the demons for him). The priest, through his preaching, teaching, and administration of the sacraments, gives form to the infinite Word by translating the knowledge that a lay person needs to turn their life towards God. The priest, most specifically through sacramental confession, is then in a position to advise how to redirect one's life. The infinite, following Augustine's line of thought, is not attainable by the lay person alone, but through a change of life guided by the priest. Indeed, through providence can come salvation or even temptation away from the good life – the fall of humanity springs to mind here. Providence

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[12] *Letters*, pp. 36–7.

brought a life in the Garden of Eden with all provided for Adam and Eve, but equally it encompassed temptation, despite the warnings from God himself; Paradise was lost within the ambit of providence. It could be said that, due to his role as earthly mediator, the priest not only becomes interpreter of divine providence for the layperson but also the gateway to salvation – certainly insofar as there can be no access to the infinite, to God that is, except through the Church and its sacraments, and that there is no access to the sacraments except through a priest. This will be returned to when seeking out the theological underpinnings of J. S. Bach's modes of thought, for whom the sacraments were considerably reduced, and the priesthood distributed among all believers.

The Franciscans and their form of preaching was frowned upon and distrusted by the clergy of Lincoln Cathedral:[13]

> [The Cathedral Clergy] were also aware that the friars should have sought permission to preach and hear confessions in individual parishes and that this did not always happen. The friars were a challenge to those clerics who were particularly concerned about their own spiritual authority. Nor did they always please those clerics who were enthusiastic about reform and particularly about the importance of confession … They [the friars] were accused of hearing confessions carelessly and being relaxed about the making of expiation by the penitent; they would take money rather than giving a practical penance […] For some thirteenth-century English bishops the Dominicans and Franciscans were too difficult, and too disruptive, to allow within their diocese.[14]

In this specific sense, the Franciscan and Dominican friars could be said to be the purveyors of an 'insurgent' liturgy, they were new and distinct from what had gone before thereby providing a challenge to the spiritual authority of the secular clergy. Yet, in a certain sense, it could be said that they were brought by the very providence Augustine had mentioned, not to bring change in and of itself but simply to enable the infinite form (God) to be understood by the majority (the laity) through their intercession, the administration of sacramental confession, and

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[13] See Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the rise of learning in the Franciscan Order 1200–1310* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), pp. 144–88. Innocent IV, in the bull *Etsi Animarum* (21 November 1254) required the Franciscan and Dominican orders to seek permission to preach and hear confession (Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, pp. 110–12). See also *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, no. 34, pp. 147–50 (*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 120–22) and 50, p. 175 (*Epistolae*, ed. by Luard, pp. 146–7).

[14] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 103–4.

a particular way of preaching. While, indeed, this was a challenge to the secular clergy – whether to their understanding or to their authority directly – Grosseteste welcomed it. Providence had enabled him to find a way to ensure that all his flock could understand the scriptures and have their confession heard.

In many ways we can see, simply by looking at a map, quite why Grosseteste might be interested in the friars in the first instance. Lincoln being the union of two Anglo-Saxon and one of the Mercian bishoprics – Lindsey or Sidnacester (Stow) and Dorchester and Leicester – rendered it physically impossible for any medieval Bishop to visit every church nor Deanery in a year, therefore it would make sense for such a bishop as Grosseteste to encourage those who shared his vision to preach the Word in such a way as he saw fit. Curiously this returns us to his idea of light, or illumination, insofar as 'Here we have no common stay' being a common observation in relation to objective reasoning at the time;[15] something which is of particular interest here given Grosseteste's lengthy quotation from Augustine. For instance, we might not share a common understanding of a given issue or intellectual conundrum. However, by approaching it objectively and reasoning based on experiential learning, we have the potential to attain knowledge of the Divine. This idea is exemplified in Hebrews 13:14, where the pursuit of the world to come serves as the connecting thread between humans, necessitating correctly ordered knowledge to illuminate the mind. Grosseteste touches upon this concept in his *Dicta 2* while discussing true compassion and alms. He suggests that the primary form of compassion involves alleviating the ignorance of the fool (the ill-educated), aiming to ensure that 'through wisdom the sight of his mind might be lit up to the true faith and understanding, and his disposition to ignorance corrected'.[16]

As Iain Mackenzie goes on to suggest, 'What constancy there is in creation is grounded beyond itself in its Source'.[17] In the context of the Letters the Source is God, the Upholder being Grosseteste who desired the salvation of all souls and would use any method to ensure that this was achieved. Particularly a method which engaged people in their own terms, such as that offered by the Friars Minor. This, in turn, brings us back to Langton's exhortation around

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[15] Iain M. Mackenzie, *The 'Obscurism' of Light: A Theological Study into the Nature of Light* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1996), p. 54.

[16] Robert Grosseteste, Gordon Jackson, trans. & ed., 'Dicta 2', *Robert Grosseteste: The Complete Dicta in English*, vol. 1 (Lincoln:Asgill Press, 1973 (2003)), pp. 9–14 (at p. 10).

[17] Ibid.

preachers not using subtle or polished methods when engaging those in front of them. It is little wonder, then, that the clergy felt under some degree of attack from this new form of preaching and Grosseteste's new style of managing the diocese itself. By turns, this leads us back to Rufus's propositions, and specifically the second. As James McEvoy suggests:

> The identification of intellectual being with light is posited frequently by Grosseteste, and always makes reference to the image-bearing nature of created spirits, those reflections of the first light [Angels]. The light created on the first day contains a double level of reference in the symbolic language of the Bible, for it refers globally to the material light which presided as active created form over the work of the first three days, and to the angelic nature. This double dichotomy of spirit and matter, since as a synonym of 'form' it denotes the active and self-expressive character as such.[18]

Illumination of the mind could in this respect come from anywhere and rustic exhortation, whether from a friar or secular cleric, could enable the salvation of souls no matter where they happened to be within the large diocese of Lincoln. The foundation of this pastoral vision was the infinite God, which had to be evinced to all no matter their position within society, personal ability (for example being able to read) or level of understanding of the scriptures.

In his second proposition, Rufus asks of Grosseteste, with regard to intelligences (Angels), 'whether they are in distinct places or in any one place at the same time.'[19] The response he receives mirrors that of the response to the original proposition, indeed the idea of an holistic theology is much in evidence here, with the intelligences in effect both being of and also preaching God's form by way of celestial harmony. Both preachers and the intelligences, to Grosseteste, have in their power the ability to mould the minds of those who may hear them, to then encourage understanding of the form and their place in the hierarchy of the world. As Grosseteste himself asks:

> What is form if not the completion or perfection of something? Now God is the completion and perfection that requires no completing or perfecting, and so he is form incapable of being formed, because he is utterly without defect and changeless. God is therefore the most beautiful of forms and appearances. Man is said to be beautiful, and so is the soul, and a house,

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[18] McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 61.
[19] *Letters*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 35.

> and the world; there is beautiful this and beautiful that. Take away this and that and see, if you can, beauty in itself. In that way you will see God not as something beautiful by virtue of some form, but as the beauty itself of everything that is beautiful.[20]

Given, then, that the fundamental beauty of the Earth and all it contains is found in God, this requires expression not just with and of God but by those who are able to intercede on his behalf by those who lead a spiritual life, in other words the Intelligences or Angels. As Grosseteste states earlier in the letter to Rufus, because the infinite is utterly incomprehensible, the form itself must be of fundamental beauty. Furthermore, Grosseteste moves on to suggest that the idea of 'form' requires defining and understanding:

> Form refers to the archetype on which a craftsman focuses his attention so as to shape the product of his craft as a copy and likeness of it. Thus the wooden foot on which a cobbler focuses a shape to a sole after it is called the sole's form. So, too, the life of good actions upon which we focus so as to mould the conduct of our lives in its likeness is called our form of living […] Also called a 'form' is that against which material is pressed to be shaped, and when this is done the material receives a form that is a copy of that against which it is pressed. So we say of a silver seal that it is the form of its own wax impression, and of the clay mould used for casting a statue that is the statue's form. When a craftsman has in his soul the likeness of the object he is to craft, and focuses on that alone that he keeps in his mind so as to shape his object in its likeness, that likeness of the object in the mind of the craftsman is itself called the form of the object to be carried […][21]

Working backwards, we can see that Grosseteste is not only able to impart his pastoral vision by way of a mini parable, so that all may understand, but also that his use of examples might even reflect the individual circumstance of a priest or friar. Taking priests and friars as the craftsmen, we see them delivering Grosseteste's pastoral vision by dint of their chosen life, that life being a life of God for the salvation of souls. Grosseteste sets out the requirements (of love, truth, mercy, justice, and peace) and the delicacy required of a prelate in understanding them or judging someone else's actions in his *Le Château d'amour*; described by Richard Southern as 'the fullest expression of [Grosseteste's] pastoral theology'.[22]

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[20] Ibid., p. 38.
[21] Ibid., pp. 38–9.
[22] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, p. 225.

What is very interesting to note here is that there is more than a hint, in Grosseteste's words, of Leviticus 19:18 or 'The Golden Rule' – 'love your neighbour as yourself'. This should, realistically, come as no surprise. Indeed, a 'whole-theology' would presume a basic understanding of both the Psalms and, to a greater or lesser extent, the explication of the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospels. For, if the priest or friar is seen as a craftsman then they have in the palm of their hands the ability to shape a layperson's life to provide for potential salvation. Therefore, the priest, cleric, or friar has within his soul the likeness of a godly life and is uniquely placed to present this as the ideal form (form in this sense being type of life, as opposed to the infinite) of life for the layperson. In effect, this provides us with a precise vignette of Grosseteste's pastoral vision for the diocese of Lincoln; all souls were to be taken care of in such a way as to ensure that the cleric or friar would model the ideal behaviour and inform the layperson via the scriptures and other teachings. Perhaps, and returning to Grosseteste's 'whole theology', the use of the friars was to ensure that not only was his vision practised and preached but also that the hierarchy of jurisdictional relationships was put to good use rather than left to ossify. Another example of why the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln might have been unwilling to greet Grosseteste at his visitation, was that they were expected to work not only with Grosseteste but all those under him, including the friars.

A brief return to Grosseteste's interest in celestial hierarchy is not only interesting, but vital here as this helps to illuminate how he viewed not only his position within the diocese but also how he viewed the relationship of his own salvation to the work of those under him; he, after all, believed that his own personal salvation was predicated on all souls being saved within the diocese. We see him at the top of the pile in the Diocese of Lincoln, subject only to the King, Archbishop, Pope, and God's will. Indeed, there is the distinct possibility of drawing a direct link between celestial hierarchy, Grosseteste's pastoral vision and his distinguishing between 'form' and 'part' in *De Luce*. We saw in Chapter 1 (p. 19) that Grosseteste moves away from Platonic thought to agree with Aristotle by suggesting that matter (form) is not pure potency, rather possessing in its own right a minimal reality, furthermore Grosseteste even speaks of matter as a substance.[23] Matter, like corporeity, is therefore able to be crafted in such a way as

[23] *Robert Grosseteste on Light: De Luce*, trans. Claire C. Riedl, Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation 1 (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1942), p. 3; and see Nicola Polloni, "Early Robert Grosseteste on Matter", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 75: 3 (2021), pp. 397–414.

to deliver of a Godly life. The craftspeople are the clerics, priests, friars, and bishops who provide a way of forming a life to ensure that the light of God can be comprehended by all. Grosseteste suggests:

> […] either light itself or the agent which performs the [aforementioned] operation and introduces dimension into matter in virtue of its participation in light, and acts through the power of this same light. But the first form cannot introduce dimensions into matter through the power of a subsequent form. Therefore, light is not a form subsequent to corporeity, but it is corporeity itself.
>
> Furthermore […] light is more exalted and of a nobler and more excellent essence than all corporeal things. It has, moreover, greater similarity than all bodies to the forms that exist apart from matter, namely, intelligences. Light, therefore, is the first corporeal form. [24]

This is crucial to our understanding of not only Grosseteste's pastoral vision, but also his theological vision comingling with that of his educational background in which all subjects feed off and inform one another. Due to light's unique placing as the first corporeal form, it is absolutely necessary for Grosseteste to impart knowledge of it at all turns and in all situations; whether educational, theological, or personal. This is something which, via illumination, enables an understanding of the two propositions posed by Rufus which is placed firmly within Grosseteste's own understanding of form. There are four ways in which he suggests, in *De Luce*, that form or part can be understood, the first being defined as a quantity being from its aliquot (or sub-multiple part), the second a quantity is from its non-aliquot (or incommensurable) if such a part is taken an indefinite number of times.[25] Panti continues:

> According to the third way, a quantity is from its infinitesimal part if such a part diminishes that quantity when subtracted a finite number of times […] Finally, the fourth and last way states that a quantity is from it infinitesimal part if such a part diminishes that quantity *only* when subtracted from an infinite number of times.[26]

While quite obviously considering the arithmetical understanding of the infinite, the above does help in one very particular sense; insofar as light is the initial form of corporeity from which

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[24] Ibid., p. 10.

[25] Cecilia Panti, 'The Evolution of the Idea of Corporeity', pp. 123–4, in *Robert Grosseteste: His Thought and Its Impact*, ed. Jack P. Cunningham (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012), pp. 151–180.

[26] Ibid., p. 124.

other forms, or parts, can be altered by or ultimately stem from. As such, and returning to Grosseteste's pastoral vision, an aid – for the priest, cleric, friar, or teacher – to understanding the infinite (whether God or light in and of itself). Specifically, they would have to be able to respond to any given situation in which they found themselves in such a way as to ensure that illumination of the mind was made possible. In effect, to care for the souls of all in the diocese Grosseteste had to ensure that his own vision was easily understood and then replicated by and for all. This then returns us to the part of the second proposition to do with the Intelligences, or Angels. It could be said then that they are, like a priest or cleric, the intermediary between the infinite (God) and the finite (humanity), so must therefore be to a degree omnipresent, like God himself, but taking no physical or corporeal form enabling them to be in all places and none at any given time. This could be said to be the initial division of the infinite Grosseteste refers to in *De Luce*, the Angels are therefore part of the greater whole which aids understanding of the infinite. As he suggests to Rufus:

> God […] is distributed everywhere, but in such a way that he is not spread out like a mass in the expanse of space, so that half is in one half-portion of the world, and half in the other half, and thus the whole of him fills the whole expanse […]
> Now, just as God is simultaneously and wholly everywhere in the universe, so the soul is simultaneously and wholly everywhere in the animated body […] God is essentially in all things and wholly in them; yet he is said to be more perfectly in those in whom he dwells.[27]

This is quite an important part of Letter 1, as we can also see Grosseteste's pastoral vision more broadly. The body of the Church should reflect not only the Godly life, but simultaneously be essentially in and wholly of the everyday lives of the laity, ergo it should reflect the perfection of Celestial Hierarchy just as much as the Intelligences/Angels should be a model for those in the church's hierarchy. For to be a priest, friar or cleric would mean that God dwells more perfectly in them than any other. Again, this returns us to Leviticus and the Sermon on the Mount; the sense of 'love your neighbour as yourself' is palpable in all of the above, not least given that Grosseteste saw his role as the Shepherd of all souls in his diocese. Certainly, we can see within Letter 1 the idea that Grosseteste posited in *Templum Dei*, a work in which we find

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[27] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 41–3.

him interpreting the holy temple of God from 1 Corinthians 3:17, that the body is an instrument of moral action and the spirit as the home of theological virtues of faith, hope, and love.[28]

To conclude his letter to Rufus, Grosseteste reflects on the role of Angels in respect of humanity and the soul. In this he discusses the soul's relation to the body, the ways in which the soul moves the body through the agency of its sinews and muscles and not through any intermediate body; in effect the body moves purely by volition.[29] Throughout this particular part of the letter, there is more than a strong hint of the first two concepts of musica presented by Boethius – musica *mundana* and *musica humana*. The former being the movements of the celestial bodies, the latter the internal music of the body. Indeed, throughout the passages on Angels there is reference to the difference between corporeity and incorporeity, and the ways in which these can impact on the human body. With specific regard to how Angels may move the bodies they may have assumed, or transformed, for the purposes of their ministry, Grosseteste suggests:

> […] consider, if you can, how the soul moves your body; for although it moves the gross members by the agency of sinews and muscles, and although it moves both of these by bodily spirits, it does not, however, move those spirits by any other intermediate body, but only by volition. For with an appetite that is either natural or voluntary and entirely incorporeal, it moves without an intermediary that corporeal thing that comes closer to the incorporeal by virtue of its subtlety. For the appetites of the soul are the purely incorporeal movements with which it proportionately sets in motion, without any intermediary, that which in bodies more closely approximates incorporeity, and this is bodily spirit or light; when this intermediary is set in motion, it moves the grosser bodies as a result.[30]

The intricacies of how the Intelligences comingle with the human body can be saved for another context; Grosseteste's discussion, however, does give rise to an interesting question about music. Given his interest in celestial harmony and hierarchy, as well as music's inherent importance in all of Grosseteste's work, is musical performance – whether of the voice or via an instrument – done through mere human volition, or could it be by extension the intelligences using an intermediate body to communicate? Indeed, the very subtlety of music is by itself a

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[28] Peter Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, The Medieval Franciscans 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 119.
[29] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 45.
[30] Ibid.

virtue of that particular art. Yes, it may require some degree of training in an instrument, the voice or another medium of expression, but it could be said that music brings the incorporeal closer to us.

As we have already seen, Grosseteste was concerned for the salvation of the soul through any available medium. The subtlety of music, therefore, affords an ability to comprehend the infinite while, for example, warding off the devil, or reminding oneself of the words of Psalm 150, as Grosseteste did through the employment of a Harpist in his *familia*. By moving a grosser body, via music for example, a cleric or friar may be able to encourage their flock towards a good life without the need for understanding via the spoken or written word – again this returns us to the idea of rustic exhortation, but in a different sense, that of changeable reality.

Grosseteste's love of the harp was celebrated in a poem in the 1303 *Handlyng Synne*, by Robert de Brune (of Bourne), a translation of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Péchés*, originally written by William of Wadington. Reproduced below, in full, is the form of the poem which appeared in Samuel Pegge's (1704–1796) – later in life himself a canon of Lincoln Cathedral – *Life of Robert Grosseteste* (1793) the first major modern biographical study:

> Y shall you tell as I have herd
> Of the bysshop seynt Roberd,
> His toname [surname] is Grosteste,
> Of Lyncolne, so seyth the geste.
> He lovede moche to here the harpe,
> For mans witte yt makyth sharpe;
> Next hys chamber, besyde his study,
> Hys harper's chamber was fast theby.
> Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
> He hadd solace of notes and layes.
> One askede hem the resun why
> He hadde delyte in mynstrelsy?
> He auswerde hym on thys manere
> Why he helde the hare so dere:
> "The virtu of the harpe, thurgh fkyle and ryght
> Wyll destrye ye fends [devil's] myght
> And to the cros by gode skeyl
> Ys the harpe likened weyl.
> Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere,
> When ye any gleman here,

To worshepe God at your power,
And Davyd in the sauter,
Yn harpe and tabour and symphan glee
Worship God in trumpes and sautre:
Yn cordes, yn organs, and bells ringyng,
Yn all these worship the hevene king, &c."[31]

William of Wadington's poem neatly encapsulates what Grosseteste saw as the role of music in life, whether that life be the everyday life found outwith the cloister or that more spiritual one, found behind its walls. Primarily, we can see that he held that the main ability of music was to sharpen man's wits; against what we are not delivered of straight away. But, presumably, the requirement of the harpist to be near his room was to ensure that the ability to think clearly was available at all times. Indeed, as Grosseteste responds to the question of holding the harp so dear himself, not only does the sound of the instrument help to ward off Devilish or fickle thoughts but it also helps the listener to be reminded of the cross and God. In effect through the harp you are brought nearer to God as he is nearer to you in music, so near in fact you might be able to learn of him and his ways directly. Not only that, but any listener to the harp may be able to comprehend the Temple of David, and its particular musics, begin to move towards a Godly life, prior to reflection on this and the illumination brought by the cleric. The fundamental ability of music, in a religious sense, appears to be twofold. First, the music of the harp helps to deny the Devil the ability to impact on the listener and secondly enables a person to worship God on, possibly in, their own terms. Perhaps then, the role of the music is to enable an understanding of celestial harmony in and of itself, for example the Intelligences (Angels) and their ability to affect the soul of a human being. The reference to the loud music produced by the harp, tabour (similar to the modern tambourine), trumpets, organs and bells is very suggestive of Psalm 150 itself. In effect, in all music can be found worship of the heavenly King, God himself. Therefore, the body and soul can be moved by music in a way that other media are unable to do. Perhaps, then, the suffering of evil spirits begins in music itself simply due to the celestial nature of its working. Ultimately, we return to the idea that music is universal in nature, so it does not require specific references to it by name for it to be understood.

[31] For the modern critical edition see: Robert de Brune, *Handlying Synne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society 119 (London, 1901), pp. 158–9, lines 4739–74 <https://ordered-universe.com/2014/10/19/grosseteste-and-the-harp/> [accessed 18 January 2021].

There are hints of this in the final two paragraphs of Letter 1, prior to his conclusion. He returns briefly to Augustine's *Music*, quoting in full Augustine's account of how the soul does or does not move the human body. As Grosseteste himself suggests:

> From these words of Augustine it is clear that the soul, when it is in the body, is not affected by anything corporeal, and yet it must suffer when the body suffers. Similarly, it appears that an incorporeal substance separated from a body is not affected by anything corporeal, and yet at times it necessarily suffers when the body suffers or is moved. We must, however, not assert anything recklessly about this point. One should, however, maintain as a certainty that evil spirits and the souls of the wicked suffer in fire, either because the fire acts upon them, or because they necessarily feel pain when the fire grows hot, just as the soul necessarily suffers pain in the body when the body becomes heated or is stiff from excessive cold, although there is nor corporeal action upon the soul, but rather a necessary occasion of that action. This is comparable to moving a mirror: that action is the necessary occasion of the movement of the rays reflected by it, though the mirror, once set in motion, does not cause the rays to move, for they move themselves.[32]

This paragraph is particularly important in enabling us to understand Grosseteste's singular point of view around his pastoral vision, indeed the use of light, or rays, implies that even when impacted by a human body the light of the world continues to shine without any impurity being added, possibly linking back to the reflected glory found in the teaching of the scriptures. It could be said that any particular cleric, priest, or friar is in essence the mirror for Grosseteste himself and, as such he expects that that which he requires will be put into effect across the diocese. By removing the corporeal from the lived reality, and in his agreement with Augustine, Grosseteste enables a purer form of understanding for anyone who engages with him or his work of why we suffer in the lived world following the fall and expulsion of man from the Garden of Eden. This perhaps also gives us an indication of how Grosseteste saw himself in his role as Bishop; he sought to be a lens through which the light passed, thereby focusing it to ensure that all could understand how best to move towards a godly life. In turn, allowing him to bring the good life to all through the rays' ability to move of their own accord.

Letter 1 is the longest, aside from Letter 127 (a document setting out Grosseteste's position on visitation of the dean and chapter at Lincoln), in the collection as translated by Mantello and

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[32] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 48.

Goering, but provides perhaps the best example of the totality of Grosseteste's pastoral vision and also his desire to ensure that all subjects feed off and inform one another. This is shown throughout his reply to his former student, Adam Rufus. He responds to Rufus that the cleric, friar and priest alike are quite uniquely placed to ensure that salvation is reached by all. Indeed, his constant return to the idea of a craftsman shows that the theological life was not only for the salvation of souls in and of itself but was also a uniquely practical way of life; it was even one which needed to be constantly refined throughout a given person's life to ensure that the light was reflected and built upon at all times. Given that the infinite cannot be comprehended by man, it is then the role of those who have chosen to lead a good life to be able to find a point in a lay person's life to gain even a small understanding of scriptures, or even God himself, so that come judgement day the godly are allowed their salvation, and Grosseteste his own by proxy. Taking Grosseteste, then, as a lens through which the spiritual life could be focused and then spread through the diocese of Lincoln, we can see why the Franciscans would be of such interest to him in his spiritual work.

We saw at the outset of this thesis the inscription on Bishop Robert's crozier – *Per baculi formam, Praelati discito normam*, 'By the shape of the staff, learn the model of the Bishop' – when this is combined with what McEvoy suggests in terms of it being difficult to compartmentalise Grosseteste's mind, we begin to see that, as Jack Cunningham has suggested, it is impossible to treat Grosseteste the intellectual as separate and distinct from Grosseteste the pastor. In essence Grosseteste's vision of his work when in episcopal office was formed on the basis of his deeply held theological convictions.[33] Thanks to this, he not only had the highest of personal spiritual standards but also maintained equally high standards for those over whom he exercised authority. For the strongest light was that of the divine, which became progressively weaker the further removed from it one became. The task of the Prelate was to provide the stronger light for others to reflect. In a discussion of the rational mind being the supreme image of the Trinity, Grosseteste suggests:

> But as the soul is separated from this supreme rule [the divine will], it will be distorted, and as a distorted mirror returns a distorted image of a beautiful face, and the face beautiful in itself appears distorted in a distorted mirror,

[33] See Jack P. Cunningham, " 'That we might be made God': Pseudo-Dionysius and Robert Grosseteste's Episcopal Career" in *Episcopal Power and Personality in Medieval Europe, 900–1480*, ed. by Peter Cross et. al., MCS 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 141–158.

> so in distorted soul God who in himself is most just and right will appear twisted and perverse. Hence it is that some judging God through a distortion of the soul think him either cruel when he punishes justly, or remiss or not caring for the world when he hides himself from the wicked or delays in answering supplications, or unjust when he lets the wicked prosper in temporal things and the good suffer adversity or oppression.[34]

While *Dicta 60* may be concerned specifically with the Holy Trinity, and the near perfect reflection of the Holy Trinity in the rational mind, Grosseteste shows here quite how important a role he thought the bishop had in focussing light within his diocese.

The provision of a fully resourced priest, cleric or friar would mean that Grosseteste would be able to know, to a high degree of certainty, that his particular vision was serviced and reflected without impurity being added at all levels across the largest diocese in England. In effect, by modelling the behaviour of the good priest he would ensure that his entire flock was proffered an example of the right approach to the world and/or worldly goods. As Hoskin suggests, the good priest, for Grosseteste, would have little personal need for material objects nor feel the need to hold onto them for himself; and such a priest would offer the same practical help which Grosseteste offered to those in authority or under him, something which would bring spiritual gain for all concerned.[35]

Conclusion

James McEvoy, in *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, argued that Grosseteste was too intelligent to compartmentalise his mind;[36] with music and liturgy playing a crucial part in Grosseteste's thought. That Robert Mannyng remembers so acutely his attention to and joy in music after three quarters of a century shows us how integral to Grosseteste's life music was, and was also seen to be by others. This is something which becomes very apparent when taking the collection of letters in the round. Indeed, Grosseteste's attachment to and love of music has been evidenced Robert de Brunne's poem, *Handlyng Synne*, where we see not only Grosseteste's love of the harp but also that through music he was able to think on, or even

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[34] Robert Grosseteste, *The Complete Dicta in English*, ed. and trans. by Gordon Jackson, vol. VI, 60 (LincolnL Asgill Press, 1973 (2004)), pp. 5–9 (at p. 8).
[35] Hoskin, *Grosseteste*, p. 134.
[36] McEvoy, *Philosophy of Grosseteste*, p. 17.

worship, God, and the Temple of David; through the use of the trumpet, tabour, cordes, organs and bells alike. In this we not only find a parallel with Martin Luther but also J. S. Bach, something which will be explored in subsequent chapters of this Thesis.

Mantello and Goering set out how popular the collection appears to have been in the medieval period; it was held in libraries of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and even as far afield as the Cathedral Library of Prague. Not only this, but Grosseteste can plausibly be credited with the selection of the majority of the collection himself in the eleventh year of his episcopate, 1246. We will see in the next Chapter the extent to which his letters were intended for a wider audience than the elite of 13th-century Christendom, those who had been taught in Latin and Greek and who communicated in the courtly language, in England's case Anglo-Norman French.

The authenticity of the letters as translated by Mantello and Goering enables two things, first the collection shows that throughout Grosseteste's episcopacy his fervour for saving all souls within the diocese did not diminish, rather the opposite. Secondly, the letters also go to show quite how committed he was to all the souls – high born or from lowly origins, like Grosseteste himself – he came into contact with. Certainly, the size of Lincoln's diocese (containing the two Anglo-Saxon and one Mercian bishoprics of Lindsey, Dorchester, and Leicester) meant that any medieval bishop found it impossible for them to visit all the churches or deaneries within a single calendar year. As such, Grosseteste saw himself very much at the head of the hierarchy but rather than seeing this simply as an administrative role, he chose to lead by example. This meant ensuring that illumination of all minds was guaranteed through the rustic exhortation engendered by the preaching of clerics or friars; in this sense identifying himself – Grosseteste the intellectual being – with light allowed for all to understand the scriptures on their own terms. We see this particularly in his response to Adam Rufus' second proposition about Angels/Intelligences ('whether they are in distinct places or in any one place at the same time') in Letter 1 of the collection. The fundamental beauty of the earth is found both in and of God, meaning that a prelate must be the conduit by which all under his jurisdiction become able to understand and impart this to the laity, simply by dint of being able to intervene on his (God's) behalf; likewise, as the infinite is utterly incomprehensible the form it is found in (Angels) must be of fundamental beauty simply to be able to reflect this. Throughout Letter 1 we see this idea of the perfect, or even possibly the infinite, needing to be represented by only those who are

suitably qualified at all levels – from Angels to parish priests – as the cleric or priest has within his soul the likeness of a godly life so is uniquely placed to present this ideal form. Ultimately, all souls were to be taken care of in such a way as to ensure that the cleric or friar would model their behaviour and inform the layperson via the Scriptures or other teachings.

The body, and soul, then can be moved by music in a way that no other form of expression is able to achieve, thus ensuring that evil spirits suffer due to the celestial nature of music. Perhaps the universal nature of music means that, for Grosseteste at least, it does not require specific references to it by name for it to be understood. This is something which helps return us to the use of light within his singular pastoral vision; for by its use in an allegory, light is not impacted even by a human body, meaning that the light of the world (Christ) continues to shine without any impurity being added. Not only do we see in this Grosseteste suggesting to the clerics and friars under him that they be a mirror of his own theological and pastoral thought, but also that he possibly saw himself as a lens through which the light passed, allowing him to focus it to ensure all could be moved towards a good life; something which is equally enabled by the rays of light's ability to move of their own accord – similar to Angels.

CHAPTER 3

Insurgent Liturgy and the Franciscans in Robert Grosseteste's Salvific Vision

James McEvoy has described a spiritual kinship between the Friars Minor and Robert Grosseteste. In what follows, it will be shown that, while Grosseteste was not a Franciscan himself, the Franciscan (and Dominican) liturgy – described here as 'insurgent' on account of its providential nature within Grosseteste's theological and salvific vision for the diocese of Lincoln – enabled him to give effect to a pastoral vision which required concentration on God and the good life alone. In so doing, it will also be explained as to how and why Grosseteste was so concerned with the *cura animarum*. By recognizing how Grosseteste understood music to be above the other arts, one can assess and appreciate more clearly the extent to which the Friars Minor, Black Friars, the secular clergy of the diocese, and Grosseteste himself, could become more effectually part of the everyday lives of the laity; something which, equally, enabled them to put Grosseteste's pastoral vision into effect, ensuring that the laity, secular clergy, and mendicant orders alike, lived a 'good life' centred on God.

Grosseteste was quite obviously concerned with the salvation of all souls in his charge. The question was how best to effect the Church's mission in the largest diocese in medieval England. A bishop's authority over his diocese could be likened to that of a father over a child – or shepherd over his flock.[1] On Bishop Robert's crozier – his pastoral staff, the shepherd's crook – was the inscription, *Per baculi formam, praelati discito normam*, 'By the shape of the staff, learn the model of the bishop'.

That someone such as Grosseteste, who carried a certain disdain for customs and practices, would find the Franciscans (and Dominicans) interesting, whether liturgically or intellectually, is understandable. But, the question still remains as to why, specifically, he found them, their work and practices so intriguing. Yes, he had come across them, in their earliest attempts at establishing a presence in England, while at Oxford and continued his association with them following this, from 1209 onwards. No one can question that English scholars came across such

[1] Nicholas Bennett, '"The face of one making for Jerusalem"', in *Bishop Robert Grosseteste and Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. by Temple et. al., pp. 17 –28 (at p. 19).

new ideas and ran with them following this. The Franciscans' simplicity and poverty clearly struck a chord with Grosseteste, perhaps this was because he felt he understood their practice, something which in turn allowed him to fulfil his own pastoral obligations thereby ensuring a form of direct engagement with all souls in the diocese.[2] This may have occurred for any number of reasons, possibly linking back to his time at Hereford, when he was in the *familia* of Bishop William de Vere, and/or his time in Paris. It is even possible to surmise that the everyday life of the order was very much in line with Grosseteste's own scholasticism – something outwardly simple but underpinned by complex, deep and multifaceted understanding of a given topic, issue, or situation – and even specific meetings while he was *Magister Scholarium*. While the above is supposition only, Peter Loewen provides a number of specific things which might have first caught Grosseteste's imagination; these are further illuminated by the findings of the *13-Century English Franciscan Thought* project which took place in 2017. While there is no specific mention of why the order were 'chosen' by Grosseteste in his letters, there are a significant number of indications in most of the extant biographies and other works of his fostering a special kind of Franciscan learning at Oxford, this then continuing for decades after his death.[3] The reasons for the normalizing and fostering of Franciscan thinking by Grosseteste are the focus of this section, with specific regard to friar's liturgy, working practices and why these influenced Grosseteste so profoundly.

The most obvious characteristic of the Franciscans was their poverty, yet this was not a characteristic-unique to them. The heretical Waldensian movement and other religious orders followed a vow of poverty often with the term 'Poor' preceding their full name. As Neslihan Şenocak observes, however, it was the Franciscans' ability to live in a form of poverty acceptable to and not undermining of the papacy which is of most importance.[4] Although Grosseteste did not eschew his possessions and the property-holding of the Church, he was more than adept at adapting his ideas so that they were acceptable to the Pope, those in authority over him and even those souls in the diocese without access to education. James McEvoy refers to this acceptance of the Franciscan tradition as 'spiritual kinship' between them and Grosseteste, something confirmed, at least to him, by the friar's continued admiration of him following his

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2 Hoskin, *Grosseteste*, p. 104.

3 For examples, see Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln* (1899); Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science* (1953); McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (1982); McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (2000); Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* (1986).

4 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, p. 45.

death.[5] He was, in this sense, reflecting the Franciscan way of life, as opposed to actively taking it into his everyday life wholesale. As with the friars' poverty, Grosseteste's ability to assimilate difference allowed for acceptance of the diversity of everyday life itself; indeed, the ability of the friars to engage all can be put down to their not, at least initially, being a mendicant order in the proper sense. The fact that the friars were a non-clerical order will, no doubt, have intrigued Grosseteste and opened his mind to the possibility of reaching all souls outwith the usual confines of more normal clerical teaching and preaching. It is curious to note at this point, however, that in 1221 St. Francis ruled that no hierarchy should rule over the order – something we have seen was important to Grosseteste, indeed he may have questioned an order's ability to function properly without the means for it to be controlled effectively from the centre. Yet, what this did allow for was for the early Franciscans to be part of the life of every parish, every parishioner, and every part of society; to summarise, the lack of hierarchy ensured that, unlike the clerical Dominicans, the Franciscans could bring an understanding of God, or the Word, to all in their own language and in their own terms. In this sense they were, in a way, a form of insurgent order relying on equality under the same word and begotten of the same father, Francis then wanted to join all together despite different backgrounds, education or abilities through a bond of love no matter where they were in Christendom.[6] The decision Grosseteste took to become their Lector at the invitation of Agnellus of Pisa, at some time between 1229–1230, will have been an easy one. The most obvious reason for his acceptance of the position is not unrelated to the fact that there was a lack of suitably qualified candidates from the University of Paris to take up the role. Indeed, by 1231 the university had all but ceased to exist due to various crises. Having known them throughout his life to 1229/30, Grosseteste had already gained understanding of what the Franciscans were trying to achieve even before they had moved to an administrative structure similar to that of the Dominicans in 1227, which included the position of Lector.[7] But, there is a second and rather more intriguing reason which may have made his decision easier.

We have seen already, in Chapters 1 and 2, Grosseteste's conviction that the seven liberal arts are inextricably linked, with the same going for the role of the clerics, brothers and laity with regard to the illumination of the mind enabling a move towards a Godly life. One particularly

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5 See James McEvoy, 'A Portrait of Robert Grosseteste', p. 11, in his *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 3–50.

6 Ibid., pp. 48–9.

7 McEvoy, *Philosophy of Grosseteste*, p. 58.

unfortunate issue with the early to mid-thirteenth century Franciscan liturgy is the lack of definitive written examples of their prayers, let alone accounts of formalized liturgy. Haymo of Faversham, Minister Provincial for England (1239–40) and Minister General of the Order (1240–*c*. 1243), does provide a particularly useful example of how 'Franciscanism' can be a respectable life. His decision, most likely with the acceptance of the General Chapter of the Order, to deny lay brothers access to office, is not within the scope of this Thesis. However, it is important to consider why this may have been decreed, certainly as there is a significant similarity between Haymo and Grosseteste, insofar as Haymo's limiting his own power, and that of provincial ministers or custodians, was a way in which salvation could be achieved for himself. Ultimately, however, his most important and salient work with regard to this Thesis is the production of a new ordinal containing three specific and self-sufficient orders of service: for the Breviary, for graces at meals and for the Mass.[8] Returning to the idea of interconnectedness, Haymo's vision of Franciscanism does mirror that of Grosseteste's pastoral vision, especially in respect of the priest requiring to be well educated and, therefore, able to encourage their flock in the way of a Godly life in much the same way as a craftsman would their materials into a new form. Augustine Thompson argues that Francis belongs to everyone,[9] in a similar way as Jesus himself belongs to all, with each person having their own Francis, therefore the need for educated clergy was paramount to enable personal understanding, however limited that might be depending on personal circumstance, of the infinite. Haymo of Faversham, then, not only embodied a new and specific form of Franciscanism in England but also a new definition of leadership within the Order. He united three specific things in his thought – priesthood, university education and a strict adherence to poverty – and in so doing delivered a new understanding of what being a Franciscan meant; that of respectable, well-educated priests living in a life of penitential poverty while worshipping God in perfect liturgical harmony.[10]

It is little wonder, then, that Grosseteste took such an interest in the order and its workings prior to his enthronement as bishop in 1235; especially given that he had seen the impact of Haymo's reforms first hand whilst Lector at Oxford. Despite this, there were arguments made against learning within the order, not least from Francis himself who suggested that the true vocation

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8 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, p. 75.

