

## PODCAST - *Thirty Brave Minutes* - The Reformation

Welcome to *30 Brave Minutes*, a podcast of the College of Arts and Science at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke. In *30 Brave Minutes* we'll give you something interesting to think about. Joining the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences Jeff Frederick, are Ray Sutherland from the Department of Philosophy and Religion, Charles Beem, Department of History, Richard Gay, Department of Art, and Josh Busman, Department of Music. Their topic: The Reformation.

500 years ago in October of 1517, theologian Martin Luther sent a list of discussion topics, 95 of them to be exact, to an Archbishop of the Catholic Church. He may have also tacked them on the door of the All Saints Church in Wittenberg. It makes the story a little richer to think he did, but it's not perfectly clear whether he nailed them or not. Soon enough, these ideas were printed and disseminated far and wide across Germany and eventually much of Europe. Those that could read, read them. Those that could not, gathered at local watering holes and in other public spaces to hear what Luther thought should be talked about.

Prominent among the topics was the sale of indulgences, a notion that allowed people to provide money to the Church in exchange for reduction in the time one might spend in working off the punishment for committing an excessive quantity or grievous quality of sins. Not every one of the 95 Theses discussed indulgences and as discussion topics, they only appear as a series of sentence-long ideas. But from Theses 17 through most of the end of the document, Luther is focused like a 16th century laser beam on the idea that salvation or remission of sins or reduction of penance time could be accomplished in ways that did not necessarily reflect a person's grasp of scripture or did not provide an unequal access or benefit for those with disposable moneys. This sale of salvation troubled Luther, who took his faith seriously. Johan Tetzel, indulgence salesman extraordinaire, and Luther critic, is reputed to have said some version of the following: "As soon as the gold in the casket rings; the rescued soul to heaven springs."

Thus a showdown within the boundaries of the Catholic Church was launched, though it is probably a surety that Luther had no intention of fracturing the Church and creating a new form of public Christianity. Yet, that was the result as Luther and John Calvin and so many others began the process of breaking apart the church and creating what would eventually be known as Protestantism. Luther was not the first to start a challenge of church practices. Jan Hus had challenged church doctrine a century earlier only to be branded a heretic and roasted at the stake.

What Luther and others started became the Reformation—an attempt by a variety of theologians, lay leaders, church figures, and political and dynastic rulers to strip away the excesses, power, and land of the official church. Some, like Luther took their faith so seriously it appeared to occupy their every thought. Others, like Henry Tudor—more regularly referred to as Henry VIII-- had less theological reasons to circumvent the power and reach of the Catholic Church.

What came over the next 500 years was a major cultural change which inspired not only theology in all its forms, but also science and art and music and culture of Europe and beyond as people reimagined the ways in which they might practice their faith, approach their God, and assess the meaning of their place in the universe. Flash forward a couple centuries and see an America and an American South that grew into its own cultural identity in large part due to the ramifications of the Reformation. Many of the European imports into Colonial America came to this land to live as practicing Puritans, Baptists, Huguenots, Methodists, Anglicans, and so many other forms of Christianity. And when they came, they mapped their culture and their beliefs into what became a new country dedicated, in part, to the premise of freedom of religion.

Our topic for today: the Reformation, and the torrent of cultural changes it unleashed across Europe and eventually the rest of the world. Joining me today are Ray Sutherland, Charles Beem, Richard Gay, and Josh Busman. Welcome, everybody!

All: Thank you.

FREDERICK: In addition to the sale of indulgences, Charles, what are some of the other issues motivating these reformers?

BEEM: Well, indulgences is just one aspect of a much larger protest, and when we look at the name of this movement, the Protestant Reformation, it is a protest movement, but is also a movement that seeks to reform the church. So what Martin Luther didn't have in common with the vast majority of European Christians, was that he was literate and he could read the Bible. In the Bible are the scriptures that were the word of Jesus in the New Testament, but much of what the Catholic church practiced was extra-spiritual, meaning that over the course of a thousand years of the middle ages the church had built up a body of precedents and laws that claimed, among other things, the idea of papal supremacy. So, popes claimed the authority that they could issue documents that could remit your sins from purgatory, but they also made other kinds of decisions that, in a sense, overrode scripture. For instance, Henry VIII challenges the powers of the papacy by saying that the popes did not have the authority to issue dispensations for brothers to marry their brother's widows. It

