s in her flight; *glades*
s. *deadly*

to show.
ists.° *falls silent*
e makes;
° *Trojans' / wants*
wholly impassioned
l gone,
light, *again*

e, *also*

the love that

1554

his father.

Faith in Conflict

When, in the late 1520s, the Catholic authorities of England tried to burn all copies of William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament, they were attempting to stop the spread of what they viewed as a dangerous new plague of heresies. The plague was the Protestant Reformation, a movement opposed to crucial aspects of both the belief system and the institutional structure of Roman Catholicism.

The movement had been launched by the German theologian Martin Luther, who in 1517 challenged the authority of the pope and attacked several key doctrines of the Catholic Church. According to Luther, the Church, with its elaborate hierarchical structure centered in Rome, its rich monasteries and convents, and its enormous political influence, had become a hopelessly corrupt conspiracy of venal priests who manipulated popular superstitions to enrich themselves and amass worldly power. Luther began by vehemently attacking the sale of indulgences—certificates promising the remission of punishments to be suffered in the afterlife by souls sent to Purgatory to expiate their sins before being allowed into heaven. Purgatory, he argued, had no foundation in Scripture, which in his view was the only legitimate source of religious truth (*sola scriptura*). Christians would be saved not by scrupulously following the ritual practices fostered by the Catholic Church—observing fast days, reciting the ancient Latin prayers, endowing chantries to say prayers for the dead, invoking the protection of individual saints, and so on—and not even by the performance of good deeds, but by faith and faith alone (*sola fide*).

This challenge spread and gathered force, especially in northern Europe, where major leaders like the French theologian Calvin (who, after his break with Catholicism, established a theocracy in Geneva) transformed religious institutions and elaborated various and sometimes conflicting doctrinal principles. Calvin, whose thought came to be particularly influential in England and Scotland, emphasized the obligation of governments to implement God's will in the world. He advanced too the doctrine of predestination, by which, as he put it, "God adopts some to hope of life and sentences others to eternal death." God's "secret election" of the saved troubled Calvin, but his study of the Scriptures had led him to conclude that "only a small number, out of an incalculable multitude, should obtain salvation." Some Christians found this idea horrifying. How, they asked, could a loving creator condemn the great majority of his creatures to an eternity of torment? And was it not possible for humans to avert the severe decree through virtuous actions? But for Calvin predestination was a mystery bound up with faith, confidence, and an active engagement in the fashioning of a Christian community.

The Reformation had a direct and powerful impact on those realms where it gained control. Monasteries were sacked, their possessions seized by princes or sold off to the highest bidder; monks and nuns, expelled from their cloisters, were encouraged to break their vows of chastity and find spouses, as Luther and his wife, a former nun, had done. In the great cathedrals and in hundreds of smaller churches and chapels, the elaborate altarpieces, bejeweled crucifixes, crystal reliquaries holding the bones of saints, venerated statues, and paintings were attacked as "idols." Condemned for their Catholic doctrinal content and accused of violating the biblical prohibition on the making of "graven images," they were often defaced or destroyed. Protestant congregations continued, for the most part, to celebrate the most sacred Christian ritual, the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, but they did so in a profoundly different spirit from the Catholic Church, more as commemoration

than as miracle, and the service was conducted not in the old liturgical Latin but in the vernacular.

The Reformation was at first vigorously resisted in England. Protestant writings were seized by officials of the Church and the state and burned. Protestants who made their views known were persecuted—driven to flee the country or arrested, put on trial, and burned at the stake. But the situation changed drastically after Henry decided to seek a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, to marry Anne Boleyn. When the Roman Catholic Church, under pressure from Catherine's powerful family, refused to grant the divorce, Henry defied papal authority, declared himself head of the Church in England, seized the wealth of the monasteries, and unleashed Protestant energies, including fierce bursts of iconoclasm. On most doctrinal questions, however, Henry remained an orthodox Catholic, and in the latter part of his reign his clerical authorities renewed the persecution of Protestants.

The turn toward the Reformation was more decisive in the reign (1547–53) of Henry's heir, Edward VI; and the attempt by Edward's successor, Mary (daughter of Catherine of Aragon), to reimpose Roman Catholicism as the national religion came to an end with her death, in 1558. The long reign (1558–1603) of Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth I, firmly established Protestantism as the faith of the Church of England. Reformation doctrine shaped the vernacular liturgy eloquently formulated in the officially sanctioned *Book of Common Prayer* and was reinforced in the series of homilies, or sermons, that ministers were commanded to deliver to their parishioners.

