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The Thirteen Articles

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Introduction

The Thirteen Articles were composed about 1538 by Archbishop Cranmer, presumably as a preliminary to discussions with German Lutherans, since they are clearly modelled on the Augsburg Confession of 1530. However, it should be noted that Cranmer omitted a key Article (6) on the new obedience, which is fundamental to the Lutheran understanding of the Gospel. On the other hand, Cranmer's fourth article on Justification is much fuller than that in the Augsburg Confession. Also of note is the fact that the articles on penance (8), rites and ceremonies (11) and civil affairs (12) are extraordinarily long, perhaps reflecting concerns felt more deeply in England than on the Continent. It should also be noted that Cranmer only reached article 17, which suggests that he may have broken off his work before it was finished.

The Articles were discovered among the Archbishop's papers in the early nineteenth century, and published in the Parker Society edition of Cranmer's works (1846). Also discovered and published at the same time were three additional articles, which appear to have been composed at the same time, and for the same purpose, though they are not part of the main collection. Although these Thirteen Articles never had any official status, they are of great interest, because they demonstrate how close Cranmer was to Luther at this time, and also because phrases from these Articles eventually found their way into the Forty-two Articles of 1552.

Only the Latin text is extant, and an English translation is published here for the first time. Those parts which are virtually identical to the Augsburg Confession are printed in italics, and phrases which were later included in the Forty-two Articles are underlined. When the number of the corresponding article of the Augsburg Confession differs from that of these Articles, the former is indicated in parentheses. The three additional articles are published separately at the end.

1. The Unity of God and the Trinity of Persons

Concerning the Unity of the Divine Being and the Three Persons, we hold the decree of the Council of Nicaea to be true and without any doubt to be believed, viz, that there is one divine essence which is both called and is God, eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, of immense power wisdom and goodness, Creator and Preserver of all things visible and invisible, and yet there are three Persons of the same essence and power, coeternal, Father,

Son and Holy Spirit; and we call each person by the same name and with the same meaning as used by the Church Fathers, i.e. as signifying not a part or a quality in another being, but as subsisting in themselves. We condemn all the heresies which have arisen against this article, e.g. the Manichees, who posited two principles, one good and one bad; likewise the Arians, Eunomians, Muslims and all like them. We also condemn the Adoptionists, ancient and modern, who argue that there is only one person and cleverly and impiously prate that the Word and the Holy Spirit are not distinct persons, but that the Word is just a verbal utterance and the Spirit just a movement created in things.

2. Original Sin

All men, born according to nature, are born with original sin; that is, without original righteousness, and are therefore children of wrath, having no knowledge or fear of God or faith towards Him, etc. And they have concupiscence, which is repugnant to the law of God. And this illness or original flaw is truly sin, condemning and now also bringing eternal death to those who are not born again of Baptism and the Holy Spirit. We condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that the original flaw is sin, and in order to lessen the glory of the merit and of the benefits of Christ, argue that man can fulfil the law of God in his natural strength, apart from the Holy Spirit, and be declared righteous before God on account of his own good works.

3. The Two Natures of Christ

We also teach that the Word, that is, the Son of God, took unto him man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two Natures, the divine and the human, inseparably joined together in unity of Person; true God and true man, born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father under us, and might be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men. The same also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day. Afterward he ascended into heaven to sit at the right hand of the Father; and reign for ever, and have dominion over all creatures; might sanctify those who believe in him, by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, who shall rule, comfort, and quicken them, and shall defend them against the Devil and the power of sin. The same Christ shall openly return to judge the living and the dead etc., as the Apostles' Creed states.

4. (4/5) Justification

Likewise concerning justification we teach that properly speaking this means the forgiveness of sins and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God; i.e. true renewal in Christ, and that sinners cannot obtain this justification without repentance, and the right and

proper movement of the heart towards God and neighbour, which is the work of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless they are not justified on account of any worth or merit of repentance or other works or merits of their own, but freely by faith on account of Christ, when they believe that they have been received into grace and that their sins have been forgiven on account of Christ, who by his death has made satisfaction for our sins. God reckons this faith as righteousness in his sight. Rom. 3 and 4. By faith we do not mean something empty and useless, but rather that which 'is worked through love'. This is the true and Christian faith of which we speak here, not merely assent to articles of faith, or belief in Christian doctrine merely as historical fact; but alongside this assent and belief, a firm trust in the mercy of God promised on account of Christ by which we proclaim and declare that he himself is our mercy and sacrifice, and this is the faith which truly justifies and saves us. It is not feigned, dead or hypocritical, but of necessity has hope and love each joined to it, as well as a concern for right living, and it shows itself in the right time and place. For good works are necessary to salvation, not because they justify the unrighteous, nor because they are a price paid for sin, or a cause of justification; but because it is necessary that one who is already justified by faith and reconciled to God through Christ, should strive to do God's will, as it is written: 'Not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, will enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father, who is in heaven'. One who does not strive to do such works, but who lives according to the flesh, does not have true faith nor is he justified, nor will he obtain eternal life (unless he repents from the heart and says that he is truly sorry).

