

19. THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES, 15

8 WITH THREE ADDITIONAL ARTICLES, 1538

History

These Articles were composed about 1538 by Archbishop Cranmer. They were discovered among his papers in the early nineteenth century, and were published in the Parker Society Edition of Cranmer's works (1846). Also discovered at that time, and published along with them, were three additional articles, which appear to have been composed at the same time and with the same purpose, though they are not part of the main collection. These Articles never had any official status, but they are of great interest because of what they reveal about Cranmer's links with Lutheranism. The original text is in Latin, and the English translation has been prepared for this edition. The three additional articles are printed together at the end.

Theology

The Thirteen Articles are the most clearly Lutheran document ever to be penned by an English churchman. The influence of the Wittenberg Articles is clearly apparent, but that of the Augsburg Confession is even greater. In many places, Cranmer's text is virtually identical to it, and it is obvious that he was adapting its provisions for English use. It is therefore extremely interesting to note that Cranmer omitted AC 06, which deals with the New Obedience, a doctrine which was of fundamental importance to Luther's understanding of the Gospel. Also of note is the fact that the articles on Penance (08), Rites and Ceremonies (11) and Civil Affairs (12) are extraordinarily long, reflecting concerns felt more deeply in England than on the Continent. It should also be noted that Cranmer only got as far as AC 17, which suggests that he probably broke off his labours before they were completed. This would tie in with the change in the King's policy which became apparent at about the same time. Lutheranism gave way

to a revived form of Catholicism, though without the Pope, and these Articles were redundant. Of interest to us today is the fact that even at its height, Lutheran influence on Cranmer was far from being absolute. The Archbishop never felt that he was, or should become, a slavish imitator of the great Reformer, and this independence of mind was to remain characteristic of the English Church as it sought to come to terms with Protestant ideas from the Continent.

N.B. Where these Articles are virtually identical with the Augsburg Confession (1530) the text is printed in italics, and phrases which Cranmer later included in the Forty-two Articles (1553) are underlined. Where the number of the corresponding article in the Augsburg Confession differs from the one in these Articles, it is indicated in parentheses.

01. De unitate Dei et trinitate personarum

*De unitate essentiae divinae et de tribus personis, censemur decretum Nicaenae synodi verum, et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse, videlicet, quod sit una essentia divina, quae et appellatur et est **Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator et conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint personae eiusdem essentiae et potentiae, et coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus; et nomine personae utimur ea significatione qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnamus omnes haereses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manichaeos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum: item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos,***

01. The Unity of God and the Trinity of Persons

*Concerning the unity of the divine essence 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 use the name Person in the same sense as it was used by the Church Fathers, i.e. as signifying not a part or a quality in another being, but what subsists in itself. We condemn all the heresies which have arisen against this article, e.g. the Manichees, who posited two principles, one good and one evil; likewise the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Muslims and all like***

Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. Damnamus et Samosat-enos, veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

02. De peccato originali

Omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascuntur cum peccato originali; hoc est, cum carentia originalis iustitiae debitae inesse, unde sunt filii irae, et deficiunt cognitione Dei, metu Dei, fiducia erga Deum, etc. Et habent concupiscentiam, repugnantem legi Dei; estque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnamus Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem viribus naturalibus sine Spiritu Sancto posse legi Dei satisfacere, et propter honesta opera rationis pronuntiari iustum coram Deo.

03. De duabus Christi naturis

Item docemus, quod Verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumpsit humanam naturam in utero Beatae Mariae Virginis, ut sint

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.

02. Original Sin

All men, engendered according to nature, are born with original sin; that is, lacking the original righteousness which ought to be in them, and are therefore children of wrath, without any 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 by baptism and the Holy Spirit. We condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that the original flaw is sin, and in order to dissipate 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 the good works of reason.

03. The Two Natures of Christ

We also teach that the Word, that is, the Son of God, took unto him human nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there

duae naturae, divina et humana in unitate personae inseparabiliter coniunctae unus Christus vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Item descendit ad inferos, vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad caelos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus ut iudicet vivos et mortuos etc., iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

04. De iustificatione (AC 4/5)

Item de iustificatione docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum et acceptationem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei; hoc est, veram renovationem in Christo, et quod peccatores, licet non assequantur hanc iustificationem absque paenitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis quem Spiritus Sanctus efficit erga Deum et proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum paenitentiae aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum iustificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se

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; (who) truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto 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; and to sanctify those who believe in him by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, to rule, comfort and quicken them, and 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.

04. Justification (AC 4/5)

Likewise concerning justification, we teach that properly speaking, it signifies the forgiveness of sins and our acceptance, i.e. reconciliation into the grace of God, that is, true renewal in Christ; and that sinners, although they cannot obtain this justification without penitence, and the right and proper movement of the heart towards God and (their) neighbour, which is the work of the Holy Spirit, are yet 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

in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro iustitia coram ipso (Ro 3,4). Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam "quae per dilectionem operatur". Est enim vera et Christiana fides, de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, aut credulitas doctrinae Christianae dumtaxat historica; sed una cum illa notitia et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiae Dei promissae propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordiam et propitium. Et haec fides vere iustificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, aut hypocritica, sed necessario habet spem et caritatem sibi individue coniunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi, et bene operatur pro loco et occasione. Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria, non quod de impio iustum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa iustificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui iam fide iustificatus est et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat iuxta illud: "Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum caelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in caelis est". Qui vero haec opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque iustus est, neque vitam aeternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat, et vere paeniteat) assequetur.

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 (Ro. 3.4) and Christian faith of which we speak here, not merely knowledge of the articles of faith, or belief in Christian doctrine as historical fact; but alongside this knowledge and belief, a firm trust in the mercy of God promised on account of Christ, by which we boldly proclaim and declare that he himself is our mercy and sacrifice. And this faith 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 ungodly, 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 is truly sorry).

(AC 5):

Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tamquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in his qui audiunt evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum iustificet paenitentes, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi. Damnamus Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.

05. De ecclesia (AC 7)

Ecclesia, praeter alias acceptationes in Scripturis duas habet praecipuas: unam, qua ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu eius. Haec autem vivum est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptatio est qua ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium qui baptizati sunt in Christo, et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec iuste et per eius verbum sunt excommunicati. Ista ecclesiae acceptatio congruit eius statui in hac vita dumtaxat, in qua boni malis sunt admixti, et debet esse cognita ut possit audiri, iuxta illud: "Qui ecclesiam non audierit", etc. Cognoscitur autem per

(AC 5):

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 merits' 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 external word, through their own preparation and works.