The Reformation did not spread quickly or easily among the mass of the English population. Like Henry VIII himself, most English people in the decades after the break with Rome were far from being full-fledged Protestants. Emotional attachment to the traditional religion ran deep, as did resentment of an aggressively intolerant Protestant officialdom. From the 1530s to the end of the century, a significant number of individuals, including Thomas More and the Jesuit Robert Southwell, were prepared to die for the old faith. Many more, though still a small minority, stubbornly rejected the new orthodoxy, absenting themselves from Protestant worship; these recusants, as they were known, were subjected to fines and sometimes worse punishments. A much greater number conformed in public but remained largely untouched by Protestant doctrine.

Though Protestantism and Catholicism were exposed, under different regimes, to brutal persecution, both faiths proved impossible to eradicate. In large part this tenacity arose from the passionate, often suicidal heroism of men and women who felt that their soul's salvation depended on the precise character of their Christianity and who consequently embraced martyrdom rather than repudiate their beliefs. It arose too from a mid-fifteenth-century technological innovation that made it extremely difficult to suppress unwelcome ideas: the printing press. Early Protestants quickly grasped that with a few clandestine presses they could defy the Catholic authorities and flood the country with their texts. "How many printing presses there be in the world," wrote the Protestant polemicist and martyrologist John Foxe, "so many blockhouses there be against the high castle" of the pope in Rome, "so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing or printing at length will root him out." By the century's end, it was the Catholics, as well as the more radical Protestants—known as Puritans—who were using the clandestine press to propagate their beliefs in the face of official persecution.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Protestant insistence that true belief must be based on the Holy Scriptures alone made the translation and dissemination of the Bible in English and other vernacular languages a matter of utmost urgency. Before the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had not always and everywhere opposed vernacular translations of the Bible, but it generally preferred that the populace encounter the Scriptures through the interpretations of its priests, trained to read the Latin translation known as the Vulgate. In times of great conflict this preference for clerical mediation hardened into outright prohibition of vernacular translation and into persecution and book burning. The late fourteenth-century English translation associated with John Wycliffe was vehemently attacked as heretical, and its suppression led to an edict banning any unauthorized attempt to translate the Bible into English. Throughout the fifteenth century no authorization was granted.

It was in the face of such fierce opposition that zealous Protestants all over Europe set out to put the Bible into the hands of the laity. A remarkable translation of the New Testament by an English Lutheran named William Tyndale was printed on the Continent and smuggled into England in 1526; Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, followed in 1530. Many copies of these translations were seized and destroyed, as was the translator himself, but the printing press made it extremely difficult for authorities to eradicate books for which there was a passionate demand.

Tyndale's translation of the Bible was completed by an associate, Miles Coverdale, whose rendering of the Psalms proved to be particularly influential. Their joint labor was the basis for the Great Bible (1539), a copy of which was ordered to be placed in every church in the kingdom. Four years later, as Henry VIII sought to halt the tide of reform, a law was passed forbidding women, craftsmen, servants, and laborers from reading the Bible either in public or in private. Yet at this stage it was already too late to get the Scriptures out of the hands of the populace. Though there would be further opposition in years to come—innumerable Bibles were printed under Edward VI, only to be burned during the reign of his half-sister Mary—the English Bible was a force that could not be suppressed, and it became, in its various forms, the single most important book of the sixteenth century.

Marian persecution was indirectly responsible for what would become the most scholarly Protestant English Bible, the translation known as the Geneva Bible, prepared, with extensive, learned, and often fiercely polemical marginal notes, by English exiles in Calvin's Geneva and widely diffused in England after Elizabeth came to the throne. In addition, Elizabethan church authorities ordered a careful revision of the Great Bible, and this version, known as the Bishops' Bible, was the one read in the churches. The success of the Geneva Bible in particular prompted those Elizabethan Catholics who now in turn found themselves in exile to bring out a vernacular translation of their own, the Douay-Rheims version, to counter the Protestant readings and glosses.