Article 5 of the Augsburg Confession

For us to obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted. For by the Word and Sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given: who produces faith, where and when it pleases God, in those that hear the Gospel, i.e., that God, not for our merit's sake, but for Christ's sake, justifies those who believe that for Christ's sake they are received into grace. We condemn the Anabaptists and others, who believe that the Holy Spirit comes to men without any outward word, through their own preparations and works.

In the Scriptures the word 'Church' has two meanings apart from others. First, it means the congregation of all the saints and true believers who really believe in Christ the Head and are sanctified by his Spirit. This is the living and truly holy mystical body of Christ, but known only to God, who alone knows the hearts of men. The second meaning is that of the congregation of all who are baptized in Christ, who have not openly denied Him or been justly and by His word excommunicated. This meaning of 'Church' fits its position in this life. In it good and bad are mixed, and it must be recognized in order to make sense of 'Whoever does not listen to

the Church', etc. But it is also recognized by the preaching of the Gospel and the fellowship of the sacraments. This is the catholic and apostolic Church which is not limited to the see of Rome or of any other church, but includes all the churches of Christendom, which are at the same time the one catholic Church. In this Church no particular church, Roman or any other, can claim any primacy or authority over other churches given by Christ's institution. This Church is truly one, not because it has or has ever had a single head or vicar of Christ on earth (which is what the Roman pontiff has long claimed for himself under the pretext of divine right, when in fact no more is granted to him by divine right than to any other bishop). But it is called one because all Christians, joined in the bond of peace, recognize one head, Christ, whose body they profess to be; they acknowledge one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.

Traditions, rites and ceremonies, which have been instituted by men either for decency, order or church discipline, need not be identical everywhere, or even very similar. They have always been diverse, and may vary according to the differences of region and custom, when decency and good order are seen to be advocated by the princes and rulers of these regions, provided that nothing differ or be instituted which is contrary to the plain Word of God.

And although the bad are mixed together with the good, in the church, as understood in the second sense, and even sometimes preside over the ministry of the Word and sacraments, yet when they minister not in their own but in Christ's name, their ministry to those who hear the Word and receive the sacraments, is valid, as it is written: 'Whoever hears you, hears me'. Nor is the effect or the grace of the gifts of Christ, properly received, lessened by their wickedness; for they are efficacious on account of the promise and ordination of Christ, even if they are manifested by evil men.

6. (9) Baptism

Concerning Baptism, we say that it was instituted by Christ and *is necessary for salvation, and that through it forgiveness of sins and the grace of Christ are offered* both to children and to adults. Baptism ought not to be repeated. Children receive forgiveness of sins and grace through Baptism, and are children of God, because the promise of grace and eternal life does not pertain only to adults but also to children. This promise ought to be given by the ministry in the Church both to children and to adults. For children are born with original sin, and need to have this sin forgiven so that the guilt may be removed. Even though the corruption of nature called concupiscence remains in this life, it can begin to be healed, because the Holy Spirit is effective even in children and cleanses them. We therefore approve the judgment of the Church which condemned the Pelagians, who denied that children had original sin. *We also condemn the Anabaptists who deny that children should be baptized*. Concerning adults we teach that they receive forgiveness of sins and grace through Baptism if they are

truly penitent, confess the articles of faith and truly believe that they will be granted forgiveness of sins and justification on account of Christ, as Peter says in Acts: 'Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of sins, and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit'.

7. (10) The Eucharist

Concerning the Eucharist we continue to believe and teach that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, *the body and blood of Christ are truly, substantially and really present* under the form of bread and wine. And that under these forms they are truly and really offered and administered to those who receive the sacrament, whether they are good or evil.

8. (12) Penance

The Most High God has declared His supreme and ineffable kindness towards sinners in these words of the prophet: 'As I live, says the Lord God, I do not desire the death of the wicked, but rather that the wicked should turn from his way and live'. In order that sinners might share in this great kindness, He has most wholesomely instituted Penance, to be a kind of antidote and effective remedy against despair and death for all who repent. So great, we say, is the need of such Penance, that those who have fallen into mortal sins after baptism, unless they repent in this life and do Penance, cannot escape the sentence of eternal death. But those who seek refuge in the mercy of God through Penance, however many sins they may be guilty of, if they have seriously turned away from them and do Penance, they shall obtain without doubt pardon and forgiveness for all this sins. Moreover, since sin is of us, and the gift is really useful and necessary, we judge it right to teach what benefit it has, so that we might do true and saving Penance, as well as know what it means and of what it consists. For we say that the Holy Spirit is the author and agent of that Penance whereby the sinner rises from the death of his soul and returns afresh into a state of grace with God. Nor can anyone either acknowledge his sins or hate them in a saving manner, without His secret breath, much less hope for or obtain forgiveness of his sins from God. It is this sacred Spirit who works and brings about the beginning, development and end of Penance, in this order and manner (which we shall expound), including everything else which perfects true Penance in the sinful soul.