05. The Church (AC 7)

In the Scriptures, the word "Church" has two main meanings, apart from others; one of which 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 understands 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 nor been lawfully and by his Word excommunicated. This meaning of "Church" corresponds to its status in this life in that in it the good are mixed with the evil. It must be recognized in order to be heard, as it is written: "Whoever does not listen to the Church", etc. It is discerned by the proclamation of

professionem evangelii et communionem sacramentorum. Haec est Ecclesia Catholica et Apostolica, quae non episcopatus Romani aut cuiusvis alterius ecclesiae finibus circumscribitur, sed universas totius Christianismi complectitur ecclesias, quae simul unam efficiunt Catholicam. In hac autem Catholica Ecclesia nulla particularis ecclesia, sive Romana fuerit sive quaevis alia, ex institutione Christi supra alias ecclesias eminentiam vel auctoritatem ullam vindicare potest. Est vero haec Ecclesia una, non quod in terris unum aliquot caput seu unum quendam vicarium sub Christo habeat aut habuerit unquam, (quod sibi iam diu pontifex Romanus divini iuris praetextu vindicavit, cum tamen revera divino iure nihil amplius illi sit concessum quam alii cuiusvis episcopo); sed ideo una dicitur, quia universi Christiani in vinculo pacis colligati unum caput Christum agnoscunt, cuius se profitentur esse corpus, unum agnoscunt Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma, unum Deum ac Patrem omnium.

Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque caeremoniae, quae vel ad decorum vel ordinem vel disciplinam ecclesiae ab hominibus sunt institutae, non omnino necesse est ut eadem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hae enim et variae fuere, et variati possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectoribus regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut nihil varietur aut instituat contra Verbum Dei manifestum.

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 together make up the one Catholic (Church). In this Catholic Church, no particular church, whether Roman or any other, can claim any primacy or authority, given by Christ's institution, over other churches. This Church is truly one, not because it has or has ever had a single head or vicar under 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, and rites and ceremonies, which have been instituted by men either for decency, or 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 from, or be instituted which is contrary to, the plain Word of God.

Et quamvis in ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem *mali sunt bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam praesint;* tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis, iuxta illud: "Qui vos audit, me audit". Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

06. De baptismo (AC 9)

De baptismo dicimus, quod baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi, infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari baptismus. Et quod infantes debeant baptizari. Et quod infantes per baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiae et vitae aeternae pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et haec promissio per ministerium in ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturae seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus

And although the evil 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, we may use their ministry both in hearing the Word and in receiving the sacraments, as it is written: "Whoever hears you, hears me". Nor is the effect or the grace of the gifts of Christ, properly received, diminished by their wickedness; for they are efficacious on account of the promise and ordination of Christ, even if they are manifested by evil men.

06. Baptism (AC 9)

Concerning baptism, we say that it was instituted by Christ and is necessary for salvation, and that through baptism forgiveness of sins and the grace of Christ are offered both to children and to adults. Baptism ought not to be repeated. Children ought to be baptized. 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 their guilt may be removed. Even though the corruption of nature called concupiscence remains in this life, it can begin to be healed

Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat. Probamus igitur sententiam ecclesiae quae damnavit Pelagianos, quia negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. *Damnamus et Anabaptistas qui negant infantes baptizandos esse.* De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint paenitentiam veram, confessionem articuloꝝ fidei, et credant vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem propter Christum, sicut Patrus ait in Actis: "Paenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Iesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti."

07. De eucharistia (AC 10)

De eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, *vere, substantialiter et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi* sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

08. De paenitentia (AC 12)

Summam et ineffabilem suam erga peccatores clementiam et misericordiam Deus Opt. Max. apud prophetam declarans hisce verbis: "Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impii, set ut impius convertatur a via sua et vivet", ut

because the Holy Spirit is effective even in children, and cleanses them. We therefore approve the judgement 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, when being baptized, 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: "Do penitence 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."

07. The Eucharist (AC 10)

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 forms 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 be good or evil.

08. Penitence (AC 12)

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 ungodly, but rather that the ungodly should turn from his way and live." ut

huius tantae clementiae ac misericordiae peccatores participes efficerentur, saluberrime instituit paenitentiam, quae sit omnibus resipiscentibus velut antidotum quoddam et efficax remedium adversus desperationem et mortem. Cuius quidem paenitentiae tantam necessitatem esse fatemur, ut quotquot a baptismo in mortalia peccata prolapsi sint, nisi in hac vita resipiscentes paenitentiam egerint, aeternae mortis iudicium effugere non poterint. Contra vero qui ad misericordiam Dei per paenitentiam tamquam ad asylum confugerint, quantiscumque peccatis obnoxii sunt, si ab illis serio conversi paenitentiam egerint, peccatorum omnium veniam ac remissionem indubie consequentur. Porro quoniam peccare a nobis est et donum, valde utile et necessarium esse arbitramus docere, et cuius beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque paenitentiam agimus, et quaenam illa sit ac quibus ex rebus constet, de qua loquimur paenitentia. Dicimus itaque paenitentiae per quam peccator a morte animae resurgit, et denuo in gratiam cum Deo redit, Spiritum Sanctum auctorem esse et effectorem, nec quemquam posse sine huius arcano afflatu, peccata sua salutariter vel agnoscere vel odio habere, multo minus remissionem peccatorum a Deo sperare aut assequi. Qui quidem sacer Spiritus paenitentiae initium, progressum, et finem, caeteraque omnia quae veram paenitentiam perficiunt in anima peccatrice, hoc (quem docebimus) ordine ac modo operatur et efficit.

Principio, facit ut peccator per

In order that sinners might share in this great kindness and mercy, he has most wholesomely instituted penitence, 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 penitence, that those who have fallen into mortal sins after baptism, unless they repent in this life and do penitence, cannot escape the sentence of eternal death. But those who seek refuge in the mercy of God through penitence, however many sins they may be guilty of, if they seriously turn away from them and do penitence, they shall without doubt obtain pardon and remission for all their sins. Moreover, since sin is from ourselves, we judge it right to teach that the gift is really useful and necessary, and what benefit it has, so that we might do true and saving penitence, as well as know what the penitence of which we speak means, and of what it consists. For we say that the Holy Spirit is the author and agent of that penitence 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 penitence, in this order and manner (which we shall expound), including everything else which perfects true penitence in the sinful soul.

First, he works so that the sinner,

verbum terrores concipiat, dum sentit Deum irasci peccato, utque serio et ex corde doleat ac ingemiscat, quod Deum offenderit; quam peccati agnitionem, dolorem, et animi pavorem ob Deum offensum, sequitur peccati confessio, quae fit Deo dum rea conscientia peccatum suum Deo confitetur, et sese apud Deum accusat et damnat, et sibi petit ignosci. Ps 31: "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitiam mean Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei." Atque haec coram Deo confessio coniunctam habet certam fiduciam misericordiae divinae et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, qua fiducia conscientia iam erigitur et pavore liberatur, ac certo statuit Deum sibi esse propitium, non merito aut dignitate paenitentiae, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, ac unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Ad haec adest et certum animi propositum vitam totam in melius commutandi, ac studium faciendi voluntatem Dei et perpetuo abstinendi a peccatis. Nam vitae novitatem sive fructus dignos paenitentiae perfectionem necessario requirit Deus, iuxta illud, Ro 6: "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiae et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire iustitiae, in sanctificationem."

Atque haec quidem omnia, agnitionem peccati, odium peccati, dolorem pavoremque pro peccatis,

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. Ps 31: "I made my offence known to you, and my unrighteousness to God, and you have put away the ungodliness of my sin." And this confession before God has joined to it a sure trust in the divine mercy and the forgiveness of sins on account of Christ, by which trust the conscience is aroused and delivered from fear, and clearly maintains that God is gracious to it, nor by any merit or value in penitence, 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 penitence, for the full perfection of penitence, as it says in Ro 6: "As you have presented your members to serve uncleanness and evil, so now present your members for the service of righteousness, for sanctification."