was, in many ways, a much larger attack on papal authority, but at the same time this is all wrapped up with large scale corruption in which the church, despite its wealth, despite its influence, despite its political and economic power was widely seen as corrupt. We know this from such popular works of literature as Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, in which members of the church are doing everything but being religious. Luther, in a sense, is breaking the door open for a more literate interpretation of Christianity; one that sets aside the rules, the sacraments, and the chastity required of priests so that he can envision a more personal form of Christianity that would allow an individual Christian to bypass all those rules and regulations to make a personal relationship with God and seek solace in the words of the scripture. So, in addition to everything else he did, Luther thought that the most important thing that he did was to translate the Bible into German. Of course it was against the law to translate the Bible into any vernacular language because obviously when people read the Bible they form their own interpretations. The church had a lot riding on the fact that everyone needs to play by their rules.

FREDERICK: So indulgences is a big issue, but is far from the only issue. How do these other issues fit in?

SUTHERLAND: One thing that we have to remember is that religious movements don't take place in some religious vacuum, with just religion and nothing else. There was a lot going on in Europe at that time. The rise of nation-states, kings gaining more power, and German internal politics, which is always important in Europe. Just look at today. Importantly, major changes in the way people felt about the world. Humanism was coming up and becoming strong. The idea that things have to be put to empirical tests, which led to some big changes in the way they thought. A major change at the time was technological. Luther had the printing press to use. He could disseminate his ideas. He put the 95 thesis out there, and he printed up a whole lot of copies. The church tried to find them all and destroy them, according to tradition, but they couldn't do it. He mailed them to everybody he knew. So, the church trying to destroy them apparently just drew attention to the copies that were left. And, of course, he could print up more anyway. The printing press made a big difference. Luther could get his ideas out and they couldn't be stopped. I think, very important theologically, the Reformation simply could not have happened without most people having some access to the Bible. Now, a lot of folks weren't literate, but there were some that were, and the printing press meant that Bibles were available now. And every large church had a copy of the Bible, so anybody that wanted to could go to the big church, and at least hear the Bible read. They didn't have to be able to read; they could hear it read. A lot of things were coming together.

FREDERICK: And until this wave of literacy and the printing press really takes root a lot of people are sampling theology through music and through art. How does that fit into ordinary folk getting some sense of the issues that they might want reformed?

GAY: Well, when we think about the use of images, there was a great fear of idolatry. The Bible clearly states that you shouldn't make any graven images. This is coming out of the book of Exodus and is one of the Ten Commandments. So the church, through tradition, as Charles had mentioned, had set up this really interesting thing. The Bible is telling you not to make images and then you have Pope Gregory, the Great saying that images are the books of the illiterate, that they can be used to teach things. Throughout the entire Middle Ages, and well, even today, people are still debating this idea: can images truly serve as a book for the illiterate? There have been studies that have argued that they just cannot, because they can only remind us of information that we already know. You can create juxtapositions of images that can suggest certain things but it is very difficult to tell a very clear and concise story. For example, you don't know who the figures are unless you already know, or unless they are labeled. So there is a tendency to rely on a text. There is a fear of idolatry that comes into play with this and one of the key things that takes place during the Protestant Reformation is acts of iconoclasm. We know that the Wittenberg Church suffered from iconoclasm when Luther had gone out of town, and when he was being pressured by the papacy and others. When he had left town, there was a stand-in preacher. His name was Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt and he got the congregation fired up and he said the images can be idolatrous. The Old Testament tells us we are not to do this and they take us away from the inner faith that we should be concentrating on and they lead us to worldly ideas. So the congregation ends up smashing the objects that are found in the church. That takes place quite often in the areas of Protestantism. Stained glass windows get broken and idols get broken, for example.

FREDERICK: Imagine if Luther had taken a selfie and put it on Instagram.

GAY: That would have been interesting, but the interesting thing is that Luther, himself, was not against the use of images. He returned and he clearly said that there is nothing wrong with images. They are just not that important. He was concerned that the images could lead to false truths. For example, if you have lots of images of saints being venerated, for example, that could lead to the belief that an individual needs some type of intercessor on their behalf, be it the Virgin Mary, or a saint. Of course, with Protestantism, the word and the individual faith is what is needed, so you don't need an intercessor. So if you have a church full of images of saints you may

be sending the wrong message. So if you had the right type of image, Luther was okay with that.