First, He works so that the sinner, by hearing the word, develops fears, as he realizes that God is angered by sin, so that he may be seriously sorry from the heart and groan because he has offended God. The acknowledgement of sin, the grief and the fear of the mind because of an offended God leads to confession of sin which is made to God when a guilty conscience confesses its sin to God, and accuses and condemns itself before God, asking to be forgiven. Psalm 31, 'I made my offence

known to you, and my unrighteousness to God, and you have put away the wickedness of my sin'. And this confession before God has a certain faith in the divine mercy and the forgiveness of sins on account of Christ, by which faith the conscience is aroused and delivered from fear, and clearly maintains that God is His own offering, not by any merit or value in Penance, or by its own works, but by the free mercy given on account of Christ, who alone is the sacrifice, satisfaction and only propitiation for our sins. In addition to these there is also present a real intention to lead a better life, and a desire to do God's will and for ever abstain from sinning. For God requires newness of life, i.e. fruits worthy of Penance, for the full perfection of Penance, as it says in Rom. 6: 'As you have presented your members to serve uncleanness and evil, for the sake of evil, so now present your members for the service of righteousness, for your sanctification'.

And all these things, the acknowledging of sin, the hatred of sin, the grief and fear for sins, the confession of sins before God, the firm faith in the forgiveness of sins on account of Christ, together with the real intention to abstain from sin in future by the grace of God and to do what is right, the Holy Spirit works and effects in us, so that we might respond to his inspiration and not reject the grace of God inviting us to Penance.

But as the greater part of Christ's people is ignorant of the things which bring about Penance, nor understands how true Penance should be made, nor where the forgiveness of sins is to be expected, in order for all these things to be better established and done it is not only necessary for the preachers and pastors to inform the people about this matter in public sermons, and to preach sincerely from Holy Writ what true Penance is, but we say that the confession of sins which is called auricular and is made in private to the ministers of the Church, is also really useful and extremely necessary.

This confession must be by all means retained in the Church, and made much of, for though there are many other suitable things (of which we shall soon speak) for men unskilled in the Word of God to learn, they ought first to have a clear understanding of the benefit of absolution, that is, the forgiveness of sin, which is offered and presented to those who confess in this way through the absolution and power of the keys, as Christ says, John 20. 'Whose sins you forgive, etc.' It is certainly necessary to believe in this absolution. For it is the voice of the Gospel, by which the minister verbally pronounces and offers the forgiveness of sins to the one who confesses, not in his own name, but in the name and with the authority of Christ. When the penitent believes with a sure faith and assents to this voice of the Gospel sounding from the minister, his conscience is assured of the forgiveness of sins, and clearly accepts that God is his offering and mercy. This one thing accomplished should greatly move all Christians by all means to love and embrace confession, in which by the absolution of grace and the forgiveness of sins, assurance is conceived and

confirmed. And in this private absolution the priest has the power to absolve the penitent from all his sins, even from those customarily called reserved cases, yet in such a way that the one privately absolved must still undergo public judgment for open crimes (if called to court).

To this may be added other useful features of secret confession, of which it is generally true that unlearned and unskilled men will nowhere be better or more readily taught concerning Christian doctrine than in confession, provided they can find a learned and pious confessor. For when they bring attentive and obedient minds to confession, they listen carefully to what is said by the priest. In this way their faith can be probed, and they may be taught and instructed from the word of God, by learned and pious pastors or confessors, what sin is, what a horrible thing it is, what the different types of sin are and how deeply God is angry with sin. For many, especially as they are ignorant of these things, are often deeply troubled in conscience, with fear when there is no reason to be afraid. As the Saviour says, they 'strain at a gnat and swallow a camel'. They are really anxious about the smallest and least important sins, and not at all repentant about the greatest and most serious. Moreover, there are those who because of similar ignorance are burdened with exaggerated fear and weakness of mind, and despair of obtaining any forgiveness for their sins. At the opposite extreme are those proud hypocrites, who stand up against God if they are sinless, or as if God will not punish them for their sins.

For who does not know how useful and necessary this kind of confession is to people, in which they are severely rebuked and castigated by the word of God, to acknowledge that they are sinners, and to discover how horribly God punishes sins? On the other side, to those who despair from too much fear, the very sweet consolation of the Gospel is to be offered. In addition, people can be taught from the word of God, not just how to overcome the temptations of the Devil, and mortify the flesh, so as not to fall back into their former evil ways, but also how to avoid all sins, so as not to be ruled by them. Moreover, that humility of mind by which one man submits to another on account of God, and opens the secrets of his heart, is the guardian and preserver of many further virtues. What is it if that shame and embarrassment for sin, which arises from confession, besides indicating that a mind has truly turned from sin to God, also brings many mortals back from evil deeds and restrains them? Finally, as he who simply and as if before God confesses his sins to a minister of the Church, declares that he has a fear towards the word of God, so by this humility of mind he shows that he fears and reverences God all the more, and represses the innate pride in his heart, so as to respond more easily to the will of God and obey it. Indeed, in these circumstances we do not doubt that all good men judge that this confession, useful and necessary in so many ways, is not only to be retained in the Church but also to be held in high esteem. For if there are some who condemn or reject it, they affect to neglect and despise a teaching of the word of God, the benefit of absolution (which is

given in confession) and many other great advantages which are really useful for Christians. Nor do they realize that they are bringing into the Christian world the greatest licence to sin, and offering a great opportunity for falling into every kind of evil.