And all these things, the acknowledging of sin, the hatred of sin, the grief and fear for sins, the

peccati coram Deo confessionem, firmam fiduciam remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, una cum certo animi proposito postea semper a peccatis per Dei gratiam abstinendi et serviendi iustitiae, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis operatur et efficit, modo nos illius afflatui obsequamur, nec gratiae Dei nos ad paenitentiam invitanti repugnemus.

Caeterum cum has res quae paenitentiam efficiunt maxima pars Christiani populi ignoret, nec quomodo agenda sit vera paenitentia intelligat, nec ubi speranda sit remissio peccatorum norit, ut in his rebus omnibus melius instituat et deceatur, non solum concionatores et pastores diligenter in publicis concionibus populum de hac re informare, et quid sit vera paenitentia, ex sacris litteris sincere praedicare debent, verum etiam valde utilem ac summe necessariam esse dicimus peccatorum confessionem, quae auricularis dicitur, et privatim fit ministris ecclesiae.

Quae sane confessio modis omnibus in ecclesia retinenda est et magni facienda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in Verbo Dei, et alia commoda non pauca (de quibus mox dicemus) tum praecipue propter absolutionis beneficium, hoc est remissionem peccatorum, quae in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem et potestatem clavium, iuxta illud Christi, Jn. 20: "Quorum remisistis peccata", etc. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine

confession of sins before God, the firm trust in the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, together with a 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 penitence.

But as the greater part of Christ's people is ignorant of the things which bring about penitence, nor understands how true penitence 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 penitence 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 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 remission of sins, which is offered to those who confess in this way and is demonstrated through absolution and the power of the keys, as Christ says in Jn 20: "Whose sins you forgive, etc." It is certainly necessary to believe in this

et auctoritate, remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat et offert. Cui voci evangelii per ministrum sonanti, dum confitens certa fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia eius fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et iam certo secum statuit Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse. Quae una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debet permovere, ut confessionem, in qua per absolutionem gratiae et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur. Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis, etiam illis qui soliti sunt vocare casus reservati, ita tamen ut ille privatim absolutus, nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus (si in ius vocetur) publicis iudiciis subiaceat.

Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcanae commoda, quorum unum est, quod indocti, ac imperiti homines nusquam commodius aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint, modo confessorem doctum et pium nacti fuerint. Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione efferunt, diligenter ad ea quae a sacerdote dicuntur animum advertunt. Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, quamque horrenda res sit, et quae sint peccatorum inter se discrimina, ac quam graviter contra peccata irascitur Deus, a doctis ac

absolution. For it is the voice of the Gospel, with which the minister, by the Word, proclaims and offers 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 remission of sins, and clearly accepts that God is gracious and merciful to him. 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 remission 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 judgement for open crimes (if called into court).

To this may be added other useful features of secret confession, one of which is 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 godly 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 tested, and they may be taught and instructed from the Word of God, by learned and godly pastors or confessors, what sin is, what a horrible thing it is, what the

piis pastoribus seu confessoribus ex Verbo Dei doceri possunt ac informari. Multi enim, propterea quod haec ignorent, in conscientiis saepe graviter anguntur, illic trepidants timore, ubi timor non est, qui (ut Servator ait) "culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt"; in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde paenitentes. Sunt porro qui simili laborantes inscitia propter immodicum timorem et animi pusillanimitatem de peccatorum venia fere desperant. Contra sunt, qui per hypocrisim superbientes seipsos adversus Deum erigunt, quasi aut sine peccato sint, aut ipsos pro peccatis Deus nolit punire.

Iam quis nescit quam utilis et necessaria istiusmodi hominibus confessio sit, in qua hi Verbo Dei dure increpandi arguendique sunt, ut peccatores se agnoscant, atque intelligant, quam horribiliter Deus peccata puniat? Contra, illis qui nimio timore desperant, suavissima evangelii consolatio afferenda est. Ad haec in confessione ex Verbo Dei doceri homines possunt, non solum qua ratione Diaboli tentationes vincant, et carnem mortificent, ne ad priores vitae sordes postea relabantur, verum etiam quibus remediis peccata omnia fugiant, ut non regnent in ipsis. Praeterea illa animi humilitas qua homo homini propter Deum sese submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit, multarum profecto virtutum custos est et conservatrix. Quid

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 where 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 as 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

quod pudor ille et erubescencia peccati quae ex confessione oritur, praeterquam quod animum a peccato ad Deum vere conversum indicat, etiam multos mortales a turpibus factis retrahit ac cohibet? Postremo, ut ille qui simpliciter et tamquam coram Deo peccata sua ministro ecclesiae confitetur, declarat se Verbum Dei timorem habere, ita hac animi humilitate discit Deum magis et timere et revereri, et innatam in corde superbiam reprimere, ut Dei voluntati facilius obsequatur et obtemperet. Iam vero, cum haec ita se habeant, nihil dubitamus, quin omnes viri boni hanc confessionem tot nominibus utilem ac necessariam, non solum in ecclesia retinendam esse, sed magno etiam in pretio habendam iudicent. Quod si qui sunt qui eam vel damnant, vel reiiciunt, hi profecto se et in Verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, (quod in confessione datur) et alia multa atque ingentia commoda Christianis valde utilia, negligere et contemnere ostendunt; nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnam in omne scelus ruendi occasionem praebere.

Quod vero, ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, quemadmodum non probamus scrupulosam et anxiam, ne laqueam iniiciat hominum conscientias, ita censemur segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam.

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 license 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.

09. *De sacramentorum usu (AC 13)*

Docemus, quod sacramenta quae per Verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notae professionis inter Christianos, sed magis, certa quaedam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae, et bonae voluntatis Dei erga nos, per quae Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus; quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, praeter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat, accedere fides, quae credat praesentibus promissionibus, quae per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur et praestantur. Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis, nam in ratione utentibus necessum est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quae per sacramenta conferantur. De infantibus vero cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere, praesertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat: "Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim regnum caelorum", et alibi: "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum caelorum": cumque perpetua ecclesiae catholicae consuetudine, iam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, receptum sit infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum et

09. *The Use of the Sacraments (AC 13)*

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 them rightly, and faith is also awakened through them 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 contrition, there must also be faith, which believes that the attendant promises which are offered by the sacraments are manifested and held forth. Nor is it true of them, as some say, that the sacraments confer grace "ex opere operato", apart from the good intention of the recipient, for in respect of the recipients, it is necessary that the recipient's faith, by which he believes in the promises, should be present, so that he 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 accepted, by the perpetual custom of the Catholic

salutem, dicimus quod Spiritus Sanctus efficax sit in illis, et eos in baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in Articulo de baptismo dictum est.

10. De ministris Ecclesiae (AC 14)

De ministris Ecclesiae docemus, quod nemo debeat publice docere, aut sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus, et quidem ab his, penes quos in Ecclesia, iuxta Verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscuiusque regionis, ius est vocandi et admittendi. Et quod nullus ad Ecclesiae ministerium vocatus, etiamsi episcopus sit sive Romanus, sive quicumque alius, hoc sibi iure divino vindicare possit, ut publice docere, sacramenta ministrare, vel ullam ecclesiasticam functionem in aliena diocesi aut parochia exercere valeat; hoc est, nec episcopus in alterius episcopi diocesi, nec parochus in alterius parochia. Et demum quod militia ministri efficaciae sacramentorum nihil detrahat, ut iam supra docuimus in Articulo de ecclesia.