After Elizabeth's death, in 1603, King James I and his bishops ordered that a revised translation of the entire Bible be undertaken by a group of forty-seven scholars. The result, published in 1611, was the Authorized Version, more popularly known as the King James Bible. This translation, whose diction and rhythms have had an immense influence on English literature, continues to be read and treasured.

In the passage selected here, 1 Corinthians 13, Tyndale's use of the word *love,* echoed by the Geneva Bible, is set against the Catholic *charity.* The latter term gestures toward the religious doctrine of works, against the Protestant insistence on salvation by faith alone. It is a sign of the conservative, moderate Protestantism of the King James Version that it too opts for *charity.*

1 Corinthians 13

From *Tyndale's Translation*

Though I spake with the tongues of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as sounding brass: or as a tinkling cymbal. And though I could prophesy, and understood all secrets, and all knowledge: yea, if I had all faith, so that I could move mountains out of their places, and yet had no love, I were nothing. And though I bestowed all my goods to feed the poor, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profiteth me nothing.

Love suffereth long, and is courteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not forwardly,[1] swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity: but rejoiceth in the truth, suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth in all things. Though that prophesying fail, other[2] tongues shall cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away.

For our knowledge is unperfect and our prophesying is unperfect. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is unperfect shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child. But as soon as I was a man, I put away childishness. Now we see in a glass, even in a dark[3] speaking: but then shall we see face to face. Now I know unperfectly: but then shall I know even as I am known. Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three: but the chief of these is love.

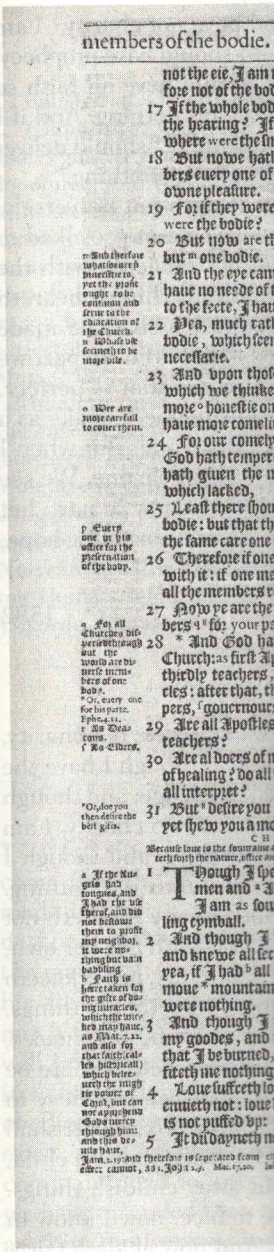
1525, 1535

From *The Geneva Bible*

Though I speak with the tongues of men and Angels, and have not love, I am as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I had the gift of prophecy, and knew all secrets and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and had not love, I were nothing. And though I feed the poor with all my goods, and though I give my body, that I be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long: it is bountiful: love envieth not: love doth not boast itself: it is not puffed up: It disdaineth not: it seeketh not her own things: it is not provoked to anger: it thinketh not evil: It rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth: It suffereth all things: it believeth all things: it hopeth all things: it endureth all things. Love doth never fall away, though that prophesyings be abolished, or the tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be abolished. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass darkly:[4] but then shall we see face to face. Now I know in part: but then shall I know even as I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three: but the chiefest of these is love.

1560, 1602

1. Perversely, evilly.
2. Or.
3. Obscure, unclear. "Glass": mirror. The metaphor of indirect, imperfect sight seems to derive from Plato's Allegory of the Cave (*Republic* 7).
4. By means of a mirror, obscurely.


members of the bodie.

not the eie, I am
fore not of the bod
17 If the whole bod
the hearing? If
where were the sm
18 But nowe hath
bers euery one of
owne pleasure.
19 For if they were
were the bodie?
20 But now are th
but m one bodie.
21 And the eye can
haue no neede of t
to the feete, I hav
22 Yea, much rath
bodie, which seem
necessarie.
23 And vpon thos
which we thinke
more o honestie on
haue more comeli
24 For our comely
God hath temper
hath giuen the m
which lacked,
25 Least there shou
bodie: but that th
the same care one
26 Therefore if one
with it: if one me
all the members r
27 Now ye are the
bers q of your pa
28 * And God ha
Church: as first A
thirdly teachers,
cles: after that, th
pers, r gouernour
29 Are all Apostles
teachers?
30 Are al doers of m
of healing? do all
all interpret?
31 But s desire you
yet shew you a mo
C H
Because loue is the fountaine
testifieth the nature, office a
1 Though I spe
men and a I
I am as sou
ling cymball.
2 And though I
and knewe all sec
yea, if I had b all
mouc * mountain
were nothing.
3 And though I
my goodes, and
that I be burned,
fiteth me nothing
4 Loue suffereth lo
enuieth not: loue
teth not puffed vp:
5 It disdayneth n