9 Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. ix.

10 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, p. 75.

of a Friar Minor was not to have anything beyond a tunic, a cord and breeches.[11] Curiously, it is interesting to note here – especially given the desire of Grosseteste's for all instruction to take place in the vernacular[12] – that the early English Franciscan mission was unencumbered by lack of language skills, so making it somewhat easier for the clerks chosen to engage with the general population, of the four clerks only Agnellus of Pisa was not himself English and the five laymen attending to the mission were all foreign, with only one priest among them.[13] Perhaps it was this particular essential element of Francis' Order which intrigued Grosseteste the most, but that is not to say that this easily translated itself into pastoral work as provided by the educated clergy by way of cure of souls.

This may have enabled Grosseteste himself to engage with the Franciscans in a way that others, certainly those who came across them in other missions, had been unable to do previously, insofar as he was able to evince their vision in such a way as all could understand. A question might arise as to why this is important, but, as in scripture and preaching, why reinvent something when the ear can be gained in a matter of moments, as opposed to lost by a half-hour sermon? That is not to say that Grosseteste was a Franciscan himself, rather he was able to understand their way of life as a means to an end, that end being personal salvation. Equally, he was at odds with Francis himself in respect of educating the clergy. Where Francis saw learning as something which might remove someone from a life of prayer, Grosseteste was very much in favour of education for the clergy. As Thomas Eccleston reported:

> Dixit enim ei aliquando, quod nisi fratres foverent stiduim et stuidose vaarent legi divine, pro certo similiter contingeret de nobis, sicut de aliis religiosis, quos videmus in tenebris ignorantiae, proh dolor! ambulare
>
> He [Grosseteste] told him once that unless friars keep studying and make an effort to learn the divine law, they will for sure become like other religious orders whom we see with great sorrow to walk in the darkness of ignorance.[14]

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[11] See *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli, sociorum S. Francisci: The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo, Companions of St. Francis*, ed. and trans. Rosalind B. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), no. 74 (p. 217).

[12] See Andrew B. Reeves, 'Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: Lateran IV to *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2009), p. iii.

[13] See A. G. Little, 'A century of English Franciscan history', *The Contemporary* Review, 126 (1924), pp. 449–58 (at p. 450).

[14] Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, p. 94.

This is particularly suggestive of the initial contention of this chapter with respect to the inextricable links between all subjects, without the deepest personal understanding – as provided to priests and friars by way of education – then knowledge of God or salvation could not be offered to the laity. Given that Grosseteste was concerned with his own personal salvation, it is unsurprising that he sought out means to achieve this. Learning, in and of itself, offered whoever was in receipt of it the ability to share in salvation but also encouraged others to do the same. The central tenet by which Franciscans lived, that of their poverty (sometimes described a 'perfect'), meant an abandonment of material goods and, thereby, any hope of material gain in the future; in essence Franciscanism is minimalistic.[15] This is something which is hinted at in Letter 51, written by Grosseteste to Master Thomas of Wales in an attempt to persuade Thomas to both leave the schools and turn down the position of Master in Paris in favour of the cure of souls in the diocese. Something which is to be explored in the next chapter, in specific relation to the elite languages of the high medieval period. It is important to note here that Roger Bacon described Thomas, Grosseteste and Adam Marsh as three of the greatest Masters of Theology in his time.[16] Grosseteste suggests to Thomas, that:

> So if you love saving souls, no – if you love him who said to Peter, and to us in Peter, *If you love me, feed my sheep* [Jn 21:17], you should not reject the shepherd's burden, you should not run away from the task, and you should not be wearied by these cares once you have taken them on. For spiritual sloth alone is the source of this kind of weariness, and love for the salvation of souls, which *is strong as death* [Sg 8:6], cannot feel weariness in the pursuit of such a goal.
>
> But it will seem hard for you, or so I suspect, to leave the schools behind and not to accept promotion to a master's chair to teach Sacred Scripture. And a great many people will tell you that you should not forsake wisdom for riches, and the good you will be able to do by your teaching in the schools for high office. They will accuse you of greediness and ambition, as if you were abandoning the goods of the mind for the goods of the body, and spiritual things for temporal ones. In any case I do admit that it is an extremely hard and painful thing for me to drag you away from the schools when I consider how much you could, with Christ's grace to help you, achieve there.
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> But who doubts that lesser and more uncertain goods should be forsaken for those that are greater and more certain? And who can doubt

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[15] Ibid., p. 132.

[16] See *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus ineditia*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rolls Series 15 (London, 1859), 88, 428.

> that it is a greater good to undertake such important cure of souls humbly and painstakingly than to teach wisely from the master's chair?[17]

While Grosseteste's personal concern for his own salvation, through the cure of all souls in the diocese of Lincoln, is very much on show in this particular extract, it certainly does give us an insight into quite how useful Franciscanism was to him. Not only can we see elements of the 'perfect poverty' in this letter, but also that even so early on in his episcopate (1238) Grosseteste is keen to ensure that the temporal does not distract those he perceives to be the best able to save souls from the job of spiritual care. The very humility of poverty, then, not only ensures that the mind can focus solely on spiritual matters but also enables those charged with cure of souls to deliver salvation, or at least knowledge of it, without recourse to temporal objects or concerns. In effect, by abandoning material gain and accepting one's current state of poverty, a priest or friar could come closer to salvation, thence deliver this idea to the souls in their charge in a better way. However, it must be noted that generally the life of St. Francis and that of the early Franciscans was one of prayer itself.[18] Taking prayer as a universal, in the sense that Francis saw it as a tool, it not only enables personal reflection, but also some degree of personal understanding of celestial harmony. Indeed, the English Franciscans placed considerable weight behind Grosseteste's thought, not least because they were taught in such a way at Oxford as to consider every subject, issue, or topic within the liberal arts as being inextricably linked.[19] In this sense, then, a universal like personal prayer, or universal science like music, requires the ability to bring together theory and practice.

Peter Loewen's work on music in early Franciscan thought has identified what distinguished the Franciscans in their study of music.[20] The Franciscan perception of music as 'a universal science which illuminates both melodic music and preaching', a fusion of theory and practice which Franciscan theologians consistently show was 'essential to their understanding'.[21]

> Franciscan authors frequently think about music analogically, as illustrative of various quantities in the sciences and theology. If one is to understand

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17 *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 177.

18 See Blastic, 'Prayer in the writings of Francis of Assisi'.

19 See Rogerius Bacon, *Opus maius*, pars 4, dist. 1, cap. 3, ed J. Bridges (London, 1900), i, 108.; C. H. Lawrence, 'Adam Marsh at Oxford', in *The Franciscan Order in the Medieval English Province and Beyond*, ed. by Michael Robson and Patrick Zutshi (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 159–80.; M. Robson, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Greyfriars in the Diocese of Lincoln', in *Robert Grosseteste and the Beginnings of a British Theological Tradition*, ed. by Maura O'Carroll (Rome, 2003), pp. 21–99.

20 Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, pp. 8–9.

21 Ibid., p. 9.

> music within this context, one must examine it from a 'medieval interdisciplinary perspective' […] rather than from the disciplinary perspective […][22]

The very universality of personal prayer and reflection, ultimately, are central to Franciscan liturgy – specifically that found in the proper set of liturgical books at each convent and the breviary which every clerical friar should have at his disposal; each of which were based in the liturgical preference of Francis himself, which was to conform to the liturgy found in the papal curia.[23] The Franciscans' use of music must have reminded Grosseteste of Augustine of Hippo's *Confessions* 10, xxxiii. In this passage Augustine discusses music and religion's ability to impact upon the soul:

> 49. […] For at one time I seem to myself to give them more honour than is seemly, feeling our minds to be more holily and fervently raised unto a flame of devotion, by the holy words themselves when thus sung, than when not; and that several affections of our spirit, by sweet variety, have their own proper measures in the voice and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith they are stirred up […]
> 50. [Thus] I fluctuate between peril of pleasure and approved wholesomeness; inclined the rather (though not as pronouncing an irrevocable opinion) to approve the usage of singing in the church; that so by the delight of the ears, the weaker minds may rise to the feeling of devotion […] [24]

There are several references in Grosseteste's letters to music's role in the church, largely obliquely or by way of offering an allegory by which others can learn. But what is common to them all is Augustine's notion that weaker minds are afforded a way to gain understanding of devotion, and that this can be achieved through the hidden correspondence between the earthly and godly, as found in musical harmony itself. In Letter 127, a document which sets out Grosseteste's rights and responsibilities regarding pastoral oversight, he repeatedly refers to the sound of the trumpet. Following a short quote from I Timothy, Grosseteste suggests:

> The person, then, who truly proclaims a word is the one whose proclaiming is animated by an internal faith infused by a love that is the source of the

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 356–7.
[24] *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. by E. B. Pusey (1949) Online: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3296/3296-h/3296-h.htm>

> external action essential for the salvation of souls. So the watchman who sounds the call with such proclaiming, as if with a trumpet, when he has seen the sword coming upon the land, has saved his soul. Otherwise, should there be no call because his trumpet makes no sound, he is no doubt guilty of shedding a soul's blood. A person makes no trumpet sound unless he has a firm faith in the doctrine of salvation, which he puts into words with his lips, unless he loves this doctrine sincerely and irrefutably, and unless he works tirelessly to bring it to fulfilment, so as to safeguard the people entrusted to him against the sword coming down upon them. This he must do not only by the words he speaks, but much more by works animated by a loving faith and effective in saving souls. Now, who will deny that the works of visitation, correction, and reform are the most effective in saving souls?
>
> How then is the 'voice' of these works to be separated and excluded from the sound of the trumpet? For, as mentioned before, they have the authority of a voice and an outcry…There are many such examples in Scripture that most clearly demonstrate that deeds acquire the authority of a voice. So, with a trumpet blast that is not half-strength but as loud as possible the bishop who has been appointed watchman over his entire diocese is obliged by his office as watchman to safeguard and defend, against the sword coming down upon them, all those over whom he has been appointed.[25]

The trumpet, to modern eyes and ears, is synonymous with large orchestras or bands and may not carry quite the same weight as it did in the medieval period, unless in the form of royal ceremonial music. However, in the above passage from Letter 127 we can see that the trumpet not only provides a clear sound by which others can be led, hence the references to the voice being necessary in leading by example, but it also enables a point around which to coalesce, similar to the sound of a Bugle on a battlefield. In effect the trumpet not only heralds God, or his work, but also encourages and enables those seeking to save souls to lead by example. Furthermore, you can only safeguard both souls and your own salvation, as prelate, by leading by example and ensuring the sound of the trumpet heralds some degree of celestial harmony; whether that be through the medium of the voice or the musical instrument itself.

A near contemporary of Grosseteste's, David of Augsburg OFM (*c.* 1200–1272) offered an expressive and overtly musical notion of prayer in *De exterioris et interioris hominis*

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[25] Letter 127, *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. Mantello and Goering, p. 408.

compositione ('The Composition of the Interior and Exterior Man').[26] David treated spoken declamation and melodic singing as almost one and the same, with each being governed by the same principles as music; and this appears to reflect the model of Francis of Assisi that we read as presented by his biographers.[27] While musical analogy was used largely to illustrate mathematical concepts, for the Franciscans music itself enabled an understanding of the word of God for all, often engendering a particular emotional or religious response. In this sense, the friars were by nature Platonic in their outlook, specifically in the sense that we can see in David von Augsburg's writing, specifically advocating the superiority of music over all other arts, music's rhythm and harmony affecting the inner soul directly.[28] It was not good enough for a cleric, friar or other suitably qualified person to direct the lay person to a good life via the recitation or singing of chants in their correct order alone. Rather, singing should result in a spiritual motion which would lead a singer to a mystical orchard where one bites, chews, and savours the nourishing sounds of chant,[29] much like Hildegard von Bingen's notion of *ruminatio*.[30]

Curiously, this brings us back to Grosseteste's letters, specifically Letter 52* – in this he presents his constitutions for the governance of the diocese of Lincoln – probably written in 1238 or 1239, and the idea of rustic exhortation. The Statutes of Lincoln, as set out in the letter, are a comprehensive list, it could even be considered a manual, for all clergy of how the diocese should be run; the specific statutes which bear some relation to rustic exhortation have been copied below and where necessary have been shortened to the version found in the table of contents, for example number 6:

> [1] Because souls are not saved without obeying the Ten Commandments, I exhort the Lord and firmly charge that every shepherd of souls and each and every parish priest know the Decalogue, that is, the ten commandments of the law of Moses. These should frequently preach and explain to people subject to him. He should also know what the seven deadly sins are and likewise preach to the people the duty of avoiding them. He should know, moreover, in simple terms, the seven sacraments of the Church; and those who are priests should especially know what constitutes true confession and

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[26] Trans. by Devas, *Spiritual Life*, II, 130.
[27] Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, pp. 96–97.
[28] Portnoy, 'Similarities of Musical Concepts', p. 237.
[29] Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, pp. 98–99.
[30] See *Hildegard of Bingen's Book of Divine Works with Letters and Songs*, ed. Matthew Fox (Santa Fe, N.M.: Bear, 1987).

> the sacrament of penance, and they should repeatedly teach the laity in the vernacular tongue the form for baptizing. Every priest should also have at least a rudimentary understanding of the faith as contained in both the major and minor creeds, and in the tract called 'Whoever wishes to be saved' (*Quicunque vult*), which is recited daily in church at prime …
>
> [6] Words used in divine worship are to be spoken without omissions and with the mind's full attention.
>
> [7] All shepherds of souls and parish priests, after reciting the divine offices in church, are to devote themselves carefully to prayer and the reading of Sacred Scripture, so that, by being familiar with Scripture, as their office requires, they are always prepared to give a satisfactory response to any who demand an explanation about hope and faith. In addition, they should always 'remain' devoted to studying and labouring over Scripture just like the poles that must 'remain' in the rings of the ark of the covenant, that by constant reading, as if by daily food, their prayer may be nourished and grow fat …
>
> [37] Because every craftsman should devote himself more to his own craft than to any other, I order rectors of souls to devote themselves without distraction to the art of guiding souls, since the 'guidance of souls is the art of arts' according to the testimony of the blessed Gregory. And to ensure that priests are not diverted from this responsibility, I very strictly forbid any of them to study or teach civil law in the schools.[31]

These four statutes provide a number of different things to scholars of Grosseteste. Firstly, by being utterly explicit about his view of the role of clerics and others in the salvation of souls Grosseteste shows, in number 37, a particularly Franciscan approach to the good life insofar as Franciscan poverty was about removing oneself from worldly goods to ensure spiritual enlightenment could be achieved. By forbidding the teaching and study of civil law, Grosseteste seeks to make sure that worldly concerns, and the barriers they may impose, are removed entirely from the seeking of salvation for his flock; something which reflects statute number 6's intension of the mind's full attention being on God via the Scriptures, divine office, and personal worship. Indeed, the ability to share and communicate effectively the Ten Commandments, or Decalogue, the Seven Deadly Sins and more, required a deeply personal understanding of them. Without that, the cleric would be unable to deliver the duties expected of him in such a way as to ensure the salvation of all souls in his flock, leave alone mould their parishioner's ways to

[31] Letter 52*, *Letters of Grosseteste*, pp. 182–93.

bring them to the good life, as a craftsman would their piece of wood or clay, for example. In so doing, they would have to be mindful that, as craftsmen in their own right, they enabled understanding for all on their own – or simple – terms of the laity. Denying them access to understanding of the gospels, and/or other scripture, would in effect be denying Grosseteste himself his salvation come Judgement Day. It is in this respect, as with the Franciscans' use of the vernacular, that music suddenly becomes a very powerful medium for not only Grosseteste's pastoral vision but also his own salvation. Indeed, even when ensuring that the King might understand that the spiritual and secular should be kept separate he appeals directly to *aspectus* ('vision' of the mind), *affectus* ('desire' of the mind)[32], and even light in his argument:

> […] the human race has two foundations, that is to say, priesthood and kingship. The former directs all the activities of its government towards achieving eternal peace, and the other towards achieving temporal peace, so that by the peace that is temporal there may be an easier transition to the peace that distinguishes eternity [...]
>
> So, the royal power, which is meant to assist the priesthood, can by no means entangle in secular affairs those charged with pastoral responsibilities. For this would be the same a turning the sun's light into the moon's, shutting off the sun's rays from giving life to the things that grow on the earth, preventing the soul from animating the body and even pulling down heaven to earth; it would be like cursing the consecrated, disturbing the order of things, and *resisting the ordinance of God* [2 Timothy 2:4][33]

While the above is specifically to do with the relationship of the priesthood and kingship, it does help provide a pertinent example of why Grosseteste sought the separation of the secular and spiritual, while at the same time as providing a simulacrum of Franciscan 'perfect' poverty. His particular understanding of the *aspectus*/*affectus* relationship is crucial here, as Brett W. Smith suggests while Grosseteste may not have been the first author to write of the two, no author before him appears to have used this pair of terms technically to divide the cognitive and perceptive abilities of the soul from its affective and volitional capacities.[34] Appearing first in *De artibus liberalibus* (produced by Grosseteste, possibly as an instructional manual for young students or novices at Oxford, *c*. 1200-1209) the distinction between the two terms seems to have been with Grosseteste prior to his first encounters with both Aristotle and Avicenna, but remain intact following this contact and stay with him to the end of his Episcopate. It was even

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[32] See Brett Smith, '"A Theme Song of His Life": *Aspectus* and *Affectus* in the Writings of Robert Grosseteste', *Franciscan Studies*, 76 (2018), pp. 1–22.

[33] Letter 124, *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 366–9 (at pp. 366–7).

[34] Smith, '"A Theme Song of His Life"', pp. 1–2.

updated in *De generatione sonorum*, intended as a companion piece to *De artibus liberalibus*. It is necessary, at this point, to provide a direct quote from Smith to avoid unintentional mingling of terms or mistaking one for the other:

> Grosseteste explains how the *aspectus* and *affectus* of the mind or soul relate to one another: "First, the *aspectus* observes. Second, it verifies the things seen or cognized, and when they have been verified to the mind or *aspectus* as fitting or harmful, the *affectus* desires to embrace the fitting things or it retracts into itself in order to flee the harmful things." A crucial point to notice here is that the *affectus* is subject to the judgement of the *aspectus*. At least in logical priority, the *affectus* does not move until the *aspectus* has made some judgement about what is beneficial or harmful. This is an instance of what I call the priority of the *aspectus*.
>
> The liberal arts, according to Grosseteste, perform the vital task of purging and correcting the errors that occur in the *aspectus mentis*, the *affectus mentis*, the motive powers of the soul, and their effects. The arts of the Trivium correct the powers of the soul, and those of the Quadrivium aid the body and its works.[35]

By seeking full separation of the earthly from the spiritual Grosseteste not only, at least to his mind, ensured his salvation but also that anything earthbound could not directly affect the work of clerics, friars, and others; thereby maintaining devotion of the mind to God, as found in the statutes. In effect, the moving of a priest toward something in the secular world would, at a stroke, render any illumination of the minds of others impossible, potentially even retarding a person's spiritual growth – the very growth which understanding of the scriptures and God enables for the layperson.

Music's place was therefore twofold. Not only did music enable an understanding of the eternal through harmony and discord, but it also provided a mechanism within the liturgy through which the courtly and urban, educated, and lay society could come together as one. The church could therefore introduce a diverse audience, through the music of the Mass, to the life of the spirit. In this way, the Mass became the first clear locus for the correlation between the ministry of music and the *cura animarum*.[36] With music providing an interface for all kinds of people to apprehend the scriptures, even without language, there came the possibility that the music itself

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[35] Ibid., p. 7.
[36] Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, p. 92

could help all kinds of people to come to terms with universals and so help move a person towards the good life through an emotional response to the music.

When considering this, it is helpful to look at how Grosseteste applied logic to a particular idea, in this case universals themselves, as found in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora*.[37] Grosseteste was able to explain how universals were everywhere, and to help comprehend this it is useful to think of where they might be grounded. They are (1) in the First Cause, (2) in angelic intelligence, (3) in the stars, (4) in the form of things, and (5) in accidents of things.[38] In this particular sense, and given that all subjects are linked together, informing each other, we can see that Grosseteste was seeking to enlighten all those he came into contact with, either directly or indirectly, throughout his ministry. James McEvoy has explained what this may mean in practice, in a discussion of Grosseteste's Commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*:

> It is apparent that neither do we possess universal ideas from the beginning in act, nor are we totally ignorant of them; they are present in us potentially and are drawn out into actuality. Sense knowledge would seem to constitute our potential possession of them; we acquire them in act as follows.
>
> A particular sense apprehends its determinate aspect of reality always in a unique object individualized in space and time, conditions which likewise apply to the sense of itself and prevent its grasping more than one object at a given moment. This indissoluble bond with the uniquely individual leads us to describe sense as being rather the occasion of science than its cause. On the other hand, sensation represents already a first degree of abstraction; since the organ apprehends the *species sensibilis* without taking in the matter of the object, its operation is already immaterial or spiritual in a qualified sense.[39]

Similar to the act of education, although we may possess a certain sense of universal ideas from our first breath in the world, these ideas nevertheless require proper guidance to be manifested fully within ourselves. Therefore, the parent and teacher alike suddenly become the craftsmen moulding our understanding of universals in the same way that the preacher, cleric, or bishop does in respect of spiritual growth and understanding in later life. By acquiring a properly

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[37] *Commentarius in posteriorum analyticorum libros*, ed. Rossi.

[38] See Laird, 'Grosseteste, Wyclif, and Chaucer on Universals', in *Robert Grosseteste: His Thought and its Impact*, ed. Cunningham, p. 218.

[39] McEvoy, *Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 340–1.

ordered way of thinking we can come to a potential understanding of universals because, although they may be infinite, they were not infinitely incomprehensible in the same way God may be, by being ministered to in such a way as to encourage uniquely personal comprehension and ultimate expression of them. The acceptance that one person's understanding or comprehension of something is unique to himself because of the conditions in which he finds himself helps to explain why the Franciscan approach to *praedicatio* might have been so useful to Grosseteste. At its simplest, *praedicatio* literally means preaching, but like the comprehension of any given person, subject, or thing, it takes on any number of meanings that depend on the context in which the *praedicatio* is received, whether the highest form of academic exercise in the medieval university or a mendicant order's office, requiring theological training and examination.[40]

A document, collected among Grosseteste's letters (no. 127), arguing for his rights and responsibilities regarding his pastoral oversight and visitation of the dean and chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, runs to more than seventy pages in the printed edition.[41] The text was probably written for delivery at the papal curia at Lyons in 1245.[42] Here Grosseteste provides instances where we may observe a Franciscan mentality being brought to bear on the problem at hand. He refers from the outset to Moses as a type of the prelate, and providing his as a particularly Godly example, it could possibly be described as a reflection upon *praedicatio* itself; certainly, it having had particular use in informing all. Grosseteste suggests:

> The prelate, then, whose type is Moses, is not diminished when the power he exercises over all his charges is given to others from his spirit; he possesses full ordinary and judicial power, and thereby the full power of correction and reform. Because, however, of the great numbers of those subject to his care, like Moses he is unable by himself to bear the burden of the entire multitude in each and every respect, and inferiors are therefore associated to him to help bear the burden with him. They receive their power to do this from the influx of the prelate's power, so that whatever they do officially when bearing the burden, this they do by virtue of the prelate's power. So it is more the prelate himself who works in them than they do the work themselves.[43]

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40 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, p. 271.
41 *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, 357–431; *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 374–441.
42 Ibid., p. 374.
43 Ibid., p. 377.

Again, this letter is directly rebutting the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln cathedral's non-attendance at his visitation, however we can see in this particular paragraph the strength of purpose Grosseteste had and also the strength of his own convictions. For, taking Moses as the ultimate exemplar of God's law, by Grosseteste comparing himself to Moses he is not only imposing his will on his diocesan inferiors, but he is also allying himself with one of those who met Jesus. In so doing he immediately comingles his power with that of his own need for salvation, by virtue of this he also places on record the fact that the prelate works through his inferiors as opposed to the other way round. This may not sound particularly Franciscan in the first instance, rather just a simple statement of fact as to how a diocesan hierarchy works, but we see in the use of sharing of the burden an important and quite personal admission of where Grosseteste's loyalties lie. He was not necessarily admitting to being a Franciscan, as he never fully took their life as his own, rather expressing a way of organising his diocese so that his own salvation was inextricably intermingled with the same for his flock.

Conclusion

For Grosseteste, and by extension the Friars Minor, the facility and affordance of music was threefold. First, by providing order, music enabled understanding of celestial harmony for those who were educated in the quadrivium. Secondly, music was an art within the schools, and enabled illumination of the mind more generally. Thirdly, music was a way of warding off evil thoughts or demons so that the mind could always be concentrated on God or the path towards a good life. Music, then, was not just important to Grosseteste personally, but also theologically, by simple fact of its ability to order knowledge. We also see, however, that it was so every day, in the commonplace sense of the word, that he did not need to mention it except in specific circumstances, such as providing an allegory by way of explanation of a given subject.

In his reply to the King, Grosseteste broaches the need to keep the secular and religious worlds separate by appealing to *aspectus* (the vision of the mind) and *affectus* (the desire of the mind). By dividing the cognitive and perceptive elements of the soul from its affective and volitional capacities, he enables an understanding of why it is important for clerics to keep themselves away from the secular world in such a way as to put into practice the kind of Franciscanism expressed by Haymo of Haversham. By removing the priest or cleric's earthly thoughts, it in turn allows for illumination of the minds of others through preaching and the scriptures. Without

full concentration on the Godly life, it would render impossible Grosseteste gaining the salvation he was seeking through the cure of all souls in the diocese. Music, again, plays a key role in this through its facility of moving the inner soul during, for example, the Mass. The liturgy not only provided an opportunity for the church to bring together different segments of society, such as the courtly and urban, educated and lay, but it also exposed a diverse audience to spiritual values within a relatively short space of time. Music served as a medium that allowed everyone to understand the scriptures on their own terms, and it could even convey universals, through its capacity to move the emotions and the mind towards a good life. In this sense, music played an educational role in addition to its liturgical significance. It could be argued that music acted as an extra layer of protection for the soul, enabling the expression of the divine word within a human body. Grosseteste himself suggests this idea in the following passage:

> Just as the outward voice, when assumed by the word within, is a token of the latter, and by its means the word that is spoken is a token of the word within, and by those means, moreover, it corresponds to the word within; and since the origin of any deed or work is the word within, as Scripture attests; so the deed or work is the outward and visible sign of the word within; and means by which it is a sign might called the word; as it is clearly within in the science of righteous living.
>
> Outward works show and speak the inner word of the performer more clearly and certainly than words, even words from the inmost soul if they are merely token of manner. Just as, indeed, the ingenious machine of the world declares the eternal art by which it is made, and the eternal Word by which all things are made, and is a particular case of that art, and a visible word of the Invisible Word.[44]

Grosseteste discusses the proper defence for the soul at length in *Dicta* 49, although it is too lengthy to be reproduced in full. However, his consideration of connecting the helmet of salvation to the breastplate of righteousness provides an opportunity to reflect on *Dicta* 48 in relation to music. He suggests that, from the circle of wisdom, three further circles emerge: the private, economic, and political spheres, all interconnected with the circle of righteousness.[45] This mirrors the countless interconnections found in the chainmail worn on the battlefield to protect the human body.

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[44] Grosseteste, *The Complete Dicta in English*, 'Dicta 48', pp. 24–5.
[45] *Ibid*, 'Dicta 49', pp. 25 –26.

The ability of music to order the mind lies at the core of what Grosseteste was seeking to achieve. Though the cultivation of a well-ordered way of thinking, one can potentially grasp universal concepts. Although these universals may be infinite, they are not infinitely incomprehensible. By ministering and understanding the sacraments or scriptures, possibly without relying solely on the spoken or written word, music provides an additional layer of spiritual protection. It could even be argued that Grosseteste actively employed the Franciscan concept of *praedicatio*, or preaching in its simplest form, to facilitate personal and diocesan salvation. This is because the meaning of *praedicatio* can vary depending on the context in which it is received. Furthermore, in Letter 127, Grosseteste implies that he is akin to Moses, suggesting that as the head of the diocese, he should serve as the prime example of leading a virtuous life. This is particularly noteworthy considering his head-on confrontation with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln regarding his visitation rights.

Grosseteste's idea that light can be spread by all in the clerical hierarchy of Lincoln helps to provide a suggestive clue as to why he would have chosen the Franciscans and Dominicans to be among his *familia*. It is utterly apparent, now, that the salvation of all souls within the diocese was his ultimate goal, whether for the laity's own sake or Grosseteste's personal desire to attain salvation come judgement day. The simplicity and poverty by which both orders lived their lives enabled them to be at once leading a good life, while at the same time as being very much part of everyday life for the laity, something which must have intrigued Grosseteste. While he did not eschew his possessions nor the property-holding of the church, he was more than able to adapt his ideas to be acceptable to the Pope, in much the same way as St. Francis chose a liturgy for the Friars Minor which was based on the Roman Rite. Poverty, then, allowed for the priest or friar to be closer to salvation than those outwith the order, thereby enabling them to better discharge not just their liturgical duties but also better encourage the laity towards a good life. Francsicanism, for Grosseteste and the order's members, brought together not just the universal of personal prayer but also theory and practice.

We have seen that in Grosseteste's letters there are several references to music's place in the church. These references are more or less oblique or allegorical, but they do point to his acceptance of St. Augustine's idea that weaker minds (those which are either unable or unwilling to be focused on God all the time) can gain understanding of devotion via music's power to evince the hidden correspondence between the earthly and godly. Grosseteste returns to this

specifically in Letter 127, which, as we have seen, is really a document setting out his rights and responsibilities regarding pastoral oversight of the diocese. Again, he returns to the use of the sound of the trumpet, possibly by way of allegorical understanding given the clarity of the trumpet's call which enables groups to quickly coalesce around a single point, for example on the battlefield. This also, intriguingly, returns us to the idea that a priest or friar can only safeguard their own salvation by leading by example in the cure of souls; likewise, Grosseteste could only ensure his own salvation by leading by example and also ensuring that the trumpet heralded some degree of celestial harmony. David von Augsburg treated spoken declamation and melodic singing as almost one in the same, as each is governed by the same principles as music.[46] Indeed, music was superior to all other arts as it can affect the inner soul directly by its rhythm and harmony; with singing resulting in spiritual motion which could lead a singer to the mystical orchard where someone could savour the nourishing sounds of chant. Another parallel with Luther and Bach to be explored further in the Thesis.

To Grosseteste, his own salvation was connected so closely with that of those under his pastoral care in the diocese of Lincoln, and even connected to the salvation of his superiors, that he had to use every means at his disposal to promote the salvation of all. His mind needed to be able to respond to any given situation with the aim of salvation. Perhaps the Franciscans' and Dominicans' ability to be of and with the laity allowed for him to express this desire through the new hierarchy of the Church in the diocese of Lincoln. Ultimately, the intercession of one whose life is centred on God alone allowed for the layperson to gain spiritually in their own terms, insofar as the prelate works through his inferiors and not the other way round.

[46] See Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, pp. 96–7.

CHAPTER 4

Thirteenth-Century England's Elite Languages in Transition: Cause and Effect of Grosseteste's personal *Homo Religiosus*?

We saw in the previous Chapter that Robert Grosseteste was no stranger to communicating effectively with all those, of whatever level, within the medieval kingdom of England and Christendom more broadly. But the languages he communicated in – Anglo-Norman French and, for his letters, Latin – were not common to all, rather reserved to an, admittedly growing, elite. In an age of very high levels of illiteracy, the everyday man and woman might speak only in Middle English, possibly a form of the language which might differ from region to region, even village to village, by way of dialect. For those lucky enough to be educated they were not only afforded the ability to communicate the Vulgate in the Latin, but also to engage with those of differing social levels by way of Anglo-Norman French. While the Anglo-Norman forms of the French remained very much an elite language for much of Grosseteste's life, as we will see below this did not mean that it remained hermetically sealed from the influence of English, its dialects, uses and forms of speech. The purpose of this short chapter, therefore, is to consider the impact that communicating in Anglo-Norman French, and other elite languages, might have had on Grosseteste's ability to communicate his pastoral vision more generally to the parishioners of the diocese of Lincoln. Some of the same letters and ideas as found in Chapters 2 and 3 will be used, alongside others and more general works. Something which, in turn, helps us move towards the concept of *homo religiosus* for Grosseteste as Prelate or Prebend and whether or not this then translated itself into his pastoral vision and its use of music.

Robert McColl Millar provides a particularly helpful starting point for this short investigation of elite languages in thirteenth-century England:

> The French influence upon English is, in many ways, easier to demarcate. We can set a date – late 1066 into early 1067 – when the Norman Conquest looked likely to be permanent. We can also easily prove what type of relationship – socially and politically – speakers of Norman French and English had. Given the growing prestige of French culture across Europe, it is likely that at least some of the French influence upon English would have happened in any event. But the social relationships between users of French

> and English, with many speakers of the former being in positions of political, intellectual, and economic power (and Anglo-Saxons quickly being placed in the minority – if present at all – in the upper echelons of lay and ecclesiastical society) meant that, in many senses, the status of French in England was unassailable for a number of centuries.[1]

Two things jump out from the above passage for the Grosseteste scholar. First, not only was he an active participant in the higher echelons of society but he was also actively educated in the languages which would not be accessible to the majority who lived between *c*. 1200 and 1209; it has been suggested by Southern, Crombie and McEvoy that this is the period in which Grosseteste was educated formally and then went up to Oxford, but modern scholarship is much more cautious about formally applying precise dates to his pre-Ordained life. Second, all we know about Grosseteste's early life is that he was from humble stock/lowly born, so must have seen language being used as a form of social demarcation during the start of that period of transition from Anglo-Norman French to a more structurally English form of the language. Indeed, an interesting question arises here, which may not be possible to answer, as to whether or not Grosseteste's pastoral vision itself came out of an early life which on a day-to-day basis saw the use of language as a form of social demarcation. Millar continues:

> Perhaps ironically, this status existed side by side with the slow shift away from French towards English by descendants of the Norman conquerors and later well-heeled French-speaking immigrants…In part this changeover was due to conscious choice of English nationality by a considerable number of landholders of Norman descent after the loss of Normandy in 1204; it is likely to have started somewhat before this, however. From an early period, most French speakers would have been obliged to develop a 'kitchen English' in order to communicate with their servants, particularly when they lived far from the political centre of the kingdom. For a long period, a bilingual diglossia must have existed, with Anglo-Norman as the High variety. Over time, however, the latter variety increasingly became a marked social code which may not have been used much and eventually became an identity marker. The last few decades of spoken Anglo-Norman in England in the early to mid-fourteenth century evidence a variety which was lexically French but structurally English.[2]

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1 Robert McColl Millar, *Contact: The Interaction of Closely Related Linguistic Varieties and the History of English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 149.

2 Ibid.

To move from an early life of speaking only Middle English, to a later educated life of Anglo-Norman French, Latin and latterly Greek must have provided Grosseteste with a particular view of how the Church should achieve its ends; whether as Prebend of Leicester or as Bishop of Lincoln itself. Possibly a cause for the use of rustic exhortation, an effect being the ruffling of feathers of those he encountered. Why rustic exhortation may have been a particularly interesting prospect to Grosseteste may come from the use of 'kitchen English' he may have seen during his early life, something which is very difficult to find direct reference to in the sources, but is an intriguing prospect to bear in mind, nonetheless. Equally, the reforming Council of Lateran IV must have provided a formal, legalistic base from which Grosseteste could act while Chancellor of Oxford, between *c*. 1215 and 1221, prior to him taking the benefices and sinecures he would come to resign from following severe illness in 1232.

Lateran IV (1215)

We find a particularly tantalising clue in Letter 2, whilst it is about Grosseteste's view of how man is conceived as a rational being in relation to the inability of one human being to speak to another (in this case Grosseteste and Adam Rufus) it does offer a degree of an idea of how he also views language's role for a human being. James McEvoy suggests it is written by Grosseteste to his sister,[3] but both Luard and Mantello and Goering refer to Letter 2 as a letter to Agnellus of Pisa (the Minister Provincial of the Friars Minor) with respect to the departure of Rufus from England to preach to the Saracens, written at some point between 1229 and 1232. Grosseteste suggests:

> Coporum itaque localis divisio, ut praemonui, dolenda non est, licet praesentia sit jocunda ; quia corporum localis distantia non separat ab invicem homines, et maxime caritate mutua conjunctos et in unum conflatos. Homo namque simpliciter est homo interior ; unde et exteriorioris hominis partibus detrunctatis, non minus remanet unus et idem homo. Manibus enim meis et pedibus abscissis, oculisque erutis, adhuc vere dicere et lingua praescisa vere cogitare possum, quod sum Robertus, et quod sum ego, et quod ille ego sum truncatus, qui prius fui integer. Et de his quorum corpora sunt incinetrata, dicit Deus : *Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, qui non est Deus mortuorum, sed vinventium*. Vere igitur

[3] James McEvoy, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Ten Commandments', in his *Robert Grosseteste, Exegete and Philosopher* (Aldershot: Routledge, 1994), pp. 167–205 (at p. 175).

> vivunt Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, licet eorum corpora incinerentur. Igitur secundum interiorem hominem, vere et simpliciter est et vivit homo.[4]
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> So the physical parting of bodies should not, as I warned before, be an occasion for grief, even though their being together is a matter for delight, because the isolation of bodies does not separate people from one another, especially those joined in mutual charity and brought together as one. For a man is a man only on the inside, and that is why, when parts of the outer man have been cut off, he remains no less one and the same man. If you amputate my hand and feet and pluck out my eyes, I can still truthfully say and, if you sever my tongue, still truthfully think, that I am Robert, that I exist, that I am that mutilated man who previously was whole. And of those whose bodies have been reduced to dust God has this to say: *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, not the God of the dead but of the living* [Ex 3:6, Mt 22:32]. Truly, then, do Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob live, though their bodies are now dust. So it is in terms of the inner man that a man truly and simply exists and is alive.[5]

The various references to the mutilation of different parts of the body will have, in the early to mid-thirteenth century, presumably elicited understanding for the reader of the letter of the lives of the various Christian martyrs and especially those who were martyred just prior to Grosseteste, Agnellus of Pisa himself and others being born. However, the most important point of this passage from Letter 2 is that for Grosseteste knowledge, or at least shared understanding, of the self is innate – a gift from God – and that no matter how many appendages may be lost (for Grosseteste losing Rufus to the continent could be described as losing an intellectual appendage) the self is maintained. Therefore, the gift of life or understanding of it, as given by God, cannot be extinguished, or removed from someone when they lose access to their ability to speak to one another; whether by dint of distance or loss of a physical attribute via trauma. It could be said, then, that for Grosseteste language is not just verbal but physical too, that an understanding of the Scriptures is imparted by understanding celestial harmony by way of good preaching (*paedicatio*) and that all of this requires as a basic starting point a suitably trained priest or teacher to deliver ordered knowledge. A person's tongue might be removed and their ability to speak lost, but their inherent ability to illuminate another's mind remains their own and can be imparted in other ways, for example through writing or musical ability. A person's soul comes directly from God, so cannot be removed from them like a physical attribute; as

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4 *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 19–20.
5 *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, Letter 2, p. 51.