FREDERICK: Josh, how did the music fit in?

BUSMAN: In terms of the music, one thing that goes along with what others have been saying is, if at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance, there is all of this corruption in the Catholic Church - meaning that there is a lot of money in the Catholic Church - it means a lot of musicians are being employed by the Catholic Church. And they are doing a lot of really wild things. The music that comes out, in particular, of the south of France, towards the end of the Middle Ages, is some of the most experimental music that we see until the twentieth century - Ars Nova and Ars Subtilior are wrapped up with this question of the church's confidence because so many of them are employed by this papal court that is established out in Avignon when the papacy moves out of Rome in the Middle Ages and they have this schism. If there is a schism in the church, and you have two popes at the same time, and they are excommunicating one another, it is not a great PR move, and not a great way to instill confidence in the people who are sitting in the pews, especially when the wrong line of papal succession might lead to you getting a sacrament that isn't actually consecrated properly. There are very high stakes for this going wrong. So, in addition to some of the other excesses that have been described, there is this sort of musical excess in terms of complexity and experimentation that is being pursued by certain composers at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the renaissance because of this tremendous amount of wealth that has flowed into the church.

FREDERICK: Let's set the power of the church in context because these reformers who are challenging it one way or another, are really taking on the most important cultural institution, and the most important political institution, in so many ways, in Europe at the time. Describe the power of the church at this point in time, before the Reformation.

BEEB: I would call it a federal structure within all the states of Europe, sovereign nations with their own government. At the same time kings complained that they were only kings of half of their subjects because the church had its own hierarchy in every country, along with its own court system, its own legal system, and it collected taxes. But members of the church also served their royal masters as ministers. At the time when Luther is nailing his theses on the church door, you have Cardinal Woolsey in England, who is both the religious leader, and at the same time he is the Chancellor of England. In many ways his position becomes untenable. If there is going to be this conflict between being a servant of the church and being a servant of the King of England, for instance, or the other German states to break away and form

their national churches, in a sense they are seceding from this federal structure. There is no army to bring them back into the fold, so Henry VIII gets away with his reformation, so does Frederic of Saxony. There is no recourse in many ways. The spread of the Reformation exposes the powerlessness of the church.

SUTHERLAND: Well, there were attempts by the church to remove it - the Schmalkaldic War and the Thirty Years War had at least a component. There really weren't any religious wars, but religion plays a role in several of the wars.

BEEM: Those are nations fighting.

SUTHERLAND: Exactly. Those are the German states fighting each other, but it is the ones that are allied with Italy, verses those not allied with Italy. While religion played a role, it was not really a religious war. It was always over mines and wheat fields and river traffic and things of that nature.

BEEM: Religious wars are never about just religion.

FREDERICK: We have this massive institutional church that is a gigantic landowner, has the power in the minds of adherents to decide the eternal destiny of their soul, and then we have these challenges, starting off and then beginning to spread. Discuss a little bit the varied motivations of the reformers. Some are just reading their scripture and wanting the church to be as relevant and real as possible and others see an opportunity to get ahead in the midst of this. Talk a little bit about that.

BEEM: When I teach the Reformation I teach that it starts with a spiritual protest and a quest for a spiritual reform movement, but inevitably there are going to be both economic and political consequences. Many of the princes of Germany, as well as the kings of England, the kings of Sweden, and Denmark realized that if they broke away from the Roman Catholic church and created a national church controlled by the state, that they would be in a position to confiscate lots of land, sources of income, and considerably bolster the power of the state. We see this most clearly in England, where, after Henry VIII becomes supreme head of the church, he confiscates all of the monastic land in England, strips it of its wealth, and basically kicks all of the monks out and closes all the schools and really appropriates all of these resources for the state.

FREDERICK: Not that the popes were necessarily paragons of virtue over history, but Henry certainly is the consummate church leader, is a bit rich.

BEEM: Again, his is a jurisdictional reformation. The spiritual one comes down the road with Edward VI.

SUTHERLAND: Cranmer has some spiritual goals, too.

BEEM: Oh yes, but Cranmer had to be a closet protestant until Henry dies, as most everyone else did.

FREDERICK: With the church being so involved in the subvention of art and music, how are artists and musicians seeing these things ripple out? Are they lingering fast to their patrons or are they trying to unleash the creativity that they might want to get into?