11. De ritibus ecclesiasticis (AC 15)

Ritus, ceremoniae, et ordinationes ecclesiasticae humanitus institutae, quaecumque prosunt ad eruditionem, disciplinam, tranquillitatem, bonum ordinem, aut decorum in ecclesia, servandae sunt et amplectendae, ut stata festa, ieiunia, preces et his similia. De quibus admonendi sunt

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. The Ministers of the Church (AC 14)

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 who, according to the Word of God and the laws and customs of each country, 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 - i.e. neither a bishop in another diocese nor 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. The Rites of the Church (AC 15)

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

homines quod non sunt illi cultus, quos Deus in Scriptura praecipit aut requirit, aut ipsa sanctimonia, sed quod ad illos cultus et ipsam sanctimoniam admodum utiles sunt, ac tum placent Deo, cum ex fide, caritate et oboedientia servantur. Sunt autem veri et genuini cultus, timor Dei, fides, dilectio, et caetera opera a Deo mandata. Ad quae consequenda et praestanda, quoties ritus et traditiones adiumentum adferunt diligenter servandae sunt, non tamquam res in Scripturis a Deo exactae, aut illis veris et genuinis cultibus aequandae, sed tamquam res Ecclesiae utiles, Deo gratae, et adminicula verae pietatis. Et quamvis ritus ac traditiones eiusmodi a Christianis observari debeant, propter causas quas ante diximus, tamen in illarum observatione ea libertatis Christianae ratio habenda est, ut nemo se illis ita teneri putet, quin eas possit omittere, modo adsit iusta violandi ratio et causa, et absit contemptus: nec per eiusmodi violationem proximi conscientia turbetur aut laedatur. Quod si eiusmodi ritus aut ordinationes alio animo ac consilio instituuntur, aut observantur, quam ut sint exercitia quaedam, admonitiones, et paedagogiae, quae excitent et conducant ad eas res in quibus sita est vera pietas et iustitia; nos talem institutionem et observationem omnino improbandam et reiiciendam esse dicimus. Non enim remissio peccatorum, iustificatio, et vera pietas tribuenda est eiusmodi ritibus et traditionibus, (nam remissionem peccatoris et iustificationem propter Christum

reminded that it is not the forms of worship which God teaches or requires in Scripture, or a pious appearance which matters. These forms of worship and piety are useful and pleasing to God only when they are kept in a spirit of faith, love and obedience. For true and genuine worship is fear of God, faith, love and other works commanded by God. In order to obtain and promote these things, whatever rites and traditions 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 godliness. 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 godliness and righteousness are found, then we say that such an institution and observance must be condemned and rejected. For forgiveness of sins, justification and true godliness are not to be attributed to rites and traditions of this kind (for we obtain

gratis per fidem consequimur), sed hoc illis tribuendum est, quod quemadmodum nec sine legibus politicis civitas, ita nec sine ritibus ac traditionibus Ecclesiae ordo servari, confusio vitari, iuventus ac vulgus imperitum erudiri potest, quodque eiusmodi ritus et traditiones ad pietatem et spirituales animi motus non parum adminiculantur et prosunt. Quod si ullae traditiones aliquid praecipiant contra Verbum Dei, vel quod sine peccato praestari non potest, nos eiusmodi traditiones, tamquam noxias et pestiferas, ab Ecclesia tollendas esse censemus: impias etiam opiniones et superstitiones quae Christi gloriam ac beneficium laedunt atque obscurant, quoties vel populi ignorantia ac simplicitate, vel prava doctrina aut negligentia pastorum, traditionibus ullis annectuntur et haerent, resacandas penitus et abolendas esse iudicamus. Praeterea etiam hoc docendi sunt homines, quod eiusmodi rituum ac traditionum externa observatio Deo minime grata sit, nisi his, qui illis utuntur, animus adsit qui eas referat ad pietatem, propter quam institutae sunt. Ad haec, quod inter praecepta Dei, et ritus sive traditiones quae ab hominibus instituuntur, hoc discrimen habendum sit, nempe quod ritus sive traditiones humanitus institutae, mandatis ac praeceptis Dei (quae in Scripturis traduntur) cedere semper et postponi ubique debeant. Et nihilominus quoniam ordo et tranquillitas Ecclesiae absque ritibus et ceremoniis conservari non potest, docemus adeo utile esse

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 cannot be served without rites and traditions, (so that) confusion may be 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 traditions of this kind 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 must be thrown out and abolished, in so far as people are bound and cling to such traditions because of popular ignorance and simple-mindedness, or the corrupt teaching or neglect of their pastors. 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 godliness, for which cause they were instituted in the first place. In addition, between the commands of God and rites or traditions instituted by men, this distinction must be maintained - rites and traditions instituted by human beings must always give way and be placed after the commandments and precepts of God (which are handed down in Scripture). But at the same time,

et necessarium, Ecclesiam habere ritus et ceremonias, ut si ab Ecclesia tollerentur, ipsa illico Ecclesia et dissiparetur et labefactaretur.

Postremo ritus, ceremoniae, sive traditiones, de quibus antea diximus, non solum propter causas praedictas, verum etiam propter praeceptum Dei, qui iubet nos potestatibus oboedire, servandae sunt.

12. *De rebus civilibus (AC 16)*

Misera mortalium conditio peccato corrupta, praeceptis ad iniquitatem et ad flagitia ruit, nisi salubri auctoritate retineatur, nec potest publica salus consistere, sine iusta gubernatione et oboedientia; quam ob rem benignissimus Deus ordinavit reges, principes ac gubernatores, quibus dedit auctoritatem non solum curandi ut populus iuxta divinae legis praescripta vivat, sed etiam legibus aliis reipublicae commodis, et iusta potestate eundem populum continendi ac regendi; hos autem in publicam salutem deputavit Deus, suos in terra ministros, et populi sui duces ac rectores, eisque subiecit universam cuiusvis sortis multitudinem reliquam. Atque ob eam causam multa ac diligenter de illis in Scripturis tradit. Primum quidem, ut ipsi caelestibus praeceptis erudiantur ad sapientiam et virtutem, quo sciant cuius sint ministri, et concessum a Deo iudicium et auctoritatem legitime atque salubriter exerceant, iuxta

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 rites and ceremonies, and that if they are removed from the Church, the Church itself will crumble and fall.