Grosseteste suggests, we live because self-knowledge of the soul is immutable. Quite how this particular idea may have been imparted to others in similarly high offices to Grosseteste we can only guess at, as the one hundred and thirty-two letters in the Luard/Mantello and Goering collection can only ever really provide a snapshot of what is said between him and them. However, they do provide for exploration of the impact of changes to languages used during Grosseteste's lifetime.

McEvoy's suggestion that it is simply too difficult to compartmentalize Grosseteste's mind is much in evidence here, indeed he continues in his discussion of the Decalogue with the idea that no created power can overcome a person's interior freedom (that drawn directly from God) pursuant on that freedom standing in true relationship to God and his spirit; for Grosseteste, then, love is grounded in God and his truth, it is equally guided by him, meaning that anyone who lives in such a way allows for their Being to be invincible.[6] McEvoy attributes Grosseteste's interest in the Decalogue, and the interior freedom given to man by God, to the continuing impact of the series of Lateran Councils on Christendom. By way of suggesting that the impact Lateran IV had on Grosseteste had, in 1994, been too long ignored and underestimated McEvoy sets out quite why the reforms agreed to at the Lateran Palace in 1215 and at previous Councils were important:

> In the face of heresy the faith was to be defined and defended; superstition was to be countered by the active instruction of the people; parish priests were to be formed with a new consciousness of their vital local role and were to be given the means of instructing the people in simple and memorable terms; and the practice of faith was to be attached more and more to participation in the sacraments of the Church…the parish clergy became aware of its collective identity and tasks in a new way, as *presbyteri parochiales*; the teaching developed in the schools was available for wide diffusion; and the literary forms of *summae*, *distinctions* etc. were to hand, or were created. Among these pastoral genres Boyle ranges above all, of course, the *summae penitentiontiales* and *summae de casibus*;[7] and side by side with these, treatises on the virtues and vices, the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the paternoster, and the sacraments. All of these were

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6 McEvoy, *Grosseteste on the Ten Commandments*, p. 178.

7 See L. E. Boyle OP, 'The Inter-conciliar Period 1179–1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals', in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III*, ed. F. Liotta (Sienna, 1986), pp. 43–56, and L. E. Boyle OP, 'Summae Confessorum', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Definition, critique et exploitation* (Acte de Colloque international de Louvin-la-Neuve, 1982).

> aimed above all at the academic or practical formation of priests with the cure of souls.[8]

Grosseteste was to take part in the Council of Lyon, called by Pope Innocent III in 1245, which inevitably threw up direct comparisons with Lateran IV with regards to great reforming councils; a comparison which is not under discussion here. However, the intellectual freedom of the new forms of summae, the new linguistic forms available in which to preach the word and the desire to see increasing participation of parishioners in the sacraments must have been intellectually intriguing for Grosseteste. They, along with the teaching in the schools, enabled him to put into practice his 'whole theology', to a greater or lesser extent, during his episcopate. McEvoy continues, suggesting that Grosseteste's intention by way of writing on the Ten Commandments was not to seek originality rather to disseminate solid doctrine among the clergy in so doing evidencing his deeply biblical theology; a heavily textual theology which not only devotes a significant amount of space but also effort given over to the meaning of words.[9]

We find an interesting example of this interest in the meaning of words, and also Grosseteste's active whole theology, in the passage from Judges, in Letter 1, relating to the two-edged sword of Eglon, the king of Moab, and enabling personal understanding of the scriptures, which Stephen Langton elaborated on. Indeed, the very idea of 'rustic exhortation' helps us to engage with Grosseteste's thought around liturgy more broadly. At the heart of this, as we have seen above, was Grosseteste's desire to save all souls within the diocese of Lincoln, and to ensure that he could answer for his own soul on the Day of Judgment. The openness and honesty at the heart of rustic exhortation most likely appealed to Grosseteste, simply by the fact that, as Langton suggests, the use of fine and polished preaching might not always be as useful a tool as that of the ploughshare. Yet, moving further than Langton, for Grosseteste reading and understanding scripture was important as he expected his rectors to find in the Bible (as an extension of the continuing impact of Lateran IV) not just a moral code by which they can live, but also the face of God himself. Furthermore:

> Grosseteste's ideal priest – the good parish priest – was, then, a man who was present in his parish fulfilling his duty, expending his material and spiritual possessions for the good of his parishioners. That duty involved him in teaching and preaching. He engaged in a spiritual war with words as

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8 McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Ten Commandments', p. 179.
9 Ibid., pp. 193–7.

> his weapons: They became lances and swords with which he could fight the Devil…Grosseteste went further […] stating that a priest who neglected this duty damned not only himself, but also the bishop who appointed him, to hell-fire.[10]

Rough or unpolished preaching, then, can enable the laity to be converted to a good life much more easily than through a long, complex sermon where only the peroration might be comparably useful. As we saw in Chapters 2 and 3 the ploughshare imagery, like music, becomes a means to an end simply by dint of the size of the medieval diocese Lincoln, and the rurality of it by comparison to London and Rochester for example, within which priests or other clerics were sent out to preach salvation in terms which could be understood by all. An end begets its means here, another point of comparison we will see with Luther and Bach, for Luther music was not only explanatory but also an explicatory tool for the evangelising and continuation of his reformed religion. Much the same, it could be said, for Grosseteste in respect of ensuring salvation through the *cura animarum* whether by music, the architecture of Lincoln Cathedral or the often returned to allegory of light.

Homo Religiosus

Towards the end of Letter 1 (to Adam Rufus, a former student, written 1225 × 1228) we have an explication of the idea that the priest, cleric or friar should reflect not only the Godly life, but simultaneously be essentially involved in the everyday life of the laity, the body of the Church reflecting the perfection of the celestial hierarchy; in essence the Augustinian idea of the Head and body of the Church as one.[11] In effect, the priest, friar or cleric reflects not just God himself and a Godly life, but also the 'golden rule' of Leviticus and the Sermon on the Mount, 'love your neighbour as yourself', with the body providing an instrument of moral action and the spirit being the home of the theological values of faith, hope, and love.

The concept at the centre of Grosseteste's thinking, here, was what has come to be known as *homo religiosus*, someone in whom we find behaviours and thoughts which are totally motivated by religious ideas.[12] Indeed, throughout Letter 1 we can see Grosseteste's attachment to music,

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[10] Hoskin, *Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 136–8.

[11] 'Caput et corpus unus Christus, totus Christus caput et corpus est'; see McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Ten Commandments', pp. 197–8.

[12] Willem Hofstee, 'Homo Religiosus' in *Religion Past and Present*, on line at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_10041 [accessed 18 January 2021], first published online 2011.

its use in keeping the mind focused on the good life and also, to a lesser degree, musical performance in and of itself. Ultimately, then, the subtlety of music affords an ability to comprehend the infinite while warding off the devil. Music moves a grosser body (a human being's body for example), and a cleric or friar may be able to encourage his flock towards a good life without the need for understanding via the written or spoken word.

One could even ask whether the everyday life of the Franciscans resonated with Grosseteste's own scholasticism – the idea of something outwardly simple disguising a deep, complex and multifaceted understanding of a given topic. Here we return to James McEvoy's suggestion that Grosseteste was not able to compartmentalise his mind; and perhaps this is where we could identify a spiritual kinship between him and the friars minor. Given his conviction that all seven liberal arts were inextricably linked, the Franciscan ability to engage all kinds of people on their own terms could have appealed to him. After all, illumination of the mind could take any form – musical, verbal or written. The opportunity to partake in and understand a Franciscan life of the priesthood, combining it with a university education and a strict adherence to poverty, must have been an attractive proposition for Grosseteste. All this is not to say that Grosseteste was a Franciscan himself – he was not – but he was able to synthesise the ideas he found intriguing into his own way of life by comprehending and enabling a good life based on the useful parts of Franciscan minimalism. Grosseteste hints at this in Letter 51 (written in 1238), emphasising the importance of not seeking material gain in this life, as he tried to persuade Master Thomas of Wales to remain in the English Province to enable the cure of souls in the diocese, rather than teaching at Paris:

> You should also be very afraid that if, for the sake of teaching *wisdom in sublime language* to a few scholars in Paris, you refuse to teach *in weakness* – but yet *in evidence of the Spirit and of power – Jesus Christ and him crucified* [1 Cor. 2:1–4] to a great many more simple sheep of Jesus Christ, as a just punishment you will be deprived of both opportunities and will therefore never feed either the scholars from your chair *with solid food*, or the simple sheep of Christ *with the milk* [Heb. 5:12] of simple doctrine. So avoid both this risk and the wrath of Jesus Christ and take up a greater and more certain good, and thereby soften as much for me as for yourself the hardship of leaving the schools […]
>
> Protected on all sides, then, *by the shield of faith* [Eph. 6:16], you must with wisdom and courage fend off the darts of the enemy, taking care to do only what honours God and saves souls, to submit humbly to the yoke

> of the burden imposed upon you, and to pull it courageously, judiciously, and steadfastly, since no matter what common, ignominious, difficult, and heavy burdens the Lord were to command, you would be obliged to carry them eagerly, bravely forsaking not only schools and their honours, but also every grand office, pleasure, and delight of this life. And be on your guard, I beg and entreat you in the name of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, that the high opinion I have of you never disappoints me, and that – God forbid! – you not become a reprobate in the sight of God or cause me any embarrassment in the sight of men. You are to fulfil the ministry entrusted to you and to undertake *the work of God* not negligently nor *deceitfully* [Jer. 48:10], but diligently, faithfully, and prudently, in such a way that, as Paul says to Timothy, *no one may despise your youth* [1 Tm. 4:12].[13]

Throughout this letter we can see elements of Franciscan 'perfect poverty', especially when Grosseteste seeks for others to avoid the temptations of the temporal world, which can only distract those charged with the cure of souls – even those who are, to his mind, suitably qualified for the job. We also see in Letter 51 that, even in the elite languages of the day, Grosseteste is more than able to appeal on a personal level to those whom he holds in high esteem; indeed, it is not only striking how flippant he can be – in the reference to excrement – but also that he treats Master Thomas, despite his youth, as an equal who must therefore live the good life of one who is an exemplar of *homo religiosus*.

The entreaty to take on the yoke of God with humility, dignity, and diligence not only reflects the requirement of *homo religiosus* to be always aware that the only one who can censure us is God himself, but also the idea of rustic exhortation, which we met in the work of Stephen Langton. We find Grosseteste encouraging Master Thomas to put his trust in God's wisdom just as much as Thomas should trust in his own taught wisdom, since the temporal is just that – of the world and our time in it. So, no matter the hardship, we can be judged harshly should we trust only in our own desire for the trappings of power or high office. In the end, although the yoke of God's work may seem heavy, it is eased by ensuring that every action – whether of a friar, a preacher, or a cleric – enables others to have their minds illuminated. Therefore, the light of God can be continually given to all who are living the good life. In this we are given perhaps the best example of Grosseteste's conception of man's place in the celestial and temporal hierarchy, outwith Letter 127's description of Grosseteste's own responsibilities to the diocese

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[13] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, Letter 51, pp. 178–9 (*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 149–51).

regarding pastoral oversight. Indeed, should the good life be lived in the appropriate manner, not only is God's work achieved but also the good life is protected by the shield of faith. It is striking to note quite how personal this letter is, by comparison with others, concerning the impact that Master Thomas's departure to the schools would have on Grosseteste himself. Bishop Robert specifically requires Thomas not to embarrass him in the sight of others – and this despite his warning to put to one side the empty glories of the temporal life.

Whether Grosseteste's pastoral vision stemmed from an early life in which the use of 'kitchen English' was a form of social demarcation, we cannot say. We have seen, however, that Robert employed his education to its fullest extent, whether as a prebend of Leicester or as bishop of Lincoln. Letter 51, written in the early years of Robert's episcopate, shows how able he was to extend the use of rustic exhortation – for example through flippancy even in Latin – to every part of his life. In this case, he encourages Master Thomas to leave behind the schools of Paris and to accept the archdeaconry of Lincoln, giving effect to the life of one who is an exemplar of *homo religiosus*:

> Now, as to the attempts of a great many people to convince you that you must not forsake wisdom for wealth nor the good of teaching for high office, you are prudent enough to need no direction, since, with the help of Christ's grace, you will be doing no such thing. For under his guidance you will not be forsaking wisdom but will find it and exercise it in many more ways than is possible in the schools. And you will not cling with illicit love to the riches attached to a spiritual cure or to high offices that last only for a time. For God forbid that your soul, which the light of wisdom has adorned, would embrace excrement! Nor will it be possible to accuse you of greediness or ambition if you take on spiritual responsibilities to which temporal goods are attached, although you could be accused of these faults were you take on the temporalities as if they were your chief concern, and as if the spiritual goods were dependent on them. But only he *who probes our thoughts and hearts* [Rv. 2:23] can censure you for this, because he alone knows with what intention a person undertakes such responsibilities … [14]

[14] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, Letter 51, pp. 178–9 (*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 149–51).

The life of *homo religiosus* involved seeking the salvation of all souls within the designated *cura animarum*. In effect, Robert was arguing, through quite blunt language, that Thomas should mirror his own life. Upon resigning his benefices (Abbotsley and Leicester) in 1232 Grosseteste had received an angry response from his colleagues and friends, despite retaining his prebendary as Canon of Lincoln Cathedral. His intention was to reflect the change in attitudes with respect to the plurality of benefices. Writing to his friend and collaborator, Adam Marsh, at the time (Letter 9, shortly after 1 November 1232), he suggests that the loss of worldly possessions, incumbent on his previous offices, cheers him.[15] Resignation of his benefices enables him to avoid pride, or at least keep it in check; he was also able to regain a sense of his own weakness, recognise the needs of others who may be spiritually weaker, and also realise quite how fanciful a position of power may ultimately be.[16]

There is a neat comparison of opposites to be made between the admission to Adam Marsh (in Letter 9) of the dangers of pride to be found in high office and the cheerful acceptance of the ridicule of others in abandoning it, and the admonition to Master Thomas to ignore the opinion of others who suggest that he would be forsaking wisdom should he leave behind the schools at Paris to accept high office and its material benefits. In accepting the archdeaconry of Lincoln, however, wisdom could be delivered to the sheep of Christ, ensuring that Thomas' talents were put to best effect by having as wide an audience as possible, an audience that could then model their lives on the wisdom taught through Thomas's life and example. Why would Grosseteste wish to limit his friend's talents to those who can already comprehend him, or who had received some degree of education, when the laity were in constant need of instruction on the good life? Grosseteste therefore encourages his friend to accept preferment in the diocese of Lincoln, away from a prestigious magisterial chair at Paris, while also persuading him to employ his renowned scholarly talents where they are most needed, among the people of the diocese.

The example of a man leading the good life becomes another lens through which to view Robert Grosseteste and his work, with one subject feeding off another, and all things inextricably linked. In the end, we can see Grosseteste's whole theology on display, not just in his works on the Decalogue but also in his letters. As we turn towards Bach and Luther, therefore, the idea of

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[15] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, Letter 9, pp. 78–80, at p. 78 (*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 45–70).

[16] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. Mantello and Goering, pp. 78–9.

homo religiosus will help to guide us as we seek to identify and mark out the features of the intellectual landscape which define and even bridge the thought-worlds of Bach and Grosseteste.

CHAPTER 5

Robert Grosseteste and Johann Sebastian Bach: the reforming scholars

This chapter considers the following general framing ideas. First, the Franciscan context in which Grosseteste found himself, whether as student, *magister scholarium* at the University of Oxford, or as bishop of Lincoln. Second, Grosseteste's ideas around ordered knowledge and how this was influenced by his relationship with the Franciscans. Third, Grosseteste's attitude to pastoral reform both at Oxford and across the diocese of Lincoln more broadly. Finally, the extent to which J. S. Bach's *Endzweck* and *Entwurff*[1] could be seen to have their origins in the thought-world of Grosseteste's Franciscan context and his ideas around ordered knowledge.

As Andrew Reeves has shown, the basic principles of Christian doctrine were available to the lower clergy and the laity alike in their own language in thirteenth-century England.[2] Likewise, five centuries later, Luther's distillation of twenty-seven dialects into a single German language, written and spoken, was still having a profound effect on education and teaching in Germany at the time Johann Sebastian Bach was being educated in Thuringia. Indeed, Luther's stated aim on translating the Bible into a uniform German, one hundred and forty years prior to Bach's birth, was to 'produce a more accurate rendering by returning to the Greek and Hebrew texts, and to write in a German that ordinary people would understand'.[3] Although there are roughly five and a half generations (approximately one hundred and forty years) between Luther's death and Bach's birth, the educational context Bach found himself in still maintained a form that would have been utterly recognisable to Luther.

Ultimately, our ability to link Bach to Grosseteste formally remains to be seen. However, that is not to say that there are insufficient parallels to make any comparative exercise a worthwhile undertaking. Rather, and despite the Reformation in continental Europe, there was much more

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1 See Appendix, p. 110 below, for an account of Bach's *Endzweck* and *Entwurff*.

2 Andrew B. Reeves, 'Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: Lateran IV to *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2009).

3 Timothy A. Francis, 'The linguistic influence of Luther and the German language on the earliest complete Lutheran Bibles in Low German, Dutch, Danish and Swedish', *Studia Neophilologica*, 72 (2000), pp. 75–94 (at p. 76).

continuity than a simple scratch of the surface might suggest. A prime example of this, being the desire for a 'single faith' for all peoples and the desire to quash any dissent from it. Indeed, and possibly most important, the ascribing of a learned nature to men of the cloth remains to this day, by way of the continuing use of the word 'Father' when referring to a Priest or Pastor in Anglicanism and Lutheranism respectively.

The Franciscan context

For a general overview, as to why Grosseteste might have been quite so important to the Franciscans, we can look to Barbara Hutchinson's short article of 1965 in which she stated that Grosseteste's contributions to University education are fivefold.[4] While his organisation of the University of Oxford and care for the general well-being of the University is important, it cannot really be said to be within the scope of this Thesis. However, his strengthening of the Franciscans' connection – point two – with the university, to revivify learning and religion within its confines are integral to our understanding of the context in which Grosseteste found himself. Furthermore, as Hutchinson suggests in point four, the systematisation of the studies of the university curriculum and finally, point five, his efforts to promote the revival of Greek and Hebrew studies point to Grosseteste's being concerned with what might now be referred to as a 'whole curriculum', with one subject feeding off another.[5] As Hutchinson concluded:

> His influence on the organization of Oxford University must date from its earliest times, for he was a master as early as 1189, and became its first chancellor about 1214. His concern for its welfare continued unabated after his elevation to the See of Lincoln.[6]

The date of 1189 is of particular interest here, not least given the suggestion that Philip Perry makes in his 1762 *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste* that Grosseteste had gone up to Cambridge from the Cathedral School at Lincoln, rather than travelling directly to Oxford.[7] Two intriguing and interconnected ideas come to mind here, first the medieval Diocese

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4 See Barbara Hutchinson, 'Robert Grosseteste: the role of education in the reform of thirteenth-century English society', *History* Quarterly, 5 (1965), pp. 26-40.

5 See Daniel A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as scholar', in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. Daniel A. Callus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 1–69.

6 Hutchinson, 'Robert Grosseteste: the role of education in the reform of thirteenth-century English society', p. 31.

7 See *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste by Philip Perry*, ed. Jack P. Cunningham (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2022), p. 14.

of Lincoln contained both the clerical sites of learning, prior to the formal establishment of the University of Cambridge in 1209, with Oxford having seen teaching as early as 1096. Perry indicates the reason for this two stage process might be that Cambridge was known for being a place for the teaching of the elements of the *Trivium* and Oxford for the *Quadrivium*.[8] Second, Grosseteste was not one to hold back if he felt he was correct, especially in his teaching, meaning that such self-aware academic confidence may have been honed while at Cambridge and put into effect at Oxford upon his arrival there in 1189. As Perry continues to extol his muse's academic virtues, Grosseteste is described variously as being a Magician (at least 'among the vulgar') and one of the greatest clerks, alongside Adam de Marisco, in the world, being 'completely perfect in all wisdom, both divine and human'.[9] Whether or not his academic confidence was developed at what may have been a more academically free environment is difficult to prove, but as with all of his works self-assuredness must have been learned somewhere especially as Perry forces the point home by suggesting that due to Grosseteste's great success in subjects like Logic and Rhetoric he was soon asked to teach both of these Liberal Arts at Cambridge.[10] Indeed, given his multifarious importance to Oxford, Cambridge (as according to Perry) and the Franciscans, it will make sense to consider which of Hutchinson's five points matter most before moving on.

As stated above, point one is outside the scope of this thesis, but remains useful when considering Grosseteste 'the reformer' more broadly, helping to put this idea in its own specific context. Points two and three are vital to our understanding of Grosseteste's 'Franciscan context'; not only would the strengthening of the bond between the Order and Oxford be crucial, allowing them to become an accepted part of the university's life, but also, a formalised curriculum would allow equal learning across all those students taught there during Grosseteste's lifetime. Points four and five signal why Grosseteste would be so jealously guarded by the Order: his educational direction, or spirit, required understanding from the bottom up and not the other way around – similarly, it could be said that this is why he was attracted to the Franciscan's poverty.

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8 Ibid., p. 15.
9 Ibid., pp. 15–16.
10 Ibid., p. 15.

To reiterate, Robert Grosseteste was not himself a Franciscan, either by training or in his scholastic method. He did, however, find the company of the Franciscans at Oxford, and throughout the diocese of Lincoln, particularly illuminating. Daniel Callus, drawing on Thomas of Eccleston's tract, the 'Coming of the Friars Minor to England', characterised Grosseteste's relationship with his students in the following way:

> [Grosseteste's] interest in their studies and progress continued to the end; he warned them, we are told, that unless they fostered learning and were assiduous in the study of divine law they would be like certain religious orders whom 'we see walling in the darkness of ignorance'. His influence was beneficial, wide, and lasting, and he founded a special tradition of learning which prevailed for several generations in the Franciscan school.[11]

Furthermore, Callus placed specific emphasis on Grosseteste's appointment as Reader to the Franciscans at Oxford, on their arrival in 1224. He noted that, not only did the minister-provincial, Agnellus of Pisa, build a not-insubstantial school for the Franciscans but, that he had also '…persuaded Master Robert Grosseteste of holy memory to lecture there to the brethren'.[12] This raises an important question about why Grosseteste specifically would be chosen to be appointed Reader.

We know, for instance, that he had first come across the Franciscans while at Oxford and most likely continued his acquaintance with the Order during his time in Paris, while the evidence for this is contested his time in France could have been as long as a quarter of a century.[13] Here the Franciscans, as with the Dominicans, were active as scholars but were not permitted by their order to teach in the faculty of arts, rather just to be instructed in theology; they were not fully tied into the statutes of the university.[14] One can see why the presence of Franciscans in Paris may have appealed to Grosseteste, potentially even kindling the special affection he held for them, an affection which remained until his death, while in the city. A. C. Crombie helps to develop the idea of the special affection Robert held for the Franciscans:

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[11] Callus, 'Grosseteste as Scholar', p. 11.

[12] Ibid., p. 7.

[13] See N. M. Schulman, 'Husband, father, bishop? Grosseteste in Paris', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), pp. 330–46 <https://doi.org/10.2307/3040973>

[14] For an overview of the Dominicans and Franciscans at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, see Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 115–19.

> In the Franciscan house in Oxford he [Grosseteste] established a special tradition of learning which was so highly regarded that this house became the training ground for teachers throughout the English province [diocese of Lincoln], attracted students from abroad and provided teachers for continental friaries.[15]

Perhaps the main appeal of the Franciscans – and it must be said the Dominicans too – for Grosseteste was their desire to imitate Christ in the sense that illumination of the mind could only come through a life of poverty. Certainly, Crombie points to a letter from Grosseteste to Pope Gregory IX concerning the crisis in the Order, in which he referred specifically to the Franciscans in terms of Matthew 4:16, 'habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est eis' ('to those dwelling in the region of the shadow of death, a light has sprung up').[16] In other words, their illumination came directly from their poverty.

In this respect, Grosseteste's move towards the Friars Minor was a carefully calibrated renunciation of various offices and sources of income, which in turn represented a certain sense of self-denial, thereby establishing him as a friend of the Order. Indeed, while the Order's requirement for poverty interested Grosseteste, the brothers' choosing to beg did cause him some discomfort, and he was not averse to voicing his disapproval. This is set out in greater detail by Richard Southern:

> [Grosseteste] did not, as some other masters did, renounce everything and become a Franciscan; and this was not for him a case of half measures, for, as he bluntly told his Franciscan listeners, he considered that working for one's living […] represented a higher way of life than that of the Franciscans, who chose to beg [… and] while his transfer from the university to the Franciscans inaugurated a new phase in his personal life, it also brought about the culmination of his theological studies and initiated a new stage in his work as a translator. But he was also on the brink of a new expansion of his horizon.[17]

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[15] Alastair Cameron Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science 1100*-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 135.

[16] O si uideret uestra sanctitas quam deuote et humiliter accurrit populis ut audiat ab illis uerbum uitae, ut confiteatur peccata, ut instruatur in regulis uitae agendae, quantumque ex diceret profecto quod *habitantus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est is!* [*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, p. 180] ('Oh, if only your holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people rush to hear from them the word of life, to confess their sins, and be instructed in the rules for living their lives, and how much the clergy and religious orders have benefited by imitating them, you would indeed say that *to those who dwell in the region of shadow of death light has risen* [Is. 9:2]!' [*Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 206]).

[17] Robert William Southern, 'Grosseteste, Robert (c.1170–1253)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010 <https://doi.org/10/1093/ref:odn/1165>.

As with other decisions Grosseteste made throughout his life, there was a considerable amount of self-reflection on possible outcomes prior to anything being taken on formally on his part. By being able to understand the Friars Minor from their own point of view as well as from his own opposing view, Grosseteste was able to attend to those aspects he felt able to do so while at the same time as accepting that other aspects of their day-to-day life would not enable him to fulfil his pastoral vision to its fullest extent across the diocese of Lincoln. Something which, equally, reflects his need for the understanding of the world and its complexities through thorough and reflexive comprehension of everyday, lived reality. Grosseteste's Franciscan context, like his conception of music, had to be able to be used by him in such a way as to reflect not just the issues of the flesh, but the celestial also. Everything has a cause, with each cause having an effect.

Callus, when reflecting on the utility of the seven arts in medieval education, pointed towards something which could help illuminate the specific Franciscan context in which Grosseteste found himself. The seven arts were, throughout Grosseteste's career, 'attendants (*ministrae*) – he does not say *ancillae*, handmaids, but *ministrae* – on the philosophy of nature and on ethics'.[18] This view could also be extended to the Franciscans. For Grosseteste, the Friars Minor were attendants and not simply handmaids of Christendom: hence his distaste for their practice of begging. In this respect, the friars should be able to attend fully to their flock thanks to their poverty, reflecting their ability to mould human life through their rhetorical skills. Callus quotes from one of Grosseteste's earliest known works, an *Introitus* – as reproduced by R. W. Hunt in 1948 – in praise of the liberal arts:

> For a threefold he says cause error and imperfection obtrude themselves upon human actions: because the mind is darkened by ignorance; because the affections stop short of, or by excess beyond, the limits of what is right; and because the motive powers on account of the corruption of the flesh are feeble and imperfect instruments of the body. But now in whatever operation error and imperfection originate, we need guidance and help to purge away error and supply deficiencies.[19]

By choosing not to become a Franciscan in the fullest sense, but rather taking on the parts of their way of life he was most intellectually comfortable with, Grosseteste was able to apply

[18] Callus, 'Grosseteste as scholar', p. 17.
[19] Ibid., p. 16.

much of the above to his comprehension of their work and thought. In effect he had been able to purge those aspects he saw as errors, then provide the friars with the examples of where their practice might require improvement to enable them to alter their ways to better reflect the Godly life they were being encouraged to impart to their flocks. Indeed, it could be said that his habit of taking the greatest care over every detail meant Grosseteste was best placed to elucidate the issues he saw with the life of the Friars Minor, criticise in a human way and then enable them to change over time.[20] Taking their requirement for begging as an imperfection, he was able to provide to them both guidance on why it was wrong and also then enable them to remove the error; it could be said that his particular relationship with the Friars was in this sense give-and-take. He was able to view the perceived human errors in their context, consider them fully (through personal reflection) and then offer the advice necessary for that error to be corrected in such a way as to cause a long-lasting change away from it. Ultimately, Grosseteste would not leave unchallenged anything which he did not approve, '…as a true philosopher, he would search for the cause, and assign the reason for all his actions.'[21]

While Robert Grosseteste was not a Franciscan, and openly repudiated some aspects of the Order's way of life (such as begging), he was – as with the Dominicans – at ease with their company, often seeking it out.[22] Indeed, by papal privilege Grosseteste was allowed to have two Dominicans and two Franciscans in his household's *familia* during his time as Bishop.[23] However, as with his relationship with his superiors and others at various stages of his career, his relationship with the Order was complicated and not un-critical. As we have seen, Grosseteste's desire for understanding not just the world, but the wants and mores of the flesh relied heavily on gaining an understanding which encompassed everything that could potentially arise to then allow for a good, complete reply. To gain the fullest possible understanding, not only would you need to perceive what is around you, but also be able to respond to any given situation in such a way as to allow for individual differences in situation, education and even language. It is this which links directly into the educational reforms which were taking place during his episcopate and, more broadly, into his personal ideas about ordered knowledge.

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[20] Ibid., p. 48.
[21] Ibid.
[22] See Francis Seymour Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 111; Christian Frost, 'Architecture, Liturgy and Processions: Bishop Grosseteste's Lincoln and Bishop Poore's Salisbury' in *Bishop Robert Grosseteste and Lincoln Cathedral*, pp. 155–178; Philippa Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 104–5
[23] Callus, 'Grosseteste as scholar', p. 41.

Indeed, it could be said that his relationship with the Franciscans meant that they were uniquely able to influence and argue with Grosseteste at important moments when clarity of thought was needed. The extent to which the Order directly impacted on Grosseteste's ideas about educational reform, alongside ordered knowledge, is up for debate. This will be explored in the following section.

Grosseteste's idea of ordered knowledge

The world of ordered knowledge and Robert Grosseteste has received considerable attention over the last decade, with conferences held, papers written, inter-disciplinary analysis undertaken, and new translations of his work and letters produced.[24] As with the Franciscans, Grosseteste's conception of pastoral life and what it could achieve was heavily reliant upon individual experience, thus allowing individuals to come to their own conclusions and debate accordingly. Therefore, perhaps the simplest lens through which to view Grosseteste's idea of ordered knowledge is through the following phrase, taken from his commentary on the Physics: 'Via autem innata nobis ad perueniendum in principiorum cognicionem' ('The inherent and natural way for us to reach the cognition of principles'). Nancy van Deusen suggests that this idea of 'a way' is deceptively simple, not least because it may seem self-evident to modern scholars:

> this portion of a statement contains a key principle that Grosseteste will pursue throughout his comments: *via ad perveniendum*, namely, a way or directed *course* of progress, a pilgrimage step by step coming to the conclusion or arrival directly from its inception. As an underlying principle, enlarged, described in all of its attributes, and expanded into the set of concepts seemingly brought out by the Greek text, the principle of a course of action, thought, intuition, cognition, or measured, directed motion, either as an abstraction, or closely related to observable phenomena […] Right at the outset, Grosseteste focuses on Aristotle's priority, that is, a construct for imagining directed motion, a vision for targeted discourse.[25]

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[24] For examples of new translations see *The Dimension of Colour. Robert Grosseteste's De Colore: Edition, Translation, and Interdisciplinary Analysis*, ed. and trans. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Giles E. M. Gasper, Michael Huxtable, Tom C. B. McLeish, Cecilia Panti and Hannah Smithson (Durham and Toronto: Durham University Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies/Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013); Giles Gasper, Tom McLeish and Hannah E. Smithson, 'Listening between the lines: medieval and modern science', *Palgrave Communications* 2:16062 (2016); *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering.

[25] Nancy E. van Deusen, 'On the Usefulness of Music: Motion, Music and the Thirteenth Century Reception of Aristotle's *Physics*', *Viator*, 29 (1998), pp. 167–188 (at p. 169).

Here, van Deusen sets out what could be said to be Grosseteste's ultimate goal with regard to ordered knowledge, insofar as a targeted discourse can only be achieved when all facts are marshalled and followed in the correct way. In effect, the prime act of a master is to shepherd the student along such an educational pilgrimage so as to ensure that they become cognisant of all available facts, thereby becoming in turn able to actively target or deploy their learning when it is required. For Grosseteste, then, all learning must reflect the complexity of everyday life and the environment in which a question may be set or reflected upon. In effect, the underlying principle of ordered knowledge is to enable someone to relate a complex issue simply and effectively through step-by-step arrival at a conclusion.

It is important, here, to consider Grosseteste's conception of truth and why this could help illuminate for us why he was concerned with ordered knowledge in general. In a particularly helpful passage, James McEvoy points out that Grosseteste held to St Anselm's idea that the thought of human intellect was a created spiritual light. Furthermore:

> Influenced by the transcendental tendency of especially Christian Neoplatonic thought, [Grosseteste] regarded that the reversal of conceptual direction as something strictly required in order to express the ontological difference between the universal, originating value of the act of creation and the creature understood in its radical dependence upon the absolute principle of all existence.[26]

In effect, as with the Franciscan context in which Grosseteste found himself, the ability to debate a point from the opposite side to that which you held personally was vital. It was not just a necessary part of daily life, but a crucial one for those ministering to their congregation or teaching their students. This brings us to Grosseteste's own writing on Truth, or the Doctrine of Truth.

If we begin, as he did, with the Gospel of St John – 'Jesus said to him, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me"' (John 14:6 RSV) – we can begin to see why ordered knowledge is particularly prized by Grosseteste. For example, if a master were to teach a student on a subject, he must be able to marshal his own thoughts in a cogent manner and then be able to reflect and advise via reversed conceptual directions to enable the fullest

[26] James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 91.

illumination of the student's mind. Stripping away the immutable connection between God and Jesus, we can deliver a succinct idea of how a scholastic, such as Grosseteste, might view their work as human action. Their teaching (the way) led to knowledge (in this context the truth), which in turn ultimately delivered of the student their knowledge (the life). To put it another way and possibly more scientifically, the illumination of the mind came as a direct consequence of being educated correctly. This, in turn, reflects McEvoy's point about the human intellect as being a created spiritual light. The similarly trinitarian duties of the medieval Master of Theology, which mirrors such teaching, will be explored in the final chapter in relation to how *legere* (to teach), *disputare* (to hold disputations) and *praedicare* (to preach) can help us understand how J. S. Bach's musical and compositional method is similar to Grosseteste's ordered knowledge.[27] A question which springs to mind is quite why light (*lux*) would be so important in an age when modern scientific understanding of it was still over half a millennium away. Crombie made the following suggestion:

> By this *lux* as the first corporeal form Grosseteste did not, of course, mean simply visible light. As an emanation or propagation of substance and power *lux* was the basis of all bodily magnitude and of all natural operations, of which the manifestation of visible light was only one.[28]

By being a created spirit, and therefore at one with the Father, for Grosseteste the human intellect requires proper direction; not only intellectually, but spiritually too. In this we begin to move towards Grosseteste's 'Oxford context', the Oxford over which he presided as Lector mirrors his own thought processes and interesting ways of working.[29] Clare Riedl suggested that not only did Grosseteste represent something new but could be said to be the founder of a new tradition which is characterised by the blending of philosophy with experimental science; furthermore, this continued to characterise the educational philosophy at Oxford long after his death.[30] His ideas around Light (as expressed in *De Luce*) provide us with a glimpse as to why the successful ordering of knowledge is so important. Certainly, this holds if we view knowledge – as Grosseteste saw Light – as matter, with its own corporeity. Riedl continued:

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[27] See below, Chapter 7, 'J. S. Bach – the Eighteenth-Century's Musical Quais-Grosseteste?', pp. 138–182.
[28] Crombie, *Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science*, p. 109.
[29] §Callus, 'Grosseteste as scholar', p. 49.
[30] *Robert Grosseteste on Light: De Luce*, trans. by Claire C. Riedl., Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation 1 (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1942), p. 2.

> The chief point of divergence is that for Grosseteste matter is not pure potency, as it was for Aristotle, but possesses in its own right a certain minimal reality. Thus Grosseteste speaks of mater as a substance, 'Both corporeity and matter are in themselves simple substances.'[31]

It follows, then, that we come to an understanding of something – whether it be light, matter or a taught subject – by arranging our thoughts in such a way as to be able to respond to it knowing that there could, and will, be a number of differences within it which need to be understood. Taking light, again, as an example, not only does Grosseteste include it in the idea that everything has motion but views it as something which has three dimensions. If something has three dimensions, and motion, we must be able to perceive and respond to it in every motive dimension. Thus, Grosseteste requires ordered knowledge to give effect to this understanding and also help us to awaken the soul by the motions of sense perception: 'It is the temporal motions of repeated observations which awaken the soul to form universal principles from observed singulars by the light of the divine.'[32] Leaving aside divine illumination for the moment, the idea of ordered knowledge allows for the motion from ignorance, or a lack of understanding of a given subject, to illumination of the mind. For Grosseteste, his theological perspective and experimental observation are effectively one and the same, with knowledge coming via the senses, and not from them. As Simon Oliver has suggested:

> [T]he practice of experimental observation is integrated into his theological vision, yet its appropriate place is maintained in the hierarchy of analogically related science. Its truth is a result of irradiation from a higher light, and yet will pass away at the eschaton…through a doctrine of creation and understanding of truth which place light at their core, [Grosseteste] offers light as an analogical means of relating distinct sciences.[33]

Therefore, to be able to link distinct sciences or phenomena we are required by Grosseteste to marshal our thoughts in such a way as to enable us to understand how a single truth has been arrived at. This blending of natural philosophy and theology is a key characteristic of his life and work; indeed, ordered knowledge could be said to be his greatest legacy especially given his Franciscan context.