BUSMAN: You mentioned Cranmer and the sort of situation in England under Henry VIII, and two of the composers that are working in this space in England are still two of the most famous English composers of all time: Thomas Tallis and William Byrd. In fact, when I go to my Episcopal church on Sunday and I open up the hymnal, a lot of the tunes in the hymnal are still Thomas Tallis tunes from that period of the sixteenth century. And musicians tend to be very canny about pleasing the people who write their paychecks and so Tallis and Byrd are doing this extended dance over the course of forty or fifty years where, yes, Henry comes in and establishes this new protestant orthodoxy, but over the course of a series of changes between Henry and Elizabeth, we had some waffling on what the state's official position is going to be. They are very adept at doing the dance that is asked of them, writing everything from traditional Latin mass settings, Latin motets, and part songs, to these new, English anthem-style pieces, and hymn tunes that are appropriate for congregational singing. They are happy to negotiate this treacherous terrain.

FREDERICK: Like a band who doesn't mind playing their greatest hits, as long as they get paid.

BUSMAN: Exactly so.

GAY: You had mentioned in your question this idea of creativity among artists and that is really more of a modern concept of what an artist is. When we think about artists in this period, yes, in the Renaissance we have tremendous artists, but we have to also remember that they were largely, socially considered craftsmen and laborers and they had to respond to market demands and what the patron wanted. We have contracts from 1466 that clearly tell the artist what they are going to paint, what they are going to paint it with: you are not going to use the cheap color blue, you are going to use the expensive blue; you are going to get it done by such and such

a time, or I am not going to pay you. They clearly responded to market demands. I was thinking about your idea of indulgences earlier because it is such a key issue. We know that the indulgences were sold at St. Peters, for example, and a lot of the money went there. The money coming from the sale of indulgences filtered in to the great works of Michelangelo and other great artists as well. The wealth is really a significant thing, so artists of course wanted to be able to make a living, so they were concerned with that. Some artists in protestant areas clearly lost their ability to make a living. They were without jobs, right, so they would have to look for other options. Some artists would start to become more of portrait painters instead of images of the faiths. Some became more interested in landscapes, for example, so there were lots of options for artists to take. But back to this idea of indulgences, some of the artists before the reformation were actually making works of art that were part of the indulgence economy. There is a famous image by Simon Marmion, who is French, early Netherlandish painter. He created an image of the Mass of St. Gregory. At the bottom of his image there is an inscription and the inscription clearly explains that thanks to good old Pope St. Gregory, that if you are on your knees before this image and you say the right prayers (they were actually called the verses of St. Gregory), you said these prayers and you also said the paternosters along with those and you would receive an indulgence for having used this object to help focus your intention. So art was playing into the religious needs of the time, and the artists were responding to those needs.

BUSMAN: Just to quickly tie together a couple of things that have been said and something that happens musically, again, in England is Tallis and Byrd, these two composers that I was talking about, towards the end of their careers. They were actually given a sort of state-sanctioned monopoly over the printing of music in England by Queen Elizabeth, essentially because there is a certain type of paper you need to print music of the time and the Queen happens to control all of that and she says that only they are allowed to use it. I think that drives home both your point, Richard, about the sort of market forces that are so important for artists and musicians to make a living and your point, Charles, about the jurisdictional reformation as much as the spiritual reformation.

BEEM: I just want to add one more element about art. Some artists were employed in creating anti-Catholic art. There are some great images, for instance, showing Pope Leo X sitting at his desk with his big papal crown and he's got a big stack of indulgences behind him and he is sitting there operating like a merchant, selling these and obviously, there doesn't even need to be a caption. We can see what is going on.

GAY: Luther, interestingly enough, had dreamt of a picture Bible for the layman, and he goes so far as to say he would like to find a rich man who would take the images from that Bible and paint it on the inside and outside of their house for the instruction of pupils. So the idea of images being used in a very positive way, both pro and against the reformation, it is very strong and very compelling in the period.

SUTHERLAND: The economic part of the art, you can see that. Albrecht Durer had to play both sides against the middle. He was partly Catholic, and partly Protestant. Most folks think he was at his heart a Protestant, but he didn't mind taking Catholic money either, so he had to paint images that would work for both sides. Quite successfully.