Finally, the rites, ceremonies or 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. *Civil Affairs (AC 16)*

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 a people should live according to the law of God, but also, by means of other laws suitable for the state, to order and rule the same people with lawful 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

illud: "Erudimini qui iudicatis terram, servite Domino in timore". Deinde vero praecipit, atque illis in hoc ipsum auctoritatem dat, ut pro conditione reipublicae suae, salutare ac iustas leges (quoad pro virili possint) provideant atque legitime condant, per quas non solum equitas, iustitia, et tranquillitas in republica retineri, sed etiam pietas erga Deum promoveri possit; atque insuper ut legis Dei atque Christianae religionis tuendae curam habeant, quemadmodum Augustinus diserte fatetur, dicens: "In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus praecipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quae pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quae ad divinam religionem". Proinde principum ac gubernatorum potestas et officium est, non solum pro sua et reipublicae incolumitate ac salute iusta bella suscipere, probos amplecti et fovere, in improbos animadvertere, pauperes tueri, afflictos et vim passos eripere, arcere iniurias, et ut ordo et concordia inter subditos conservetur, atque quod suum est cuique tribuatur curare; verum etiam prospicere, et (si causa ita postulaverit) etiam compellere, ut universi tam sacerdotes quam reliqua multitudo officiis suis rite et diligenter fungantur, omnem denique operam suam adhibere, ut boni and bene agendum invitentur, et improbi a malefaciendo cohibeantur. Et quamvis illi qui timore legum et poenarum corporalium cohibentur a peccando, aut in officio continentur, non eo

ministers they are, and exercise the judgement 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

ipso fiunt qui tales sunt, interim vel minus sint mali, vel saltem minus flagitiorum committant, viamque nonnunquam facilius inveniant ad pietatem, et reliquorum quies ac pietas minus turbetur, scandala et perniciose exempla auferantur a Christianis coetibus, et apertis vitiis aut blasphemis nomen Dei et religionis decus quam minimum dehonestetur.

Ad haec quia necessum est, ut auctoritatum principum, reipublicae atque rebus humanis summopere necessariam, populus tamquam Dei ordinationem agnoscat et reveretur; idcirco Deus Scripturis passim praecipit, omnes cuiuscunque in republica gradus aut conditionis fuerint, promptam et fidelem oboedientiam principibus praestent, idque non solum metu corporalis poenae, sed etiam propter Dei voluntatem; quemadmodum Petrus diligenter monet: "Subditi (inquiens) estote omni humanae creaturae propter Deum, sive regi quasi praecellenti, digne ducibus, tamquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei." Paulus vero in hunc modum: "Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, magistratibus parere, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse, neminem blasphemare." Quod si malus princeps aut gubernator quicquam iniuste aut inique imperat subdito, quamvis ille

wicked are restrained from evil-doing. 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, they are meanwhile less bad and commit fewer crimes than they might, and may more easily find the way to righteousness. Likewise the peace and godliness 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 least 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 to 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

potestate sua contra Dei voluntatem abutatur, ut animam suam laedat, nihilominus subditus debet eiusmodi imperium, quantumvis grave, pati ac sustinere, (nisi certo constat id esse peccatum), potius quam resistendo publicum ordinem aut quietem perturbare; quod si certo constet peccatum esse quod princeps mandat, tum subditus neque pareat neque reipublicae pacem quovismodo perturbet, sed pace servata incolumni, et causae ultione Deo relicta, vel ipsam potius mortem sustineat, quam quicquam contra Dei voluntatem et praeceptum perpetret.

Porro quemadmodum de oboedientia principibus exhibenda Scriptura diligenter praecipit, ita etiam ut cetera officia alacriter illis praestemus, monet atque iubet; qualia sunt tributa, vectigalia, militiae labor, et his similia: quae populus, ex Dei praecepto, principibus pendere et praestare debet, propterea quod reipublicae absque stipendiis, praesidiis, et magnis sumptibus neque defendi possunt neque regi. Est praeterea et honos principibus deferendus, iuxta Pauli sententiam, qui iubet, ut principibus honorem exhibeamus. Qui sane honos non in externa dumtaxat reverentia et observantia positus est, sed multo verius in animi iudicio et voluntate; nempe ut agnoscamus principes a deo ordinatos esse, et Deum per eos hominibus ingentia beneficia largiri: ad haec, ut principes propter Deum et metuamus et amemus, et ut ad omnem pro viribus gratitudinem illis praestandam parati simus: postremo ut Deum pro principibus

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 judgement 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 be ready to offer them every thanks we are capable of. Finally, we should pray to God for princes, that he might keep them and continually direct their minds to

precemur, uti servet eos, ac eorum mentes semper inflectat ad Dei gloriam et salutem reipublicae. Haec si fecerimus, vere principes honorabimus, iuxta Petri praeceptum: "Deum timete, regem honorificate."

Quae cum ita sint, non solum licet Christianis principibus ac gubernatoribus regna et ditiones possidere, atque dignitatibus et muneribus publicis fungi, quae publicam salutem spectant, et undecunque promovent vel tuentur, uti supra diximus; verum etiam, quando in eiusmodi functionibus respiciunt honorem Dei, et eodem dignitatem suam atque potestatem referunt, valde placent Deo, eiusque favorem ac gratiam ampliter demerentur. Sunt enim bona opera quae Deus praemiis magnificentissimis non in hac dumtaxat vita, sed multo magis in aeterna, cohonestat et coronat.

Licet insuper Christianis universis, ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione, iuxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exercent, quibus mortalibus haec vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur; nempe ut victum quaerant ex honestis artibus, negotientur, faciant contractus, possideat proprium, res suas iure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, praestent iurisiurandum, et huiusmodi. Quae omnia, quemadmodum universis Christianis, pro sua cuiusque conditione ac gradu, divina iure licita sunt, ita cum pii subditi propter timorem Dei principibus ac

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 the 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 countries, to occupy and exercise such offices and duties by which this mortal life either continues, 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

gubernatoribus suis promptam atque debitam praestent oboedientiam, ceteraque student peragere, quae suum officium et reipublicae utilitas postulat, placent etiam ipsi magnopere Deo, et bona faciunt opera, quibus Deus ingentia praemia promittit, et fidelissime largitur.

13. De corporum resurrectione et iudicio extremo (AC 17)

Credendum firmiter et docendum censemus, quod in consummatione mundi Christus, sicut ipsemet apud Matthaeum affirmat, venturus est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis, et maiestate, ac potentia, sessurusque super sedem maiestatis suae; et quod in eodem adventu, summa celeritate, in momento temporis, ictu oculi, divina potentia sua suscitabit mortuos, sistetque in eisdem in quibus vixerunt corporibus ac carne coram tribunali suo cunctos homines, qui unquam ab exordio mundi fuerunt, aut postea unquam usque in illam diem futuri sunt. Et iudicabit exactissimo atque iustissimo iudicio singulos, et reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, quae in hac vita et corpore gessit: piis quidem ac iustis aeternam vitam et gloriam cum sanctis angelis; impiis vero et sceleratis aeternam mortem atque supplicium, cum Diabolo et praevaricatoribus angelis. Praeterea quod in illo iudicio perfecta et perpetua fiet separatio proborum ab improbis, et quod nullum erit postea terrenum regnum aut terrenarum voluptatem usus, qualia quidam errore decepti somnaverunt. Demum quod nullus post

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. The Resurrection of the Body and the Last Judgement (AC 17)

We assert that 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 judgement seat. All men, who have lived since 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 judgement, and render to each according to his works, which he did in this life and body. To the godly and righteous he will give eternal life and glory with his holy angels; to the ungodly and wicked eternal death and punishment, with the Devil and the rebellious angels. Moreover in that judgement 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

hoc iudicium erit finis tormentorum malis, qui tunc condemnabuntur ad supplicia, sicut nec ullus finis beatitudinis bonis, qui in illo die acceptabuntur ad gloriam.