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[31] Ibid., p. 3.
[32] Simon Oliver, 'Robert Grosseteste on Light, Truth, and *Experimentum*', *Vivarium*, 42 (2004), pp. 151–80 (at pp. 178–9).
[33] Ibid.

Grosseteste and pastoral reform

Robert Grosseteste, as Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 until his death in 1253, has often been characterised as the reforming, 'no-nonsense' bishop, as someone who had a singular vision and would let nothing get in his way in the pursuit of it.[34] When taken in parallel, however, with his ideas around pastoral care, of both the clergy and the laity, it quickly becomes apparent that the picture of Grosseteste we may be presented with is often much more complicated than it may at first appear. His goal was to encourage a way of saving souls – the *cura animarum* – which was common and equal for everyone, no matter the level of society they were drawn from. We saw, in his attitude to learning, that Grosseteste sought to understand how a single truth has been arrived at; by extension, his pastoral vision for the diocese of Lincoln was the same: a single truth, being equal under God, could be arrived at through good teaching, confession and more. This unyielding commitment to a particular idea, or vision, could best be said to be found in his ideas in respect of light, certainly when taken alongside Grosseteste's ultimate epistemological influence, Pseudo-Dionysius. It was through Pseudo-Dionysius' work that Grosseteste was able to reinforce his ideas around the doctrine of illumination, in turn allowing him to describe the angelic hierarchies' and the human soul's relation to spiritual light. As McEvoy suggests:

> This influence was, however, more theological than philosophical, for the thearchic ray which hierarchizes the intellectual creature is not the light of natural knowledge, but a salvific light of grace, the self-communication of the divine knowledge.[35]

If we view Grosseteste's pastoral vision through this lens, a lens which may not necessarily have been the same for everyone, then we can come to an understanding as to why he may have had issues with fellow clergy in the diocese, the Pope and many more besides. To give effect to his vision the diocese, therefore, required the best quality clergy and preachers, something which remained a particular issue throughout his episcopate. A singularity of purpose – the salvation of souls – with a multifaceted approach was always going to be difficult to expound and implement, but even more so when up against local rivalries, relationships, and the ways in which different areas worked or lived across the largest diocese in medieval England.

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[34] Marjory M. Morgan, 'The excommunication of Grosseteste in 1243', *English Historical Review*, 57 (1942), pp. 244–50.

[35] James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 236.

Before we move on to Grosseteste's solution to such a knotty problem, a simple search of Mantello and Goering's *Letters of Robert Grosseteste* shows that the word 'pastoral' – translating the Latin *pastoralem*, *Pastorali*, *pastoralis*[36] – appears seventy-five times in the one hundred and thirty-two letters, and the editor's notes, they translated into English from the original Latin. Taken in this context, the concern that Grosseteste had for the pastoral care of the diocese of Lincoln is self-evident. But a question remains as to what the bishop's pastoral vision actually was. If we take the maxim from the Book of Common Prayer that 'the Scripture moveth us in sundry places', in Grosseteste's vision it was the role and solemn office of the clergy to enable the laity to find salvation, and in more simple terms to stop them from being led astray.[37] This is something which is laid out very clearly in his opening in a letter to the archdeacons of Lincoln in 1235 or early 1236:

> It is a pastor's duty to suffer with those who are ignorant and go astray, and *to keep watch* over the flock entrusted to him as if he were given an account of his souls [Heb 13. 17], and to feed that flock, as it is written in Jeremiah, *with knowledge and doctrine* [Jer 3. 15]. I acknowledge this duty and desire to do all I can to heal those in the flock entrusted by the Lord's plan to me, despite my unworthiness, who are ignorant and go astray.[38]

Working backwards, it is the job of the pastor to provide his parishioners both personal and spiritual direction, thereby to illuminate a lay person's mind, away from ignorance and towards the light, to ensure that no soul can go astray. The pastor must, therefore, provide not only doctrinal instruction (feed), through sermons, for example, but also lead his flock in the other more day-to-day activities to ensure that they cannot stray from the right path (knowledge). In effect, ignorance can only be overcome by a properly educated and informed pastor enabling the ordering of someone's thoughts, to ensure that salvation is attained at the last.

That is not, however, to say that this is something which Grosseteste saw as purely for those who had attained a given clerical position or rank. A person's theological duty was their own, with even the laity, women as well as men, being encouraged to undertake some form of

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[36] See for example *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. Mantello and Goering, no. 13, p. 89 (*Epistolae*, ed. Luard, p. 57); no. 16, p. 94. (*Epistolae*, p. 62.); no. 17., p. 96 (*Epistolae*, p. 64.); and no. 20, p. 100 (*Epistolae*, p. 68).

[37] *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites of the Church*, Introduction to Morning and Evening Prayer.

[38] *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, no. 22 (pp. 104–7, at 104–5); *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 72–6.

religious instruction in their daily lives.[39] Letter 72*, to the archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund of Abingdon (archbishop 1233–1240) who Grosseteste may have met first and become acquainted with at Oxford, concerning lay infringements of the liberties of the Church, provides a similarly clear example of the role of the laity to that of the pastor in Letter 22:

> Propter hoc, sicut infra scriptum est in canone, eum quem ex dignitate gradus ecclesiastici oportet irreprehensibiliter vivere; neque judicem neque cognitorem secularium negotiorum vult hodie Christus ordinaire, ne praefocatus praesentibus hominum curis non possit verbo Dei vacare; sed haec opera sibi invicem exhibeant vacantes laici, et in hujusmodi gradu constitutum nemo occupet ab his studiis per quae salus hominibus datur.
>
> For this reason, as is written in the canon law, Christ does not wish to appoint today, either as judge or juror in secular disputes, the man who is required by the dignity of his rank in the Church to live blamelessly: 'otherwise, once suffocated by the immediate concerns of men, he may be unable to find the time for the word of God. Instead, let laymen who have the time perform these tasks by turns, and let no man distract anyone appointed to any kind of ecclesiastical rank from those pursuits by which salvation is granted to mankind.'[40]

For Grosseteste then, to be able to judge your peers fully you must also be able to understand, at first hand, the ability of humans to act outside the normal rules or regulations applied to society. In effect, those who are blameless – priests and pastors who save souls, i.e., those who have actively chosen to follow doctrine and canon law in the pursuit of the salvation of souls – are unable to provide this service as they live of outside society on account of their specific office in the Church. The immediate concerns of humans would render them unable to act in accordance with Canon Law and the stipulations applied to them by the Church itself, therefore they must remain totally outside of the concerns of men to give full effect to their vocation. However, that is not to say that clergy and the laity were at odds with one another in respect of the salvation of souls, quite the opposite; those who lived a blameless life were required by Grosseteste to work actively with their flocks, as indicated in Letter 22. Indeed, he indicates later in the letter which activities will draw the blameless away from a Godly life – drunken parties (scot-ales) and licentious behaviour, for example.

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[39] *Letters*, trans. Mantello and Goering, no. 5 (pp. 65–70).
[40] Ibid., no. 72* (pp. 230–57, at p. 236); *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 205–34.

The laity played an integral part in the life of the parishes and benefices in which they lived, much as today, to such a degree that the relationship between Bishop and Patron mattered most when choosing new parish clergy. In this sense the Laity were not just passively in receipt of spiritual care. Indeed, they played a crucial role in selecting the parish clergy and choosing the spiritual guides of their parishes.[41] This was not just a matter of financial motivation, as the incomes of clergy depended on the benefice's patrons; rather, it was part and parcel of Grosseteste's way of working – by being able to understand local differences he was able to compromise when it was required. Thanks to this, Grosseteste began to experiment with new ways of working, mostly to ensure that he could fulfil his own pastoral duty while at the same time as allowing him to put into practice his views on Lay patrons' obligations. To stretch a point, such a new system provided the opportunity for focussing everyone's minds on the pastoral care within a parish, something which underscores Grosseteste's concern for the salvation of individuals.[42] The chosen method of organisation was the simple benefice (*simplex beneficium*), normally this would be granted by the bishop of a given diocese to ensure appropriate parochial provision with the chosen person receiving a part of the benefice's income by way of stipend. As Philippa Hoskin has suggested:

> Grosseteste's hierarchical model of ecclesiastical power and responsibility may have been focussed around the bishops, but the model distributed responsibility for pastoral care throughout the secular clergy, from pope to chaplain…He emphasises [as well] that the sin of a clergyman is a graver matter than that of his parishioners, for it is his duty to provide a pattern for a good and upright life.[43]

Given the enormous size of the diocese of Lincoln, this way of working – that of ensuring compromise was arrived at with all interested parties and maintaining a strict hierarchy – makes absolute sense. Indeed, had Grosseteste not been able to work to a rigid formula it is doubtful that his episcopate could have been so successful. Equally, it could be said that Grosseteste was aiming for something akin, in his pastoral vision, to that of his ideas around ordered knowledge. We have seen already that his view of the educational curriculum was that all subjects are linked at every level with one feeding off another, the only way for a Master, therefore, to enlighten

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41 Philippa Hoskin, 'Robert Grosseteste and the simple benefice: a novel solution to the complexities of lay presentation', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40:1 (2014), pp 24–43 (at p. 25) <https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2013.856031>

42 Ibid., p. 26.

43 Ibid., pp. 35–6.

another – for example a student – about this was through good teaching and ordered knowledge. If, as the investigators of the Ordered Universe Project suggest, Grosseteste had a particular talent for uniting disparate sources of information, book-learned and observed into coherent argument, it would not be too much of a stretch of the imagination to think that he would extend this into his pastoral vision.[44] Furthermore, his scientific thinking is characterised by '… a strong instinct to stress the harmony of explanations concerning natural phenomena. He possessed considerable powers of scientific imagination and was unafraid, also, to change his mind in the face of new information.'[45]

As with ordered knowledge, and Grosseteste's 'whole curriculum', perhaps what he was seeking after with regard to his pastoral vision was a 'whole theology' – one which encompassed not just the religious orders and their world, but was also related directly to the laity, with the clergy feeding off the laity and vice versa. Certainly, the *simplex beneficium* at least suggests this, and he was able to change his mind (or be persuaded why he should do so) precisely because he could see a problem from all angles and respond accordingly. Perhaps – and this will be discussed later in the thesis – Grosseteste did not need to write an explicit *Summa Theologiae*, akin to Thomas Aquinas', as he considered that his own work – both pastoral and theological – spoke for itself. Furthermore, perhaps Grosseteste's multi-disciplinary nature was so evident in everything he did that, in writing it down, it would lose some of its potency. Curiously, we find here our first parallel with J. S. Bach. There is a certain sense in both men's way of working that they accepted, in Grosseteste's case doctrinally and in Bach's musically, past conventions or past traditions; but, at the same time and to use Henry G. Mishkin's words, were able draw to themselves the wholeness of musical (and theological) past and 'through the miracle of alchemy transmute it [them] into a living art'.[46] In this sense, both men sought after something which could be living not just for themselves rather for individuals either to be saved (Grosseteste) come judgement day, or for Bach for his music to be able to be engaged with on a personal level while reflecting his *Endzweck* and *Entwurff*, a well-ordered Church music to the glory of God.

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[44] Giles Gasper, Tom McLeish and Hannah E. Smithson, 'Listening between the lines: medieval and modern science', *Palgrave Communications*, 2:16062 (2016), p. 2 <https://doi.org/10/1057/palcomms.2016.62>

[45] Ibid.

[46] Henry G. Mishkin, 'A quality of Bach's complexity', *The Massachusetts Review*, 5 (1964), p. 74 <https://www.jstor.com/stable/25087200>

J. S. Bach's *Endzweck* and Grosseteste's Franciscan context

Grosseteste had a single purpose – the salvation of all souls – and would not be deflected from this purpose, whether theologically or in respect of his pastoral vision. Philippa Hoskin points out that in his discussions of his pastoral vision Grosseteste becomes almost a caricature of a reforming bishop, depicted as 'permanently at war with those around him, lay and ecclesiastical, popes and cathedral chapters, as well as the king and individual lords'.[47] Certainly, this is corroborated by various scholars, whether considering the architecture of Lincoln Cathedral or in the provision of a general overview of the Franciscans at Oxford University in the thirteenth century.[48] Indeed, and similar to Hoskin, Nicholas Bennett describes Grosseteste thus:

> Robert Grosseteste was not a man for half-measures. His scholar's mind was always keen to follow matters through to their logical conclusion and he had little use for diplomacy and caution…It was not in the custom of Robert Grosseteste to be deterred by custom or tradition from doing what he thought to be right.[49]

The main thrust of the volume edited by Temple, Hendrix and Frost is to suggest that the ultimate expression of Grosseteste's pastoral, and theological, vision is Lincoln Cathedral itself; certainly, he presided over the completion of the work that his predecessor, Saint Hugh of Avalon had instigated following the earthquake (1185) and collapse of the central tower (1237), just two years into his episcopate. Noted particularly for its medieval stained glass in the Nave, what better way could there be for Grosseteste to put into effect his overriding goal of saving all souls, as individuals, than through the edifice of the cathedral and illumination of the mind through the light passing through the glass in her windows. Given the low rates of literacy among the laity, certainly those not educated at cathedral schools, it would – to stretch a point – illuminate the mind without the requirement of the ability to read or write. In effect, the cathedral becomes Grosseteste's corpus leading us back to the idea of his not wishing to write down all of his thoughts in an Aquinas-like *Summa Theologiae*, thereby reducing their value. In turn returning us to his singularity of purpose, a theological and pastoral vision within which anything and everything can illuminate the mind or keep the flock from going astray. No wonder he was not a man for half-measures, with little time for diplomacy and caution.

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[47] Hoskin, 'Grosseteste and the simple benefice', p. 26.

[48] See *Bishop Robert Grosseteste and Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. Temple *et al.*; Dorothea Elizabeth Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*.

[49] Bennett, '"The face of one making for Jerusalem"', pp. 18–19.

Being someone who lived outside musical convention and tradition, we can begin to see here a parallel between Grosseteste and J. S. Bach. In the first biography of the composer, Johann Nikolaus Forkel pointed to Bach's definition of musical thinking being almost totally devoid of reference to form and genre as objects of learning.[50] Furthermore, as Christoph Wolff goes on to suggest:

> If Forkel accurately articulated Bach's thinking, then Bach conceived of compositional method primarily in abstract functional terms, as he also defined harmony – that is, as accumulated counterpoint.[51]

As with Grosseteste's pastoral vision, such a way of conceiving of music and musical method did not spring out of nowhere. Bach made a specific and learned choice in 1714 to investigate composition as a form, not limiting himself to keyboard genres and virtuoso organ performance. Quoting directly, and at length, from Forkel's biography:

> Bach's first attempts at composition, like all early efforts, were unsatisfactory. Lacking special instruction to direct him towards his goal, he was compelled to do what he could in his own way […] Most youthful composers let their fingers run riot up and down the keyboard, snatching handfuls of notes, assaulting the instrument in wild frenzy, in hope that something may results from it. Such people are merely Finger Composers […] that is to say, their fingers tell them what to write instead of being instructed by the brain what to play […] He realised that musical ideas need to be subordinated to a plan and that the young composer's first need is a model to instruct his efforts.[52]

To those looking from the outside in, this may appear a little slapdash and amateurish. However, nothing could be further from the truth, especially given the fact that in Bach's own mind music is of sacred value. As John Butt suggests in his chapter on *Bach's metaphysics of music* Bach had a peculiarly 'musico-centric' view, inasmuch as music held innate goodness, a view which was becoming ever more difficult to argue for given that new Enlightenment values placed

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[50] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned* Musician (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 171.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian* Bach*: His Life, Art, and Work*, trans. Charles Sanford Terry (New York, NY.: Harcourt, Bruce and How, 1920), pp. 70–71.

reason above all else, with the written word the only 'natural' purveyor of human concerns.[53] We find, here, an interesting parallel between Bach and Grosseteste in the sense that for both men it could be said that the immanence of God – whether through Scripture or music, both being said to be 'timeless' in and of themselves – is best enabled through common understanding. For Bach, in particular, this has been shown to stem from his growing up in an orthodox Lutheran environment – something he passed on to his children – which delivered to him the sense he was doing all of his *In nomine Jesu*, an environment in which his works are produced in deep humility by way of proof of his genuine piety.[54] For both men, then, their art – for Grosseteste his pastoral, theological and academic vision for the *cura animarum* and for Bach his music – and religion were one in the same.

Curiously, the very timelessness of both Scripture and music, deliver a second parallel. That of the need for the performer, composer, and pastor to be actively involved in salvation of souls (Grosseteste) or performance of music within the Lutheran tradition (Bach), quite outwith the contingences of fashion or taste. For both men, their responsibility was – to extend John Butt's contention to Grosseteste too – to pass on their knowledge as easily as possible to as many people as possible.[55] The very timelessness of their own arts meant they had to be the most effective Shepherd of their flock[56], whether parishioners or congregations involved in the music making; the latter requiring for Bach the very same high quality in his musicians as Grosseteste required of the clergy he oversaw as bishop. To paraphrase Butt, and co-mingle Bach with Grosseteste; we get the impression of two men who believed that every theme and formal strategy brings with it a host of implications that can be realised sequentially or in combination and that the completeness or perfection of any particular piece of music, or part of a pastoral vision, lies in the satisfaction of the entire potential of a musical, or scriptural, idea.[57] Indeed, the expression of faith via music in Lutheranism, and its possessing a universal, objective significance beyond purely sensual qualities mean that music holds,[58] at least within

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[53] John Butt, 'Bach's metaphysics of music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 46–59 (at p. 54).

[54] See Gerhard Herz, 'Bach's Religion', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1946), pp. 124–138 <https://www.jstor.com/stable/20528723>

[55] Butt, 'Bach's metaphysics of music', p. 57.

[56] See *Letters*, trans. Mantello and Goering, no. 25 (pp. 125–8).

[57] Butt, 'Bach's metaphysics of music', p. 57.

[58] See Joe E. Tarry, 'Music in the Educational Philosophy of Martin Luther', *Journal of Research in Music* Education, 21 (1973), pp. 355–65 (at p. 356) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3344909>; Lydia Sarver, 'A Musical Reformation: Martin Luther's Influence on Sacred Music', *The Research and Scholarship symposium*, 5 (2019) <https://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/research_scholarship_symposium/2019/podium_presentations/5/?utm

Lutheranism, that unique quality of being able to illuminate the mind without the need for language. Ergo, common understanding can be achieved quite without the need to be able to understand any of the language that may be employed.

Such an idea is useful in two specific ways, first by way of returning to the Franciscan context Grosseteste found himself in and, second, the possibility that Bach's ultimate artistic goal (*Endzweck*) could be said to derive from this. Taking each in turn, the context Grosseteste found himself in not only brought him into contact with the Franciscans, both at Oxford and Paris, from the foundation of the Order in February 1209, but lifelong conversations with them – for example, by way of being granted two Dominicans and Franciscans to be part of his episcopal *familia*. This gave him uniquely individual access to their intellectual traditions, their day-to-day lived reality and most importantly their parochial activities from the earliest possible moment. In turn, this meant he was able to reflect on the aspects of their way of working that best fitted his intellectual framework, offer criticism on those that did not (for example, the Order's requirement for begging) and then offer the brothers ways in which to move away from error, something which was done in line with Grosseteste's requirement for ordered knowledge to guide every thought. Secondly, the extent to which Bach's *Endzweck* could be said to be directly linked to Grosseteste's Franciscan context will necessarily be difficult to prove definitively, not least because of the current lack of specific documentary evidence either in translation or, indeed, extent; it will most likely not exist at all. However, it can be said that there are significant parallels between Grosseteste's and Bach's ways of working, the most obvious of which being the expression of faith being seen in all aspects of their work. Indeed, put most simply it could be said that the primary parallel is that they required common understanding on the basis of all subjects feeding off one another; leading to a second significant parallel, that music could enable illumination of the mind.

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Endzweck

Endzweck is J. S. Bach's ultimate artistic goal, which he defined for the first time in a letter to the church council of the Blausiuskirche requesting his release from Mühlhausen: 'Namely, a well-regulated or orderly church music to the Glory of God and in conformity to your wishes'.[59] John Eliot Gardiner goes on to suggest that this was an ideal, as opposed to a Manifesto. As John Butt set out, this refers specifically to the composition and performance of church music for 'every Sunday and feast of liturgical year, a patently Orthodox aim'.[60] In effect, it was therefore a model framework:

> within which Bach felt he could operate most productively and create orderly church music in conformity with the way the God-inspired Temple music was organised in the time of King David.[61]

Entwurff

Bach defined *Entwurff* in a Memorandum to the Leipzig town council in 1730, with respect to constant frustrations arising out of him being unable to put into effect his *Endzweck*:

> this document is entirely preoccupied with the pragmatics of maintaining a 'well-appointed Church Music'. Nowhere does he countenance that some may believe such music not to be necessary, and he clearly does not construe the documents as a justification of established church music *per se*. He draws attention to the fact that many boys have been admitted to the Thomasschule who have not talent for music, suggesting that this violates the policy that all resident boys should be admitted primarily for their musical – rather than academic – talents…It was this stipulation that lay at the heart of so many disputes between cantors and school rectors, from the closing decades of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth.[62]

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[59] John Eliot Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian* (London: Penguin, 2014), p. 180.
[60] John Butt, 'Bach's metaphysics of music', p. 53
[61] Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 195.
[62] Butt, *Bach's Metaphysics of Music*, pp. 53–4.

CHAPTER 6

J. S. Bach and the Book of Concord – Orthodox Lutheran Underpinnings Unpicked

Born in Eisenach in March 1685 Johann Sebastian Bach, his music and musical method continue to have considerable influence over many aspects of modern popular culture; but, as to why this may be requires an understanding of Bach's personal Lutheranism. It is hoped that, by exploring this, we will be able to pin down similarities between Bach and Grosseteste which can then, in turn, be explored in the next chapter. During the last two decades, significant work has been undertaken on Bach the scientist or mathematician or, at the very least, the utility of such a way of conceiving of Bach himself within a given context; with even the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment providing a series of concerts in 2018 – *Bach, the Universe, and Everything* – pairing Bach's cantatas with guest speakers drawn from experts within the field of Physics.[1] Likewise, ten of Bach's other compositions were used in a 2018 study to discover whether or not Bach's brain could be considered a Markov chain, a mathematical system that experiences transition from one state to another according to certain probabilistic rules.[2] Previous to this, in a documentary to accompany the publishing of Sir John Eliot Gardiner's *Music in the Castle of Heaven* Anna Starkey, science communicator and writer, suggests that Bach's instinctive love of pattern marks him out as a scientist at work.[3] But the results of such work have largely seemed to view science and mathematics as distinct, even separate subjects. John Butt makes two particularly useful points. First, Bach was not particularly interested in the drier aspects of musical theory seeing them consciously as having little regard to 'his religious standpoint and the activity of making music'.[4] Secondly, in his conclusion, that while not contending that there is a direct link between Benedict de Spinoza and Bach the two appear to coincide like two 'perfectly crafted clocks, pre-ordained to give the same readings by the relentless will of God'.[5]

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1 See Adam Cox, 'Universal Bach', *Nature Physics*, 14:205 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41567-018-0063-4>

2 See Markov Chains, *Brilliant.org*, Retrieved 14:26 Online: https://brilliant.org/wiki/markov-chains [Accessed: 29 August 2021] and Murdoch Moore, Débora Cristina Corrêa, and Michael Small, 'Is Bach's brain a Markov Chain? Recurrence quantification to assess Markov order for short, symbolic, musical compositions', *Chaos*, 28: 085715 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1063/1.5024814>

3 See *Bach: A Passionate Life*, BBC4, 22 November 2013.

4 See Butt, '"A mind unconscious that it is calculating"?', p. 61.

5 Ibid., p. 71.

The cultural aspect here brings us to the requirement to understand how similar Lutheran education was to that which Grosseteste would have understood and engaged in, each of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium's* subjects fed off one another, each informing understanding and ordering knowledge.

Indeed, this goes some way to help us to come to terms with something which may suggest that Charles Taylor was correct in his 1985 collection of essays on philosophy and the human sciences; insofar as the modern desire for verification has led to an over-concentration on features which can supposedly be identified in abstraction.[6] Such an abstractive, scientific turn in coming to terms with Bach only goes to show quite how far we have come in ignoring the multi-disciplinary education that he received in the reformed Lutheran education system. Which is not to say that Bach was not a genius, rather, as we will see, his genius was to put into practice his deeply held and personal orthodox Lutheranism by way of music itself, while at the same time as being able constantly to engage with and put into practice new musical forms. To simply mark Bach out as a singular scientist or mathematician, then, denies us access to any potential understanding of the interaction between his faith, day to day life and education, all of which impact on lived, human life.

Curiously, it would appear that the reforms wrought on German education meant that it became much more Latinate in form, concentrating on the same *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* that Grosseteste would have recognised. The central goal of this, initially via the primary school (*die Volksschule*), was to educate the masses in the questions of faith from a Protestant perspective. In each of the three divisions of the Lutheran education system – the first being the 'Evangelical schools' attended by both boys and girls, followed by the second and third, for boys only, referred to as 'Latin Schools' where emphasis was placed on languages – there was a requirement for musical instruction, something intended to encourage a rich musical culture at the heart of the communities pupils came to find themselves in whether at school or in later life.[7] Even in his final year as a member of the monastery of the Augustinian Order of Hermits, Martin Luther wrote of his love and enthusiasm for music:

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6 See Charles Taylor, 'Interpretation in the Sciences of Man', in *Philosophical Papers Volume 2: Philosophy in the Human Sciences*, p. 28.

7 See Joe E. Tarry, 'Music in the Educational Philosophy of Martin Luther', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 21 (1973), p. 362; Robin A. Leaver, 'Music and Lutheranism', *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (1994), p. 41, and idem, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007).

> If I had children and could manage it, I would have them study not only languages and history, but also singing and music together with the whole of mathematics. For what is all this but mere child's play? The ancient Greeks trained their children in these disciplines; yet they grew up to be people of wondrous ability, subsequently fit for everything.[8]

Following his secret return to Wittenberg in 1522, Luther's conception of music was still heavily influenced by late medieval philosophy and the context in which he had previously found himself in – within the Augustinian Cloister in Erfurt – this is something which provided him with an opportunity in which to develop a deeply personal understanding of it. For Luther, then, every subject informed the other and required, to a greater or lesser extent, the correct ordering of knowledge; as James H. Ryan suggests, music was a medium through which to communicate the truth of scripture in art form, therefore music in the Church had the primary function of proclaiming the Gospel and was, in effect, the *viva voce evangelii* or living voice of the Gospel.[9] Through the communication of the truth, and by extension fear of God, found in the Gospel and Psalms Luther sought to encourage not only illumination of the mind but also continual contemplation on the Godly life. Furthermore, it was not enough for him for pupils to simply have a good theoretical knowledge of music, but just as important was good singing, actively putting into practice the 'theory' which had been learned.[10] Indeed, Luther held that music came directly from the Creator, meaning that humans should practice creativity through art as a reflection of God – putting into practice the theory learned – likewise, the Devil hated music since it had power over evil.[11]

A useful expression of this is found in the Preface Luther wrote to accompany Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae*, published in 1538, the conclusion of which is commented on further later in this chapter. But, some previous comments of Luther's provide a useful lens through which to view Bach the orthodox Lutheran. Luther extemporises on the Godly nature of music, for, 'nothing is without sound or harmony. Even the air […] becomes sonorous, audible, and

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[8] See WA 15:46 13–18 in Yakub E. Kartaidjaja, *Music in Martin Luther's Theology* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021), p. 43.

[9] James H. Ryan, 'Music next to Theology: The Impact and Influence of Martin Luther's Reformation on J. S. Bach', *Musical Offerings*, 10:2 (2019), 81–91 (at p. 82) <https://www.doi.org/10.15385/jmo.2019.10.2.3>

[10] See Emily A. Brubaker, 'Music as a Means to Spread Martin Luther's Message', *Musical Offerings*, 11:2 (2020), 71–81 <https://doi.org/10.15385/jmo.2020.11.2.3>.

[11] Ibid., p. 73; and see Mark S. Sooy, *Essays on Martin Luther's Theology of Music* (Bangor, Me.: Blue Maroon, 2006), pp. 30–1.

comprehensible when it is set in motion [by music]'.[12] Something which becomes important given his earlier assertion that music is the mistress and governess of the human emotions, adding:

> The Holy Ghost himself honours her as an instrument for his proper work when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her his gifts were instilled in the prophets, namely, the inclination to all virtues, as can be seen in Elisha [II Kings 3:15]. On the other hand, she serves to cast out Satan, the instigator of all sins, as shown in Saul, the king of Israel [I Sam. 16:23] […] After all, the gift of language was given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music, namely by proclaiming [the Word of God] through music and providing sweet melodies with words.[13]

In this we see that for Luther music is not only something which is both explicatory and explanatory, it provides something which transcends every other subject; ultimately, it provides a foretaste of celestial music itself. As such, it comes as no surprise that he also saw subjects, from Geometry to Mathematics and even Music, as enabling comprehension of the other. Indeed, we see a glimpse of Luther's personal theology, which Guillermo Hansen suggests:

> does not consist in an ordered discourse about God and/or transcendence according to an ordering *ratio*, but it is a matter of instructing and consoling consciousness set in the crucible of transition, or better yet, a contention between two environments and types of addresses – two different perspectival stances.[14]

Augustine's phrase *crede ut intellegas* (or 'believe that you may understand') is much in evidence here, at its very simplest this infers that to understand anything a person must believe something. Luther proposed that one's ability to teach others the fundamental principles of the Christian faith, and even academic disciplines, is intrinsically linked to an individual's personal faith in God. This personal faith, recognising legalism and the selfish desires of the ego as obstacles, makes the attainment of enlightenment possible. In other words, a well-rounded person of intellectual breadth, open-mindedness and humility (referred to as 'ego' here) may possess faith, yet it is faith itself that serves as the catalyst for the formation of an individual's

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[12] 'Preface to Georg Rhau's *Syphoniae iucundae*', in *Liturgy and Hymns*, Luther's Works 53, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 322.

[13] Ibid., pp. 323–24.

[14] Guillermo Hansen, 'Luther's Radical Conception of Faith: God, Christ, and Personhood in a Post-Metaphysical Age', *Dialog: A Journal of Theology*, 52 (2013), 212–21 (at p. 212).

true identity as a 'person'. Faith, therefore, actualizes itself through the embodiment of love.[15] As such, we will come to see quite how 'active' faith was to Luther and the centrality of it for him in the reformed religion. An exploration of the impact of the actualizing faith, and its impact on Bach, will be undertaken in the next chapter in relation to the idea of 'personhood'.

The foundation stone of both Luther's educational and ecumenical reforms was placing the Scripture as the primary instrument by which a person could grow. No person within society – no matter their standing or academic ability – is above the Bible; indeed, it must be remembered here that Luther styled himself as 'a Humble Teacher of Holy Scripture'. He sought no personal gain from his writings on it, rather seeking to inform all those who may come into contact with him, his writings and pronouncements.[16] That is not to suggest that coming to terms with the Bible was an easy process, rather requiring in-depth, systematic study to which not everyone was able to give their time. To aid this, he produced his Small Catechism (a combination of The Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Apostle's Creed) as a starting point for enabling the beginnings of understanding of the basic tenets of the reformed religion, leading on to comprehension of the fact that while the study of the Bible has a beginning it has no end. Luther's educational reforms, therefore, were a means to an end and not an end in themselves. Bach himself was not the first child to receive this putatively new style of education, given there were approximately six and half generations between Luther's reforms and Bach's birth, but its impact on him, his contemporaries (for example, Georg Friedrich Handel whose family had, like Bach's own in the early sixteenth-century left the Habsburg Empire to come to what is now modern Germany to be able to freely practice their Lutheranism) and their music cannot be underestimated.[17] Indeed, any suggestion of Bach and his music being singularly mathematically or scientifically based, can be said to be false given the records of his formal education in Ohrdruf and Lüneburg; not least given the multi-disciplinary nature of the Lutheran reforms. This is something confirmed given Bach's lifelong interest in new instruments, compositional techniques and him personally seeking out of some of the best composers of his

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15 Ibid., p. 213.

16 Mihai Androne, *Martin Luther: Father of the Reformation and Educational Reformer* (Cham: Springer, 2020), p. 18

17 See, for Handel's Lutheranism: Paul Henry Lang, *George Friedrich Handel* (New York: W. W. Norton & Son, 1966); and Jonathan Keates, *Handel: The Man and His Music* (London: Pimlico, Random House, 1985). For a statement of the Bible's central nature in English Protestantism and Anglicanism, see Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 108–26.

time, an interest which also extended to the music of the sixteenth century.[18] Furthermore, it could be argued that the education he received is precisely what encouraged him to seek out new tools to enable his own studies. However, given the grace/gift dualism of Lutheranism this does tend to abstract Bach's education and music from each other, despite their combination within the curriculum he received – in turn offering a glimpse of the practical nature of his own learning and implementation of it.

Such was the practical nature of music, in the reforms, that in the edition of thirty-eight hymns published at Wittenberg in 1524 by Luther and Johann Walter – the *Geystliche Gesanck-Büchlein*, intended for use by congregations and singers connected with choral institutions – the congregation, or at least a certain section of it (for example, women and those with shorter larynxes), is ostensibly barred from participation within the service as the melody is given to the Tenor line.[19] However, that is not to suggest that they were denied access due to lack of faith or inability to sing. Rather it would appear that at such an early stage of the reformed rite the congregations were finding it difficult to come to terms with the new corporate singing of hymns, meaning they required the direction of the choir; not least because of the design of the harmonisations. Indeed, as Robin Leaver continues, it was not until 1529 that a specifically congregational hymnal was produced.[20] Requiring that in the previous five years the choir took the leading role in the singing, in a similar way to the hymn singing of the modern Anglican Communion.[21] This suggests two things to scholars of Bach, first Lutheranism was ever evolving ensuring that the explanatory nature of the Word could be engaged with by all in or out of church, by way of the updating of the hymnals. Second, and possibly most importantly, that the transcendent nature of music placed the explicatory detail in the praise of God through music itself. We see here not just evidence of music's ability to proclaim the word, as per Luther's preface to Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae*, but also the idea which Hansen offered in respect of the parishioner's discourse with God being a matter of instruction and consolation in the crucible of personal transition. Perhaps the best exposition of this is found in Bach's cantatas, something we come on to next.

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[18] Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel and Christoph Wolf, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (London & New York: W. W. North & Co., 1998), pp. 9–15.

[19] Schoenbohm, *Music in the Lutheran Church*, p. 197.

[20] See Robin A. Leaver, 'Did the Choir Introduce German Hymns to the Wittenberg Congregations?', in *Lutheran Music and Culture: Ideals and Practices*, ed. by Lundberg *et. al*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 47–68 (at p. 50).

[21] For the development of the Lutheran congregational style see also Robin A. Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017).

A short overview of the history of the sacred cantata's place within Lutheran Liturgy, how and why it developed, is necessary here. Anything beyond this would take us out of the confines of this thesis, that specifically of Robert Grosseteste and J. S. Bach. As we have seen, the Lutheran tradition may have begun with a continuation of the quasi-Catholic unaccompanied unison singing but over the course of the five years from 1524 moved towards polyphonic corporate singing of hymns, through Luther's systematic involvement of congregations and trained choirs alike. With this shift, a concomitant change occurred by way of the Tenor giving way to the Soprano line for the melody; something which became the unifying thread of Bach's cantatas. Indeed, all of Bach's religious cantatas – for trained choir and small orchestra of eighteen to twenty-four instrumentalists – used chorale melodies for the basis of each of their movements (normally in the order of five to eight movements combining chorales, recitatives, and arias). The seventeenth and early-eighteenth century's shift towards the accompaniment of singing with instruments very much mirrored the arrival of the Italian Cantata, often with the instruments going well beyond just an accompanying role, a form which – along with Dietrich Buxtehude, Christoph Graupner and Georg Philipp Teleman – Bach was to become one of the most recognised composers of.[22]

We will see later in the chapter that there is in this a potential similarity between Robert Grosseteste, Martin Luther, and Bach with regard to music's ability to communicate the truth of scripture or theology more generally. The idea of truth and its aspects will be explored in the next chapter. Furthermore, it could be argued – as Luther did – that music's ability is to encourage the mind towards spiritual illumination, as it is a specific gift from God. While there is a necessary difference between high-medieval and Lutheran usage of music, music as an art provided a philosophical basis for enabling parishioners to come to an idea of God. Robert Grosseteste saw music as a way in which to keep the mind on the good life,[23] in his personal effort to attain salvation, but like Luther did not deny its ability to affect the human emotions. Grosseteste's reforms were intended to keep the mind of those listening on the life of prayer and God rather than allow their emotions to be swayed by the aesthetic properties of music itself; this was to ensure that knowledge and understanding of God were well ordered and able to be directed accordingly by the intercession of the priest, preacher, or friar. For Luther, however,

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[22] For an example of the role of specific instruments in Bach's Cantatas see Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, pp. 335–6.

[23] See Chapter 1, above, pp. 12–36; and Chapter 2, above, pp. 37–58.

the move to a congregational setting allowed for the laity to be afforded an egalitarian, spontaneous gift – that of worshipping their God in their own terms. In effect, the early Protestant *Triumphlied* proclaimed that the day of spiritual emancipation had dawned,[24] by way of the Priesthood of All Believers itself.

It is in respect of how parishioners may have personally engaged with Luther's more egalitarian emancipatory agenda, that Beverley Clack provides us with a helpful new lens through which to view Bach in a work of 2020, *How to be a Failure and Still Live Well: A Philosophy*. Although the intention of the book is to encourage a redefinition of what it means to be a failure in the twenty-first century, Clack explores our relation to religion, alongside our connections to the world or universe more broadly. She suggests that just as the Desert Fathers and Mothers sought out inhospitable places for quiet contemplation, religious practice enables us to step outside of the commotion of everyday life. In so doing this enables us to place our 'self' into a broader frame, thereby coming to an understanding of our place in the world.[25] This becomes particularly useful when considering Bach in his historical and religious contexts, especially when taking into consideration modern understandings of his work. Albert Schweitzer suggests, that the ability of music to be a free and independent power within the ritual not only provided a point of continuity with the previous Catholic rite, by way of the early unaccompanied *unisono* congregational chorale, but also enabled Bach to put into effect Martin Luther's own artistic nature.[26] Ultimately, it may be tempting to see Bach as entirely an autodidact, but that particular idea is based very much in the way in which the composer wished himself to be perceived following his death. As Christoph Wolff suggests, basic talent must be coupled with hard work and study; with the groundwork for Bach's singular genius being laid by none other than the composer himself.[27]

The main themes to be discussed in this chapter include, but are not limited to, the impact of Luther's reforms (broadly defined) on J. S. Bach, Luther's concept and use of music and similarities or differences between the two and Robert Grosseteste. Each of these strands will

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[24] Richard Schoenbohm, 'Music in the Lutheran Church before and at the time of J. S. Bach; *Church History*, 12 (1943), pp. 195–209 (at p. 195) <https://doi.org10.2307/3160092>

[25] Beverley Clack, *How to be a Failure and Still Live Well: A Philosophy* (London: Bloomsbury Academics, 2020), p. 186 (for Clack's comments on the Desert Fathers and Mothers see p. 189).