GAY: I was thinking about Albrecht Durer and what voices artists have from the period because we don't have a lot of text from artists. I was thinking about what texts do we have where artists are speaking about their objects? I have a quote from Albrecht Durer that he wrote from 1525. He says, "And they will not be misled by those among us, even in our own day, who will revile though art of painting and does say that it is a servant of idolatry. For a Christian would no more be led to superstition by a picture or an effigy than an honest man to commit murder because he carries a weapon at his side. He must indeed be an unthinking man who would worship a picture of wood or stone. A picture therefore brings more good than harm when it is honorably, artistically, and well made." So he presents his case there for producing images.

SUTHERLAND: Yes, he did write treatises about art. I haven't read them, so I can't tell you what they said, but he was aware that there was a theoretical function as well as commercial.

FREDERICK: Richard mentioned a few minutes ago, the layman. Let's turn our attention to the ordinary European. The Protestant Reformation is picking up speed, new churches are being formed, new denominations, sects, even, are being formed. How is the ordinary person in a Protestant environment worshipping differently? What are they singing? What is happening in their church that is a little different than under the Catholic Church, and what are the denominations that are starting to grow out of these ashes?

BUSMAN: Some of these anxieties that Richard was just talking about in terms of the power of images, for one thing. The Reformation is pushing back against the excesses and potentially emotional manipulations of the Catholic Church. Music certainly can be pegged with being able to do both of those things and so, there is a lot of suspicion around music, as well as images and other things coming into this new period. Actually, you mentioned Andreas Karlstadt before, who is not only a church leader,

but also kind of Luther's dissertation advisor when he is working on his first big theological projects. Karlstadt really encapsulates this in work he has from the beginning of the period where he says one of the conundrums that musicians face in Protestant worship is that presumably because the object of worship is God himself, then we would want the music to be of the highest possible quality. Right? There is no other situation where you would want to play more beautifully and more profoundly than in the context of worshipping God. And yet, the amount of focus and skill that would be required to play that way would necessarily prohibit you from fully inhabiting the space of worship. You have to make this compromise. You can't quite play complex music perfectly because it takes you out of the worship space, and I think that conundrum leads to, over the course of time, the simplification and focus on congregational singing in part because it gets around some of that conundrum.

SUTHERLAND: Praise songs?

BUSMAN: Exactly so. Right.

SUTHERLAND: The other side of that is the politics of it and the Reformation was as much a political movement as religious. It was mentioned about the printing press and Luther disseminating his works a while ago. Printing was still expensive, even with the printing press. Luther did not have that kind of money, so to find out what is going on you follow the money. It was Duke Fredric's money and he was after a political goal, which was to break the Italian alliance. He was willing to spend the money to help Luther out. There was a political element to the Reformation and the political leaders were very much involved in it, not just from a confessional standpoint, although Duke Fredric was apparently devout, but there was also the political end in which all the German states line up against each other with Prussia playing both ends against the middle, of course. There was a political element, as well as economic and religious.

GAY: Didn't the ruler get after around 1555 or so with Hapsburgs, didn't the ruler get to select the religion of the territory?

SUTHERLAND: Stipulations that made the Reformation a done deal. It wasn't going back after that.

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FREDERICK: What kind of changes do we see in an ordinary European and eventually, outside of Europe in the age of exploration, as they begin to sample religion in their own language? As they begin to interact with it in a non-Latin, non-official, non-ritualized manner. How does that change the way they are spending their time and some of their money?

BUSMAN: You certainly see this rise in different forms of personal devotion and I think that, at least in music, is brought about in part in a total change, or rethinking of the way that music is supposed to operate in worship. It actually has to do with this broader trend of humanism that a number of us have mentioned in the conversation. Not to get too technical, but if you were trained in a medieval educational institution, music would have been part of the quadrivium, part of the set of four natural sciences, basically. The reason why you studied music is the reason why the ancient Greeks studied music; because it was sound mathematics and it helped to explain how the world was put together. When you have gotten to the Reformation and the rise of Humanism, music was actually shifted in the way it was taught and was shifted into the trivium as a sort of subset of rhetoric. Suddenly music is not about exploring these harmonious building blocks of the cosmos, it is actually about communicating a message and many of the writers in the sphere of Calvin, in particular, are very concerned with music and its message. Luther talks about music and these very complex counterpointed voices tripping over one another as being this religious experience in and of itself. In other corners of the Reformation, like the Calvinist corners in France and Switzerland, there is a great deal of suspicion of that because if music is going to imbed this message so deeply within us, we have to be very, very careful about what messages we are playing with. One of the things that congregations would have seen quickly is the depleting of musical instruments and complex musical compositions, and the move toward the singing of strictly Biblical texts, usually psalms and canticles, singing them in unison, without any sort of harmony. In fact, they said that they didn't want instruments to be involved, not just because of the sound, and that they wanted them to hear one another and if there was an instrument at the front of the church and you happened to look at it while you were singing, you might accidentally commit idolatry. So if you weren't looking at anything except this disembodied experience of singing, then perhaps that risk was less. One of the things that would lead to is that not only are you reading these vernacular versions of scripture, but you are singing them. We all know that when you