A. De missa privata

Lectiones sacras ac conciones in missa recitari, et preces pro rebus vel in singulos vel etiam in universos necessariis fieri, et eucharistiam in missa populo exhiberi, non est dubium quin Paulus et reliqui Apostoli ecclesiis ordinaverunt. Quem morem, a primis Christianitatis incunabulis observatum, nullo nunc pacto abolendum, sed omni reverentia et religione in ecclesiis retinendum atque conservandum iudicamus. Nam lectiones illae permultum habent efficaciae ad excitandas hominum mentes, vel ac fidem, vel ad amorem ac timorem Dei et oboedientiam praeceptorum eius, maxime si populo satis intelligantur, vel a concionatore docto et pio explicentur.

Siquidem et fides ex auditu est, et quid operis faciendum sit ut Deo placeas, non aliunde melius aut certius quam ex ipsius Verbo discas. Preces autem, quae in communi coetu fiunt, promissiones a Christo quam amplissimas adiunctas habent; cum ait: "Si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re quaecunque petierint, fiet illis a Patre meo qui in caelis est; ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio

have mistakenly imagined. Likewise, after this judgement 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.

A. Private Mass

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 shown 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 obedience to his commandments, especially if they are properly understood by the people, or are explained by a learned and godly 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. Moreover, the prayers which are said in the common assembly contain the fullest promises of Christ, who said: "If two of you agree on earth about whatever they pray for, it 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

eorum." Voluit igitur Christus, ut oraturi congregaremur, et nos ecclesiae totam sic inter se devinctam esse, ut haberet cor unum et animam unam, et invicem alii aliorum necessitatibus afficerentur, et pro illis communibus precibus Deum orarent, ratas fore promittens et sibi gratas huiusmodi preces.

Praeterea ecclesiam convenire et iunctim Deo precari, valde etiam prodest ad exemplum. Ibi enim alii aliorum exemplis vel ignari docentur vel segnes excitantur, ut et ipsi credant et Deum invocent. Quam multos necessitatum publicarum vel nulla vel minima cura tangeret, nisi ibi admoneretur singulos debere affici publicis curis, et orare non solum pro ecclesia universa, ut liberetur ab erroribus, scandalis, disidiis, impiis cultibus, ut vera doctrina propagetur, ut veri cultus (pulsa superstitione) Deo praestentur, ut pax et tranquillitas Ecclesiae conservetur, sed etiam pro principum salute et felici gubernatione, pro proventu frugum, contra pestilentiam et similibus! Huiusmodi preces in missa et ceremoniis publicis censemus pie et necessario institutas esse, vel ob hoc quoque, ut assuescant homines in omnibus periculis Deum invocare, in illum fiduciam collocare, ab illo pendere, et auxilium petere et exspectare.

Sed preces communes communi lingua fieri consentaneum foret; ut omnes astantes communiter unanimiter orare Deum possint, tam mente quam spiritu. Ita

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 would have one heart and 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, ungodly 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 godly 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

enim oratio et Deo fieret acceptior, et hominibus haud dubie fructuosior, si populus intellecta sacerdotis verba, non minus animorum interius consensu, quam vocis exterius consono concentu approbaret. Nam, ut inquit Paulus: "Si orem lingua, spiritus meus orat, at mens mea fructu vacat." Et iterum: "Si incertam vocem tuba dederit, quis apparabitur ad bellum? Sic et vos per linguam nisi significantem sermonem dederitis, quomodo intelligetur quod dicitur?" Et mox ibidem: "Alioqui si benedixeris spiritu, is qui implet locum indocti quomodo diciturus est, Amen, ad tuam gratiarum actionem?"

Peractis vero lectionibus, concionibus, et preces, populus corpus Christi quod pro nobis traditum est, et sanguinem eius qui pro nobis effusus est, in eucharistia sumebat, in memoriam videlicet mortis suae, ut ipse pridie passionis instituerat. Quo factum est, ut illi veluti Christo incorporati et connati, et cum illo peccatis mortui, denuo in novae vitae emendationem saepissime resurgerent. Hodie vero adeo praevaluit Romani Antichristi tyrannis non solum adversus mundi monarchas, sed etiam contra veterem Ecclesiae morem et sinceram ac puram doctrinae Christianae religionem, ut quae sanctissime primitus fuerunt instituta, illa in sui suorumque gloriam ac commodum impurissime profanaverit.

Lectiones sacrae et preces hodie apud sacerdotes manent, sed ea lingua ut a populo non intell-

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 battle? So, if you speak in a tongue but do not produce meaningful speech, 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 would 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 was done, they would 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.

Sacred lessons and prayers still continue among the priests, but their language is not understood by the

igantur, et populus ipse quod precatur (quia peregrino sermone id facit) non intelligit. Conciones sacrae vel nullae vel rarissimae sunt; eucharistia a solo sumitur sacerdote, qui illa in turpissimum quaestum pro vivis ac defunctis applicat; populo Christiano vix in paschate datur, et ne tunc quidem integrum sacramentum. Ceterum quanto missa res est sacrator, tanto minus decet eam impiis opinionibus profanari, aut ad libidinem quorundam et quaestum in sinistrum usum converti. Damnanda est igitur impia illa opinio sententium usum sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum pro aliis, vivis et defunctis, et mereri illis vitam aeternam et remissionem culpae et poenae, idque ex opere operato.

Talis siquidem doctrina ignota erat veteri Ecclesiae, et aliena est a Scripturis sacris, et subvertit rectam de fide iustificatione doctrinam, et parit alieni operis fiduciam. Christus autem, cum institueret hoc sacramentum, dixit: "Hoc facite in meam commemorationem," volens nimirum, ut ibi fieret in vera fide recordatio mortis ipsius, et beneficiorum quae nobis sua morte meruit. Quae beneficia per sacramentum applicantur sumentibus, cum fidem tali recordatione exsuscitat. Non possunt autem aliis, quam sacramentum sumentibus, per sumentes applicari.

Sed quemadmodum unusquisque pro seipso tantum, et non pro alio baptizatur; ita et Eucharistia a Christo est instituta, ut illam nemo

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 paschal act, and never receives the complete sacrament. But the more sacred the mass is, the less it should be profaned by impious opinions, nor should it be turned into some kind of license or magic. Therefore the ungodly 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 trust in the work of another person. 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

pro alio, sed pro sese quisque Christianus sumeret. Talis quippe est sacramentorum ratio et natura, ut signa sint visibilia, certa, et efficacia, per quae Deus invisibiliter in recte utentibus operatur; verum non nisi in ipsis tantum utentibus per illa operatur, nec aliis per alios, sive sacerdotes seu cuiuscunque ordinis aut conditionis fuerint, accommodari possunt. Qua re una animadversa ac perpensa, facile apparebit privatarum missarum applicationes et nundinationes non amplius esse ferendas. Nam cum teste Augustino, quaecumque sunt in missa praeter Eucharistiam nihil aliud sint quam laudes, gratiarum actiones, obsecrationes, et fidelium petitiones; Eucharistia autem non alii quam ipsi sumentibus prosit aut applicari possit; reliqua vero, ut laudes, gratiarum actiones, obsecrationes, etc., tam a laicis quam a sacerdotibus afferri Deo possint et debeant; non erit iam amplius cur missas emere quisquam debeat.