As concerns the listing of sins, although we do not approve of doing this in a scrupulous and anxious way, which might ensnare the consciences of men, yet we think that a slack and lazy negligence in a matter of such importance for our salvation is very dangerous and to be avoided.

9. (13) The Use of the Sacraments

*We teach that the sacraments, which have been instituted by the word of God, are not only signs of profession among Christians, but even more, sure witnesses and effective signs of grace, and of God's good will toward us. Through them, God works in us invisibly, and pours his grace into us invisibly, if we receive it properly, and faith is also through them awakened and confirmed in those who use them. Moreover we teach, that the sacraments are to be so used that in the case of adults, besides true repentance, there must also be faith, which believes that the promises which are manifested by the sacraments are present. Nor is it true, as some say, that the sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato* apart from the good intention of the recipient, for in reason it is necessary for the recipients that their faith, by which they believe in the promises, should be present, so that they may receive the things promised, which are conferred by the sacraments. In the case of children, it would be presumptuous to exclude them from the mercy of God, especially as Christ says in the Gospel: 'Let the little ones come to me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven' and elsewhere: 'Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven'. Also as it has always been the custom of the Catholic Church since Apostolic times, that children ought to be baptized for the forgiveness of sins and salvation, we say that the Holy Spirit is efficacious in them, and cleanses them in Baptism, as is said above in the Article on Baptism.*

10. (14) The Ministers of the Church

Concerning the ministers of the Church we teach that no-one ought to teach publicly or administer the sacraments unless lawfully called by those in the Church's ministry. According to the word of God and the laws and customs of every region, they have the right to call and ordain. No-one called to the ministry, including the Roman or any other bishop, can claim for himself as by divine right, the power to teach publicly, to administer the sacraments, or exercise any ecclesiastical function in another diocese or parish. This applies to a bishop in another diocese and to a parish priest in another parish. And furthermore, the conduct of the minister in no way detracts from the efficacy of a sacrament, as we taught above in the Article on the Church.

11. (15) The Rites of the Church

Church rites, ceremonies and ordinances instituted by men, if they contribute to learning discipline, quietness, good order or decorum in the Church are to be retained and embraced, e.g. statutory feasts, fasts, prayers and the like.

Concerning these, people must be reminded that it is not the forms of worship or piety in themselves which God teaches or requires in Scripture, but that they are pleasing to Him in so far as they are useful and kept in a spirit of faith, love and obedience. For the true and genuine worship is fear of God, faith, love and other works commanded by God. In order to obtain and promote these things, those rites and traditions which assist this purpose are to be diligently retained, not as things required by God in Scripture, or as substitutes for true and genuine worship, but as things useful to the Church, pleasing to God and helpful to true piety. And although such rites and traditions ought to be observed by Christians for the reasons we have stated, yet there must be a degree of Christian liberty in observing them, so that no-one should be so attached to them as to be unable to omit them, should there be just cause and reason for doing so, and not merely contempt for them. Nor should the conscience of a neighbour be disturbed or offended by an omission of this type. For if rites and observances of this kind are instituted or performed for reasons other than that they are exercises, reminders and lessons which arouse and lead us to those things in which true piety and righteousness are found, then we say that such institutions and observances must be condemned and rejected. For forgiveness of sins, justification and true piety are not to be attributed to this kind of rite and tradition (for we obtain the forgiveness of the sinner and justification freely by faith on account of Christ). Rather this is to be attributed to them, that just as the state needs political laws, so the order of the Church is served by rites and traditions, confusion is avoided, youth and the ignorant masses may be instructed, and spiritually-minded persons may be helped to grow in piety by means of such rites and traditions. But if any of these traditions go against the word of God, or if they cannot be observed without incurring sin, we say that then they are harmful and pestiferous, and must be removed from the Church. We also judge that wicked ideas and superstitions which harm and obscure the glory and benefit of Christ, in so far as they are bound up with and cling to such traditions because of popular ignorance and simple-mindedness, or the corrupt teaching or neglect of their pastors, must be thrown out and abolished. Moreover, people must be taught that the external observance of such rites and traditions is hardly pleasing to God, unless those who use them do so with a mind which leads them to piety, the cause for which they were instituted in the first place. In addition, the following distinction must be maintained between the commands of God, and rites or traditions instituted by men, that the latter must always give way and be placed lower than the former (which are handed down in Scripture). But at the same time, because the

order and peace of the Church cannot be maintained without rites and ceremonies, we teach that it is useful and necessary for the Church to have them, and that if they are removed from the Church it will crumble and fall.

Finally, the rites, ceremonies and traditions of which we have spoken are to be retained not only for the reasons given but also because of the command of God, who orders us to obey the authorities.