[26] Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 1 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1949), pp. 30–31.

[27] Christoph Wolff, 'Defining Genuis: Early Reflections of J. S. Bach's Self-Image', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145 (2001), p. 481.

enable discussion of the impact that those around Luther – for example, his fellow reformers and collaborators Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) – had upon him, his reforming agenda and also the impact they still had in Bach's time. It is hoped that this general overview will enable further investigation in the final chapter of the similarities and/or differences between Robert Grosseteste and J. S. Bach, the orthodox Lutheran, in the light of Lutheran reforms.

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

Unlike Grosseteste, and in contrast to the strict Calvinists of his own age in the sixteenth century, there is a significant body of evidence available to show Luther's particular attachment to and knowledge of music. Not only did he play the lute and the flute, but he also sang with his guests, even going so far as to prescribe singing, dancing and the love of a woman, by way of marriage,[28] to dispel bouts of depression; for Luther, then, music for entertainment was not anathema to his newly reformed rites nor the lives of his pastors' parishioners.[29] This is not to say that he saw all music as inherently good for the soul of man or able to offer the intrinsic goodness of God to all; rather there was a dualism in Luther's musical thought, much the same as there was in his theological aesthetic. He suggests that one should:

> Take special care to shun perverted minds who prostitute this lovely gift of nature and of art with their erotic rantings; and be quite assured that none but the devil goads them on to defy their very nature which would and should praise God its Maker with this gift, so that these bastards purloin the gift of God and use it to worship the foe of God, the enemy of nature and of this lovely art.[30]

The enemy was Satan, whose kingdom is second to that of God's, with the kingdom of the world holding a somewhat ambiguous place between the two; a kingdom filled with unbelievers, despite its government being ordained by and coming directly from God.[31] Music could,

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[28] See Mickey L. Mattox, 'Luther on Eve, Women and the Church', *Lutheran* Quarterly, 17 (2003), pp. 456–74; Kirsi Stjerna, 'Luther and Women: Considerations of Luther's Female Associates and the Biblical Evidence', in *Martin Luther: A Christian Between Reforms and Modernity (1517–2017)*, ed. by Alberto Melloni (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 597–616; Jane E. Strohl, 'Marriage as Discipleship: Luther's Praise of Married Life', *Dialog: A Journal of Theology*, 47 (2008), pp. 136–42; Tarry, 'Music in the Educational Philosophy of Martin Luther', p. 357.

[29] Ibid.

[30] *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. Leupold, p. 357.

[31] Timothy P. Palmer., 'Two-Kingdom Doctrine: A Comparative Study of Martin Luther and Abraham Kuyper', *Pro Rege*, 37 (2009), 13–25 (at p. 14).

therefore, just as easily guide you in the way of God as it could create disorder and deliver someone away from the good life. Hence it was necessary for boundaries for its use to be strictly defined. Luther's aversion to the legalistic Catholic ways of ordering the rite finds expression here too.[32] Even as early as 1517, Luther undertook to show how unnecessary the enshrining of religious practice (for example the Mass) through careful delineation in ecclesiastical regulations was. His suggestion being that, Catholic legalism actually ensnared the faithful thereby threatening the very freedom which religion was meant to bring to the practising Christian.[33]. Music's place within the reformed rite was to ensure all could come to terms with the legitimate and simple meaning of the scripture, on which he had placed the highest importance.

We can see here a striking example of Luther's application of the concept of *adiaphora*, the idea that certain doctrines or practices in morals are matters of indifference as they are not commanded by nor forbidden in the Bible, and in this we find a certain similarity here between Luther's thought on music's place in the liturgy and Stephen Langton's idea of 'rustic exhortation' which we saw as being so influential on Grosseteste (see Chapter 2). As with the thirteenth-century version, the ultimate desire of the preacher or pastor was to deliver salvation for the souls under their care come judgement day. While accepting that Latin was retained for those congregations who could understand it, the Lutheran version of Rustic Exhortation could be described as follows: a change was created through the blunt honesty enabled by the new common vernacular (newly ploughed ground), salvation was preached and sung by all in terms everyone was able to understand (the reformed new tilth) meaning a soul could be saved at the appropriate moment through active participation in Christ (the growth towards light). We find the best representation of this in Luther's *On Bound Choice*, where he describes the conundrum of the relation of God and evil in terms of three lights, thus:

> One is never free from this struggle while there is no preacher; 'God cannot lay aside his omnipotence on account of man's aversion, and ungodly man cannot alter his aversion' (WA18.710,6–7; LW33.177). The 'light of nature' cannot cut the Gordian knot of God and evil, and so despairs, either by abandoning theology altogether for atheism, or making evil in to a non-being that God nevertheless uses for his own good purpose. Then a new

[32] For a discussion of Catholic legalism and Luther, see Bart Eriksson and Ernest van Eck, 'The New Perspective challenge to Luther', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 75(4), a5244.

[33] See Andrew Spicer, '*Adiaphora*, Luther and the Material Culture of Worship', *Studies in Church History*, 56 (2020), pp. 246–72.

> light, the 'light of grace' shines and immediately there is a preached answer to the question of reason: God has conquered evil in his Son Jesus Christ, by dying (or losing to it) and proceeding to create a new kingdom in which is no evil, ruled by a new Lord without the law. The attempt of reason to distinguish between God and evil is then abandoned, indeed, even when in the middle of attack, one cannot distinguish between God, evil, or Devil […] in what Luther calls the eschatological 'light of glory', when evil itself is defeated and the old sinners no longer live, God will be seen as the destroyer of evil.[34]

The indivisibility of God from evil, whether this may be comprehended in everyday life, in the sense that human reason is unable to distinguish between God and evil, then, becomes a matter of prime importance and one which requires that all parishioners should understand what that may mean for them and their lives. In Grosseteste's case this was largely enabled via teaching in the official elite vernacular, Anglo-Norman French, in the schools of the Diocese of Lincoln, the use of stained glass in the Cathedral at Lincoln, and to some extent the use of music within the liturgy, to keep a mind focussed on God. All this enabled preachers, friars, and priests to engage their parishioners on their own terms. Within this there is an acceptance of varying degrees of (pre)determination and the theory of necessity, but the investigation of it was kept very much within the confines of the schools or cloister.[35] We see from Luther's three lights an acceptance of predestination via his thought that a Christian's greatest comfort was precisely the all-working power of God, a predestination which occurs naturally outside time, in God's eternity – something which leaves little room for free will.[36] Faith, or the cultivation of it, seems to become the only action which has any hope of working, since free will cannot deliver salvation in and of itself. We can see in this Luther's ultimate expression of Isaiah 41, specifically verse 20, which seeks to ensure that those in need will see the works of the Lord, namely:

> That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it. (Isaiah 41:20 RSV)

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[34] See Martin Luther, *On the Bondage of the Will. A New Translation of De Servo Arbitrio (1525) Martin Luther's Reply to Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Westwood, NJ: Revell, 1957) and Steven Paulson, "Luther's Doctrine of God", in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, ed. Robert Kolb et. al. (2014), pp. 187-200 (at p. 195). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199604708.013.034>

[35] For discussion of Grosseteste's understanding of determinism, the theory of necessity and predestination specifically see Marcin Trepczyński, "Necessity and Determinism in Robert Grosseteste's *De Libero arbitrio*" in *Studia Humana*, Volume 9 (2020), pp. 165-176, <https://www.doi.org/10.2478/sh-2020-0035>

[36] Paulson, "Luther's Doctrine of God", p. 195.

Although referring to those who might be experiencing spiritual or temporal poverty, the ability for all to understand or find a notion of God has been at the heart of the mission of reformers throughout the history of Christianity. But what was utterly unique, at the time, was the combination of Luther's newly reformed religion being preached and sung in the new single German language by and for all. Luther achieved this feat, of bringing together the twenty-seven or so dialects of German into a single, regularised Saxon form in a new translation of the Bible, while at the Wartburg Castle in Eisenach (1521–22) following the declaration that he was an outlaw in the Diet of Worms. Alongside the delivery of a new form of single German language, Luther also wrote copiously on doctrinal matters, building on the ninety-five theses of 1517. Their primary role was to show why the practice of plenary indulgences helped Christians avoid inner reflection on and repentance of sin, thereby turning sin itself into an external or temporal punishment, with repentance being delivered of primarily through sacramental confession; in other words, a commodity which could be bought or sold.

Furthermore, salvation, like music, was itself a gift and not something which could be achieved by good works alone;[37] so, by placing God's omnipotence and all-knowing character as primary, God then becomes all-giving first.[38] Similar to Grosseteste's pastoral vision, this idea is disarmingly simple at first glance, everything – from music to education and even the Small Catechism itself – can be reduced to that idea of something being a gift from God. Luther's implication and understanding, here, is that God saves through grace alone (*sola gratia*) if only we trust in God's mercy and forgiveness (*sola fide*); not only is this the locus of his theology,[39] but also his educational reforms.

On further inspection, however, it illuminates quite how different Luther's religion was from that of the Catholic Church as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, despite it keeping large portions of the Catholic rite. Suddenly the laity and the those within the spiritual hierarchy became equals, as all enter the body of the church via baptism and all are, therefore, priests in the eyes of God. The all-giving God is there for all time, not just at the beginning but constantly

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[37] See Martin Luther, *A Treatise on Good Works*, trans. by Johann Michael Reu (Project Gutenberg, 1996/2008) < https://www.gutenberg.org/files/418/418-h/418-h.htm>

[38] Lydia Sarver, 'A Musical Reformation: Martin Luther's influence on Sacred Music', *The Research and Scholarship Symposium*, 5 (2019), pp. 1–16 (at p. 5). <https://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/research_scholarship_symposium/2019/podium_presentations/5>

[39] Else Marie Wiberg Pederson, '*Sola Gratia*: Is Grace Not Enough?', *Dialog: A Journal of Theology*, 54 (2015), pp. 217–21 (at p. 217).

throughout life, with creation also becoming conservation (of the self and soul) which is not separate from God but a continuation; thus, God might be described, under Luther's reforms, as not merely just a first cause rather genuinely all-encompassing from life's beginning to its end unlike a shipbuilder, for example, who makes a ship and leaves it sailing alone.[40] Curiously, Grosseteste's allusions extend beyond just ships; they encompass both the nature of God, all-encompassing in itself, and the intricate, untidy reality of everyday life among the laity. This is evident when examining the expression 'Christ is his people's cornerstone'. It becomes apparent how these allusions are interconnected with the concept of kingship, particularly the second office Grosseteste proposes for a king – that of being responsible for imparting moral guidance to his subjects.[41] Equally, the limitless, infinite nature of the divine means that he is continually active in our daily lives, an understanding of which is achieved through a person's acceptance of *justitia aliena*, or that righteousness which is imputed from the outside – perhaps by the intercession of a fellow member of the Priesthood of All Believers, whether in the pulpit or even by a choir and musicians in the gallery during Mass. As Antilla continues:

> […] there is nothing in the human person that could act as a basis for justification. God creates the new reality of faith in the human heart and thus remains there – to receive Christ is to become one with him. According to Lutheran theology, a gift (*donum*) is often seen as a consequence of grace (*favor*). This means the presence of Christ in a Christian results from the forgiveness of sins and the act of forensic justification. As a corrective to the view, the ontological union with Christ guards the *sola gratia* principle so the grace and the gift mutually presuppose each other. Without Christ dwelling in human beings, God cannot be pleased with them. Therefore, to receive Christ is to participate in Christ, or more precisely, to be one with Christ.[42]

Given the active and constant presence of God in the everyday lives of all believers, to use the gifts afforded to you is to participate in Christ and thereby gain some understanding of God's grace. Here we see quite how evangelical a role music plays for the priesthood of all believers and Luther, in enabling understanding of the scriptures, Ten Commandments, Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer. To concentrate specifically on the Book of Concord is not to seek to view

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[40] Miikka E. Antilla, *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), p. 72.

[41] See Robert Grosseteste, Gordon Jackson, trans. & ed., 'Dicta 51': *The Complete Dicta in English*, vol. 5, pp. 5–9 (at p. 8).

[42] Antilla, *Luther's Theology of Music*, pp. 78–79.

Lutheranism as an ahistorical whole, divorced from its own context, rather it is to help concentrate minds on what Bach will have received during his education. This is something which brings us back to the idea of the emancipatory – even democratic – nature of music, its place within Lutheran liturgy and also its role within the everyday lives of those outwith the walls of a Church. Not only did Luther simplify the liturgy, by removing the legalistic material or temporal trappings of the Catholic rite returning it to the simplest of first principles (that of the word being the ultimate source of understanding), but he also encouraged all to participate in Christ, by way of music within a complex and rich rite. For example, to use that gift to encourage others to open their hearts to a new reality. It is this we turn to now.

Luther and the Ministry of Music – *soli deo gloria*

We have already seen that Robert Grosseteste viewed the seven liberal arts as attendants (*ministrae*) rather than handmaids (*ancillae*) on the philosophy of nature and ethics. He therefore afforded the liberal arts the ability to enable not only comprehension of the word and the world, but also the effective ordering of knowledge. In turn, someone trained in the liberal arts, through this effective ordering of knowledge, could encourage understanding in others who may not have received such an education; as we will see, children were often encouraged to bring their own parents to the Lutheran faith. At the heart of Luther's use of music in the reformed liturgy we find a remarkably similar idea. Music in the Lutheran liturgy is an attendant on comprehension of the scriptures, by all and for all, especially those who may not be able to read or write. In modern terminology, music would be described as an 'enabler' for Luther's evangelical reforms.

As with God's active and all-encompassing nature, music is able to reach people swiftly, regardless of their ability to read, their social standing or their actual location; thereby, it affords all the ability to engage actively in participation in Christ.[43] Luther believed that music had the unique capacity to communicate an understanding of God, irrespective of era, age or nation as Loewe suggests:

> Towards the end of his life, in his treatise *Of the Last Words of David* (1543), Luther again emphasized how effectively music "speaks of and

[43] J. Andreas Loewe, 'Why do Lutherans Sing? Lutherans, Music, and the Gospel in the First Century of the Reformation', *Church History*, 82 (2013), pp. 69–89 (at pp. 72–73).

> preaches the promise and grace of God": the combination of sacred words and music not only "attracts others and makes them partakers [of God's grace],", but serves as an important instrument to "incite people to do good and to teach each other" […] Just as Lutheran compositions were able to convey insights into the being and nature of God, the performance of these works enabled communities to share in "singing and preaching" the good news […] Luther's insight into the essential beauty of the combination of scripture and music was so attractive, and his appreciation of music as a means of promoting his message so compelling, that it motivated composers, hymn writers, cantors, teachers and, above all, singers, to promote scripture and the message of the Reformation by encouraging people to sing together in harmony […][44]

We find here a neat exposition of the dualism inherent in Luther's conception of the relationship between God's gift (*donum*) and God's grace (*favor*). For Luther, music was a gift from God, and it must be employed by those within the priesthood of all believers to ensure a shared, and equally shareable, understanding of scripture. In this sense, music was unique for him in its ability to not only be a gift from God, but it also encouraged understanding of God's grace and vice versa. As such Luther is not only denying the efficacy of the 'created grace' found in medieval scholasticism, but he is also insinuating that spiritual renewal (in this case by means of music itself) is a consequence of grace;[45] by employing music within the liturgy, or more broadly in daily life, not only are you employing a gift from God but also enabling understanding of his grace too – the gift begets grace. Perhaps this is the best indication of quite how powerful a role music played for Luther in ensuring that the Devil was expelled from life; indeed, it could be said that the need to drive the Devil out was a foundational cause for him.[46] This then filtered into his broader reforms more generally, and those of his collaborators, as music was perceived to be essential to the schooling of children to the extent that while it encouraged the learning of scripture and doctrine, largely by-rote, it was also a way of promoting reforms in the wider community.[47] As such, singing and its music were active agents of reform, not just simply to be engaged passively like within the legalism of the Catholic liturgy where the word was handed down from trained clergy to the congregation; suddenly the reforms were to be both private and community based.

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[44] Ibid., pp. 70–2.
[45] See Simo Peura, 'Christ as Favor and Gift (*donum*)', in *Union with Christ*, ed. by Carl Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) pp. 42–69.
[46] See Kartaidjaja, *Music in Martin Luther's Theology*, chapter 4, 'Luther on Music and the Devil'.
[47] Loewe, 'Why do Lutherans Sing?', p. 80.

From the educational reforms to the liturgy and even doctrinal reforms Luther had a vision of singers and other musicians as active participants within the process of reform, agents if you will. Indeed, by the final decade of the sixteenth century such was the importance of music to the reformed religion that nearly all schoolmasters in Lutheran schools taught musical theory and singing, with their academic teaching of reading and understanding music going hand-in-hand with teaching students how to sing in harmony.[48] In essence reform was ensured by way of music thanks to its ability to engage all by practice – something which we will come on to when considering J. S. Bach later in the chapter.

Luther's expectation, which we also find expressed in the exegetical work of his collaborators, that music would be a way in which to reform wider society was there from the beginning, not only would it enable every person to come to terms with a lived faith, but it could also help to reform a person's life more generally. While it might be tempting to suggest that this was a systematic or comprehensive choice of Luther and his fellow reforming collaborators, it is most likely that this was a practical choice. The questions of why this occurred and why music could be such an effective bridging medium, between a life of faith and everyday life itself, brings us to the first of Luther's fellow reformers Philipp Melanchthon. Influenced directly by his uncle, Johann Reuchlin, Melanchthon's humanism is evident not only in his writings but also the impact he had upon educational reform in Germany during the sixteenth century. He believed that through the study of classical antiquity, within the confines of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, a better understanding could be delivered of the scripture and Godly life than previous late-Medieval Scholasticism would have allowed for. Indeed, his reformatory programme was positive with well-defined aims, life-centred and pupil-oriented.[49] Carl S. Meyer provides a useful précis of this:

> Melanchthon the humanist was also Melanchthon the pedagogue. Grammar, indeed, is important; etymology, syntax, prosody must be drilled; the arts could suffer no greater harm than a generation not well-trained in grammar. As reformer he prescribed that on one day a week (Saturday or Wednesday) the children were to be given Christian instruction based on Holy Writ. 'For some', he wrote, 'teach absolutely nothing out of the Sacred

[48] Ibid., p. 81.

[49] Carl S. Meyer, 'Melanchthon's Visitation Articles of 1528', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), pp. 309–22 (at p. 321).

> Scriptures; some teach the children absolutely nothing but the Sacred Scriptures' both of which are not to be tolerated'. The Lord's prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, as with the first group, must be learned and explained. Some of the easy Psalms are to be added, e.g., Psalms 112, 34, 128, 125, 127, 133.[50] The Gospel according to St. Matthew is to be expounded grammatically by the master. Later St. Paul's two letters to Timothy, the First Letter of St. John, and the Proverbs of Solomon may be commented on. Beyond that the schoolmaster should not attempt any other Scriptural writings. 'For it is not profitable to burden these young people with difficult and exalted books. Some [teachers] read Isaiah, Paul's Letter to the Romans, the Gospel according to St. John, and others the like, to enhance their own reputations.
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> This *pensum* [task or duty] was meant for both the second and third divisions or groups. It was to be functional. 'For it is essential that children learn the foundations of a Christian and godly life'. The schoolmaster should impress the necessary precepts upon the children, such as faith, the fear of God, and good works. He should avoid saying anything dissenting and ought not to teach children to deride monks and others. The Psalms to be memorised contained a summary of the Christian life: faith, the fear of God, and good works.[51]

For any given person to understand a life in faith, they must first have the basics taught to them at school, for this then to lead them into a life where their faith can then be all-encompassing, and ultimately become able to be shared. In essence, the schoolmaster becomes a proto-evangelist encouraging the pupil to become the same; the very function of Lutheran educational reforms, as laid out by Melanchthon in 1522, was to inculcate theology into everyday life. As John Eliot Gardiner suggests, everything was directed towards *die Übung der Gottesfurcht* (the practice of God-fearing) and memorising of the *Formula of Concord* (the Lutheran Articles of Faith) – which were recited repeatedly until perfectly remembered – at the heart of this was Luther's emphasis on the interwoven nature of the physical and the spiritual.[52] Accordingly, Luther and Melanchthon had given effect to the *sola Scriptura* principle and, although Luther was not a humanist, there are many parallels with humanism's *ad fontes* principle. By going back to first principles, and ease of transmission of the basic tenets, the reformed religion encouraged understanding not only of God's all-encompassing nature but also a sense that its

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[50] See below Appendix for these Psalms in full, pp. 137–39.
[51] Meyer, 'Melanchthon's Visitation Articles of 1528', p. 321.
[52] Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 40.

own evangelism (whether in educational practice or use of music) was self-fulfilling and truly self-sustaining.

Such a self-sustaining life of faith did, of course, require some degree of institutional regulation beyond that which was learned in the classroom. The importance of institutional ordering was a particular concern of Johannes Bugenhagen, who could be referred to as the ultimate disciple of Luther. Like Luther, Bugenhagen was not a humanist but could see many points of merit in the way the humanist tradition worked. Being particularly concerned with the correct ordering of the foundation of the Lutheran communities across northern Germany, he became known as the second Apostle of the North due to the creation of no less than nine new church orders (*Kirchenordnungen*) in the period 1528-1544 from Hamburg to Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark-Norway.[53] Like Melanchthon, and very much in line with Luther himself, Bugenhagen saw the unique value music had in the instruction of the young. As early as 1528 he suggested that it was the special duty of the cantor not just to be a schoolteacher in the academic sense, but also to:

> teach singing to all children, old and young, learned or less so, to sing together in German and in Latin, moreover also figural music not only as is customary, but also in future in an artistic manner, so that the children learn to understand the voices, the clefs, and whatever else belongs to such music, so that they learn to sing dependably, purely in tune, etc., etc.[54]

Through ordinances, such as the above, he was able to craft and mould northern German Lutheranism into the form that we recognise today, indeed, as with Melanchthon, Bugenhagen had a particular gift for systematising Luther's prophetic thought in such a way as to make it readily accessible. Ultimately, his greatest strength lay in understanding that, given that the Church was a human construction, it required careful ordering by way of a constitution. This is not to say that he sought to undermine Luther's idea of the Priesthood of all believers, rather the opposite, for Luther saw as common sense some degree of constitution for any given church; but he was theologically indifferent to prescribing specific forms of government for it, since each of the separate churches were free to preach the word and administer the sacraments how they wished. Where Bugenhagen differed from Luther was in the understanding that a freedom which is unguarded can be very easily undermined or lost. Therefore, he was able to use, in his

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[53] See David C. Steinmetz., *Reformers in the Wings: From Geiler von Kayersberg to Theodore Beza* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2001), p. 62.

[54] See Georg Shüneman, *Geschichte der Deutschen Schulmusik* (Leipzig: Fr. Kristner & C.F.W. Siegel, 1928), p. 83, quoted in translation in Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 39n.

new church orders, the language of obligation and necessity in describing the constitution and liturgy of a church – a form of language which would have sounded strange coming from Luther himself.[55]

The systematising tendencies of Melanchthon and Bugenhagen enabled the delivery of a simple, effective, and easily repeated doctrine across northern Germany and elsewhere, to such an extent that Luther's mission was put into effect for him. Music's role in this is plain to see as it not only encouraged thought on the word as preached from the pulpit but also ensured that the learning of the basic tenets of Lutheranism was adumbrated, thereby making it part of one's lived daily life. In effect, the Ministry of Music was just as important to Luther as the word was itself. Music neatly encapsulated the idea that a gift from God presupposes grace and vice versa, in essence music was as important to Luther as Scripture. So, in the Ministry of Music we can glean a similarity between Luther and Grosseteste, in the sense that humans are unable to understand God's absolute and infinite wisdom but are able through intercession, for Grosseteste of the priest and for Luther by way of the word and music, to relish an idea of it. The six Psalms copied in the Appendix below help to underline the necessity of proper instruction in music, as gained by those at the Latin Schools; they will be commented on further later in the chapter in specific relation to J. S. Bach.

The Small Catechism

The *Book of Concord*, the doctrinal standard of the Lutheran Church, outlines the central planks of the reformed religion. At the heart of it we find the *Small Catechism*, published in 1529, which was intended specifically for the instruction of children. Containing the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, the Office of Keys and Confession and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it is the very first thing which young Lutherans encounter as an authoritative statement of belief; indeed, it is still used widely today as part of youth education and Confirmation across the regions where Lutheranism holds sway. As with all aspects of Lutheran theology, and similar to Grosseteste's concern for his own salvation, the new soteriology on which the Small Catechism is based grew directly out of Luther's concern for the care of souls.[56] From the earliest age, children were taught to fear God

[55] Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings*, p. 62.
[56] Ronald K. Rittgers., 'How Luther's Engagement with Pastoral Care Shaped His Theology', in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, ed. by Kolb, *et. al*., p. 462.

in the appropriate manner, then, by music's ability to move the mind, they were to become active participants in Christ; in schools, for example, understanding harmony was integral to all subjects taught. Music was therefore vital for anyone wishing to come to terms with *justitia aliena*, children (and by extension their lives) were, in Grosseteste's terms, the *ancillae* or handmaids of Lutheranism and music, by way of musical instruction for all, was the *ministrae* or attendant of the same. Again, music enables understanding by way of ordering knowledge of the Divine, similar to Grosseteste's conception of music and its role within the confines of the medieval *Trivium*/*Quadrivium* educational construct. As such, the complexity of Luther's reforms was reduced to easily digestible chunks which were equally easily shared among the laity, not only to encourage learning but also to encourage literacy; indeed:

> [Because] music had become so central in communicating the Reformation message, the 1530s and 1540s had seen the deliberate fostering of music education and music-making in Lutheran schools and parishes. Not only were students themselves taught through the medium of music, they also were encouraged to promote the Reformation message by what they sang and how they worshipped. As the first generation of students was educated, both teachers and students modelled Lutheran music, doctrine, and forms of worship to the wider community.[57]

The essential property of music was to provide the basic harmony and melody, and therefore give voice, to the reforms Luther sought to provide to the whole nation, whether in Thuringia or beyond, for those children who were taught under its auspices which allowed them in turn to promote the reforms in Church or their wider communities. Furthermore, it also allowed them to actively re-educate their parents, with their teachers even being actively encouraged to motivate their pupils to instruct their parents in Latin or German – for example, instruction in the usual grace at table or a verse from Scripture.[58] Children, pastors and cantors alike, therefore, became instruments (agents) of liturgical and doctrinal reform; the same was true of church and secular choirs, chamber music groups and even the groups of instrumentalists Luther himself assembled at home to make music or discuss theology.[59] In this sense, the communication of

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[57] Loewe, 'Why do Lutherans Sing?', p. 80.

[58] See *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvistation in ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, ed. by Karl Pallas, 6 vols (Halle: O. Haendel, 1906–18), p. 376: 'Der schulmeister…soll…die geordneten gesange der kirchen bei der messen, auch vor und nach ietzlicher predigt singen, und in die sunderheit soll er vorflissen sein, die schuler imi Catechism zu unterrichten, und das die den eltern die gewonliche segen zu ietzlicher malzeit fur dem tische, abends aber einen seubelichen sententz oder spruch aus der heiligen schrift oder sunst einem Lehrer latenisich under der deutsch aufsagen'.

[59] Loewe, 'Why do Lutherans Sing?', p. 83.

the Reformation message became not only a requirement of Luther's pastoral vision, but also a daily lived reality for all those worshipping under the reforms. While the reforms were intended to direct the Catholic church away from a glory-seeking form of religion to a Word-trusting form, Luther was – like Grosseteste[60] – aware that the conscience needed to remain clear to ensure that the Word could be understood or at the very least the mind could be directed in that way. Music's ability was twofold, it enabled comprehension of the Word and, whether by design or accident, ensured that the wider community could be engaged without the need for specific education.

The Small Catechism lay the foundation stone for every young person educated within the Lutheran system; a basic understanding of this led to God-fearing people in later life and enabled the continuing transmission of Luther's reforms. We only need look to the Psalms copied in the below Appendix to see Luther's ideas, possibly even his overarching plan, in action. Psalm 112 encourages delight in the Ten Commandments, with Psalms 34 and 128 encouraging personal praise of God, Psalms 125 and 127 seeing God as the ultimate defence, hence the need to fear him, finally – and most interestingly – Psalm 133 makes a direct connection for the young to live together in the unity of Lutheran reforms. Indeed, we can also see, not just in the Psalms chosen but also the Small Catechism more broadly, the provision of care and feeding of future Pastors;[61] after all to be a member of the Lutheran church was to be a member of the priesthood of all believers.

J. S. Bach in his orthodox Lutheran context

The impact on the young Bach of a combination of the learning by-rote of the Lutheran articles of faith, the visual imagery included in the frontispieces of Bibles or the Book of Concord and the idea (directly from Luther) that music is a gift from God will always be difficult to quantify; not least because of the lack of written evidence relating to this from Bach himself. However, we can see in his *Endzweck*, as defined in Bach's letter to the church council of the Blausiuskirche in 1707,[62] the ultimate outcome of what his child's mind must have ranged across – from music in the Temple of David, to how to use the gifts afforded to one by God and

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[60] See Philippa Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p.10.

[61] See Timothy J. Wengert, 'Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon on the care and feeding of [future] Pastors', in *Dialog*, 59 (2020), pp. 130–37.

[62] See Chapter 5, above, p. 107, for a definition of *Endzweck*.

even what it may mean for a later evangelical life within the Priesthood of All Believers. Here we return to Beverley Clack's idea of the *homo religiosus* being able to place the 'self' into its broader context through the implementation of a given religious practice. We explore this, in relation to Bach, in what follows.

Psalm 133 – *Ecce quam bonum*[63] – as the final psalm prescribed by Melanchthon in his Visitation Articles of 1528 provides an excellent starting point for this exploration and although not the shortest Psalm in the Bible, that being Psalm 117 (*Laudate Dominum*), 133 actively encourages the unity of the church in its very first verse. For an orthodox Lutheran such unity comes from simply being a member of the reformed religion, something which from its earliest formation repudiated the idea that sin was temporal, insofar as it could be commodified and absolved by way of indulgence. The Priesthood of All Believers therefore had to engage with their own sin, and even that of others, coming to terms with it through personal reflection on their own actions with absolution provided by way of Confession, being ever mindful of the Book of Concord's role in the process. Gaining access to such a unified and distinct community was enabled via Baptism, meaning that from that moment on the precious ointment which ran down even unto Aaron's beard and the skirts of his clothing – verse two – was like a thread running between all believers, whose job it was to ensure that their life was one of personal evangelism based on the Scripture. This is something which finds its ultimate expression in the final verse of Psalm 133, as understanding or coming to terms with everlasting life can only be achieved through God's grace and gifts. But possibly most important, at least to the orthodox Lutheran, is verse three which runs as follows 'Like as the dew of Hermon: which fell upon the hill of Sion.'

The importance of this verse cannot be underestimated, not least because we can see Lutheran *homo religiosus* and their self-definition within it. Indeed, we have seen already the extent to which Luther removed Catholic temporal absolution from the rite and, in taking each part of the third verse of the Psalm in turn, we can begin to see what he was seeking after. The Dew of Hermon is specific to the climate surrounding the area around Mount Sion, with hot weather baking the Mediterranean landscape with the mist which rises from the sea up to the mountain, bringing cool, quiet and moisture-rich air to the land; such allusion to believers being clothed in righteousness and salvation is common to all forms of Christianity. However, for the orthodox

[63] See Appendix, pp. 137–139 (at p. 137).

Lutheran there are two points which can be drawn from this, certainly in respect of Psalm 133's inclusion in the Book of Concord. First, Luther's removal of the temporal ephemera from his reformed religion was to ensure that repentance of sin depended on personal inner repentance. Taking the analogy to its logical conclusion it could be said that the sinner's life (and the sale of indulgences or use of sacramental confession) was similar to the scourge of baking hot weather on the lands around Mount Sion. This brings us to the second point, that of the silence and calming effects of the Dew of Hermon itself. As Ryan M. Armstrong indicates, there is a commonality between Psalms 132, 133 and 134, that of priestly imagery.[64] This again may be a common theme between all forms of Christianity, but what cannot have failed to have come across to Lutherans was the implication of the enveloping mist on Mount Sion; namely, that through Baptism, man is clothed in righteousness and thereby enters the Priesthood of All Believers. In so doing, man is renewed and able to consider, in mental or personal silence, what such righteousness might mean for their day-to-day life. For a Lutheran who has put on the new clothing, that of Christ or the 'new Adam', is by Baptism renewed according to the image of God.

For orthodox Lutherans, then, from Baptism to school and then on into adulthood, the fear of God was an inherent and expected part of life, being taught accordingly via the Book of Concord. Baptism offered the child the opportunity to be clothed in righteousness, with active participation in Christ becoming a lifelong personal duty. This is something which is reflective of Luther's own thoughts on St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians 3:9–11,[65] the verses reading thus:

> **9** Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old nature with its practices **10** and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator. **11** Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all. (Colossians 3:9–11 RSV)

Therefore, no matter where any given person was, nor their particular role in the world, they were able to participate in Christ simply by way of speaking to another, their own musical activity or engaging with the Word whether preached or read. In essence to be an orthodox Lutheran was to be *homo religiosus*, or, to return to Dew of Hermon, it was to take upon oneself

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64 Armstrong, 'Psalms Dwelling Together in Unity', p. 499.
65 See Michael Marissen, *Bach & God*, pp. 44–45.

the work of preaching and active participation in Christ into the parched lands (or alien landscapes desired by the Desert Fathers and Mothers) outwith the Lutheran faith, in effect becoming the religious, evangelising equivalent of the Dew itself. As Beverley Clack suggests about *homo religiosus*, the ability of religious practice to enable a 'pause', or by extension peace, allows for reflection on the knowledge we may hold of God within our day-to-day lives. Failure and loss, for Clack, are what drive us to seek out this space and ultimately religious practice ensures that we can find our way in or out of this. While we do not actively seek out any given failure or loss, they do provide pivotal moments which force us to think again about what gives meaning to our lives.[66] Clack continues:

> The ordinary markers of life, the things which by which we define ourselves, are illuminated by [these] major upheavals. The way we see ourselves, the routines which shape us, the labels that neatly package our existence, may well lose their power to make sense of our experience […] To reshape experiences of loss and failure as pivotal moments requires being prepared to attend to them. This takes time. We cannot rush on from their disruptive power. We need to find ways of sitting with our losses and our failures, finding practices which enable us to bear the pain and discomfort which comes in their wake.[67]

For Luther active participation in Christ allowed for such meaning, or coming to terms with something, such as loss or failure, to be achieved at all stages through life; this in turn allowed for man to concentrate better on the Word itself, active participation therefore allowed for and encouraged active understanding. To bear witness to one's sin, whether that drawn from the fall of man or from everyday lived life of parishioners, is to enable such a pause as Clack outlines. Within this pause, any given *homo religiosus* (man or woman) is able to situate their life and themselves in a set of doctrinal practices which in turn, and in some ways similar to Grosseteste's reforms, illuminate the mind.

A significant question arises here, in this discussion of twenty-first century considerations of *homo religiosus* and Luther, as to where J. S. Bach may fit into this. The answers to this question are just as multifaceted and multifarious as Luther's own responses to active participation in Christ. But they begin with a hymn composed in 1524, and one which Bach himself will have known from his earliest moments in school, 'Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfagen'

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66 Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 182.
67 Ibid.

(In the Midst of Life we are in Death) which appeared for the first time in the *Geystliche Gesanck-Büchlein* mentioned earlier. The period into which Bach was born was one of continuing high mortality rates of adults and of children alike, for example not only did half of Bach's twenty children die during his lifetime, but so did his first wife. So, not only was the orthodox Lutheran Bach living in the midst of physical death, but in addition he was also being actively encouraged to overcome the spiritual death found in the everyday life of parishioners and townspeople. As the two primary gifts from God, Bach will have been steeped in the Word and music from a very early age, and not just the learning of the scripture but also its uses. Indeed, as Gardiner suggests, words and music, for Luther and by extension Lutherans themselves, must be forged into one invisible and indivisible force:

> Luther maintained that without music, man is little more than a stone; but, with music, he can drive the Devil away […] This belief was to give fundamental justification to Bach's vocation (*Amt*) and craft as a musician […] his emphasis on a 'vocal' delivery of Scripture would later help to provide his *raison d'être* as a composer of church music.[68]

The dualistic nature of words and music, with words appealing to the intellect and music appealing to the passions, is crucial to our understanding of Bach. Luther's soteriology of the word required the ability to not only appeal to the intellect, but also use every opportunity to appeal to the passions, thereby driving out the Devil at every turn.

Returning briefly to the Psalms, and the order they are found in, which Melanchthon placed at the heart of the Book of Concord, we can see why this dualism is important. One can be taught to fear the Lord (112/*Beatus vir*) and delight in his works, then give praise for the surety of faith (34/*Benedicam Domino*), through which you become blessed due to that fear and trust (128 & 125/*Beati omnes* & *Qui confidant*) ultimately finding unity in expression of faith with your fellow parishioners (133/*Ecce quam bonum!*). Luther's required evangelism meant that for Bach, in many ways like Grosseteste's appeals to *aspectus*/*affectus* in his reforms, the mind must be guided towards the good life at every turn; music was simply the best instrument through which to appeal to both the intellect and passions. For the *homo religiosus* Bach, music had a very specific task – *Die Noten machen den Text lebendig* ('The notes make the words

[68] Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 129.

live')[69] – a living active participation in Christ required a living participation in the Word; what better way to achieve this than through music.

In other words, this is the direct and personal employment of God's prime gifts (Soli Deo Gloria); gifts which beget each other. It is here we return to the analysis of J. S. Bach which describes him as an autodidact, or someone who was entirely self-taught. For, if Bach were only an autodidact, he would simply be employing something he had taught himself as opposed to that taught to him by another human being, School Master by way of the *Small Catechism* or family members who were almost all musicians themselves, not the practice and musical method which he quite clearly perceived as coming directly from God himself. This provides the basis for the next chapter, focussing specifically on J. S. Bach.

[69] Martin Luther, WA TR, No. 2545b.

Appendix

Psalms taken from *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites of the Church*, The Psalms of David.