A page from the Geneva Bi
includes elaborate marginal
Elizabethan Catholics may
of a redeemed state "where

els, and yet had no love, I were
And though I could prophesy,
yea, if I had all faith, so that
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1525, 1535

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now in part, and we proph-
then that which is in part
a child, I understood as a
man, I put away childish
t then shall we see face to
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he chiefest of these is love.

1560, 1602

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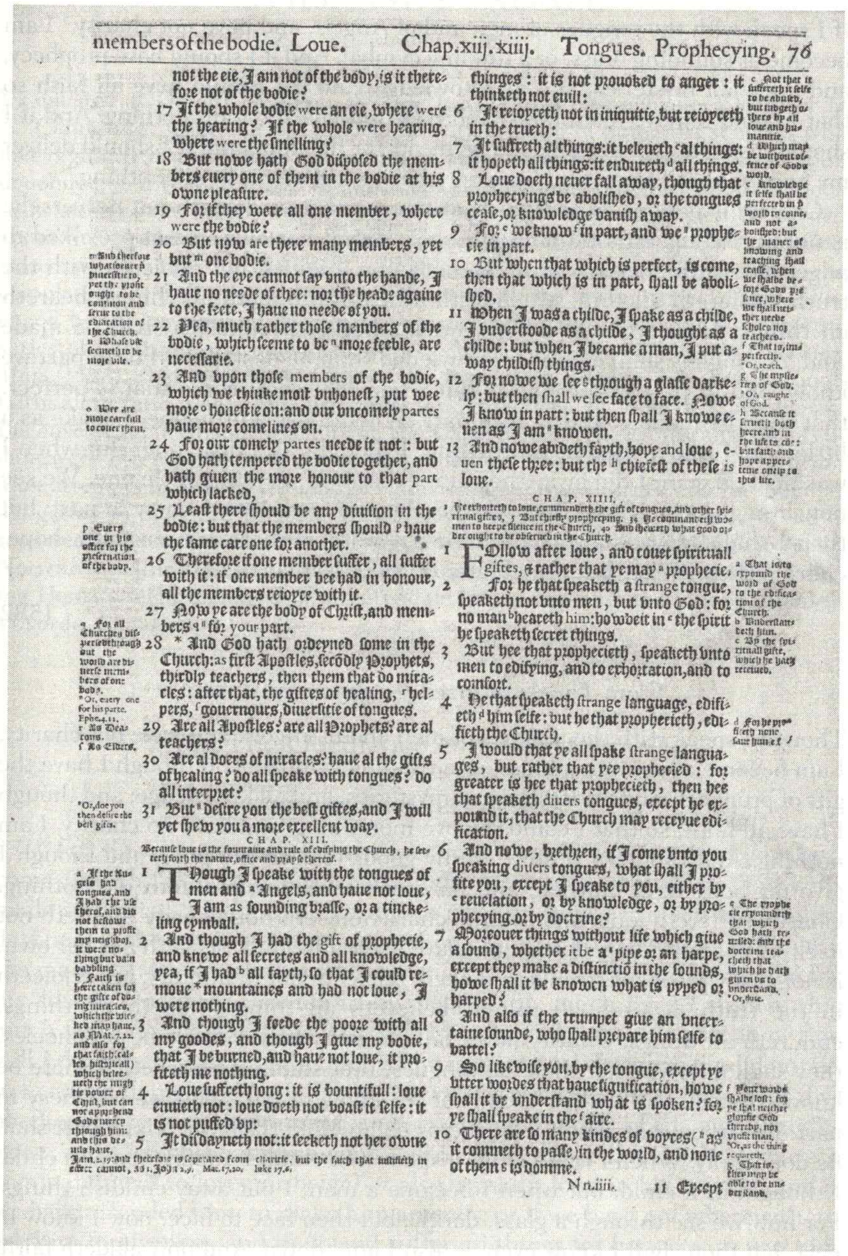
legory of the Cave (*Republic* 7).
a mirror, obscurely.