12. (16) Civil Affairs

The miserable condition of mortals is corrupted by sin, and heads straight for iniquity and disgrace, unless it is restrained by wholesome authority, nor can public safety exist without just government and obedience, for which purpose the most merciful God has ordained kings, princes and governors, to whom He has given authority not only to ensure that the people should live according to the law of God, but also to order and rule the same people by other laws suitable for the state, and by just power. God has appointed them for the public good, as his ministers on earth, and as leaders and rulers of his people, and to them he has subjected the whole of the rest of mankind of whatever sort they may be. For this reason, Scripture frequently has much to say about them. First, that they should themselves be educated by the heavenly precepts in wisdom and virtue, that they might know whose ministers they are, and exercise the judgment and authority given to them by God legitimately and wholesomely, as it is written: 'Be instructed, you who judge the earth, serve God in fear'. God also teaches, and gives them authority for this very thing, that for the establishment of their state, they should provide and enact by statute wholesome and just laws (as far as human power permits), by which not only equity, justice and peace may be preserved in the state, but also that piety towards God may be furthered. They are also, as stated above, to have responsibility for upholding the law of God and the Christian religion, as Augustine clearly says:

In this, kings, as they are divinely instructed, serve God, in so far as they are truly kings, if they command what is good in their kingdom, and forbid what is bad, not only in things pertaining to human society, but also in things pertaining to divine religion.

Whence it is the duty and authority of princes and governors, not only to undertake just wars for the defence and safety of themselves and their state, to embrace and favour the just, to take care of the wicked, to protect the poor, to rescue the afflicted and suffering, to avenge wrongs, and so that order and harmony might be maintained among subjects, it is also his responsibility to assign to each one what is his. So also he must oversee (and if necessary) even compel all priests, and everyone else, to perform their duties properly, and exercise every effort to ensure that the good are

encouraged to act well, and the wicked are restrained from evildoing. And although those who are restrained from sin by the fear of the law and of corporal punishment, or are prevented by official means, do not thereby become what they should be, are meanwhile less bad and commit fewer crimes than they might, and may more easily find the way to righteousness, and the peace and piety of the rest are less disturbed, scandals and bad examples are removed from Christian assemblies, and the name of God and the honour of religion are minimally dishonoured by open sins or blasphemies.

In addition, because it is necessary for God's people to acknowledge and respect the fact that the authority of princes is supremely necessary for the state and human affairs, God throughout the Scriptures ordains that everyone in the state, of whatever rank or condition, should give ready and faithful obedience to princes, and this not only for fear of corporal punishment, but also because it is God's will, as Peter clearly reminds us: 'Subjects (he says) must submit to every human creature for God's sake, whether to the king, as above all, or to lords, as those sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and the praise of the good, for such is the will of God.' Paul also likewise: 'Remind them to be subject to princes and authorities, to obey the magistrates, to be ready for every good work, to blaspheme no-one'. Even if a bad prince or governor should order the subject to do something wrong or unjust, and although he may be abusing his power contrary to the will of God, to the hurt of his own soul, yet the subject must endure such rule and suffer it, however hard it may be, (unless it is clear that it is a sin), rather than disturb public order and peace by resisting. But if he is certain that what the prince commands is a sin, then the subject should neither obey nor disturb the peace in any way, but keeping the peace, and leaving the vengeance to God, he should suffer even death itself rather than do anything contrary to the will and commandment of God.

Further, as Scripture speaks clearly about the obedience due to princes, so also it reminds us and requires us to perform willingly the other duties we owe them, such as taxes, tolls, military service and the like, which the people ought to offer and present to their princes by the command of God, especially as states cannot be defended or ruled without income, troops and great expenses. Moreover, there is an honour due to princes, as Paul says, who commands us to show honour to princes. This honour is not found in outward reverence and observance only, but much more in the judgment and will of the mind, so that we acknowledge that princes are ordained of God, and that through them God bestows huge benefits on mankind. In addition, we ought to fear and love princes for God's sake, and that we might be ready to offer them every thanks for their strength. Finally we should pray to God for princes, that he might keep them and continually direct their minds to the glory of God and the safety of the state. If we do these things, we shall honour princes, as Peter teaches:

‘Fear God, honour the king’.

Therefore, it is not only right for Christian princes and governors to possess kingdoms and dominions, and to administer public dignities and offices, which concern public safety, and to advance or protect them in every way as we said above, but also, when in functions of this kind they respect the honour of God and attribute their dignity and power to Him, they are truly pleasing God, and merit his favour and grace fully. For these are good works which God will honour and crown with most magnificent rewards, not only in this life, but much more in eternity.

It is further lawful for all Christians, each according to his own rank and condition, following the laws of God and of princes, and the honest customs of particular regions, to occupy and exercise such offices and duties by which this mortal life survives, or is graced or is preserved, so that they may seek a living from honest trades, do business, make contracts, own property, conduct their affairs legally, serve in the army, marry according to law, take oaths and so on. All these things are lawful as of divine right, to all Christians, according to their condition and rank, so that when pious subjects offer prompt and due obedience to their princes and governors on account of the fear of God, and try to do the other things which their duty and the needs of the state require, they please God and do good works, for which God promises huge rewards, which he faithfully fulfils.