Psalm 112 – *Beatus vir*

BLESSED is the man that feareth the Lord : he hath great delight in his commandments.
2 His Seed shall be mighty upon the earth : the generation of the faithful shall be blessed.
3 Richness and plenteousness shall be in his house : and his righteousness endureth for ever.
4 Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness : he is merciful, loving and righteous.
5 A good man is merciful, and lendeth : and will guide his words with discretion.
6 For he shall never be moved : and the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.
7 He will not be afraid of any evil tidings : for his hart standeth fast, and believeth in the Lord.
8 His heart is established, and will not shrink : until he see his desire upon his enemies.
9 He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor : and his righteousness remaineth for ever ; his horn shall be exalted with honour.
10 The ungodly shall see it, and it shall grieve him : he shall gash with his teeth, and consume away ; the desire of the ungodly shall perish.

Psalm 34 – *Benedicam Domino*

I WILL alway give thanks unto the Lord : his praise shall ever be in my mouth.
2 My soul shall make her boast in the Lord : the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad.
3 O praise the Lord with me : and let us magnify his Name together.
4 I sought the Lord, and he heard me : yea, he delivered me out of all my fear.
5 They had an eye unto him, and were lightened : and their faces were not ashamed.
6 Lo, the poor crieth, and the Lord heareth him : yea, and saveth him out of all his troubles.
7 The angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear him : and delivereth them.
8 O taste, and see, how gracious the Lord is : blessed is the man that trusteth in him.
9 O fear the Lord, ye that are his saints : for they that fear him lack nothing.
10 The lions do lack, and suffer hunger : but they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.

11 Come, ye children, and hearken unto me : I will teach you the fear of the Lord.
12 What man is he that lusteth to live : and would fain see good days?
13 Keep thy tongue from evil : and thy lips, that they speak no guile.
14 Eschew evil, and do good : seek peace, and ensue it.
15 The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous : and his ears are open unto their prayers.
16 The countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil : to root out the remembrance of them from the earth.
17 The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth them : and delivereth them out of all their troubles.
18 The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart : and will save such as be of an humble spirit.
19 Great are the troubles of the righteous : but the Lord delivereth him out of all.
20 He keepeth all his bones : so that not one of them is broken.
21 But misfortune shall slay the ungodly : and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate.
22 The Lord delivereth the souls of his servants : and all they that put their trust in him shall not be destitute.

Psalm 128 – *Beati omnes*

BLESSED are all they that fear the Lord : and walk in his ways.
2 For thou shalt eat the labours of thine hands : O well is thee, and happy shalt thou be.
3 Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine : upon the walls of thine house.
4 Thy children like the olive-branches : round about thy table.
5 Lo, thus shall the man be blessed : that feareth the Lord.
6 The Lord from out of Sion shall so bless thee : that thou shalt see Jerusalem in prosperity all thy life long.
7 Yea, thou shalt see they children’s children : and peace upon Israel.

Psalm 125 – *Qui confidunt*

THEY that put their trust in the Lord shall be even as mount Sion : which may not be removed, but standeth fast for ever.
2 The hills stand about Jerusalem : even so standeth the Lord round about his people, from this forth for evermore.
3 For the rod of the ungodly cometh not into the lot of the righteous : lest the righteous put their hand unto wickedness.
4 Do well, O Lord : unto those that are good and true of heart.
5 As for such as turn their back unto their own wickedness : the Lord shall lead them forth with the evil-doers ; but peace shall be upon Israel.

Psalm 127 – *Nisi Dominus*

EXCEPT the Lord build the house : their labour is but lost that build it.
2 Except the Lord keep the city : the watchman waketh but in vain.
3 It is but lost labour that he haste to rise up early, and so late take rest, and eat the bread of carefulness : for so he giveth his beloved sleep.
4 Lo, children and the fruit of the womb : are an heritage and gift cometh of the Lord.
5 Like as the arrows in the hand of the giant : even so are the young children.
6 Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them : they shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate.

Psalm 133 – *Ecce quam bonum!*

BEHOLD, how good and joyful a thing it is : brethren, to dwell together in unity !
2 It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down unto the beard : even unto Aarron’s beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing.
3 Like as the dew of Hermon : which fell upon the hill of Sion.
4 For there the Lord promised his blessing : and life for evermore.

CHAPTER 7

J. S. Bach – the Eighteenth-Century's Musical Quasi-Grosseteste?

James McEvoy has suggested that Robert Grosseteste 'was simply too intelligent to compartmentalise his mind'.[1] The context in which McEvoy made this comment offers a potentially fruitful route to approach Johann Sebastian Bach in the round too. For example, as mentioned earlier, Roger Bacon emphasised Grosseteste's originality in how he transformed themes from Aristotle's works into distinct treatises that largely did not follow the typical pattern of scholastic writing. Grosseteste wrote in the first instance for his own exploration rather than targeting a specific audience. On the other hand, it is impossible to argue that Bach wrote primarily for himself, given his multifaceted roles within the Lutheran community. However, it is distinctly evident that Bach consistently developed, refined, and elevated established musical concepts throughout his life. Indeed, Bach, like Grosseteste, was preternaturally intellectually inquisitive and observational to fault. His desire was to explore new musical instruments or musical concepts to the nth degree, and he was able to synthesise what he had learned or experienced in his day-to-day life. We remember here Grosseteste's consistent use of *experimentum*, where the practice of experimental observation is integrated into his theological vision.[2] For Grosseteste the study of nature, and by extension, the liberal arts, required the ability to observe, passively and unobtrusively, to ensure that experience could then enable a fuller understanding of the real world.[3] By recognising a methodological point of comparison between Grosseteste and Bach, we can begin to form a picture of him as not merely a singular scientist, mathematician, or autodidact at work but someone who brought deeply personal observations to bear on his music through a combination of experience and the orthodox practice of Lutheran piety.

A central theme of this chapter, therefore, is the contention that Bach's creative process had something significant in common with Grosseteste. Just as McEvoy observed of Grosseteste himself, there is no paradox or inconsistency inherent in the idea that much of Bach's creative output was ultimately derived from his professional interests in what was happening around

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1 See Chapter 1, above, p. 14; McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 17.
2 Oliver, *Robert Grosseteste on Light, Truth, and Experimentum*, pp. 151–80.
3 See Chapter 5 above, *Robert Grosseteste and Johann Sebastian Bach: the Reforming Scholars*, pp. 94–6.

him.[4] With striking clarity, Christoph Wolff sets this out in the Epilogue to *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*, and suggests that despite the nature of Bach's geographical range, never leaving Thuringia nor Saxony for periods longer than a few months, he was more than able to explore new areas of interest:

> [Bach's] geographical horizon and his exposure to contemporaneous European musical life remained quite constricted. Still, the breadth of his knowledge and intimate familiarity with the music literature both of his day and of the past was unusual if not unique among his contemporaries. He was certainly unsurpassed in his ability to absorb new insights and experiences in his compositions as elements of enrichment and reorientation […] The permutations in Bach's style are regulated by one dominating element of stability and continuity, and that is his thoroughly virtuosic disposition.[5]

If we change the name in the foregoing quotation from Bach to Grosseteste, we can quickly understand a significant parallel between the two men. Grosseteste's style was, like Bach's, regulated by stability and continuity: the stability of learning in the liberal arts curriculum, and the continuity of the Catholic Church with the Pope holding ultimate authority over doctrine (in its widest sense) throughout western Christendom. Likewise, we can describe Grosseteste as having a thoroughly virtuosic disposition. This can be seen in the intellectual breadth of his scientific works which range over the tides, light, the generation of sounds, commentaries on Aristotle, and much more. The same is true of his philosophical works and more secularly focussed writings, such as *Chasteau D'amour*, the allegorical poem about the creation of the world and redemption. Without such a virtuosic disposition – in the sense that he displays exceptional technical skill in all of his endeavours, including his letters – he would not have been able to expose himself to newly translated Arabic science, let alone comment on current issues in the Church.

The centrality of learning to all of this is the point around which the idea of Bach as an eighteenth-century Quasi-Grosseteste coalesces, in the sense that J. S. Bach resembles Grosseteste intellectually, for without the initial experiential learning, and then putting that into practice, new ideas could not be reached nor evinced later. In sum, both men can be described

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4 Ibid.

5 Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 470.

as profoundly purposive with such a capacity being gained through near constant engagement with contemporaneous new ideas, instruments, or forms of music and thought throughout their lives. Both were, therefore – uniquely for their times – unsurpassed in their ability to absorb new insights or ideas. They did not view new experiences and perceptions as dangers to their work, but rather as elements of enrichment and reorientation.

Here, before we proceed, we need to clarify two points. First, there is no suggestion of a direct connection between J. S. Bach and Robert Grosseteste. In fact, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the continuities between Grosseteste and Bach rather than propose a direct link between them. Secondly, the term 'Quasi-Grosseteste' has been chosen so as to avoid 'Pseudo-Grosseteste' a term which cannot be used without referring to the manuscript attributed to an individual or individuals bearing that name. The exact authorship of this manuscript remains uncertain, but there is a consensus that the existing *Summa Philosophiae*, produced 1265 × 1275, could possibly be attributed to Bartholomew of Bologna, Robert Kilwardby, or a disciple of Roger Bacon. Since the reference to the death of Simon de Montfort in 1265 is mentioned, we can state definitively that the *Summa* was produced after Robert Grosseteste's own death in 1253.

To illustrate this point, it is worth noting that we have significant evidence about Grosseteste's opinions on philosophy, education, and the role of the church in society, but we know very little about his early life. In comparison, especially when considering the biographical information provided in the Appendices to this thesis, we have much more knowledge about J. S. Bach's life, including the names of his adversaries, a comprehensive list of his surviving works and letters, as well as descriptions of his *Endzweck* and *Entwurff*.[6]
Despite this wealth of information, however, we have comparatively little insight into Bach's own thoughts about the specific role of music in the world. Moreover, when examining the official documents in the *New Bach Reader* and *Bach-Dokumente*, one must approach them with caution and with an eye on their political and cultural inflections as well as reportage, biases that may be alien to the modern reader.

As with Grosseteste, some educated guesses are necessary when trying to understand Bach's own thoughts, particularly when encountering his personal reflections and comments in the

[6] See 'Bach's Life in His Own Writings and Documents', in David and Mendel, *New Bach Reader*, pp. 29–278.

Calov Bible that he had in his library.[7] Furthermore, we must exercise caution when interpreting Bach in the twenty-first century, as we saw in the previous chapter, because the foundation for his singular genius was laid by the composer himself.[8] In fact, the preceding chapters consistently highlight the tendency of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to isolate the composer (in general terms) from his social environment and the learning of his time. Similarly, the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance has often been regarded as a separate development.[9]

There are, however, specific themes that offer a rich seam for exploration, and these will be outlined below.

Homo religiosus

Inspired by McEvoy and Wolff, we have viewed Bach refracted through the lens of Grosseteste and his mode of *experimentum*. We now turn to another mode of human living for assistance in analysing Bach's processes of learning and knowledge production. Beverley Clack's conception or redefinition of *homo religiosus*, the idea that we are earthly beings who are then described as religious, in the sense that we are dependent one another with religious expression being just one of our many attempts at reconnecting with others. This is the starting point from which springs the following:

> What we have in religion … is the attempt to bind oneself or to connect oneself – to bind oneself *again* – to the world and to others. Under this reading, religious practice (its rites, beliefs and ideas) attempts to *reconnect* human beings to the world beyond themselves. We are dependent on the world out of which we have been created; but there is also the suggestion here that we are not entirely at home in this world. We need to connect *again*.[10]

One hopes it may be possible to see Bach in the context of an untidy and disorderly day-to-day lived reality by accepting the following propositions.

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7 See Michael Marissen, 'Bach against Modernity', in *Rethinking Bach*, ed. Varwig, pp. 319–20..
8 See Chapter *J. S. Bach and the Book of Concord*, p. 118, above.
9 See Kristeller, 'Music and Learning', p. 255.
10 Beverley Clack, *How to be a Failure and still live well: A philosophy* (London: Bloomsbury Academics, 2020), p. 145.

First, insofar as humans are earthly beings, we seek meaning by defining ourselves as creatures who are not separate from the earth or from others (thereby removing ourselves from our own contexts), for we are fundamentally dependant on each other. In a rather mundane way, Bach was dependent on the church, courtly patronage, or town councils for his income.

Secondly, the Latin verb *religare*, from which *religiosus* is derived, literally means 'to bind'; so, for Clack, human beings are bound to each other, and thereby to religious practice because we seek a personal reconnection with others.[11] Michael Markham's discussion of *Music in the Castle of Heaven* by John Eliot Gardiner, perhaps provides a salutary example of why we are profoundly bound to one another. For in his words, Gardiner's Bach is the tragic orphan-empath – or the orphan, death-obsessed, outlaw misfit who is ultimately a non-conformist – and as such is one Bach among many as perceived since 1800, which is no more or less accurate to the "true" past, but perhaps more likely to survive beyond the immediate future.[12]

A sense of the immediacy of the future provides an opportunity to explore Bach in the round, avoiding the pitfalls which Markham notes in his essay; these he suggests are characterised either by poetic reticence and/or a dissonance between music as emotive and moving, coupled with a refusal or inability to identify the source of emotion.[13] In an attempt to avoid falling into such potential issues as described by Markham, this chapter is based on three, possibly four, themes. By restricting ourselves to these it is hoped that we can explore the idea of what an eighteenth-century Quasi-Grosseteste might be, indeed this chapter began with the quote from McEvoy for this reason – the underlying theme for our exploration is that it is (following Markham's comments) too difficult to compartmentalize Bach's mind and music. To do so could, in effect, be described as abstracting Bach from his personal – even interpersonal – context to suit any given chronological period or academic and musical disposition or intent. Because of this, the three main themes are the general themes which have been referred to throughout the preceding chapters regarding Robert Grosseteste himself: *legere, disputare, praedicare*, to teach, to hold disputations and to preach.[14] It is hoped that these will be sufficient

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[11] Clack, *How to be a Failure*, pp. 144–5.
[12] Michael Markham, 'Bach Psychology: Gothic, Sublime, or just human?', *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 10 March 2014.
[13] Ibid.
[14] See Daniel A. Callus, *Robert Grosseteste as Scholar*, pp. 28–31.

points of exploration to allow us to come to terms with and accommodate Bach the orthodox Lutheran.

As such, the three terms will be used to provide three sections within which examination and observation are enabled. This is of particular use given that we saw in the previous chapter the extent to which music was fundamental for the Lutheran reformers, not just for their taught curriculum but also for the evangelizing of a reformed religion which encouraged children to bring their parents to it at all times, even at table.[15] In other words, the educative role and impact of music will have been an obvious element for Bach from a very early age; thus we can examine Bach and Grosseteste under the label of *legere*.

The same goes for *disputare*. Examples of disputation in Bach's personal life are not immediately, nor obviously, musical. However, if someone fell short of the high expectations placed on them under the auspices of Bach's *Endzweck* – his ultimate artistic goal of a well-ordered church music to the glory of God[16] – it would be of little surprise if he would remonstrate them particularly harshly. The Bassoonist Geyersbach saw this at first hand and reciprocated in kind.[17] While we can never really know what was said between Geyersbach and Bach, the latter having drawn his rapier on him, Isabella van Elferen makes an interesting point which can help illustrate why this example of a below par musician would have displeased Bach quite so much. As someone with incredibly high expectations for all of his works (whether religious, secular or personal) the inability of Geyersbach to play his Bassoon well can be viewed through Grosseteste's theme tune of life, thus – affect cannot simply be a single event, but rather a driving force in the establishment of series of events.[18] In his discussion of the Bach's three keyboard workbooks (the *Little Organ* Book, *Well-Tempered Clavier* and *Aufrichtige Anleitung*) Wolff offers us an idea of this, insofar as they were produced to introduce any budding keyboard musician to the development of technique, Bach's musical outlook and the idea that the musical universe was ever expanding; the idea being ultimately to help the pupil understand that the keyboard art was a quasi-gravitational force with the dynamic interrelationship of performance and composition as a basic condition.[19] As Wolff concludes:

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15 See Chapter 6, above, p. 130.
16 See Appendix to Chapter 5, above, p. 110.
17 For the proceedings of the Arnstadt Consistory 1705, see David and Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 43–6.
18 Isabella van Elferen, 'Rethinking Affect', in Varwig, *Rethinking Bach*, pp. 141–66 (at p. 153).
19 Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2020), p. 63.

> Bach's ever-increasing and deepening devotion to composition remained decisively influenced by his keyboard authority in every respect, and especially in the continuous advancement of ingenious and forceful originality, technical mastery, and intellectual control. All these were constituent elements of Bach's musical language – with its ultimate goal of moving the heart.[20]

A musician such as Geyersbach would, in effect, deny Bach's music the ability to move the heart of parishioners if it were to be played incorrectly; likewise, there was the distinct possibility that a mistake would deny the music itself the ability to maintain a well-ordered *Endzweck*. This idea of moving the heart will be explored further later in the chapter, as van Elferen locates her consideration of *affect* in the early-modern period, but there are significant enough parallels between what she suggests and Grosseteste's thought to consider this separately by way of enabling understanding of *legere*.

The best *prime facie* example of disputation within Bach's music comes, perhaps, in the form of his performance for Frederick the Great of Prussia and the ensuing *Musical Offering*. Bach's *legere* and *disputare* provide a particularly useful framework through which to view Bach the preacher – not least because his music spans different religious and human practices (from the Lutheran Cantatas to the seemingly Catholic Mass in B minor; from the Coffee Cantata to the Brandenburg Concertos, Musical Offering and Oratorios) – the indicative suggestion being that, like Grosseteste, for Bach all subjects fed off and informed one another. In the introduction to their chapter in respect of Johann Mattheson, *Framing Lutheran Music*, Lundberg et. al. provide a particularly helpful precis of this idea:

> for Mattheson a true "patriotic" interest in music could not circumvent the very first criterion of this noble art: glorification of God and edification of the Christian community. In a stern voice, he admonishes everyone involved in musical practice to recognise that even opera, like all other music, ultimately aspires to divine praise.[21]

The 'patriotic' nature of music for Mattheson can, in this instance, be put down to the promulgation of Lutheranism itself as opposed to a duty on any given contemporary country or

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Mattias Lundberg, Maria Schildt and Jonas Lundblad, *Framing Lutheran Music Culture* (2021), p. 1.

nation state. Primarily, the emphasis is placed, at least for this thesis, on the glorification of God and edification of community. Indeed, while Bach – uniquely for his time – never wrote an opera, referring to those he saw in Dresden somewhat disparagingly as "those pretty little ditties",[22] he nevertheless does put into effect Mattheson's call to recognise the devotional nature of music itself, no matter its form. In many ways this could be said to be Bach's *praedicare*, or the opportunity to engage all in their own terms, just as Grosseteste sought, after in his pastoral reforms, within the diocese of Lincoln and while teaching at Oxford. Therefore, to compartmentalize his work would be to deny Bach's *Endzweck* its utility since everything for the orthodox Lutheran, after all, was to the glory of God; *soli deo gloria* – a Quasi-Grosseteste indeed.

A short return to Schweitzer

Writing in 1911, Albert Schweitzer produced the early twentieth century's seminal biography of J. S. Bach in which he offered an outline of ways into a particularly mystical understanding of the composer. In the first volume there are the necessary biographical particulars of Bach himself, as well as of his family, followed by a more detailed account of Bach's musical interests and mores in the second:

> Beethoven and Wagner belong more to the poets, Bach, Schubert and Berlioz more to the painters […] They [Bach, Schubert and Berlioz] undertake to follow in detail the adventures of a poem, and are consequently poetic musicians. Bach does not do this. He is the most consistent representative of pictorial music – the direct antipodes of Wagner. These two are the poles between which "characteristic" music resolves.[23]

While Bach cannot be described as a programmatic nor a painterly pictorial musician in the nineteenth-century sense, it equally cannot be said that his music is unemotional nor devoid of the emotional environment in which he existed. Gardiner has suggested that the effect of a triple bereavement – losing his parents, losing his home, and the move to his elder brother's home in Ohrdruf – must have had a significant impact on the young Bach (this impact is perhaps best seen in the rapid improvement in his school grades after having arrived at Ohrdruf.)[24] Rather,

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22 See Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 280; Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Chapter 8.
23 Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, II, p. 21.
24 See Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, pp. 77–8.

Bach's experiences (as with Grosseteste's appeals to *experimentum*) can be seen to have had a direct impact on his compositions, whether in style or in response to the requirement for new music when employed as Kantor in Leipzig.

Schweitzer nevertheless attempted to situate Bach within the form of programmatic music. For Schweitzer, Bach was a painter, but a painter without the programme notes and imaginative correlations required by some nineteenth-century composers. Indeed, a short scan of Schweitzer's contents page to the biography maps out what he was seeking; he was looking for Bach the musical linguist and artiste – the musical mystic. But the conception of Bach as a musical mystic stands in direct opposition to the pre-Mendelssohn Bach; the heavily bewigged, powdered, and dry composer. As John Butt suggests:

> Bach's unique character and quality as a composer can be seen as partly generated by the frictions within his environment and career, frictions which help to render his music dynamic and challenging to later ages.[25]

Whether in his letters to friends and family or in his compositions, Bach's deeply personal orthodox Lutheranism shines out, not least as it sustained him throughout the darkest times of his life. Indeed, it could be argued (given the number of volumes of Luther's works in Bach's own library) that the sustaining thread was Luther's personal dogmatics. This is partly the reason for considering Bach via Clack's redefinition of *homo religiosus*: he knew the rules – musical and Lutheran – so well that he was able to use them to his advantage, even while remaking them, such was his skill and mastery in comingling all subjects, thought, and forms of practice into his way of working. Here is something which could be considered as an initial way of defining what an eighteenth-century Quasi-Grosseteste might be.

An aid to understanding this is provided by the nineteenth-century philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, by way of his separation and distinguishing of the natural and human sciences. For Dilthey, the human sciences included the humanities and social sciences, but the main task of the natural sciences was to come to law-based causal explanations of human sciences by way of enabling understanding of organizational structures and dynamic forces of human life. He suggests that the Lutheran Reformation's documents are "…the writings of Luther, the church chorale, the

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[25] Butt, 'Bach's Metaphysics of Music', *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, p. 59.

sacred music of Bach and Handel, and the structure of community life in the church."[26] As with Grosseteste, for Luther, Bach and Handel, liturgy and music were inseparable, each giving the other effect in the lived world. Profound awareness of the crisis of the human predicament was essential to Lutheranism, something in turn leading to Luther being referred to as a simple tunesmith, indeed in his own words this understanding was known as *Affectung*. It is this which can be said to be the necessary precursor to Bach's own *Endzweck*, it also bear a particularly strong early-modern resemblance to Grosseteste's own theme tune of life, *affectus*/*aspectus*.

The painterly nature of Bach's work, as Schweitzer suggests, could not hold without *Affectung*, something which Schweitzer appears to be aiming at more generally in his biography. As Dilthey suggests:

> The musical opportunities coming out of Luther's Reformation represent the heritage that Bach received, but what he did to exploit the opportunities and to overcome the limitations represent his heritage to later generations.[27]

The contention that Bach overcame the limitations, while exploiting the opportunities that presented themselves is of initial interest here. Indeed, through it we can see an immediate parallel between Bach and Grosseteste: they both laboured in periods of history which were either delivering new understandings of science (in Grosseteste's case through new translations of Arabic and Greek writings) or experiential, fact-based experimental discovery (in Bach's case that of the changes to scientific understanding brought through the Enlightenment). In each case, the overcoming of limitations was part and parcel of their thought, through the very exploitation of the opportunities afforded them; indeed, it was a necessary part of their working method.

Returning briefly to the education that Bach received we can see a parallel that will enable us to move forward; for those teaching Bach music enabled dialogue between teacher and pupil, as a means of coming to terms with God more generally within the reformed religion. It is this very notion of dialogue which is, by turns, impeccably modern for the orthodox Lutherans of 1685, and ancient, or at the very least medievally scholastic. Martin Luther's required return to scripture, or sources, mirrors the education that Grosseteste received and how this may have

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[26] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Weltanscauung Und Analyse Des Menschen Seit Renaissance Und Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 515, in Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach Among the Theologians* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 17.

[27] Ibid., p. 21.

impacted on his scientific thought. The sources, being chaotic in nature, might often be rendered meaningless without a guide. In effect, the dialogue in simple terms would be between the teacher or master and their student, with the master providing the guidance. Whereas:

> In the natural sciences, the dialogue was between things and books. By contrast, in grammar, logic, theology and law, the dialogue was between one book and another; they confirmed, completed, or contradicted each other, and only very occasionally required to be completed by observation of the world outside the sources.[28]

So far, so scholastic in nature. However, it was the very limitations of such a scholastic method, the idea of the world not impinging on observation of the dialogue between two books for example, which provided Grosseteste and Bach – by extension via Luther, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen – with the very opportunities to find new ways of thinking, or of employing new ideas to remove impediments to understanding. This is something which, in turn, brings us back to the idea of fact-based, experimental discovery. The facts interrogated in this process will have been based in initial taught ideas, but these might include imperfections, which only careful observation could bring to the surface. These could enable the creation of newly scientifically proven facts, or at the very least see old ones challenged, by way of allowing the lived everyday world to become an important presence within the dialogue; as opposed to something which was adjunct to it.[29]

Ultimately, the common thread being traced between Grosseteste and Bach is that of the acceptance of humanity's fallen state, which is not to suggest that that this was a negative point of view. Rather, it would also allow for coming to terms with the fact that man's state could be ordered in such a way as to alter human conduct, by way of enabling in any given person the ability to come to a view of God and nature in their own terms. Whichever way you define it – whether preferring the idea of Grosseteste's theme tune of life (*aspectus/affectus*) or the appeals of Schweitzer to *Affectung* in respect of Bach, or Markham's view, to that of Gardiner's tragic orphan empath Bach – the breaking of rules/conventions can only be achieved through previous knowledge of facts (for example those found in the Book of Concord), through the careful observation and understanding of previously taught material. A basic educational starting point

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[28] Southern, *Grosseteste and the Growth of an English Mindset* (1986), p. 87.

[29] See Southern, 'Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe', vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995).

is gained, having been guided in them by a/the Master; the scientific turn for Grosseteste and Bach allowed for completion, contradiction or confirmation of these by way of observation and reporting of these findings. How such knowledge was then applied is what we turn to next, beginning with *Legere*.

Legere – to teach

An apparently simple term, *legere* is possibly the most difficult of the three to describe succinctly, given its requirement for understanding that which has also been taught to the teacher, and the need to use all of one's faculties when undertaking the teaching itself. As such, *legere* is as active a process as preaching or a musical performance might be, and certainly as active as disputation, if not more so. At its most basic, *legere* is simply just about teaching the articles of faith to ensure that a mind might be encouraged to turn towards the good life. This could be achieved by corralling facts, bringing people together, hearing something read aloud, or through gaining understanding by being lectured to on a specific subject. At such an early stage of this section, the range of the definitions of the term *legere* could be said to be so dauntingly vast that there is nothing specific the historian can find to link Bach back to Grosseteste and his theme tune of life. However, as we will see, there is much for us to explore which can deliver interesting new ways of linking the two men together over the span of the just over four centuries between Grosseteste's death and Bach's birth.

It is necessary, given the difficulty of defining the term succinctly, to face the semantic range of the definitions of *legere* – as found in the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources – head on. This is not simply because of the amount (over twenty) of definitions but also because of the plethora of different meanings being dependent upon the context in which the term may be used. Indeed, the fact that the concept of *legere* as being 'to teach' appears at number eight in the list is suggestive of a term which is not only in constant use but also constantly evolving from its first mention – as a term meaning to gather or to collect – to number eight's engagement in study, lecturing or teaching, and reading or lecturing on something.[30] Equally interesting to note is the fact that there are three separate specific uses of *legere* in the eighth definition, with

[30] R. E. Latham, et. al., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Turnout, Belgium: Brepols Publishing, 2015).

Grosseteste himself being mentioned by way of his letter thirteen to W. of Cerda, who was then a Master in the schools of Paris; the beginning is partly reproduced below:

> Dilectionis vestrae literas recipimus, continentes quod cum simul nolitis ordinarie Parisius legere et curam animarum habere, praeeligitis ad praesens lectioni magis insistere, quam onus curae pastoralis subire.
>
> I have received from you, dearly beloved, a letter in which you say that since you are unwilling to lecture at Paris as regent master and hold a cure of souls simultaneously, your choice for the present is to proceed with your course of lectures rather than to bear the burden of pastoral charge.[31]

It is difficult to speak with any certainty about Grosseteste's time in Paris, possibly between 1206 and 1209, and whether or not this may have changed his view on the specifics of teaching and lecturing, but the differences between the English and Parisian styles of teaching will have at the very least have been made available to him through those he met in his early academic career who had been educated at Paris. Grosseteste's concern for the *cura animarum* in this letter extends to teaching, and he upbraids W. of Cerda for choosing teaching over the cure of souls – or at the very least postponing his move into becoming Regent Master at Paris (at Grosseteste's request, as bishop-elect) – showing his unwillingness to teach and simultaneously take on the burden of pastoral care. By choosing a path different from that of Grosseteste's request, however, W. of Cerda very neatly defines the fourth definition of *legere* – to choose one's own way, to traverse or cross.[32]

The extent to which we can describe J. S. Bach's music as 'learned music' – that is, both an acquired form of knowledge as well as something that shows and can even be characterized by learning itself – has been discussed at length across academic disciplines, from history to musicology, the sciences to linguistics. Indeed, his biographer and pupil Johann Forkel notes, in a letter of 1801 to Leipzig publisher Hoffmeister & Kühnel, that:

> Like every other man, Bach had to start out as a bungler before he could become a master. His student exercises, by means of which he little by little made of himself the great master he afterwards became, do not deserve to

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[31] *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, Letter xiii; *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 88–90 (at p. 89).

[32] *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Online.

> be included in an edition of his works any more than the school exercises of one who later became a great scholar would be included in his *Opera*.[33]

We see in this quote two things: first that even fifty-one years after Bach's death his legacy was complex enough for a publisher to question whether his earlier works should be included in a collection. Secondly, and possibly most importantly, Forkel shows that he is keen to maintain the idea of Bach the great composer in such a way as to ensure that the groundwork laid by the composer himself prior to his death is not undermined; that of the singular genius Bach. [34] Forkel's letter to the publisher continues in a similar vein, largely upbraiding Hoffmeister & Kühnel for the number of errors in the edition as sent to him – the first fascicle – and for asking what appear, at least to Forkel, to be questions which either should not need to be asked or questions which are unbefitting of Bach's genius. There is discussion of the sources of his works which to the editor are "…poor and very old…" to which Forkel replies in a similar way to the first question. Insofar as Bach perfected all his works over time no matter how old the source material may have been, discussion also of the editor's inability to correctly distinguish the ornaments Bach applied to the music and finally a suggestion that Bach knew very little about harmony.[35] To return to Grosseteste and W. of Cerda, Bach was able to define his own genius as we have seen previously,[36] by setting it out in his own terms, thereby, literally choosing his own way for posterity.

It is Forkel's response to the final point on harmony which is of highest import regarding Bach the learned musician, he suggests to the editor that he is amazed at the errors in the first draft of the fascicle 'errors which a musical schoolboy would hardly let stand. And this to be the edition of the works of the most classic of all German composers?'[37] Again, Forkel's reply is heavily laden with the need to maintain the idea of the singular German genius Bach, but it does go to show quite how indebted Bach was to the education he had received however much he may have wanted to expunge this from his biography. The threat, from Forkel, that he would publish his thoughts in a journal of note must have been particularly enervating to the editor and publishers, likewise any suggestion of Bach's works not being learned nor knowledgeable had

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[33] David and Mendel, *New Bach Reader*, p. 390.
[34] See Wolff, 'Defining Genius: Early Reflections of J. S. Bach's Self-Image', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145:4 (2001), p. 481; and Chapter 6, *J. S. Bach and The Book of Concord – Orthodox Lutheran Underpinnings Unpicked*, p. 118.
[35] David and Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 390.
[36] See above Chapter 6, *J. S. Bach and the Book of Concord.*
[37] *The New Bach Reader*, p. 390.

the potential for public scandal to such a degree that Forkel felt it necessary to finish his letter with the idea that no true musical connoisseur can remain silent in the face of such poor conduct from a publisher.[38] A good example of more recent scholarly attention is provided by Christoph Wolff, who has devoted an entire monograph to Bach as the 'learned musician'.[39] Wolff has argued that Bach strove constantly to perfect himself in his quest for musical wisdom. The attainment of wisdom – or knowledge of God – was impossible through good deeds alone, according to Luther's thinking; and so, to make sure comprehension of the scriptures was achieved, music became an attendant (*ministra*) and enabler for his evangelical reforms.[40]

Music reaches people swiftly and affects not just one's emotions but also one's capacity for understanding, showing its unique capacity for communicating an understanding of God's grace. Another pupil of Bach's, Johann Gotthilf Ziegler, suggests in a letter of 1746 that when playing chorales he was "…instructed by [my] teacher, Capellmeister Bach, who is still living, not to play the songs merely offhand but according to the sense [*Affect*] of the words."[41] One might suggest, therefore, that Bach thought it possible that we can attain wisdom through music alone; in turn, this means that only a constant effort at refining the personal aspects of faith could allow one access to God's grace, mercy, and forgiveness – that locus of Luther's reforms. Equally, we have also seen the educative nature of music in the reformed Lutheran system and the role it played in evangelism. What better way to express one's faith and bring others to it than through what has been learned from or through the Book of Concord?

Philosopher and retired clinical neuroscientist, Raymond Tallis explores such an idea in a work of 2019. Writing specifically on medical science in a chapter on the mysteries and paradoxes found in modern scientific medicine, Tallis outlines the way in which our daily lives are becoming increasingly remote from bodily activity and organic experiences; in this case specifically those found during illness. He suggests that:

> With the advent of the electronic era life has become ever lighter: our existence is "e-ttenuated". In short, our lives for an increasing proportion of the time are somewhat "discarnate", remote from organic reality, and given over to a community of minds. […] And there is another aspect to this,

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38 Ibid.
39 Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 11.
40 See above, pp. 124–31.
41 *The New Bach Reader*, p. 336.

> which we might express as follows: the difficulty of *being* the facts of one's [medical] case. As objects of medical attention we are known to knowledge that is remote from us.[42]

It might be tempting here to explore the philosophical underpinnings of the point that Tallis is making, but we find in the above quotation a useful frame around which to hang Bach the learned and faithfully expressive musician. One thing which links the orthodox Lutheran Bach and Tallis is that for Bach, as for Luther, the very difficulty inherent in the reformed religion was that of the omniscience of God meaning we could not hope to come to an understanding of his grace, mercy or forgiveness without accepting the fallen state of man. In turn meaning that all the earthly trappings of religion, for example Papal Indulgences or fine liturgical clothing, could not bring us even half-way towards such understanding; therefore, for Luther, a human being cannot escape the idea that they are the very *being* of their own religious case. Indeed, as objects of religious attention we are known to knowledge which is ultimately remote from us, that of God himself.

We have seen already the importance of adiaphora in Luther's reforms, those matters which are not seen as essential for faith but nevertheless are permissible within Church or for Christians more generally. As such, Luther and his fellow sixteenth-century reformers drew a distinction between those ceremonies and rituals which had been divinely ordained and those which had been established under Catholic legalism.[43] For Luther, such legalism had enabled the church to deliver a "discarnate" religion which was increasingly remote from the everyday lives of worshippers. As we have seen,[44] to overcome this remoteness from organic reality music was central to Luther's vision, to such an extent that for him it was divinely ordained and as such a required part of a purposive, active reformed religion. Certainly, this formed the basis of Lutheran education, indeed far from music reducing religion's force it was a very successful way of giving life or expression to doctrines of faith. Ultimately, music enabled the comingling of the remote discarnate God (and his knowledge of a person) with that of communities of minds (parishioners); music therefore had a unique place within Thuringia insofar as it could bring, for orthodox Lutherans, illumination of the mind at any point in time – whether in Church, at school

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[42] Raymond Tallis, 'The Mystery and Paradox of Scientific Medicine', in *In Defence of Wonder and other Philosophical Reflections* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 181–94 (at pp. 192–3).

[43] See Spicer, '*Adiaphora*, Luther and the Material Culture of Music', *Studies in Church History*, 56 (2020), 246–72 (at pp. 247–8).

[44] See Chapter 6, above, pp. 111–139.

or in non-religious settings such as Coffee Houses – and thus was a universal language to be used by all throughout their daily lives.

Bettina Varwig provides a uniquely useful example of this in her essay, 'Embodied Invention: Bach at the keyboard', in which she suggests that Bach himself – by way of reports from his pupils – had purposive hands. Varwig cites one of Bach's pupils, the organist, composer and teacher, Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809):

> [One of his most capable pupils always had to accompany on the harpsichord. It will easily be guessed that no one dared to put forward a meagre thorough-bass accompaniment. Nevertheless,] one always had to be prepared to have Bach's hands and fingers suddenly mingle among the hands and fingers of the player and, without getting in the way of the latter, furnish the accompaniment with masses of harmonies that made an even greater impression than the unsuspected close proximity of the teacher.[45]

For a musician's hands to be purposive the musician themselves must have first learned the basics from a teacher, put these rudiments into effect repeatedly (or at least until they were correct) and only then would one be free to employ these rules in one's playing. Varwig suggests that the extant accounts of Bach's teaching style are indicative of embodied invention and practice. Here the practice was not only to teach musical forms or invention, but also to come to terms with the fact that the music itself is an integral part of a lived reality within which the pupil and master coexist.[46]

This is helpful in illustrating why Clack's conception of *homo religiosus* is so useful to us, not only was Bach's musical education religiously inclined – by nature of being in receipt of it in the reformed schools of Thuringia – but it was also governed by the rules taught to him there; a key feature of which will have been the keyboard, or clavier. We find here the beginnings of what Varwig suggests is a synergy between historically conditioned characteristic or affordances of the tool (clavier) and the bodily capacities of the user.[47] If, for Bach, the liturgy and music were utterly inseparable, such a synergy will have been evident to him from the earliest point of his education and then used as the tool for delivering his goal or *Endzweck*.

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[45] Varwig, 'Embodied Invention', pp. 117–8; see also Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 239; and David and Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 323.
[46] Varwig, 'Embodied Invention', p. 118.
[47] Ibid, p. 121.

Another parallel between Bach and Grosseteste becomes evident here, insofar as we can perceive an eighteenth century form of Stephen Langton's rustic exhortation being utilised to enable a congregation to gain understanding of a good life with the ploughshare in this case taking the form of music; something which Luther had placed above all other arts in his reforms.