members of the bodie. Loue. Chap.xiij.xiiij. Tongues. Prophecying. 76

not the eie, I am not of the body, is it there-
fore not of the bodie?
17 If the whole bodie were an eie, where were
the hearing? If the whole were hearing,
where were the smelling?
18 But nowe hath God disposed the mem-
bers euery one of them in the bodie at his
owne pleasure.
19 For if they were all one member, where
were the bodie?
20 But now are there many members, yet
but [m] one bodie.
21 And the eye cannot say vnto the hande, I
haue no neede of thee: nor the heade againe
to the feete, I haue no neede of you.
22 Yea, much rather those members of the
bodie, which seeme to be [n] more feeble, are
necessarie.
23 And vpon those members of the bodie,
which we thinke most vnhonest, put wee
more [o] honestie on: and our vncomely partes
haue more comelines on.
24 For our comely partes neede it not: but
God hath tempered the bodie together, and
hath giuen the more honour to that part
which lacked,
25 Least there should be any diuision in the
bodie: but that the members should [p] haue
the same care one for another.
26 Therefore if one member suffer, all suffer
with it: if one member bee had in honour,
all the members reioyce with it.
27 Now ye are the body of Christ, and mem-
bers [q] for your part.
28 * And God hath ordeyned some in the
Church: as first Apostles, secondly Prophets,
thirdly teachers, then them that do mira-
cles: after that, the giftes of healing, [r] hel-
pers, [s] gouernours, diuersitie of tongues.
29 Are all Apostles? are all Prophets? are al
teachers?
30 Are al doers of miracles? haue al the gifts
of healing? do all speake with tongues? do
all interpret?
31 But desire you the best giftes, and I will
yet shew you a more excellent way.

CHAP. XIII.

Because loue is the fountaine and rule of edifying the Church, he set-
teth forth the nature, office and prayse thereof.

1 Though I speake with the tongues of
men and [a] Angels, and haue not loue,
I am as sounding brasse, or a tincke-
ling cymball.
2 And though I had the gift of prophecie,
and knewe all secretes and all knowledge,
yea, if I had [b] all fayth, so that I could re-
moue * mountaines and had not loue, I
were nothing.
3 And though I feede the poore with all
my goodes, and though I giue my bodie,
that I be burned, and haue not loue, it pro-
fiteth me nothing.
4 Loue suffreth long: it is bountifull: loue
enuieth not: loue doeth not boast it selfe: it
is not puffed vp:
5 It disdayneth not: it seeketh not her owne
things: it is not prouoked to anger: it
thinketh not euill:
6 It reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth
in the trueth:
7 It suffreth al things: it beleueth [c] al things:
it hopeth all things: it endureth [d] all things.
8 Loue doeth neuer fall away, though that
prophecyings be abolished, or the tongues
cease, or knowledge vanish away.
9 For [e] we know [f] in part, and we prophe-
cie in part.
10 But when that which is perfect, is come,
then that which is in part, shall be aboli-
shed.
11 When I was a childe, I spake as a childe,
I vnderstoode as a childe, I thought as a
childe: but when I became a man, I put a-
way childish things.
12 For nowe we see [g] through a glasse darke-
ly: but then shall we see face to face. Nowe
I know in part: but then shall I knowe e-
uen as I am known.
13 And nowe abideth fayth, hope and loue, e-
uen these three: but the [h] chiefest of these is
loue.

CHAP. XIIII.

1 He exhorteth to loue, commendeth the gift of tongues, and other spi-
rituall giftes, 5 But chiefly prophecying. 34 He commandeth wo-
men to keepe silence in the Church, 40 And sheweth what good or-
der ought to be obserued in the Church.