13. (17) The Resurrection of the Body and the Last Judgment

We believe it is to be firmly believed and taught that at the end of the world, Christ, as he himself says in Matthew, will come in the glory of His Father with His holy angels, and in majesty and power, and will sit upon the throne of his majesty. At his coming, with great speed, in a moment of time, in the twinkling of an eye, he will raise the dead by his divine power, and place them, in the same bodies and flesh in which they lived here below, before his judgment seat. All men, who lived from the foundation of the world and who will yet live up to that day, will be included in this. And God will judge each one with the most exact and perfect judgment, and render to each according to his works, which he did in this life and body. To the pious and just he will give eternal life and glory with his holy angels; to the impious and wicked eternal death and punishment, with the devil and the rebellious angels. Moreover in that judgment there will be a perfect and eternal separation of the just from the unjust, and that afterwards there will be no more earthly kingdom or enjoyment of earthly pleasures, as some deceived people have mistakenly imagined. Likewise after this judgment there will be no end to the torments of the wicked, who will then be condemned to punishment, just as there will be no end of blessedness for the good, who on that day will be received into glory.

Three Additional Articles

A. Private Masses

There is no doubt that Paul and the other apostles ordained that there should be sacred lessons and homilies said in the mass and prayers made for things necessary for individuals and for all, and that the eucharist should be presented to the people in the mass. Which custom, observed from the first beginnings of Christianity, we judge should not now be abolished by any accord, but should be retained and preserved with all reverence and piety in the Church. For these lessons are very effective in arousing the minds of men, either to faith, or to the love and fear of God and the obedience of his commandments, especially if they are properly understood by the people, or are explained by a learned and pious preacher.

For if faith is by hearing, and you need to do something to please God, you could not do anything better or surer than to listen to His Word. And the prayers which are said in the common assembly, contain the fullest promises of Christ, who said: 'If two of you agree on earth, whatever they pray for will be granted to them by my Father in heaven, for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them'. Christ willed that we should come together to pray, and that we should gather as churches. He wanted the whole church to be so united that it should have one heart and one soul, that everyone would be touched by each other's needs, and would pray to God for them in common prayers, setting out fixed prayers of this kind which were pleasing to him.

Moreover, for the church to come together to pray sets an example. For by the example of others the ignorant may be taught, and the lazy aroused. How many would have little or no interest in public needs if they were not there reminded that individuals should be affected by public concerns, and pray, not only for the universal Church, that it might be freed from errors, scandals, divisions, impious forms of worship, that true doctrine might be spread, that true forms of worship (rejecting superstition) might be offered to God, that the peace and quietness of the church might be preserved, but also for the safety of princes and good government, for the provision of food, against disease, and so on. We think that prayers of this type have been piously and necessarily introduced in the mass and in public ceremonies, partly also to accustom people to call on God in all dangers, to put their trust in Him, to depend on Him and to ask for, and expect, His help.

But common prayers ought to be made in a common language, so that all those present may pray to God together, both in mind and spirit. For in this way prayer is more acceptable to God, and doubtless also more beneficial to men, if the people, understanding the words of the priest, agree with them no less by the inner consent of their mind than by the outward harmony of their voice. For, as Paul says: 'If I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays, but my mind is devoid of fruit', and again: 'If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will appear for the battle? So, if you speak in a

tongue which means nothing, how will anyone understand what is being said?’ and soon afterwards again: ‘If you bless someone in the Spirit, how will he who sits in the place of the ignorant be able to say Amen to your prayer of thanksgiving?’

After the lessons, homilies and prayers are over, the people receive in the Eucharist the body of Christ, which was given for us, and His blood which was shed for us, in memory of his death, as he instituted the day before his passion. When this is done, they regularly rise to the correction of new life, being incorporated into, and born again with Christ, and being dead with him to sin. Today the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist has corrupted these things for its own glory and convenience, having risen up not only against the monarchs of the world, but also against the ancient custom of the Church and the pure practice of Christian doctrine, which was instituted in holiness at the beginning.

The lessons and prayers now remain among the priests, but their language is not understood by the people, who pray without understanding because they do so in a foreign tongue. Sacred homilies are either non-existent or very rare; the Eucharist is received by the priest alone, who turns it into a most shameful plea on behalf of the living and the dead; the Christian people barely enters into the act, and then never receives the complete sacrament. But in so far as the mass is more sacred, it ought to be less profaned by impious opinions, nor should it be turned into some form of licence or magic. Therefore the opinion of those who think that the sacrament can be received by the priest on behalf of others, living or dead, is to be condemned, as is the view that he can earn for them eternal life and the remission of guilt and punishment, and this moreover *ex opere operato*.

Such a doctrine was unknown in the ancient church, and is foreign to the Sacred Scriptures, and undermines the right doctrine of justification by faith, and produces faith in an alien work. But Christ, when he instituted this sacrament, said: ‘Do this in memory of me’, desiring above all that in true faith a memorial should be made of his death, and of the benefits which he earned for us by his death. These benefits are granted through the sacrament to the recipient, when he responds in faith to this memorial. They cannot be given to others through the recipients.