sing something, it can get lodged in your brain even more profoundly than when you read it sometimes.

FREDERICK: And the non-instrumental nature of it carries on. Some denominations that would prefer not to be called a denomination, but the Disciples of Christ, or Church of Christ, plenty of them still sing non-instrumental music without harmonies.

BEEB: But none of these changes happen overnight. In fact, they evolve. Most English historians of the Reformation would say, and I agree with them, that the Reformation basically took fifty years to sort of sink in and change the culture, and change the way people believed. When Edward VI becomes King in 1547, basically Protestantism is confined to London, which is, of course, this huge city, and the rest of the country is not urban. So, in many ways London exercises this out-sized influence on the way that Protestantism develops. Basically, it takes decades to convert the people of England to the doctrine of the Church of England. This is a rough process. We see divides in our country today between urban and rural, and we could say the exact same thing about the sixteenth century. People in the west country, or in the north, are actually very wedded to Catholic belief. They love the music, they love the pomp and the ritual of it. These had great meanings for people. Protestants said, "You don't need any of that! All you need to do is believe!" Only, I think, by the end of the Reign of Elizabeth, can we say that the vast majority of the people of England have been converted to this belief, where you have Puritans on the fringe over here, who want a further purification of the church and then people who remain Catholics on the other end. So, the change in culture is slow and steady and music evolves. Church liturgies evolve; readings from the Bible become very central to sermons, whereas the mass was just in Latin, and no one knows what anyone was saying. These are sort of incremental processes.

SUTHERLAND: You talked about the rural people. History was written by people who were literate and could afford paper, pen, and ink. So we have less knowledge of what the farmers out in the countryside were thinking and, for the most part, I am firmly convinced that they were minimally aware of all of this stuff we are talking about. Even though there is significant theological and political movements, these people were a lot more concerned about a sick cow than they were about the things we are discussing. They were hugely more concerned with a sick child, so their main interest in religion was getting Jesus into their village that day to help them fight the devils. However that will happen best, they are okay with that. So as you pointed out, it took a while for anybody to notice that there was a real change. They still went to the roadside shrine, still prayed, and still tried to run the devils out because the devils were there making their cows sick, making their kids sick, and making things

disappear. So, sometimes we over-emphasize the importance of this to the standard population. They knew it was going on, but they weren't really, terribly concerned except as a kind of spectator sport.

BUSMAN: I think to bring together things that both of you just said, the first being this divide between urban and rural and these different corners. I think one of the reasons I often come back to Luther and Calvin as sort of emblematic figures, is there is a generational divide, and there is this sort of cultural divide. Luther was trained as an Augustinian monk and he always carries that background with him, whereas Calvin never really participates in the order of the church. He comes up as a lawyer and is fully embedded in this humanist context. He is a lot younger and he brings this very different perspective, in addition to the fact that a lot of my research was on, and around Calvin, so I tend to know that stuff better. But around that research, one of the questions that drew me to that Calvinist thing in France and Switzerland was that so many of the writings seemed to have this hard line, for instance, against music. We don't want this music in multiple parts. We don't want this music that has a great deal of decoration, or ventures outside of scriptural text. Yet, in every town and village in France, you find music that does exactly those things by people that consider themselves to be very devout practitioners of the faith. So, it is never as simple as looking at the top, and pushing it downward.

SUTHERLAND: And the people were singing in harmony while they would cut hay, and harvest wheat.

FREDERICK: Singing something. What a great discussion. I want to thank our panel for really attacking a five hundred year old concept that still is in place today, as issues of reform and how to worship, and who should worship in what way, continue to be a part of discussions here and elsewhere. I hope you have enjoyed listening to *Thirty Brave Minutes* and if you have, pass it on to a friend. We'll see you next time.

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