Porro, quia sine gratiarum actione recordatio mortis Christi rite non peragitur, ideo veteres hanc sacramenti perceptionem Eucharistiam appellarunt, quam et sacrificium nonnulli orthodoxi patres nominaverunt, quod videlicet in memoriam illius unici et semel peracti sacrificii fiat, non quod ipsum opus sit sacrificium applicabile vivis et mortuis in remissionem peccatorum. Id quod papisticum dumtaxat est figmentum; et quoniam ab hac tam impia opinione et quaestu inde proveniente missae

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 considered 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 if the Eucharist can benefit or be applied to no-one except the recipient, and if the other things like praises, thanksgivings, supplications and so on can and must be offered by both laity and priests, there will be no further reason why anyone will need to buy masses.

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, and not that it was itself a sacrifice applicable to both the living and the dead, for the forgiveness of sins. This papal notion is a fiction, and since it is from this ungodly opinion and

privatae, illaeque porro magna parte satisfactoriae, in tentam multitudinem excreverunt, quarum nec mentionem nec exemplum ullum apud antiquiores invenimus, satisfactorias quidem prorsus abolendas, ceteras vero privatas vel in totum abrogandas, vel certe minuendas et reprimendas iudicamus; summam denique curam adhibendam, ut huius sacramenti verus ac genuinus usus ad gloriam Christi et Ecclesiae salutem restituatur.

B. De veneratione sanctorum

Quamquam credimus et confitemur Deum omnis boni datorem ac largitorem esse, uti Iacobus testatur, dicens: "Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est descendens a Patre luminum," et Christus apud Iohannem ait: "Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis," et Psal.: "Invoca me in die tribulationis," etc. quibus Scripturae locis aperte docemur, quicquid ad corporis aut animi salutem pertinet, id a solo Deo petendum esse, et ab eo nobis dari, quoties in Christi nomine petimus: tamen cum iam inde ab exordio Ecclesiae receptum sit, sanctorum memorias et dies festos celebrare, valde utile ac necessarium putamus, eam de his rebus doctrinae formem tradere, quae Dei gloriam nulla in parte laedat aut imminuat, et tamen doceat perpetuam Ecclesiae consuetudinem in divorum memoriis ac festis celebrandis laudabilem esse, nec Scripturae sacrae adversari. Et cum non ignoramus in hanc quoque

practice that private masses, most of which are meant to be expiatory, derive and have multiplied enormously, though we have found no example or mention of them in the more ancient writers. We think that expiatory masses ought to be abolished, and that 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 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 in the Psalms: "Call on me in the day of trouble," etc., by which passages of Scripture we are clearly taught that what pertains to the salvation of the body and the soul, we are to ask for 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 very 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 the constant custom of the Church in celebrating the memorials and feast days of saints

religionis Christianae partem, quae sanctorum venerationem continet, multos abusus ac superstitiones irrepsisse; curandum censemus, ut eo, quod vanum aut noxium est, improbato et reiecto, illud solum, quod utile ac verum est, retineatur ac probetur. Quod ut rectius et facilius fiat, docendum ducimus, quod sanctorum, qui corporibus exuti cum Christo vivunt, memoria in ecclesiis multis de causis utiliter habeatur.

Primum, quod nobis in mentem suggerit illa eximia Dei in sanctis opera, quae ut olim, dum per sanctos fierent, Dei potentiam et gloriam apud homines illustrabant, ita nunc vel sola recordatione ad Deum in sanctis laudandum nos invitant. Adde huc, quod in his sanctorum memoriis praeclarissima fidei, caritatis, patientiae et ceterarum virtutum exempla nobis proponuntur, quae nos exstimulent ad illorum imitationem: ut quemadmodum illi "per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti promissiones," ita nos illorum vestigiis insistentes, ad victoriae coronam, qua illi nunc ornantur, perveniamus. Quam sane sanctorum imitationem summum et maximum honorem esse arbitramur, quem Christus sit unicum illud et numeris omnibus perfectum vitae exemplar, quod imitari pro viribus omnes debemus, sunt tamen Christi beneficio et munere etiam in sanctis proposita nobis exempla, quae

is praisworthy, and not opposed to sacred Scripture. And because we are not unaware that many abuses and superstitions have come into that part of the Christian religion which includes 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 have cast off their bodies and 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

utiliter et multo cum fructu sequi possumus. Quos enim non animabit stupenda in tormentis martyrum constantia, ut omnia quantumvis aspera et dura propter Christi gloriam pati velint? Cui non Iosiae, Ezechiae, et aliorum piorum regum pietas, in vera Dei religione tuenda, et abolendis idololatricis cultibus, exemplo esse potest, ut illorum pietatem imitari pro viribus studeat? Iam vero et lapsus quoque et paenitentiae sanctorum, dum ex historiis cognoscuntur, magnam nobis utilitatem adferre poterunt. Nam cum Davidis, Petri, Magdalena, et aliorum condonatos fuisse lapsus cognoscimus, quis dubitet quin et nostra peccata, nobis paenitentiam agentibus, Deus velit similiter condonare? Porro in sanctorum memoriis gratiae Deo agenda sunt, quod sanctis varia dona contulit, quibus illi insigniter Ecclesiae profuerunt, dum vel doctrinae vel vitae exemplo quam plurimos Christo lucrati sunt; quae Dei in sanctis dona non solum magnopere laudare oportet, sed etiam sanctos ipsos, quia his donis bene usi sunt, laudibus attollere, amare, et suspicere, quemadmodum scribit Augustinus *De civit. Dei* 8: "Honoramus," inquit, "memorias martyrum tamquam sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad mortem suorum corporum pro veritate certarunt - ut ea celebritate et Deo vero de illorum victoriis gratias agamus, et nos ad imitationem talium coronarum atque palmarum, eodem invocato in auxilium, ex eorum memoriae renovatione adhortemur." Et alibi: "Colimus... martyres eo cultu dilectionis et

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 godliness of Josiah and Hezekiah and the other godly 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 were 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 either of their doctrine or of 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 *The City of God* 8: "We honour," he says, "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, by refreshing our memory of them." And elsewhere: "We venerate... the

societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum corda ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem parata esse sentimus; sed illos tanto devotius quanto securius post incerta omnia superata: quanto etiam fidentiore laude praedicamus iam in vita feliciore victores, quam in ista adhuc usque pugnantes!" Et Basilius, in *Concione de Martyre Gordia*: "Sanctis non est opus additione ad gloriam, sed nobis eorum memoria opus est ad imitationem." Et alibi: "Hoc est martyrum encomium, adhortari Ecclesiam ad virtutis imitationem." Atque hactenus quidem de sanctorum veneratione, quae partim laudatione Dei in illis, partim in illorum imitatione constitit, diximus. Nunc vero ad alteram venerationis speciem veniamus, quae de sanctorum interpellatione tractat.