Definition ten of *legere* is split into two parts, with the second being of most interest given that Langton himself suggests that the term could mean singular different interpretations of a given passage of scripture. Why this is of interest here is that Bach had within his personal library multiple copies of Luther's works, alongside a copy of the Calov Bible in which he wrote his own commentary; something which provides us with Bach's own approach to scripture, an approach which is strikingly similar to Grosseteste's pastoral vision and links back to his entreaties to W. of Cerda to take on the *cura animarum* instead of teaching at Paris. Indeed, in Langton's own terms the laity can be converted by rough, unpolished preaching with ease – something which we have seen in Bach's case in the teaching of the Book of Concord;[48] the book itself being presented to all students in language they all understood which was then confirmed through musical instruction. By bringing together all academic subjects, the day-to-day lives of congregations, soteriological understanding and musical expression of faith Lutheran dogmatism forged a faith which not only lived beyond the life of Luther himself but became embedded within thought processes and thereby became living in and of itself.

A particularly interesting comment of Bach's comes in relation to 2 Chronicles 5:12–14:

> [12] and all the Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jedu′thun, their sons and kinsmen, arrayed in fine linen, with cymbals, harps, and lyres, stood east of the altar with a hundred and twenty priests who were trumpeters; [13] and it was the duty of the trumpeters and singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the Lord), and when the song was raised, with trumpets and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise to the Lord,
> "For he is good,
> for his steadfast love endures for ever,"
> the house, the house of the Lord, was filled with a cloud, [14] so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of God. 2 Chronicles 5:12–14 RSV

[48] See Chapter 2, *Rustic Exhortation, the Body, Soul and Celestial Harmony in the Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 37-8.; and Langton, *Glossa Heptateucham*, from Paris BN, MS Latin 355, fol. 181r.

Bach's response to this in his Calov Bible marginalia – of "N.B. With a devotional music God is always in his presence of grace [*Gnaden-Gegenwart*]"[49] – is instructive especially when taken alongside the idea that there is no paradox in the idea that Bach's output and work is derived from his professional interests in what was happening around him. For both Grosseteste and Bach, every human faculty – whether verbal utterance or musical ability – brings with it the possibility that God's grace can be employed to give effect to God's grace, something which in turn requires one to be very part of rather than separate from temporal interest; as such this could be considered as a reflection of God's grace giving effect to his favour and vice versa, the process is without end despite temporal lives being short. Such an idea may appear odd in the twenty-first century, where most pre-Tertiary education tends towards the compartmentalizing of subjects into their own areas to suit a particular educational mode or setting. Yet, for an orthodox Lutheran the combination or comingling of all subjects would have been the norm, indeed for the Baroque composer the route to prowess and purposive musical hands was through hard work. For Bach, this would come through copying out and studying examples of the best music he may have been able to lay his hands on.[50] Johann Mattheson's desire was for a patriotic music as noted above, this is built upon when he suggests about invention that it '…requires fire and spirit, the arrangement of it order and proportion; its working out cold blood and calculated reflection.'[51] The question of how musical invention is enabled is something we turn to now, in relation to the devotional aspects of music delivering God's grace by proxy.

We find the primary pedagogical parallel between Bach and Grosseteste in Gardiner's comments about Mattheson, namely that of how Bach was instructed in music and how this then enabled him to compose. We have already seen the similarities between the Lutheran and scholastic modes of education, not least in relation to proportion, order and understanding, or sharing, of concepts. As Gardiner suggests, the standard post-Renaissance model for learning involved three specific nodes – those of the learning of rules (*Preceptum*), studying and analysing the examples of recognized masters (*Exemplum*) and imitating their work (*Imitatio*).[52] It is striking quite how similar this is to Grosseteste's theme tune of life – that of *aspectus/affectus* – where *experimentum* was so vital to understand the human world via

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[49] *The New Bach Reader*, p. 161.
[50] Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 79.
[51] Johann Mattheson, *Die volkomme Capellmeister* (1739), p. 241, Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, pp. 79–80.
[52] *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, note, p. 79.

intellectual vision or other cognitive powers while also leaving room for our desires. For to have purposive musical hands was to have the ability to imitate while building upon what had gone before, but first one must have the appetite or the will to learn then the cognitive ability to analyse works while studying them in depth. In so doing one would learn the rules by which music is governed, proportion then understood or made known, and art delivered to the ear of a listener. As such affect cannot be a singular event, rather something which is arrived at through a combination of a series of events, the establishment of them and then their expression; in this case that of the music itself being purposive in the hands of a suitably trained and qualified musician, such as Bach.

The semantic range of *legere* has already provided a fruitful exploratory path and it continues to do so when considering Bach the orthodox Lutheran. In Bach's musically purposive hands we find the comingling of definition eleven (**a.** a lection that is to be read and life of a saint, **b.** books of lections that are to be read, legendary), definitions one and two (**i** to gather, to collect and **ii** to glean)[53] along with the *sola gratia* principle which Luther clung to so keenly so as to avoid the earthly trappings of the Catholic rite. As with *legere* itself, the extent to which this can be explained succinctly is difficult to quantify. Chiara Bertoglio, however, provides a useful suggestion insofar as music supports the two dimensions of Luther's pastoral will, those being *Lehre* (doctrine) and *Trost* (consolation). *Lehre* and *Trost* in turn brought forth a new concept of the liturgy as something which aimed to instruct the congregation as opposed to making a sacrificial offering more pleasing to God.[54] If one is to glean, gather or collect an understanding of God for Luther this could be achieved through coming to terms with the idea that in the Eucharist we are being served with God's gifts, as opposed to doing something specifically for him. By receiving such gifts, we are able to combine *Lehre* with *Trost*, in effect Lutheran doctrine's primary purpose was to console so that all may understand; *crede ut intelligas* in all but name. We find in Psalm 116 an expression of this:

> **12** What shall I render to the Lord :
> for all his bounty to me?
> **13** I will lift up the cup of salvation :
> and call on the name of the Lord,

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53 Latham, et. al., *DMLBS*.

54 Chiara Bertoglio, 'Beyond "Church-dividing" Differences: Music and New Ecumenical Perspectives on Justification', in *Lutheran Musical Culture: Ideals and Practices*, ed. Lundberg et. al. (2021), pp. 285–303 (at pp. 286–89).

14 I will pay my vows to the Lord :
in the presence of all his people.
15 Precious in the sight of the Lord :
is the death of his saints.
16 O Lord, I am thy servant :
I am thy servant, the son of thy handmaid.
Thou hast loosed my bonds.

Psalm 116:12–16 RSV

Rather than personally engaging with the liturgy as handed down to one as parishioner, Luther's requirement is that consolation is arrived at through common practice and understanding. If the gifts one is receiving are materially human – the bread and the wine – we become better able to use those in our day-to-day lived realities, the sacrifice of thanksgiving becomes a way in which congregations come together as a coherent whole within the body of the Priesthood of All Believers; something which is still salient in today's world.[55] If we are unable to break bread and share wine with fellow communicants, we are therefore unable to share in the same profession of a shared, living faith and equally unable to begin to comprehend our place within the world. Why this is so important here is, and by way of a return to Tom McLeish's ideas for science and Stephen Langton's rustic exhortation too, is that if one combines *legere*'s definition eleven with definitions one and two, liturgy for Luther suddenly becomes participatory in the truest sense. The lection allows the congregation to gather together, or collect and/or glean, in their own terms the reasons why their faith is situated in everyday life and not only that, the only way to ensure this was to constantly remind the congregations of Lutheran Germany that the earthly trappings of religion distort the Word itself. Ultimately, the liturgy becomes the repository for truth thus enabling the stripping away, by way of adiaphora and other means, of the earthly trappings of Catholic legalism which Luther sought to remind the congregations of northern and central Germany in all services.

Given this, it is even possible to suggest that the orthodox Lutheran Bach was an exponent of an updated version of medieval entreaties to utilise rustic exhortation – in this case, the ploughshare needed was simply the German language itself as opposed to avoiding fine preaching. We find a striking parallel between Luther's *Lehre*/*Trost* combination in Tom

[55] See John R. Davies, 'Eucharist, Church, and Judgement: Initial Questions about the Liturgical and Ecclesiological Implications of COVID-19 Pandemic', *Scottish Episcopal Institute Journal*, 4.2 (Summer 2020), pp. 71–83 (at pp. 77–8).

McLeish's first foundational principle for science, insofar as it should adopt and recognise the long, complex history of the relationship between human and non-human.[56] Without such knowledge, and equally that of man's fallen state, it would be impossible for any of Luther's or Bach's congregations to find consolation in doctrine; something which would be rendered utterly useless without the possibility of the rustic exhortation inherent in Lutheranism itself, for example that found in Luther requiring children to bring their parents to the religion even at table.

But, how best for this to be employed and through which medium? The answer comes – for Bach, Luther and Grosseteste – in the ways in which the non-human or Divine can be understood, specifically through music. For all three men music provides a context in and medium by which the infinite can be comprehended, equally it also has an almost unique quality by which it seems to convert the soul through its personal and affective quality.

Extending a previous point about the Book of Concord – that through constantly putting into practice that which was learned, in this case music, the Devil could be repeatedly thrown out given his aversion to music – it could be said that the ultimate purpose of Bach's purposive hands was very much to put into practice that Augustinian phrase, *crede ut intelligas*, believe that you may understand; Luther's desire to impose an actualising faith at all turns writ large.[57] To return to Mattheson's suggestion around patriotic music and edification of the community through Christian living, music's role in this is twofold – it is educative, at the very least it helps to illuminate the mind by imitating celestial harmonies (*aspectus*), and appeals to the emotions or will (*affectus*) through rhythm. It is also patriotic in the sense that it is a tool by which the mind can be kept on the good life, with that knowledge being built upon by the repetitive teaching and re-teaching (*legere* in nearly all its definitions) of doctrine in and out of school; patriotic in the sense that without music the religion could not be evangelised nor taught successfully. But the question does arise around how a person may come to terms with this idea in their own minds – to answer this, we now turn to *disputare*.

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[56] See McLeish, *Medieval Lessons for the Modern Science/Religion Debate*, pp. 297–8; and Chapter 1, above, Appendix, pp. 35–6.

[57] See Chapter 6, above, pp. 132–3

Disputare – to engage in disputation

The survival of elements of the scholastic method of education into the eighteenth century, by way of an actualising Lutheranism and a return to the medieval *Quadrivium* for educative purposes is at first glance curious, not least because of the *Quadrivium*'s importance to the very Catholic legalism which Luther himself raged against. However, just as music has a multiplicity of uses, so the *Trivium*, for example specifically within dialectic, has at its heart the idea of *disputare* or simply the opportunity to challenge one's own taught ideas through argumentation or even to challenge one's own teacher directly. One might therefore be able to bring to bear all of one's own lived experience to disprove, or improve on, previous thought.

Here we can bear in mind Clack's suggestion that *homo religiosus* is not separate from the earth or from others; rather, through the cultivation of a broader connection with the everyday, by connecting to the world around ourselves, we find ways of wearing our failures and losses more lightly.[58] A musical loss, for example, might be one's failure to work or understand the harmony a Master may have been seeking.

Robin Leaver and Derek Remeś point to this mode of education through fearlessness of failure when considering Bach's chorale-based pedagogy. They observe how Bach's method continued after his death as related by his former pupils and his son, Carl Phillip Emanuel. His father removed all dry aspects of musical theory, specifically those of the music theorist Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), preferring to drop his pupils in at the deep end of counterpoint. Bach required this of all his students, beginning their studies with four-part thorough bass then moving on to the harmonisation of chorales.[59]

It is, however, the second generation of Bach students – those who were taught by Bach's own pupils or sons – who provide a route into understanding why *disputare* maintains its utility in respect of music making.

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[58] Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 204.

[59] See Robin A. Leaver and Derek Remeś, 'J. S. Bach's Chorale-Based Pedagogy: Origins and Continuity" *Bach*, 48–49:2–1 (2018), pp. 116–130 (at p. 117); and 'Letter answering questions about Bach (*BD* III, no. 803) in David and Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 398–400.

We have already seen how committed Kittel was to maintaining Bach's legacy in the publication of Bach's works. Kittel was also committed to maintaining Bach's teaching style into the later part of the eighteenth century. This commitment to the legacy of Bach's teaching style is laid out very clearly in a passage from Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck's (1770–1846) autobiography:

> [In 1786, Rinck] little understood thorough-bass, as the following demonstrates. When I visited Kittel for the first time, in order to test how far I had come [in musical studies] he wrote for me the three bass notes c, d, e, which I had to set in four parts. After I had completed the task, Kittel looked it over and said: "The chords are, of course, individually correctly worked out, but not in their relationship to each other or the other interval." I heard these words but did not understand them; I had not heard about these forbidden progressions […]
>
> The first exercises in four-part writing comprised numerous settings of chorales and thorough-bass examples. Then I had to learn how to create many basses for a given chorale melody […] For many chorales I had to create as many as twenty to thirty different settings.[60]

Disputare has a narrower semantic range than *legere*, with only two definitions for it found in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. But we find in Rinck's remarks something akin to definition **1.b**: 'to maintain or discuss in debate.'[61] Rinck had employed all the skills he had gained through his previous musical teaching (*legere*), but in 1786 had not yet reached the point where his chord progressions were of sufficient quality to reflect the relationship between them in terms of the proportion Kittel was expecting. The unheard and previously not understood nature of progressions points to another of Clack's observations about *homo religiosus*: one's life is not lived in isolation rather one is rooted in the earth's (and humanity's) processes and materiality.[62]

Given this and man's fallen state, it is useful at this point to consider why Luther's personal dogmatism might have been so appealing to Bach. Isabella van Elferen has talked about rethinking *affect* or moving away from the Baroque definition of *affectunglehre*, the idea that Baroque musical rhetoric should be based in *movere*, meaning that music ought to move the

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[60] Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck, *Selbstbiographie*, 23–4 in Lever and Remés, *Bach's Chorale-Based Pedagogy*, p. 126.
[61] See *DMLBS* for Definition 1: 'to dispute, argue'.
[62] Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 197.

human affects.[63] Gardiner has suggested this is similar to baking. We begin with all the constituent elements – in our case the musical lines – being weighed out and sieved, but given that their human equivalents are alive, a composer would need to ensure that the performers should react organically to one another, each taking responsibility for their respective roles and tasks. Furthermore, for the budding chorister song was both their passport and their meal ticket.[64]

Taking *movere* to its logical conclusion, music should ultimately be about enabling the organic sharing of information in such a way as all may understand. As such, for Luther music's affective quality is that of comprehending the idea of a messy, everyday lived reality we find at the heart of *homo religiosus*; to commune with God (whether in church or elsewhere) is to commune with each other or our communities, quite outwith the earthly trappings of Catholic legalism. Indeed, Bach will from a very early age have had some knowledge of Luther's dictum that: "Amongst us the Holy Spirit is not present in any other way than in the bodily sense, that is, in the word, the water, Christ's body and his saints."[65] In this sense Lutheran spiritual nourishment is not just a shared ceremony, but crucially an ongoing, active daily shared duty of which a key part is music from which an organic personal response to the Word and water enables personal understanding of Christ and his saints. Such organic responses are of equal importance to *disputare*, specifically "to maintain or discuss in debate",[66] especially when relating this to the idea of Lutheran justification. The idea being that the act of knowing – whether religious, educational or that of perceiving something – requires that the form in which an object is found constitutes the act of faith itself, with knowledge of God being the highest goal of the individual.[67] Indeed, for Luther communion was Christologically located, describing his *renevatio* and doctrine of justification as relying upon a reality beyond the senses. In effect it is "in the cloud" and therefore renewal can only be attained through communion with God himself, which in turn might lead to intellectual renewal being arrived at thanks to the feelings being produced as a consequence of justification and renewal being combined.[68] In essence, the great opportunity of *disputare* is that for any student it provides a space in which to put into

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63 Van Elferen, "Rethinking Affect", in *Rethinking Bach*, p. 141–66 (at p. 141).
64 *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 241 and pp. 26–7.
65 *WA 23*, 193, pp. 31-33.
66 *DMLBS*, Online.
67 See Olli-Pekka Vainio, *Justification and Participation in Christ: The Development of the Lutheran Doctrine of Justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord (1580)*, (Brill: Leiden, 2008), pp. 88–93.
68 Ibid., p. 92.

effect those things which had been taught or gleaned under *legere*; something which in turn allows the student to maintain a line of thought or compositional intent at the same time as overcoming any potential defects in the Master's knowledge or teaching.

For Bach, then, the opportunity found in *disputare* is twofold. First, he will have had to come to terms with Luther's idea that the cognitive and intellectual apprehension of God means knowing him as a God who gives himself to and on behalf of sinners. From which springs the idea of personal union with and communication of the attributes of Christ being a prerequisite for the salvation of the human being, with a true God in Christ's form being able to destroy the powers that keep creation and humanity captive, in turn meaning that sin, death and God's wrath are nullified in the person of Christ.[69] Second, Luther's desire to produce a more accurate rendering of the Bible by returning to the Greek and Hebrew texts will have been known to Bach. This mirrors the pedagogy which lay at the heart of the post-Renaissance standard model of musical teaching, in essence going back to basics first before anything can be achieved more formally to ensure foundations were secure. Something which required learning of the rules (*Preceptum*) being married to consistent study and analysis of the examples of recognised masters (*Exemplum*), but it is the third of these requirements which is of most importance as imitation (*Imitatio*) of their work was the point at which new compositional techniques could be explored.[70] Such was the importance of *imitatio* that Joachim Burmeister devoted an entire chapter of his *Musica poetica* to it, describing it as, 'the striving and endeavour dexterously to reflect upon, emulate and construct a musical composition through the analysis of artful example.' [71]

This is similar in many ways to Luther's dictum that one cannot attain salvation nor understanding of the divine except through imitation of, and reflection upon, Christ's example, to emulate him was to enable understanding for others in all walks of life. Without constant reflection, emulation and construction of a musical composition the young Bach would not have come to an idea of music which reflects the ancient, Platonic contention that musical harmony, or at least harmony which is agreeable to the soul, leads the body to a well-tempered state. The

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69 Ibid., pp. 21–3.

70 Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, note p. 79.

71 See Joachim Burmeister., *Musica poetica* (Rostock: S. Mylinader, 1599/1606).; and Joachim Burmeister., *Musical Poetics*, trans. with Introduction and Notes by Benito V. Rivera (New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 1993).

communicative aspect of music is crucial for both Bach and Grosseteste, not least because of the idea Grosseteste held in respect of music helping to restore balance to a disturbed mind,[72] especially given the ancient idea that hearing something has the most significant moral effects.[73]

The beauty of *disputare* for Bach was to mirror the idea found in the combination of *exemplum* and *imitatio* required when learning music in the post-Renaissance standard model. In turn, *imitatio* can be said to be integral to the communicative aspects of musical composition, insofar as its use in turn enables ordinary people to understand potentially incomprehensible subjects such as the divine, such was Bach's confidence in letting the music speaking for itself. *Disputare* then provides an excellent example of where one can trace a link between Grosseteste and Bach. For both men – whether under *disputare* or in the *exemplum*/*imitatio* version – one would take an idea, interrogate it to the nth degree, disputing along the way, and then put the newly formed idea into practice; or possibly even return to the initial point to test any new information which may have arisen in the process. In essence allowing for the messiness of everyday lived reality to enter into the research/disputation to form something new.

We saw in the previous chapter that Luther's theology was not an ordered discourse about God or transcendence according to an ordering *ratio*, indeed there is a contention between two types of environments and types of addresses.[74] A curious example of this is found in the often described portrait of Bach, produced by E. G. Haußmann in 1748, in which the composer holds forth to the viewer a deceptively simple Triple canon for six voices; perhaps this is Bach holding out a visual business card, one specifically for the widely recognised and admired, brilliant organist and keyboard virtuoso – the self-defined Bach.[75] In essence we see a very literal type of address in the "musician's business card", first it is just that something which sets him apart from others around him based on his own talent. But equally, it is a literal representation of a parcel (*Zirkular-Pakete*) physically posted to the members of the Corresponding Society of Musical Sciences founded by a former student of Bach's, Lorenz Christoph Mizler. Each member, in turn, would circulate the twice yearly posted parcel to the next until responses had

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[72] See Chapter 1, *Grosseteste and the State of the Literature*, p. 18.; and McEvoy, *Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 42.

[73] See Hyun-Ah Kim, "'Music of the Soul' (*animae musica*): Marsilio Ficino and the Revival of *musica humana* in Renaissance Neoplatonism", *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 19:2, 2017, pp. 122–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14622459.2017.1341627>

[74] See Chapter 6, above, *J. S. Bach and the Book of Concord*, pp. 114–116.

[75] Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2020), p. 2.

been gained from them all to the enclosed puzzle by way of finding a degree of musical perfection.[76] In this way we can see quite clearly that definition **1.b** of *disputare* applies, as one can maintain a line of argument or discussion verbally and also in musical debate. Perfection, or in this case the successful untangling of a carefully designed musical knot, can be achieved through the shared experience of using the initial phrase to inform a personal response to it; something which cannot be achieved without maintaining a line of musical argument, nor without engagement with the discussion and debate around the original theme. Perhaps ultimately proving Johann Abraham Birnbaum's dictum about the 'nature of music', specifically relating to the Canon a Six, insofar as music, 'consists of harmony':

> The harmony becomes far more perfect [*weit volkommener*] if all voices collaborate. Accordingly, this is not a failing but rather a musical perfection.[77]

The requirement for perfection is perhaps not surprising in Bach's case, but it also reflects the scholastic nature of Bach's education with all subjects feeding off and informing the other. Without the collaborative formation of *disputare*, subjects could not fulfil this role properly not least because of a lack of discursive learning leading to a lack of perfection or possibly even leading to imperfection, thus meaning new knowledge could not be transmitted. While this may seem straight forward, we must bear in mind that Birnbaum had an interest in portraying Bach as a perfectionist. After all, he has been described by Wolff as Bach's mouthpiece, with the statement about musical perfection being a refutation of a critique of Bach's works from Adolph Scheibe who suggested that his compositions were lacking a principal voice [*Hauptstimme*], in turn making all voices collaborate with one another with equal difficulty.[78] Why this is important is that such a statement forced Bach to set out his desire for musical perfection being his ultimate goal – as found in his *Endzweck* and *Entwurff.* After all, if something is to be well ordered it must reflect the perfection of God, even in the double or invertible counterpoint solution as hinted at by way of the portraitist giving Bach a knowing gaze thus enticing the viewer in still deeper; perhaps in the hope that they become conversant with double, triple, and quadruple counterpoint and thus a perfect harmonic resolution of the problem posed.

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[76] Ibid., pp. 2–4.
[77] See Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, p. 6; and David, Wolff ed., *The New Bach Reader*, p. 347.
[78] Wolff, p. 6; and David, p. 338.

As Wolff suggests, the combination of painterly likeness and a canon, or at the very least examples of music, is not unique to Bach by way of a composer hinting at their chosen profession; indeed like him Handel and Scarlatti, who were both born in the same year as Bach with the three being described as 'the class of 1685', have been depicted with their music as were the composers who both preceded and followed them. However, what Bach does is with distinctly quiet strength declare that this is who he is and in turn what he stood for, that of the art of contrapuntal polyphony; the challenge for the viewer is to resolve the perpetual triple canon à six.[79] The portrait thus offers us a glimpse into Bach's intentions for the setting of his own legacy for posterity, that of the singular musical genius.[80] A genius which is unique to his being able to assimilate difficult harmonic progressions, while at the same time as not being bound by the very conventions which others could not shake off such was his mastery of them; a Quasi-Grosseteste indeed.

Given that Bach is the master curator of his being a genius, and that he constantly reminds us of his ability to assimilate new ideas and then put them into practice in a form of music which was to speak for itself, it is useful here to reconsider the inscription on Robert Grosseteste's crozier and the potential implications this has for Bach as an early-modern musical Quasi-Grosseteste. The English translation of *Per baculi formam, praelati discito normam* is, as we saw at the very beginning of this Thesis, 'By the shape of the staff, learn the model of the Bishop'; the emphasis being specifically on how one might learn from another the model of a bishop.[81] This is something which could equally be applied to Bach himself, especially given his dislike of the drier theory-based aspects of musical instruction. If we view the Latin phrase through modern eyes, Grosseteste's "baculum" becomes for Bach a musical stave, in this sense Bach himself was not only taught the form of music but also put it to good use in the formation of his musical norm – that of letting the music speak for itself,[82] and by extension his *Endzweck* and *Entwurff*. A lifelong interest in new instruments would have afforded an ordinary musician innumerable opportunities for exploring sound worlds, but for Bach this was not enough as he felt the continuing need to hone his craft, even his self-made genius, through engagement with new forms of composition, foreign forms of dances (for example in the English and French keyboard

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79 Wolff, p. 4.

80 See Chapter 6, above, p. 118; and Christoph Wolff, 'Defining Genuis: Early Reflections of J. S. Bach's Self-Image', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145:4 (2001), p. 481.

81 See Chapter 3, above, *Insurgent Liturgy and the Franciscans in Robert Grosseteste's Salvific Vision*, pp. 59–60.

82 Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, p. 1.

suites), new tuning techniques and more besides to gain the fullest possible compositional palette in relation to his learned polyphonic compositional style.[83] Having learned the rudimentary aspects of musical composition, Bach chose to impose on himself the same rigour he came to expect from all of his performers, what better way to constantly hone your craft than through musical *disputare*. Indeed, there could be no better way of letting the music speak for itself than through its physical, written presence and also through its live performance (liturgical or otherwise) in what could be described as a form of musical *praedicare*. It is this we turn to now.

Praedicare – to preach

As with *disputare* the semantic range of *praedicare* is much more limited than that of *legere*, with only four definitions found in the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources. Although fewer in number, the definitions provided do help to illustrate, even at this early stage of examination, the circular nature of the duties of the medieval Master of Theology and in the process also those of masters involved in the standard post-Renaissance model for learning music – *preceptum*, *exemplum* and *imitatio*. We begin with the portrait of Bach and the fact that he was making known, very explicitly, that he was to be known for his musical craft; as such he exemplified the idea that the name Bach was synonymous with music in Thuringia encouraging the viewer to imitate, if not comprehend fully, his genius.[84] Neatly, he encompasses definition **1.b** – to be known as, or called – and at the same time he declares his intentions by letting the music speak for itself, as we see above, something which is also found in definition **1** – to make known, declare.

The question of why Grosseteste and Bach have been chosen to investigate as similar academic entities is useful to consider here. It has become apparent that Grosseteste's pastoral vision is mirrored in Bach's declaration that the music should speak for itself certainly insofar as he was ultimately concerned with universal salvation, which was the foundation for his extension of episcopal authority throughout the diocese of Lincoln.[85] Indeed, in Letter 127 Grosseteste suggests:

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[83] See Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, p. 7.
[84] See John Eliot Gardiner, *Bach: A Passionate Life*, BBC4, 22 November 2013.
[85] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 154.

> When […] the sun's rays fall upon a mirror and it reflects them, illuminating all the places where the sun's direct rays are blocked by some opaque body, this illumination is more the work of the sun than the mirror; indeed, it is entirely the sun's work, for it is really the sun's ray that illuminates the places which it is reflected by the mirror. Likewise, when the obstacle has been removed, the sun's ray falls directly on places where it could not so fall: only by reflection from the mirror could it reach such places and bring them light. When falling directly upon these places, the sun's ray illuminates them more brightly than they would be illuminated by reflection from the mirror alone. That is to say, reflected emission of light does not eliminate or diminish direct illumination.
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> So, it is in the case of the good prelate when one removes the obstacles represented by other preoccupations that have at times made it impossible for him to exercise by himself his power over some of his subjects, and instead required him to do so through others to whom a share of his power had been granted. When these obstacles are removed, the good prelate himself, by his own exercise of his own power over his charges, casts a light that eliminates the darkness of error, ignorance, and sin more powerfully and effectively than his inferiors, who have received from his power this function of a superior. They do not rise up against that power or in any way impede or diminish it. For what is more unnatural than for someone to rebel against himself, or to impede or diminish himself, or even to remove himself?[86]

Taking that, for Bach as a good member of the Priesthood of All Believers, the sun's rays are the music he has produced it is possible to suggest that through letting the music speak for itself he was seeking to remove obstacles to understanding by way of an eighteenth-century form of rustic exhortation. The centrality of music to Lutheranism is not in doubt, however we find in Bach a version of music which is all encompassing, covering not just day-to-day life but also religious illumination. In so doing, Bach produced music which helps to cast light where a sermon intended to inspire may fall short, thus eliminating darkness, the errors of ignorance and sin. To do so he constantly updated his knowledge of instruments, compositional forms and so much more besides to give better effect to his musical illumination of the mind. As Grosseteste himself said in Letter 127, it is unnatural for someone to rebel against or impede or diminish, even remove oneself from your context. As such, it is vital that one should use all of one's faculties to ensure that obstacles are removed by exercising one's own powers in the pursuit of the *cura animarum*. It is definition **2** of *praedicare*, the idea of making something widely known

[86] *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. 360–1; and *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. Mantello and Goering, p. 378.

or publicising something (with the implication of praise),[87] through which we can find another parallel between Bach and Grosseteste, most especially when considering the use of all of one's own powers or faculties to save souls or bring order to a chaotic everyday lived life.

Bach was not as intimately, personally nor actively involved as Grosseteste in the cure of souls, but that is not to suggest that he did not understand his role in this variously as an organist, Konzertmeister, Kapellmeister and eventually Cantor in Leipzig.[88] Indeed, given that he was steeped in Lutheranism from a very early age it will have been very unlikely that Bach did not see himself as a musical evangeliser, which is not to suggest he was a committed proselytiser. Rather the opposite, his personal expression of religious fervour is found specifically in his music – here again we can think of Grosseteste's crozier and Bach's music speaking for itself and the *Lehre/Trost* combination we saw earlier. Gardiner, in comprehending the impact of the First Leipzig Cantata Cycle, describes how Bach reaches out to the listener to help them perceive what choices they may have in life, showing them an ideal (in other words Heaven) and then refocusing on the real world and how to deal with it; specifically in relation to attitude, behaviour and conduct.[89] Ultimately, and similar to Grosseteste, Bach becomes a bridge between real life or our lived world and Heaven itself. In this respect they are both guiding their listeners or parishioners to a more ordered life, as opposed to proselytising and forcing a conversion on any given person. Both men are in modern behavioural scientific terms "nudging",[90] or using positive reinforcement and indirect suggestions to influence the decision-making of an individual listener or groups of listeners. But, unlike modern nudging both Bach, through his *Endzweck*, and Grosseteste are appealing directly to the *aspectus* ('vision' of the mind) and *affectus* ('desire' of the mind) held by their parishioners; indeed, we have seen Grosseteste and Luther believed that it was necessary to separate the earthly from the spiritual seeking personal understanding of the Divine based in our day-today lived realities.[91] As such both Grosseteste and Bach were involved in a particularly human-centric form of sharing knowledge of the divine, within which we find more than a hint of Willem Hofstee and also one of the central

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87 *DMLBS*, Online.

88 For a full biographical outline of both Grosseteste and Bach's lives see *Biographical Information and List of Works*, pp. 180–191.

89 Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, pp. 299–300.

90 For an example of recent Nudge Theory see Carsta Simon and Stefano Amarilli "Feeding the beahvioral revolution: Contributions of behavior analysis to nudging and vice versa", *Journal of Behavorial Economics for Policy*, 2:1 (2018), pp. 91–7.

91 For Grosseteste's view see Chapter 3, above, pp. 71–3; and for Bach's Endzweck see Chapter 5, above, p. 110.

themes of Clack's conception of *homo religiosus* is also very much in evidence.[92] Specifically, that of one seeking repeated reconnection with others through religious activity or belief and, thus, also ensure we are bound to one another at every turn so as to avoid a feeling of disconnection from the world from which we are created; furthermore, *homo religiosus* acts to remind us that we are in need of reconnection simply by one being a human being.[93] It is this idea of connection which is vital to the idea of *praedicare*, especially given its broad definition applicable to both Grosseteste's and Bach's worlds.

We saw in Chapter 5 that Grosseteste perceived the seven liberal arts and Franciscans alike as *ministrae* (attendants) upon the faith, as opposed to simply being handmaids (*ancillae*). To extend this thinking to *homo religiosus*, we find in Hofstee's conception of the term that for someone to be considered as such they must simply effect behaviours and thoughts which are totally religious in their motivation, in essence the Lutheran Priesthood of All Believers are just that as they become motivated by behaviours learned in school, as such they are *ancillae* due to the reformed faith belonging to all in a similar way to Augustine Thompson's argument that St. Francis belonged to all.[94] While Lutheranism was at odds with Catholicism by not being at all bound to the intercession of the priest or prelate for bringing parishioners to an understanding of the Word and Divine, there was a requirement for something or someone to enable understanding of the two. The required *ministrae* would, on this reading, be the musicians that parishioners would hear in Church services, Coffee Houses or elsewhere.

Music's greatest power then is that it can be heard, performed, felt or seen in every context imaginable. Not only does this mirror Bach's *Endzweck*, but also the idea that music could play a binding role within the life of a Lutheran *homo religiosus*, especially under Clack's redefinition of the idea. Bach, like Grosseteste, sought to illuminate the minds of the Priesthood of All Believers by letting the music – performed or printed – speak for itself. By being able to direct thoughts towards a good life, thereby enabling a consideration of the Divine, in all aspects of the day-to-day activity of eighteenth-century Thuringia and Saxony Bach used music's very ubiquity to his advantage. While for Clack *homo religiosus* is intended as a foil to modern conceptions of a neoliberal form of *homo economicus* in respect of the entrepreneurial self, she

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92 See Chapter 4, above, for Hofstee's definition of *homo religiosus*, p. 84.
93 Clack, *How to be a Failure*, pp. 144–6.
94 For discussion of St. Francis belonging to all see Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012); and Chapter 3, above, pp. 62–68.

nevertheless furnishes us with the idea that human being are first and foremost of this earth meaning that it makes little sense to define ourselves as entirely separate from it and the physical processes which brought us in to being.[95] For both Grosseteste and Bach their personal salvation was bound up not just in their religiosity, but their abilities to mould the minds of the laity or Priesthood of All Believers through the employment of all their faculties in the process of rebinding one human being to another. Music thus enabled, for Bach, discussion or disputation and also a form of preaching which can be done with or without language, thereby enabling a binding and rebinding one to another for any member of a Lutheran congregation in a near continuous and unstoppable feedback loop. Ultimately, Bach's *praedicare* is not just about preaching but primarily educative in the broadest sense of the word with an emphasis on exhorting someone towards thinking on the good life, as reflected in not only definition **4.b** (to exhort people (to an act)) but also very specifically of definition **4** – that idea of teaching or advocating for something.[96] As with the Church year, Bach's craft – as with Grosseteste's – was circular; the teaching of something (*legere*), leading to the discussion or debating of something (*disputare*), in turn leading to the preaching, promulgation of something (*praedicare*) which lead back to teaching something, and so on. It is therefore possible to suggest that there is more than a passing resemblance between Grosseteste and Bach's ways of working; indeed, it is possible to suggest, given all of the above, that the idea of an eighteenth-century Quasi-Grosseteste finds its greatest expression in J. S. Bach.

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[95] Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 145.
[96] *DMLBS*, Online.

Conclusion

Robert Grosseteste, a thirteenth-century bishop of Lincoln, might on face value appear so far removed from Johann Sebastian Bach – both in terms of their religion and times, given Grosseteste's death occurring almost half a millennium prior to Bach's birth – that any academic exercise designed to link them together or find similarities between them would be rendered pointless. Yet, this would be to deny both men not just their active interdisciplinary working practices but also the thread of music's continuing importance to religious and non-religious reform agendas; something which maintains a significant place in modern educational pedagogy. It is for these reasons that the three initial research questions outlined in Chapter 1 were deliberately broad.[1] They were designed to foster continued interest in previous thought processes while at the same time to encourage exploration of new lines of enquiry when considering the extent to which our knowledge of Bach's religious and musical method can be illuminated in light of early Franciscan writings on *scientia* (ways of learning) and music. Indeed, as research progressed it became apparent that Grosseteste's thought on music is a large but under-explored seam which can provide extensive future opportunities for scholarly endeavour.

While it is not possible to suggest a direct connection between Grosseteste and Bach, it is possible to approach one through the lens of the other (in this case Bach through the lens of Grosseteste and his thought). This then allows for one to understand, comprehend or draw out a new context by the very act of comparing and looking at each of the two men in the round, new contexts which may not have been picked up on previously. Equally, due to Grosseteste's thought on music being underexploited it has allowed for him to be approached through the lens of the growing modern interdisciplinary approach to Bach. It is indeed possible to suggest that there are similarities between Grosseteste and Bach, but they have proved most interesting to explore when approaching them through the lens of the duties of a medieval Master of Theology – *legere*, *disputare*, *praedicare*, to teach, to engage in disputations and to preach. This is especially true in respect of the potential for music to order knowledge, something which we can see in Grosseteste's writings and even his episcopal *familia* (in which he had a harpist at his

[1] See above, Chapter 1, above, p. 33.

side at all times to keep his mind on the good life) and in all of Bach's work, as well as that of his orthodox Lutheran upbringing. The thread which connects the two is ordering of knowledge.