1 Follow after loue, and couet spirituall
giftes, & rather that ye may [a] prophecie.
2 For he that speaketh a strange tongue,
speaketh not vnto men, but vnto God: for
no man [b] heareth him: howbeit in [c] the spirit
he speaketh secret things.
3 But hee that prophecieth, speaketh vnto
men to edifying, and to exhortation, and to
comfort.
4 He that speaketh strange language, edifi-
eth [d] him selfe: but he that prophecieth, edi-
fieth the Church.
5 I would that ye all spake strange langua-
ges, but rather that yee prophecied: for
greater is hee that prophecieth, then hee
that speaketh diuers tongues, except he ex-
pound it, that the Church may receyue edi-
fication.
6 And nowe, brethren, if I come vnto you
speaking diuers tongues, what shall I pro-
fite you, except I speake to you, either by
[e] reuelation, or by knowledge, or by pro-
phecying, or by doctrine?
7 Moreouer things without life which giue
a sound, whether it be a pipe or an harpe,
except they make a distinctio in the sounds,
howe shall it be knowen what is pyped or
harped?
8 And also if the trumpet giue an vncer-
taine sounde, who shall prepare him selfe to
battel?
9 So likewise you, by the tongue, except ye
vtter wordes that haue signification, howe
shall it be vnderstand what is spoken? for
ye shall speake in the [f] aire.
10 There are so many kindes of voyces (as
it commeth to passe) in the world, and none
of them [g] is domme.

Nn.iiii. 11 Except

m And therfore whatsoeuer diuersitie, yet the profit ought to be common and serue to the edification of the Church.
n Whose vse seemeth to be more vile.
o Wee are more carefull to couer them.
p Euery one in his office for the preseruation of the body.
q For all Churches dispersed through out the world are diuerse members of one body.
Or, euery one for his parte.
Ephe.4.11.
r As Deacons.
s As Elders.
Or, doe you then desire the best gifts.
a If the Angels had tongues, and I had the vse therof, and did not bestowe them to profit my neighbor, it were nothing but vain babbling.
b Faith is heere taken for the gifte of doing miracles, which the wicked may haue, as Mat.7.22. and also for that faith (called historicall) which beleeueth the mightie power of Christ, but can not apprehend Gods mercy through him: and this deuils haue, Iam.2.19: and therefore is separated from charitie, but the faith that iustifieth in effect cannot, as 1.Iohn 2.9. Mat.17.20. luke 17.6.
c Not that it suffereth it selfe to be abused, but iudgeth others by all loue and humanitie.
d Which may be without offence of Gods word.
e Knowledge it selfe shall be perfected in y world to come, and not abolished: but the maner of knowing and teaching shall cease, when we shalbe before Gods presence, where we shal neither nede scholes nor teachers.
f That is, imperfectly.
Or, teach.
g The mysterie of God.
Or, taught of God.
h Because it florish both heere and in the life to come: but faith and hope appertene onely to this life.
a That is to expound the word of God to the edification of the Church.
b Vnderstandeth him.
c By the spirituall gifte, which he hath receiued.
d For he profiteth none saue him selfe.
e The prophecie expoundeth that which God hath reueiled: and the doctrine teacheth that which he hath giuen vs to vnderstand.
Or, flute.
f Your wordes shalbe lost: for ye shal neither glorifie God thereby, nor profit man.
Or, as the thing requireth.
g That is, they may be able to be vnderstand.

A page from the Geneva Bible, with commentary; 1583 edition. The Geneva Bible includes elaborate marginal notes, often with a sharply Protestant inflection. Some Elizabethan Catholics may have detected such a perspective in one note's anticipation of a redeemed state "where we shal neither nede scholes nor teachers."

From *The Douay-Rheims Version*

If I speak with the tongues of men and of Angels, and have not charity,[5] I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should have prophecy, and knew all mysteries, and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my goods to be meat[6] for the poor, and if I should deliver my body so that I burn, and have not charity, it doth profit me nothing.

Charity is patient, is benign: charity envieth not, dealeth not perversely: is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil: rejoiceth not upon iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth: suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, beareth all things. Charity never falleth away: whether prophecies shall be made void, or tongues shall cease, or knowledge shall be destroyed. For in part we know, and in part we prophesy. But when that shall come that is perfect, that shall be made void that is in part. When I was a little one, I spake as a little one, I understood as a little one, I thought as a little one. But when I was made a man, I did away the things that belonged to a little one. We see now by a glass in a dark sort: but then face to face. Now I know in part: but then I shall know as also I am known. And now there remain faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greater of these is charity.

1582

From *The Authorized (King James) Version*

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

1611

5. From Latin *caritas*, love; but also carrying the modern sense.

6. Food (in general).