For just as everyone is baptized only for himself, and not for others; so the Eucharist was instituted by Christ so that no-one should take it on behalf of another but only each Christian for himself. For the logic and nature of a sacrament is this, that there are visible, sure and effective signs through which God works invisibly in those who rightly use them, and he works only in those who use them personally, not in those who want to be represented by others, whether they are priests or of whatever sort or condition they may be. Having recalled and thoroughly examined this matter, it will easily appear that there is no further need to discuss the uses and activities connected with private masses. For if, as Augustine witnesses,

the mass contains nothing besides the Eucharist except praises, thanksgivings, supplications and the petitions of the faithful, and that the Eucharist can benefit or be applied to no-one except the recipient; nevertheless, the other things like praises, thanksgivings, supplications and so on can and must be offered by both laity and priests, and there will be no further reason why anyone will need to buy a mass.

Furthermore, since without thanksgiving, the memorial of Christ's death is not rightly celebrated, the ancients called the celebration of the sacrament 'Eucharist', which was the name given to it by many orthodox Fathers, meaning that it was a memorial of that once for all, unique, perfect sacrifice, not that it was itself a sacrifice applicable to both the living and the dead, for the forgiveness of sins. The papal notion is a fiction, and since private masses derive from this impious opinion and practice, and that for the most part, we have found no example or mention of these satisfactions, which have expanded enormously, in ancient writers, we think they ought to be abolished, and other private masses be either totally abrogated or else greatly restricted and controlled, and that the greatest care be taken to ensure that a true and genuine use of this sacrament be restored, to the glory of Christ and the salvation of the Church.

B. The Veneration of the Saints

Although we believe and confess that God is the giver and provider of everything good, as James bears witness, saying: 'Every good and every perfect gift comes from above from the Father of lights', and Christ says in John: 'whatever you ask the Father in my name, he will give you' and Psalms: 'Call on me in the day of trouble' etc., by which passages of scripture we are clearly taught what pertains to the salvation of the body and the soul, we are to ask for these things of God alone, and be given them by Him as often as we ask in the name of Christ: yet, as has been received from the foundation of the church, we think it really useful and necessary to celebrate the memorials and feast days of the saints, and to hand down a form of doctrine concerning these things, which in no way hurts or offends the glory of God, yet teaches that the constant custom of the church in celebrating the memorials and feast days of saints is praiseworthy, and not opposed to sacred scripture. And because we are not unaware that many abuses and superstitions have come into this part of the Christian religion, which include the veneration of saints, we think it necessary to ensure that whatever is meaningless or harmful be condemned and rejected, and that only that which is useful and true be retained and approved. In order to do this better and more easily, we think it ought to be taught that remembering the saints, who having cast off their bodies dwell with Christ, is useful in the churches for many reasons.

First, because it calls to mind those outstanding works of God in the saints, which were once performed through them in order to illustrate God's power and glory among men, and which now call us to praise God

in the saints by the simple remembrance of them. Add to this, that in these remembrances of the saints there are put before us the clearest examples of faith, love, patience, and other virtues, which encourage us to imitate them, in so far as they 'by faith conquered kingdoms, worked righteousness, claimed the promises', so we following in their footsteps come to the crown of glory, with which they are now adorned. We consider that this imitation of the saints is the highest and greatest honour, even though Christ is the supreme and perfect example of life, which we ought all to imitate as far as we are able. Yet the examples offered to us in the saints are of value and benefit to us, which we may follow usefully and with much profit. For who will not be inspired by the great endurance of the martyrs in their torments, so as to desire to suffer everything, however hard and difficult, for the sake of the glory of Christ? To whom would the piety of Josiah and Hezekiah and the other pious kings who preserved the true worship of God by abolishing idolatrous cults, not be an example to imitate as far as possible? Indeed, even the sins and penances of the saints, in so far as they are recorded, can be very helpful to us. For when we see how the sins of David, Peter, Mary Magdalene and others are forgiven, how can we doubt that God will also likewise forgive our sins if we do penance? Furthermore, in remembering the saints, thanks must be offered to God, that he bestowed different gifts on the saints, by which they greatly advanced the church, winning very many to Christ by the example of either their doctrine or their life. It is not only right that we should greatly praise the gifts of God in the saints, but also offer praises for the saints themselves, who used the gifts so well, and love and admire them as Augustine writes in *De Civitate* VIII:

We honour the memories of the martyrs as holy men of God, who contended for the truth even to the death of their bodies—so that by their fame we might give thanks to the true God for their victories, and be exhorted to imitate such crowns and rewards by calling on the same god for help, on the basis of a refreshing of our memory of them.

And elsewhere:

We venerate ... the martyrs with the same veneration of love and fellowship with which holy men of God in this life are venerated, of whom we sense that their hearts are ready to suffer in a similar way for the truth of the Gospel, but we venerate them all the more devoutly and surely in that all the uncertainties of this life have been overcome, just as we preach with a surer praise that those already in the happier life, rather than those who are still struggling in this one, have won the victory.