Perhaps the most interesting, and unexpected, point to come out of the research process is the continuing importance into the sixteenth century and beyond of a form of education which Grosseteste would have easily recognised. Luther's return to the medieval *trivium* (Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy), alongside his return to the scriptures – sola scriptura – mirrored the idea which A. C. Crombie posited about Grosseteste himself. Namely, that Grosseteste's conception of practical music relied as heavily, if not more so, on the notion that music was the primary mathematical science and equally that music is itself elemental as to understand practical music is to also understand that to grasp a melodic phrase is to do more than experience a sensation, it also allows one to experience theoretical music in practice.[2] It is striking here to note that music retains its place at the heart of modern Lutheran education, with all subjects taught feeding off and informing the other thereby ordering knowledge. Something which, in turn, enables consideration of the idea of how best to approach or conceive of illumination of the mind. For Grosseteste, the early-Franciscans, Luther and Bach some form of comprehension of the infinite or Divine was vital and to be achieved on a person's own terms so as to allow for a more nuanced understanding to be achieved. Music thus allows for popular understanding of the idea that the natural world was the mirror of the eternal mind, an eternal mind which comprehended fully that human instincts were a necessary part of the greater whole.[3]

Grosseteste and Music

The broad nature of the initial three research questions reflects not only the continued importance of Grosseteste's intellectual and scientific legacy in the modern era, but also his importance in respect of the return to multidisciplinary and cross-disciplinary working in modern academic practice. Chapter 1 afforded us a general overview of the extent to which music, as a subject or practice, appeared in the single author biographies and literature regarding Grosseteste. Although broadly similar in their concentration on Grosseteste's scientific, pastoral or theological writings each of the early pre-year 2000 single author biographies showed quite

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2 See Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 43; Schueller, *The Idea of Music*, p. 378; Chapter 1, above, pp. 24–26.
3 See Chapter 1, above, pp. 19–21; Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 209–10 and pp. 228–9.

how important music was to him throughout his life. That said, mentions of music were found to be largely few and far between except in relation to mathematical comprehension of proportion or coming to terms with celestial harmony. However, references to music itself and its role within Grosseteste's intellectual, parochial and theological life were seen to be frequent enough to merit further investigation. Looking at the earlier stages of research through the lens of the most up to date mention of music and Grosseteste was particularly helpful, as Jack Cunningham's transcription of Philip Perry's 1766 *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste* provides not only clarity on where music fitted into his education but also shows that even at the end of his life music played an integral part of his story. Indeed, one of the most exciting prospects of the essay for Grosseteste Scholars is that while it must be seen for what it is – an attempt at gaining Grosseteste's beatification – it also allows for further exploration of what might be referred to as Grosseteste's "Metaphysics of Music", something which is comparable to that of his Metaphysics of Light. By adding all of the available mentions of music together we can see that it is from his education that Grosseteste gained a particular liking, even love, for music and one which he was not afraid of expressing even when dealing with students or those in high ecclesiastical or royal office.

The education afforded to Robert Grosseteste was based upon not just the Latin form of the seven liberal arts, that is to say the *Trivium* (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), but also the specific duties of a medieval Master of Theology – *legere*, *disputare*, *praedicare*, to teach, to engage in disputation and to preach. Alongside this, and as Nancy van Deusen has pointed out,[4] there was a requirement within the early university of relating disciplines meaning that all subjects within the Trivium/Quadrivium fed off and informed the other even into the later stages of academic instruction; in essence education at the early university was not only interdisciplinary but collaborative in nature. Indeed, and thinking specifically on Martin Luther, the role of writing on music in Grosseteste's time was very different to the modern era's practice-oriented version as writings were based very much upon the service that music was expected to perform within parochial or ecclesiastical office, with the control of musical knowledge being rooted in mathematical understanding.[5]

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4 See Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, pp. 33–65.

5 See Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, p. 24; Chapter 1, above, pp. 25–26.

We find a useful vignette in Jack Cunningham's edition of Philip Perry's *Essay on the Life and Manners of Robert Grosseteste* which helps to describe succinctly the place of music in the Latin education Grosseteste received. While we must be careful to view Perry's ideas fully cognisant that it is a late eighteenth-century attempt to not only gain Grosseteste's canonisation but also confirm his Catholicism, the essay does provide us with an explanation of quite how important music's role was within medieval education. We saw in Chapter 1 quite how adept Grosseteste was considered to be in all the Liberal Arts and Sciences,[6] as such music's place within education was not simply to provide understanding of the universal science of mathematics, but also to enable comprehension of both proportion (in relation to geometry) and celestial harmony. In Grosseteste's case it was not just a combination of music's role within the Trivium/Quadrivium, but its role in ordering knowledge which is of particular interest. Also found in Perry's essay is, perhaps by way of proving the need for beatification of the medieval Bishop, Grosseteste's connection to music even at the time of his death; whether by chance, providence or the happenstance of being within earshot that a conventual bell was heard upon Grosseteste's passing.

It is in Tom McLeish's seven foundational principles which modern science should recognise that we find something which helps to illuminate this, specifically principles **i**, **ii** and **iii** in relation to Grosseteste himself.[7] To summarise these three points McLeish requires for modern science to recognise the long and complex history of the relationship between human and non-human (i), a recognition which entertains a high view of human aptitude to reimagine nature (ii) and a balancing and integration of illumination with the wisdom of cautious intervention in the world (iii).[8] At the heart of Grosseteste's work, and it must be said that of Johann Sebastian Bach too, is the idea or at least acceptance of man's fallen state and that to attempt to overcome the deficiencies brought by this all of one's faculties or abilities must be utilised effectively, whatever they may be. For this to be put into practice one must first be taught the basics, both Grosseteste and Bach utilised these as a basis for their own thought and practice, coming to a very personal understanding of them which in turn allowed them to observe more effectively thus ensuring they were able to illuminate others' minds in the progress of all their work. The human-centred nature of both men's work, their working methods and their outputs has become

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6 See Chapter 1, above, pp. 29–31.
7 For all seven of McLeish's principles, see Appendix to Chapter 1, above, pp. 35–36.
8 Appendix to Chapter 1, above, p. 35–6.

progressively more apparent as we have made our way through this thesis, not least because of the rebinding (human being to human being) effects their work continues to have in the twenty-first century.

Homo Religiosus

When considering the nature of the relationship between the soul and celestial harmony we were afforded a view of this rebinding effect by way of Stephen Langton's idea of 'rustic exhortation', something designed to ensure that the new practical theologies found in the late–twelfth and early–thirteenth centuries were not confined to fine preaching alone. Willem Hofstee's conception of *homo religiosus* provided a useful starting point for exploration of this, insofar as for someone to be considered as a religious human being they must simply affect the behaviours or thoughts of someone whose life was totally motivated by religious matters. Likewise, this means we must view that person through the prism of their chosen religious denomination, whether before or after the European Reformation.

Approaching Grosseteste as *homo religiosus* not only helped to foreground why he worked in the ways he did, but also allowed us to explore quite how widely known his works may have been across Europe. As we have seen, thanks to the Franciscan *conventus* in Prague there were copies of his letters held in the Cathedral Library there and also in the more obvious institutions of the universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.[9] Due to *conventus* acting as nodal points for the communities in which the Friars Minor found themselves, it would not be too much of a stretch of the imagination to suggest that Grosseteste's letters were shared across and between Europe's various religious houses, from friaries to convents and beyond. Indeed, given the proximity of both Thuringia and Saxony to what is now the Czech Republic (some 186 miles from Leipzig to Prague) one could imagine that the friars would walk between the *conventus* sharing Grosseteste's work as they did so, such was the Order's connection to, affection for and openness towards him. Equally, this would mirror J. S. Bach's visiting Dietrich Buxtehude in Lübeck to learn from one of the greatest organists and composers of Bach's early life, reportedly walking the two-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey each way, from Arnstadt in central Germany to near the Baltic coast and back, on foot.[10]

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[9] See *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, pp. xcvi–xcvii; and Chapter 2, above, p. 41.

[10] See *The New Bach Reader*, ed. David, Mendel & Wolff: 'Obituary', p. 300; 'A Comparison of Bach and Handel', p. 408; 'Forkel's Biography of Bach', p. 426; Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven*, p. 561.

We have seen, furthermore, that the nature of Franciscan liturgy and preaching could be described as insurgent in the sense that the way the friars minor gave effect to their faith and learning was totally new by comparison to that which was found in the pre-Grosseteste diocese of Lincoln. It was a form of life which existed, at least initially and by direction of St Francis himself, outside of the highly centralised and regimented ecclesiastical hierarchy found within the medieval church in which Grosseteste himself had been nurtured from his earliest moments in Bishop William de Vere's *familia* at Hereford, from about 1195 onwards. This will certainly provide an interesting and fruitful avenue for future research, not least because there is a pressing need to comprehend the extent to which Grosseteste's works were known across the Latin Christian West following his death in 1253. Something which is of particular interest given the return to interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary working within modern academic practice, as it can be said that Grosseteste would recognise a pedagogical practice similar to his own whereby every subject fed off and informed another within the confines of the medieval *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*.

It was at this point that the ability to explore Grosseteste and Bach further was limited by the restrictively narrow confines of Hofstee's definition of *homo religiosus*, because of the fact that it had become apparent that both men were seeking to reflect humanity's fallen state and order knowledge sufficiently well enough for individuals to overcome this, in turn offering a chance to all for their souls to be saved come judgement day. As such, it became necessary to find a definition which not only reflected the interdisciplinary ways of working both men revelled in as well as the way in which their outputs also offered the opportunity for parishioners, alongside those in the clerical hierarchy, to bind themselves directly to the communities in which they lived or worked. Likewise, Stephen Langton's idea of rustic exhortation required a form of faith filled life which was not founded solely upon thought processes alone for someone to reflect the good life, rather the process was not only more active but had to engage all in terms they could understand; in effect mirroring Augustine of Hippo's formula, *crede ut intellegas*, 'believe that you may understand'.[11]

[11] Intellegi omnis homo uult: intellegere nemo est qui nolit; credere non omnes uolunt. Dicit mihi homo: Intellegam ut credam. Respondeo; Crede ut intellegas ('Every human wants to be understood; there is no one who does not want to be understood; not everyone wants to believe. Someone says to me: "I must understand in order that I may believe". I answer: "Believe that you may understand."'), Augustine of Hippo, *Sermo* 43.4 (see also 7, 9).

A new lens through which to view the idea of *homo religiosus* was provided by Beverley Clack in her 2020 work *How to be Failure and Still Live Well: A Philosophy*, while primarily considering what it is to be a twenty-first century failure Clack suggests that religious practice allows us to, in effect, step outside of the maelstrom of everyday life.[12] While such an idea could be said to be demonstrably true for Grosseteste and Bach given their personal religious convictions, the most useful aspect of Clack's redefinition is the idea that through the active seeking out quiet spaces afforded by religious practice we, in turn, also place ourselves into a situation whereby we reconnect and/or rebind ourselves to others through the act of practising our convictions. This is something which could go beyond the religious, in Bach's case he carried a semblance of this idea through into his work in the secular Coffee Houses, into his secular Cantatas, Lutheran Oratorios, and even the seemingly Catholic Mass in B Minor.[13] For Clack, failure and loss are not something we actively seek out but such moments do give us the opportunity to find ways of sitting with them thus enabling us to find practices which enable us to bear whatever may come in their wake.[14]

Clack's redefinition of *homo religiosus* allows us to view both Grosseteste and Bach as, ultimately, being concerned with the mind being guided towards the good life at every turn. Indeed, we have seen that thanks to Luther's soteriological reforms, alongside the systematising tendencies of his collaborators Melanchthon and Bugenhagen, the duality of the Word and music (the two primary gifts from God, as according to Luther himself) was something which every orthodox Lutheran would have been steeped in from the first moment they engaged with the Book of Concord. Ultimately, the meaning which can be achieved through the rebinding effects of religious practice – for Luther active participation in Christ through the Priesthood of All Believers and for Grosseteste his theme tune of life, *aspectus*/*affectus* (respectively the 'vision' and 'desire' of the mind), enabling all to comprehend the infinite in their own terms and to do so by sharing in common religious or liturgical practices so as to be re-bound to one another.

Such a rebinding effect can be seen in both the work of Grosseteste and Bach himself, not least because of the two men's interest in the illumination of the mind by employing all the tools or

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12 See Chapter 6, above, p. 133-4; and Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 186.
13 See Chapter 7, above, p. 146.
14 Clack, *How to be a Failure*, p. 182.

talents afforded to them by God. Nancy van Deusen, when considering Anonymous IV's relation to Grosseteste and music in the medieval university, provides a particularly helpful point for us to consider regarding re-binding, religious practice and music's relation to human life. Music's role within Grosseteste's intellectual life was not just a mathematical ordering process, nor was it simply just something to do with celestial harmony alone, rather it enabled him to put into effect what Robert Southern calls his '…natural inclination to stretch out beyond the limits of the known to the area of conjecture'.[15] As such, van Deusen suggests music was an integral focal point of an interdisciplinary collaboration with:

> Songs, as well as music notation, [are] in the mainstream of the most important intellectual concerns, representing and making available the tool by which discourse was possible: signs in syntax, event in continuity – and showing its relevance to life, *curriculum vitae*.[16]

Beyond this, music's ability to provide mathematical order and exist within time itself allows for music to take on, even in the thirteenth century, a much more explicatory role within Grosseteste's understanding of the idea that works, or *opus*, could themselves take on a multiplicity of forms. We need only look to Bach's Cantata Cycle to see a comparable exercise being undertaken in the eighteenth-century. Not only was Bach exploring the Christological cycle but providing himself with an opportunity to explore the parables through music in such a way as all could understand or, at the very least, parishioner's ears piqued during the Lutheran service/s at which the Cantatas were used; with music giving effect and affect to the soteriology. As such, we can be re-bound to one another through music itself, as understanding can be achieved within the context of both the liturgy and also our own understanding of the fact that man is living in a fallen state while being provided with the perfect example of how to overcome this by way of music's ability to appeal to the heart and the soul.

Furthermore, the increasingly influential thirteenth-century idea that an *opus* or compositions themselves could be carefully conceived with a beginning, middle, processional phase, and a distinct, articulate termination is curious here.[17] Such a surprising similarity between Grosseteste's and Bach's education was not something which was expected in the initial phases

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15 Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 208; Chapter 1, above, pp. 25–27.
16 Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, pp. 49–53.
17 Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University*, pp. 155–6.

of research, however when applying Langton's idea of "rustic exhortation" it suddenly became obvious in respect of the duties of the medieval Master of Theology and the role that Bach's music took within the theological world found in central Germany, specifically Thuringia, in the eighteenth century.

An Unusual Comparison

Robert Grosseteste and J. S. Bach are a highly unusual pairing to attempt to find academic links between, leave alone musical ones, not least because of the half-millennium between them. That said, when prosecuting the conjecture that there is a potential link through the lens of Langton's rustic exhortation and the early Franciscans "insurgent Liturgy" (insurgent in the sense that they were a new force in the Latin West during Grosseteste's education) it became apparent that there was at least some form of similarity of intellectual outlook between Grosseteste and Bach.[18] The early Franciscan's new form of preaching and teaching could itself be seen as rustic exhortation. Indeed, we have seen that Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury directed that any given preacher should not rely solely on highly polished and ingenious formulations when engaging with the laity in a religious context.[19]

The particular points of interest here are firstly the potential for appealing to all parishioners, whether they be educated or not and across all social boundaries, in language which all may understand and therefore encourage thought on the good life. Second, and with particular reference to the blunt instrument of the ploughshare, rustic exhortation enables Grosseteste – across the work of the diocese of Lincoln – to bring about active change in his flock. As we saw change can be created through blunt honesty (the ground newly ploughed), salvation preached in terms able to be understood by all (the new tilth) and a soul saved come judgement day (the growth towards the light).[20] After all, even the bluntest or heaviest ploughshare brings with it the possibility that one is able to sow a new patch of crop.

As with Grosseteste, such a blunt mechanism or even blunt honesty may not have been Bach's most useful tool, whether that be in disagreement with his employers on Town Councils or with

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[18] See Chapter 2, above, pp. 37–58; Chapter 3, above, pp. 59–77.
[19] Langton, *Glossa Heptateuchum* (from Paris BN, MS Latin 355, fol. 181r); and Chapter 2, above, pp. 37–38.
[20] Chapter 2, above, p. 38.

specific instrumentalists at his disposal.[21] Indeed, much of Bach's working method in relation to the people he came across was frowned upon in a similar way to how the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral responded to Grosseteste's use of Franciscan and Dominican friars to implement his pastoral vision; one which was very much based on his desire for attaining personal salvation due to his commitment to the *cura animarum* across the diocese. Christoph Wolff helped to define this in succinct terms by suggesting that the constituent elements of Bach's musical language (ingenuity, intellectual control, forceful originality, and technical mastery) were employed with one goal, that of moving the heart.[22] By extension, the required combination and dynamic interrelationship of performance and composition in the eighteenth-century mirrors that foundational idea of rustic exhortation, insofar as all of one's talents must be employed to ensure that all human actions bring the mind to the divine.

When we view the above through the lens of the duties of the medieval Master of Theology – *legere, disputare, praedicare* – we immediately see Clack's rebinding of humans to one another in action. The noisy temporal world is effectively muted while we employ all our talents in the act of worship, whether this worship be Bach's goal of a well-regulated Church music to the glory of God (his *Endzweck*) or Grosseteste's deep commitment to all souls within the medieval diocese of Lincoln. John Davies makes a similar point in an article produced during the Covid-19 lockdowns, for if we cannot share in the acts of the Eucharist due to a virulent virus forcing us to take to technology to see one another how can we rebind ourselves fully?[23] First we must learn from another the ways in which our world works, we must then question this (updating it if necessary with experiential observation) and then we are then allowed to use this knowledge to inform others. In effect the common strand we find in the idea of rustic exhortation is that the liturgy only works if it is a form of common practice, in turn meaning we are unable to comprehend our place within the world if we cannot share our faith with others as rebinding to another human being is thereby rendered impossible. The ultimate suggestion being that the orthodox Lutheran education afforded to Bach was in effect an updated version of rustic exhortation, with the prime tool in this being the single German language Luther had brought into being while in exile. Indeed, as suggested by Tom McLeish in relation to his foundational

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[21] For more on Geyersbach the Bassoonist and Bach's falling out see Chapter 7, above, pp. 145–6.
[22] See Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, p. 63.
[23] Davies, 'Eucharist, Church, and Judgement', pp. 77–8; and see Chapter 7, above, p. 160.

principles of modern science, this is something which recognises the long, complex history of the relationship between human and non-human or Divine.[24]

For Grosseteste, Luther and Bach music has a unique ability in the human, temporal world insofar as it provides a context in and a medium by which the infinite can be comprehended and has the almost unique quality by which it seems to convert the soul through its personal, affective quality. It is this final point which provides a particularly exciting point to close on, as two intellectually stimulating possibilities become apparent. First, that the methodological approach chosen – to view Bach through the lens of the ways of working of a thirteenth-century Bishop – affords us the great opportunity to view Bach's early life within the context of an evolving continuum of history and in turn allows us to view his working methods, thought and practice outwith his music possibly for the first time. Second, in relation to Grosseteste himself, given the scattered mentions of music the most exciting possibility which has come about through the research process is that he held a deeply personal Metaphysics of Music, comparable to that of his Metaphysics of Light. Not only does this mirror Bach's personal faith and expression of it through his music (*Entwurff*/*Endzweck*), but it also shows the continuation from the thirteenth century into the seventeenth and eighteenth of the importance of ordering knowledge.

The approach taken has not only been intellectually stimulating, possibly even rustically invigorating, but has also led to new ways of considering two distinct and deeply respected historical actors. There can, of course, be no physical or actual connection between Grosseteste and Bach, but by viewing one through the lens of the other we have been led to insights which have not been considered before. Given the return of interdisciplinarity and cross-disciplinary research within modern academic practice, there is much more for Grosseteste and Bach studies to deliver in terms of ways of ordering knowledge. Equally, there is much more Grosseteste can teach us as his thought on music is not only a gravely underexploited seam but also has parallels within Bach's own thought on how music can appeal to the heart, soul and body of a human being.

[24] McLeish, *Medieval Lessons for the Modern Science/Religion Debate*, pp. 297–8; and Chapter 1, above, Appendix, pp. 35-36.

Biographical Information and Lists of Works

Robert Grosseteste

c. 1168	Born in Suffolk (perhaps in one of three places called Stow).[1]
1186×1192	He appears, as 'Master Robert Grosseteste', in final position of the witness list to a charter of Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln (1186–1200), confirming the possessions of St Andrew's priory, Northampton.[2]
c. 1195–1198	Belongs to the *familia* of William de Vere, bishop of Hereford.[3]
1198	Bishop William dies and his household is dissolved. Grosseteste is not given a benefice, but Hugh Foliot, archdeacon of Shropshire, may have supported him.
1198–1218/19	Grosseteste's specific movements are largely unclear in this period.
1208–1214	Grosseteste completed his education at Paris, during the interdict over England.
c. 1216	Acted as papal judge-delegate, in the company of Hugh Foliot.
c. 1224	The Franciscans found a convent at Oxford at around the same time as Grosseteste is made *Magister Scholarium*/possibly Chancellor in name, if not duties, of the University of Oxford.
1225	Grosseteste gains the benefice of Abbotsley in the diocese of Lincoln.
1225–1228/9	It is unclear whether Grosseteste began his teaching career at Oxford or used his income to support studies in theology at the University of Paris.
1229–1235	Teaching to the Franciscans as their Lector.
1229	Appointed archdeacon of Leicester, diocese of Lincoln.

[1] Richard of Bardney OSB, *Vita Roberti Grosthed, Episcopi Lincolniensis* (1503), §5 (ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, p. 326). Henry Luard (*Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard, I, p. xlvi) showed that the location of Grosseteste's birth, stated in *Flores Historiarum* as Stradbroke, Suffolk, and repeated by Perry (*Essay*, ed. Cunningham, p. 13), to be the result of an insertion in the edition by Archbishop Matthew Parker (1570).

[2] *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, V, p. 191b, no. viii; *English Episcopal Acta IV*, ed. Smith, pp. 86–88, no. 130.

[3] Letter of Gerald of Wales to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, I, p. 249.

1232	Robert resigns all benefices (both Abbotsley and Leicester) on account of severe ill health, but retains his prebend at Lincoln.
7 February 1235	Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, dies. The chapter of Lincoln reach deadlock in the episcopal election that follows and Grosseteste is chosen as the compromise candidate to ensure that the decision is not taken out of their hands.
17 June 1235	Grosseteste is consecrated bishop at Reading, on the First Sunday after Trinity.[4]
1238–*c*. 1247	Grosseteste makes continued demands of the King to release certain Oxford scholars who assaulted the papal legate, Otto of Candidus.
1239–1245	Dispute emerges between Grosseteste and the chapter of Lincoln over the episcopal visitation of communities within the diocese.
1239	Grosseteste suspends the dean of Lincoln, William de Thornaco, along with the precentor and subdean. Begins lifelong friendship (even alliance) with Adam Marsh.
1245	Grosseteste attends the First Council of Lyon, where the papal court finds in his favour
1250	A new conflict emerges with the archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy, over which Grosseteste travels to the papal court in Rome to put his claims in an audience with Pope Innocent IV. Innocent agrees to most of Grosseteste's demands about the way the English Church should function.
1251	Grosseteste directly protests against the King's requirement that one-tenth of the Church's revenues should be used to fund a new Crusade, pointing out that under the provisions *c*. 70,000 marks would be drawn annually from England to the alien nominees in Rome.
8 or 9 October 1253	Grosseteste dies aged between seventy and eighty. He is buried in the south-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral.

[4] Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, p. 306; Chronicle of Thomas Wykes, ed. Luard, *Annales Monastici* IV, p. 82; Annals of Winchester, ed. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, II. p. 87.

Post–1251	Various attempts made by different prelates, by Edward I, and the University of Oxford, to procure Grosseteste's Canonisation are all unsuccessful.

List of Works and Suggested dates of composition A

Taken from James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 505.

Early Scientific Interests

De Artibus Liberalibus	Before 1209
De Generatione Sonorum	Before 1209

Astronomy and its applications

De Sphaera	1215-20
De Impressionibus Aeris	1215-20
De Generatione Stellarum	1217/20-5
Computus I	*c*. 1215-20
Calendarium	*c*. 1220
Computus Correctiorius	1225-30
Computus Minor	1244

The sublunary world and meteorological phenomena

De Cometis	1222-4
De Impressionibus Elementorum	Before c.1225
De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris	*c*. 1226-8

The action of light

De Luce	*c*. 1225-8

De Lineis – De Natura Locorum	*c*. 1230-3
De Iride, De Colore, De Calore Solis	*c*. 1230-3

Aristotelean writings

Commentarius in Libros Analyticorum Posterium	1228-30
Commentarius in VIII Libros Physicorum	1228-30
De Diferrentiis Localibus	1228-32
De Motu Supercaelestium, De Motu Coporali et Luce	*c*. 1230
De Finitate Motus et Temporis	*c*. 1237

List of Works and Suggested dates of composition B

The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy provides a version of Grosseteste's works which are classified in modern terms, as follows:[5]

- *Commentaries on Aristotle*. Many years before Grosseteste composed his translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *De caelo,* he had been deeply engaged in the study of Aristotle's views on scientific knowledge and natural philosophy, and had composed a commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* and commenced and made substantial progress on a commentary on the *Physics.* These are the earliest surviving commentaries on these works known to have been composed in the Latin West. Extant manuscripts also contain and attribute to Grosseteste a paraphrase of the *Prior Analytics*, which may well be genuine, as well as a commentary on the *Sophistici Elenchi* and another commentary on the *Physics*, both of which appear to be inauthentic. The commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* appears to have been written in the 1220s and is an important source for Grosseteste's epistemological views. The authentic commentary on the *Physics* appears to have been assembled by a later editor or editors from notes

[5] See https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/grosseteste/ for a full profile of Robert Grosseteste and his work.

Grosseteste had written in his copy of the *Physics* as the basis of a commentary along the lines of the commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*. Though incomplete, these notes comprise a substantial and coherent work, the bulk of which was also probably written in the 1220s, though what appear to be some additions to the body of the work in which Averroes's long commentary on the *Physics* is used probably date from the 1230s (see Lewis 2003). This work is an important source for Grosseteste's views on numerous topics in natural philosophy.

- *Philosophical works*. Grosseteste composed a number of short philosophical works. *On Light* (*De luce*) his minor masterpiece, develops his so-called light metaphysics; it appears to be the object of cross-references in his commentaries on Aristotle and thus written prior to them. Closely related to *On Light* is a short work *On Bodily Movement and Light* (*De motu corporali et luce*). Other short philosophical works are *On Potency and Act* (*De potentia et actu*), *On the Halt of Causes* (*De statu causarum*), *On the Subsistence of a Thing* (*De subsistentia rei*), and *On the Truth of the Proposition* (*De veritate propositionis*). *On the Finitude of Movement and Time* (*De finitate motus et temporis*) (a longer version of which is appended to the commentary on the *Physics*) attacks Aristotle's arguments for the infinitude of past time and movement; it was probably written in the 1230s.

- *Philosophical-theological works*. The most important and substantial of these works is *On Free Decision* (*De libero arbitrio*), a relatively long work in two versions that is concerned with arguments against the existence of free decision (*liberum arbitrium*)—especially those based on God's foreknowledge—and with the nature of free decision itself. Closely related are the shorter works *On Truth* (*De veritate*) and *On God's Knowledge* (*De scientia Dei*). These works all appear to date from after ca. 1225, and more probably from the late 1220s or beginning of the 1230s. A short work, *On the Order of the Emanation of Caused Things from God* (*De ordine emamandi causatorum a Deo*), attacks the argument that an eternal being can only create eternal creatures. A long letter to Adam Rufus (= Adam of Exeter), the first in Grosseteste's letter collection, explains how God is form of all things and investigates the relation of body and soul and the location of angels. In the manuscripts this letter is often divided into two distinct works, *On the Unique Form of all Things* (*De unica forma omnium*) and *On the Intelligences* (*De intelligentiis*).

- *Scientific works*. Grosseteste's scientific writings include what appear to be his earliest works, which possibly were written during the first two decades of the thirteenth century: *On the Liberal Arts* (*De artibus liberalibus*), *On the Generation of Sounds* (*De generatione sonorum*), and *On the Sphere* (*De sphaera*), an outline of astronomy. Later in the thirteenth century, Grosseteste wrote a number of short scientific works including *On Comets* (*De cometis*), *On Lines, Angles and Figures* (*De lineis, angulis et figuris*), *On the Nature of Places* (*De natura locorum*), *On the Rainbow* (*De iride*), *On Color*, (*De colore*), *On Local Differences* (*De diferentiis localibus*), and *On the Movement of the Supercelestial Bodies* (*De motu supercaelestium*). (For an outline of the content of many of these works see Dales 1961 and Panti 2001. The works *On the Heat of the Sun* (*De calore solis*), *On the Tides* (*De fluxu et refluxu maris*), *On the Generation of the Stars* (*De generatione stellarum*), and *On the Impressions of the Air* (*De impressionibus aeris*), first edited in Baur 1912, are probably inauthentic. In the most recent discussion of the dating of Grosseteste's scientific works, Panti 2013 argues that the first two of these works were probably written by Adam of Exeter, the addressee of Grosseteste's first letter.).

- *Theological works containing some material of philosophical interest*. Though not as expressly philosophical as the works noted above, *On the Cessation of the Ceremonial Laws* (*De cessatione legalium*), *On the Ten Commandments* (*De decem mandatis*) and the *Hexaæmeron*, all substantial works written in the 1230s, contain some material of interest to the philosopher. *On the Cessation of the Ceremonial Laws* argues that the Incarnation would have occurred even without the fall, and touches on the nature of human happiness and natural law. *On the Ten Commandents* provides some insight into Grosseteste's thinking about ethics, while the *Hexaæmeron*, his theological masterpiece, considers in detail the problem of the eternity of the world. Material of philosophical interest is also to be found in the *Dicta*, some of Grosseteste's later sermons (notably the sermon *Ecclesia sancta celebrat* where he outlines an account of human nature) and his commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius.

1685 21 March – Born in Eisenach

1693 Registered at the Latinschule, Eisenach (fifth class)

1695 After the death of both his parents, Sebastian moves to Ohrdruf under the guardianship of his brother, Johann Christoph. Enters the Ohrdruf Lyceum

1700 Leaves Lyceum owing to the lack of a free place ('ob defetum hospitiorum'), transferred to the Michaelisschule, Lüneburg

1703 March – September: Court musician at Weimar (*Laquey*)

9 August: Appointed organist at the Neue Kirche, Arnstadt. Möller Manuscript begun by Johann Christoph, finished in 1707

1705 August: Bach's brawl with the Bassoonist Geyersbach; departure for Lübeck and encounter with Buxtehude (returns early 1706)

1706 February: Consistory's complaints about Bach's prolonged absence, various other complaints concerning accompaniment and refusal to undertake concerted music

1707 14–15 June: appointed Organist at the Blasiuskirche, Mühlhausen (released from Arnstadt position, 29 June)

17 October marries Maria Barbara Bach at Dornheim (near Arnstadt). Begins Mühlhausen Cantatas, e.g., BWV 4, 106, 131

1708 4 February: Cantata 71 performed for changing of town council, Bach's first published work

25 June: Bach requests dismissal from Mühlhausen (dismissal granted the following day), on his appointment as Organist and chamber musician at Weimar (to Duke Wilhelm Ernst)

29 December: baptism of Catharina Dorothea Bach (first child of Johann Sebastian and Maria Barbara Bach). Andreas Bach Book begun (finished *c.* 1713). *Orgelbüchlein* may have been begin as early as 1708 (most of it finished by 1717)

1709 7 February: payment for a further printed Mühlhausen cantata for changing of town council, with expenses for Bach's travel from Weimar (work lost)

1710 22 November: Wilhelm Friedemann Bach born (composer, first son of Johann Sebastian and Maria Barbara; baptized 24 November)

1712 27 September: Bach is godfather for baptism of son of Weimar town Organist, J. G. Walther

1713 *c*. 23 February: visit to Weissenfels on the occasion of Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels' birthday – probable first performance of 'Hunt' Cantata, BWV 208

July: Prince Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar returns from his study-trip to the Netherlands, brnging with him many modern Italian concertos, including Vivaldi's Op. 3

December: Bach is candidate for the post of Organist at the Marketkirche in Halle

1714 Halle position declined

2 March: Bach promoted to *Konzertmeister* at Weimar, with increased salary and commission to compose monthly cantatas

8 March: birth of Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach (baptized 10th March with Georg Philipp Telemann as godfather)

25 March (Palm Sunday): performance of first Weimar church cantata, BWV 182

1717 Earliest printed reference to Bach, in Mattheson's *Das beschuzte Orchestre*

5 August: appointed *Kapellmeister* for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen. Visit to Dresden for competition with Marchand (from which the latter fled)

6 November–2 December: Bach under arrest for too forcibly demanding dismissal. Set free with unfavourable discharge

1719 1 March: Bach receives payment for travel and purchase of harpsichord in Berlin

1720 22 January begins *Clavier-Büchlein* for Wilhelm Friedemann Bach

May–July: Bach travels with Leopold to Karlsbad

Maria Barbara dies, buried 28th September

November: Bach applies for post of Organist at the Jacobikirche, Hamburg

December: Bach declines post, owing to simony associated with appointment (incident recorded in Mattheson's *Der musicalische Patriot*, 1728)

1721 24 March: Brandenburg Concertos dedicated to Margrave Christian Ludwig

3 December: Bach marries Anna Magdalena Wilcke (daughter of court Trumpeter at Weissenfels), in Köthen

Begins first *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena

Writes title page for first book of *The Well-tempered Clavier*

1722 21 December: Bach becomes candidate for the post of Cantor and *Director Musices* at the Thomasschule, Leipzig

1723 February: Bach auditions in Leipzig
April: Bach appointed at Leipzig, receiving dismissal from Köthen
5 May: Bach signs contract for cantorship
22 May: Bach and family arrive in Leipzig
30 May: First performance at Leipzig (Cantata 75), received 'mit guten *applausu*' – opens first Leipzig cycle of Cantatas
15 June: Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emmanual accepted into Thomasschule
25 December: First(?) performance of Magnificat, BWV 243a

1724 7 April: first performance of St John Passion (BWV 245), Nikolaikirche
11 June: Opening of second Leipzig cycle of Cantatas (Cantata 20)

1725 September: Bach gives an organ recital in the Sophienkirche, Dresden
September – December: Bach petitions Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, for the restitution of his right to the 'old service' and salary, at the university church (King grants Bach's right to 'old service' and salary, 21 January 1726)
Third Leipzig cycle of Cantatas begins (lasting into 1727)
Mattheson complains of Bach's text underlay (in Cantata 21) in his *Critica Music*, 8

1726 Publication of Partita 1, of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* (remaining five partitas published over subsequent years)

1727 11 April: probable first performance of St Matthew Passion, BWV 244
17 October: *Trauer-Ode*, Cantata 198, performed at memorial service for Electress Christiane Eberhardine (commissioned by a university student, with words by J. G. Gottsched))

1728 September: dispute with sub-deacon of Nikolaikirche over who should choose hymns for Vespers (customarily the prerogative of the Cantor)
19 November: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen dies

1729 23–24 March: Bach visits Köthen for performance of the funeral Cantata for Leopold (BWV 244a)
April: Bach becomes sales agent for Heinichen's *Generalbaßlehre* and Walther's *Lexicon*
Bach takes over direction of the *Collegium musicum*

1730 August: dispute with the new town council, over Bach's disinclination to teach Latin

23 August: Bach's 'Short but most necessary draft for a well-appointed church music' sent to town council, outlining severe problems in maintaining the musical establishment at the Thomasschule

28 October: Bach sends letter to school friend, Georg Erdmann, expressing dissatisfaction with Leipzig and seeking employment in Danzy (Gdansk)

1731 All six Partitas published together as *Clavier-Übung* I

14 September: Bach gives organ recital in Sophienkirche, Dresden, and other performances at court during following week

1732 21 June: Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach born

Short biography of Bach appears in Walther's *Lexicon* – here Bach has title of 'Sachsen-Weißenfelsischer Capell-Meister', which he presumably received some time after the death of Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen

1733 Bach composes and performs several Cantatas in honour of the new elector, Friedrich August II, and his family (BWV 213, 214, Anh. 12)

23 June: Wilhelm Friedemann Bach appointed Organist of Sophienkirche, Dresden

July: Bach presents *Missa* (Kyrie and Gloria, of what later become Mass in B Minor) to Friedrch August II, with request for a court title

1734 Bach composes and performs more Cantatas in honour of Friedrich August II, including BWV 215, performed in his presence for the Michaelmas Fair, 5 October

25–27 December: Christmas Oratorio, parts I-III performed

1735 1–6 January: Christmas Oratorio, part IV-VI, performed

Bach is sales against for Harpsichord works by C. F. Hurlebusch

Clavier-Übung II published

June: Johann Gottfried Bernhard Bach appointed Organist at the Marienkirche, Mühlhausen

5 September: Johann Christian Bach born

1736 Easter: Publication of G. C. Schemelli's *Musicalisches Gesangbuch*, advertised as containing some new melodies and bass-lines by Bach

July: Dispute begins with Rector Ernesti over the right to appoint prefects in the school (continues until early 1738)

7 October: Bach performs birthday Cantata in honour of Friedrich August II

19 November: Bach given title of *Hofcompositeur* to the Elector of Saxony, Friedrich August II

1 December: Bach gives organ recital in Dresden Frauenkirche, in the presence of the Russian Ambassador

1737 April: Johann Gottfried Bernhard Bach appointed Organist of the Jakobikirche, Sangerhausn (he is soon to fall into debt and abscond)

14 May: J. A. Scheibe criticizes Bach and his music in *Der critische Musicus*, sparking pamphlet war over Bach's merits as a composer

17 December: Friedrich August II intervenes in prefects' dispute, on Bach's behalf

1738 27 April: Bach performs Cantata in the presence of Friedrich August II at Leipzig Easter Fair

Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach appointed Harpsichordist to Frederick of Prussie (later Frederick II ('the Great'))

1739 March: Bach cancels Passion performance owing to dispute with town council

27 May: Johann Gottfried Bernhard Bach dies

October: Bach takes over *Collegium musicum* after a two-year break

7 October: Bach performs birthday Cantata for Friedrich August II

Clavier-Übung II published

Bach gives organ rectial in the Schlosskirche, Altenburg. Bach probably began work on compiling/copying *The Well-tempered Clavier* Book II (finished c.1742)

1740 3 August: Bach performs Cantata for name-day of Friedrich August II

1741 Anna Magdalena very ill during Bach's visit to Carl Philipp Emmanuel in Berlin

Clavier-Übing IV ('Goldberg Variations') published

1742 Bach drafted early version of *The Art of Fugue* around this time

1745 Bach is sales agent for Wilhelm Friedemann's Harpsichord Sonata in D

1746 April: Wilhelm Friedemann Bach becomes Organist at the Marktkirche (Liebfrauenkirche), Halle

After 1746 (1748?): 'Schübler' chorales published

1747 May: Bach visits Potsdam court of Frederick II of Prussie; plays at court and the Heiligegeistkirche; probably also visits Berlin and its new opera house at this time
June: Bach joins Mizler's Corresponding Society of the Musical Sciences
Canonic Variations on 'Vom Himmel hoch' presented to society and published
September: *Musical Offering* published

1748 Bach is sales agent for Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Harpsichord Sonata in E♭

1749 20 January: Bach's daughter Elisabeth Juliana Friederica marries Johann Christoph Altnikol
8 June: Gottlob Harrer auditions for Bach's post in Leipzig
Bach's work on the Mass in B Minor probably completed

1750 Bach directing work on *Art of Fugue* engraving
March: Bach has eye operation
28 July: Bach dies

1751 *Art of Fugue published*

1754 Bach's Obituary (by Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola) published by Mizler

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