Est sane haec duplex, et vel sanctorum pro nobis ad Deum preces, vel nostram ad sanctos interpellationem significat. De priore dicimus, sanctos qui devicto peccato et morte in Christo obdormierunt, cum sunt unius atque eiusdem nobiscum corporis membra, nobis qui adhuc cum carne et mundo conflictamur, bene velle et bene precari. De posteriore vero, qua illorum opem imploramus, docemus, quod cum corporis et animi salus, remissio peccatorum, gratia, vita aeterna, et his similia solius Dei munera sint, nec a quoquam alio quam a solo Deo dari

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 elsewhere: "This is the praise of the martyrs, to exhort the Church to imitate their courage." 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 the saints who have overcome sin and in death sleep in Christ, because 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, by which we seek their assistance, we teach that because 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

possint; quisquis pro his donis sanctos invocat et sollicitat, et haec petit ab illis, quae nisi a solo deo dari nequeunt, quasi ipsimet sancti haec petentibus largiri possent, is graviter sane errat, et Deum gloria sua spolians, creaturae eam tribuit.

Ceterum si sanctorum suffragia imploraverimus, et ab illis petierimus, ut nobiscum, et pro nobis, Deum precentur ac orent, ut illas res a Deo citius impetremus, quas nemo nisi Deus largiri potest; haec sane interpellatio tolerabilis est, et diuturno Catholicae Ecclesiae usu approbata et confirmata.

Neque enim periculum erit, ne Dei gloriam creaturis tribuamus, si modo populus doceatur, istud dumtaxat a sanctis petendum esse, ut sua apud Deum intercessione nos adiuvent. Quod caritatis officium cum in hac vita degentes, et cum carne et sanguine decertantes, alacriter praestiterunt, nihil ambigimus, quin nunc, cum Christo suo propius fruuntur, idem officium nobis praestent.

Porro quoniam multi certis divis certorum morborum remedia, et aliarum rerum curam assignaverunt, et unum sanctum pro vitanda peste coluerunt, alium propter pecorum incolumitatem et salutem, alium ut res perditas citius invenirent, atque ita a certis divis res certas petierunt, quasi Deus hunc sanctum huic morbo curando, alium vero alii malo medendo, peculiariter praefecisset, et singulorum omnino tollatur,

other than by God, that anyone who prays to the saints and begs them for these gifts, and seeks them from the saints, as if they could bestow them on seekers, when he cannot obtain them except by the gift of God, makes a great mistake by depriving God of his glory and attributing it to a creature.

But if we cry out for the intercessions 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 of attributing 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 if God had put one saint in charge of curing this disease and

censemus populum docendum esse, ut in rebus tum prosperis tum adversis Deo, tamquam omnis boni et salutis auctori, suas preces offerat; sanctis vero non aliter utatur, quam ut intercessoribus pro nobis ad Deum, in quo nostra omnis spes ac fiducia ubique et semper collocanda est.

Quamquam non negamus quin, ad fidem et spem in Deum excitandum, possimus Deum velut admonere eorum miraculorum quae ad sanctorum preces iam olim ostendit, quibus admoniti maiori fide Dei beneficia petamus; veluti cum quis febre correptus Dominum orat, ut quemadmodum ad D. Petri preces eius socrum febricitantem sanitati restituit, ita velut nunc quoque febris ardores ab aegroto corpore depellere; sive cum oramus, ut Deus, qui Paulum in carcere cum collega Sila vinctum miraculo liberavit, idem nos e morborum aut peccatorum vinculis eripere dignetur.

C. De imaginibus

Quoniam imagines Christi et divorum illiteratis esse possunt vice librorum, dum velut scripti libri eos admoneant historiarum et rerum gestarum, censemus eas utiliter in templis Christianorum, aut alibi, statui ac poni posse. Quae quidem imagines, praeterquam quod illiteratis plurimum conducunt ad memoriam et intellectum historiae, etiam eruditae utilitatem adferunt:

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 with his colleague Silas, might now be pleased to free us likewise from the chains of illnesses and sins.

C. Images

In so far as images of Christ and the saints can serve the illiterate instead of books, in instances where 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

nam doctus interdum vehementius afficitur, dum conspicit Christi imaginem in cruce pendentem, quam dum illum legit crucifixum et passum.

Ceterum cum in imaginum usu graviter a populo peccatum sit, cum alii in templis posuerunt illarum rerum imagines, quarum nullum vel in sacris libris vel apud probatos auctores exstet testimonium: alii, neglectis Christi pauperibus, in supervacaneo statuarum ornatu ingentes sumptus fecerint, et hanc esse vel praecipuam pietatis partem falso sunt arbitrati; nonnulli (quod vehementer dolendum est) imagines quasdam collocata in ipsis fiducia coluerunt, eas virtutis ac numinis aliquid prae ceteris habere persuasi; alii imaginibus vota fecerunt, et illarum videndarum causa longas profectiones susceperunt, credentes Deum, in ipsius imaginis gratiam, in uno potius loco quam in alio exauditurum esse: has et alias harum similes opiniones ac iudicia praepostera, cum dissimulari non possit, quin plebs indocta de imaginibus habuerit; ut imagines ipsae in Ecclesia retineantur, et abusus omnes ac superstitiones penitus tollantur, pastorum et concionatorum officium esse iudicamus, ut populum de his rebus melius instituam ac informem, utque verum imaginum usum esse doceant, intellectum et memoriam illarum rerum quas representant animis hominum suggerere atque subiicere, et intuentis animum nonnunquam exstimulare. In hunc finem imagines in templis positas fuisse nihil dubitamus; nempe ut imaginum aspectus nobis in

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, falsely deeming this to be the most important side of godliness, and 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; (and) since it is not possible to overlook these and other similar opinions and absurd beliefs, which an ignorant populace holds concerning images, we consider that in order for the images themselves to be kept in the Church and all abuses and superstitions be completely removed, it is the duty of pastors and preachers to instruct 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 minds of men, arousing in no small way the minds of those who

memoriam revocaret illorum sanctorum virtutes et vitae exempla, quorum imagines intuemur; ut quoniam oculis subiecta magis movent quam audita, nos sanctorum virtutibus et exemplis, quae in ipsorum imaginibus repraesentantur, magis inflammemur ad Deum in sanctis laudandum, ad nostra peccata deflenda, et Deum orandum ut sanctorum virtutes et vitam per illius gratiam imitari possimus.

Quod si quis, conspecto crucifixi signo, caput aperit aut inclinat, lignum illud non honorat, sed ad imaginis occasionem et aspectum veneratur Christum quem ea representat. Is honor, qui non statuis, sed Christo per statuæ aspectum impenditur, et Deo placet, et ab idololatria procul est.

Ceterum vel imagines adorare, vel divinam aliquam vim aut numen illis tribuere, vel putare, quod Deus aut statuæ alicuius gratiae aut loci, quia illic statua collocatur, invocantes citius sit exauditurus, vel ipsas statuas lascive ac iuxta saeculi vanitates pingere aut formare, vel denique praeteritis et neglectis Christi pauperibus, quoties illis ex praecepto Dei subveniendum est, illas ornare, haec omnia et magnopere improbamus, et Christianis fugienda esse docemus.

gaze upon them. We do not doubt that images were first placed in churches for this reason, so that the appearance of the images might call to mind the virtues of those 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, and is both pleasing to God, and far removed from idolatry.

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