And Basil, in his *Homily on the Martyr Gordias*: 'The saints do not need anything to be added to their glory, but we need to remember them in

order to imitate them'. And we have already said that the veneration of saints consists partly in praising God through them and partly in imitating them. Now let us come to another type of veneration, which concerns the intercession of the saints for us.

This is really a double issue, which involves both the prayers of the saints to God for us, and our intercessions to the saints. Of the former, we say that saints who have overcome sin and in death sleep in Christ, as they are members of one and the same body as we are, who still struggle with the flesh and the world, desire our good and pray for it. Of the latter though, by which we seek their assistance, we teach that as the salvation of the body and the soul, the forgiveness of sins, grace, eternal life and the like are solely in the gift of God, nor can be given by anyone other than by God, that anyone who prays to the saints and begs them for these gifts, and seeks them from them, when they cannot obtain them except by the gift of God, as if the saints themselves could bestow them on the seekers; this man makes a great mistake, and depriving God of His glory, attributes it to a creature.

But if we implore the petitions of the saints and ask them to pray and beseech God with us and for us, that we might more quickly obtain from God those things which no-one except God can bestow, then this form of intercession can be tolerated, and has long been approved and confirmed by the usage of the catholic church.

Nor will there be any danger if we attribute the glory of God to creatures, provided that the people are taught that the saints may be asked only to assist us by making their own intercession to God. For since they willingly fulfilled the duty of love when they were still in this life, and contending with flesh and blood, we have no doubt that they will perform the same duty for us, now that they are enjoying their reward with Christ.

Furthermore, since many people have attributed the cures of certain diseases and a concern for other things to particular saints, and have venerated one saint in order to avoid the plague, another to obtain the safety and welfare of cattle, another to find more quickly things which they have lost, and thus asked for particular things from particular saints, as God had put one saint in charge of curing this disease and another in charge of remedying another evil, thereby relieving Himself of particular responsibility, we think that people must be taught to offer their prayers to God both in prosperity and in adversity, since He is the author of all good and salvation, and not to make use of the saints except as intercessors on our behalf before God, in whom all our hope and trust must always and everywhere be placed.

However we do not deny that we may, in order to arouse faith and hope in God, remind God of those miracles which He once performed at the bidding of the saints, so that being reminded of them we might pray for the benefits of God with greater faith, as when a man riddled with fever prays to God that just as He healed Peter's sick mother-in-law at his behest, so

also now He might chase the heat of the fever from his sick body, or when we pray that God, who miraculously delivered Paul from the prison where he was bound which his colleague Silas, might now be pleased to free us likewise from the chains of illnesses and sins.

C. Images

In that images of Christ and the saints can serve the illiterate instead of books, when written books might remind them of their histories and deeds, we think that they may be usefully set up and placed in Christian churches or elsewhere. Such images, besides leading the illiterate above all to a remembrance and understanding of history, are also useful to the learned; for an educated person is all the more strongly affected when he sees the image of Christ hanging on the cross than when he reads that He suffered and was crucified.

But as people have greatly sinned in the use of images, since some have placed in churches images of things for which there is no evidence either in Scripture or in the standard authors, whilst others have neglected Christ's poor and spent huge sums on the outward decoration of statues, deeming this falsely to be the most important side of piety. Some (which is greatly to be regretted) have venerated images to the point of putting their faith in them, being persuaded that they have some extraordinary power and holiness, while others have made offerings to images and undertaken long pilgrimages in order to see them, believing that God, thanks to the image, will hear them better in one place than in another. As it is not possible to conceal these and other similar opinions and absurd beliefs, which an ignorant populace holds concerning images, in order for the images themselves to be kept in the church and all abuses and superstitions be completely removed, we consider that it is the duty of pastors and preachers to teach and inform people better about these things, that they should teach the true purpose of the images, and that they should implant and secure the understanding and recollection of those things which they represent in the mind of men, arousing in no small way the minds of those who gaze upon them. To this end we do not doubt that images were first placed in churches, so that the appearance of the images might call to mind the virtues of the saints and the examples of the lives of those on whose images we gaze, so that as things subject to the eyes move us more than things which are heard, we might be all the more encouraged by the virtues and examples of the saints, which are depicted in their images, to praise God in the saints, to weep for our sins, and to pray God that we might imitate the virtues of the saints and their life by His grace.

For if someone, seeing the crucifix, doffs his cap or inclines his head, he is not honouring the wood, but on meeting and seeing the image is venerating Christ, which it represents. This honour does not belong to the statue but to Christ, through the appearance of the statue, is both pleasing to God and far removed from idolatry.

But we greatly condemn these things and teach that Christians must not: 1. worship images; 2. attribute any power or holiness to them; 3. think that God, on account of any statue or the place where it may be set up, will hear those who call on Him more readily; 4. paint or sculpt these same statues immorally or according to the vanities of this age; or finally, 5. decorate them while overlooking and neglecting Christ's power, who are to be looked after according to the command of God.

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