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57. The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/1571) commonly called the ›Thirty-Nine Articles‹

Introduction

The principal doctrinal formulary of the reformed Church of England achieved full canonical status in 1571 when THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION were formally agreed upon by both Convocation and Parliament and received Royal Assent. According to the Queen's Ratification appended to two editions of the ARTICLES – one in Latin published by John Day and one in English by Richard Jugge and John Cawood – »this Book of Articles before rehearsed, is again approved and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth [...] which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation in the year of our Lord God, 1571«. In a statute passed by Elizabeth's third Parliament and granted Royal Assent on 29 May 1571, subscription to the Articles was required of all clergy who had been ordained in the reign of Queen Mary.¹ Similar subscription was required of all clergy upon presentation to a benefice and of all candidates for ordination. As the full title proclaims, the ARTICLES OF RELIGION, were framed with a view to »avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true Religion«². As the title also reveals, they had been some time in the making, having been »agreed« by the clergy at Convocation in 1562

1 13 Eliz. c. 12, An Act to reform certain disorders touching Ministers of the Church, in: SR, vol. 4, 546-547.

2 Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole cleargie, in the conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God. 1562. according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the auoiding of the diuersities of opinions, and for the stablishyng of consent touching true religion. Put forth by the Queenes auctoritie, Imprinted at London: in Poules Churchyard, by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, printers to the Queenes Maiestie, in anno Domini, 1571.

(Old Style), but not fully and constitutionally accepted by Parliament and promulgated by Royal Assent until almost a decade later.

The mid-sixteenth century was a remarkably rich period for the production of Reformed Confessions. The ›Consensus Tigurinus‹ appeared in 1549 followed by the ›French Confession‹, also known as ›La confession de foi de La Rochelle‹ in 1559, then the ›Scotch Confession‹ (1560), the ›Belgic Confession‹ (1561), and the ›Second Helvetic Confession‹ (1566) in relatively quick succession. The gestation of the Thirty-Nine Articles covers this entire period. Indeed the history of their composition goes back even further. In 1538, the year that Pope Paul III excommunicated Henry VIII for having claimed the title ›Supreme Head of the Church of England‹, and at the height of what has been described as the so-called ›evangelical moment‹ of Henry's reign, the King invited three Lutheran divines to consult with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and two other English bishops to draw up a mutually agreed formula of doctrine. The ›Augsburg Confession‹ provided the formal basis for this confessional discussion. Although never formally ratified or published, a thoroughly Lutheran formulary of ›Thirteen Articles‹ drafted by Thomas Cranmer was the concrete result of this international colloquy.³ The articles are closely modelled on the first seventeen articles of Philipp Melancthon's 1536 formulation of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ delivered to two of Henry VIII's Ambassadors, Edward Fox (Bishop of Hereford) and Nicholas Heath. Some of Cranmer's ›Thirteen Articles‹ were virtually identical to their counterparts in the ›Augsburg Confession‹, and this may be said to constitute the high-water mark of Lutheran influence on the doctrine of the Church of England.⁴ As matters turned out, the 1538 draft of the ›Thirteen Articles‹ would prove to be the first stage of a lengthy process of composition and substantive revision of what would eventually result in the Reformed confession of 1571, and thus represents the critical link between the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES and the ›Augsburg Confession‹.⁵

From 1540 until the death of Henry VIII the pace of the Reformation in England, at least on a public level, was considerably slowed. At the accession of Edward VI in 1547, Cranmer and his colleagues were able to pursue with vigour the work of reformation. First came the ›Book of Common Prayer‹ (1549) followed by its more thoroughly Reformed revision of 1552. While no new articles of religion were formally authorized by Parliament and Convocation during Edward's brief reign, a Royal Commission headed by Thomas Cranmer was charged in November 1551 with drawing up a scheme for the thorough reform of Church law and discipline, formally known as the ›Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum‹.⁶ At the same time Cranmer was directed to prepare a succinct confes-

3 Documents, 184-221. This is a very useful edition owing to the setting of phrases used by Cranmer in the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ (1553) in bold type.

4 See Alec Ryrie, The strange death of Lutheran England, in: JEH 53 (2002): 64-92.

5 This influence of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ can be discerned particularly in Art. I, II, IV, IX, XIV, XVI, XXIII, XXIV, and XXV.

6 Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum ex autoritate primum Regis Henrici. 8. inchoata: deinde per Regem Edouardum 6. prouecta, adaucta[ue] in hunc modum, atq[ue] nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem aedita, London: John Day 1571.

sional book of Articles to promote uniformity of doctrine, and in May of 1552 Convocation was asked to present them to the Privy Council. They originally numbered forty-five, but after revision were reduced by three and promulgated on 19 June 1553 by royal command. These ›Forty-Two Articles‹ were published shortly before Edward's death on 6 July following.⁷ When the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ were issued under royal authority in 1553 they constituted arguably the most thorough and advanced systematic expression of Reformed doctrine at that time. In doctrinal substance, particularly on crucial matters concerning Grace and the Sacraments, the ›Articles‹ are comparable to both the ›French Confession‹ of 1559 and the ›Second Helvetic Confession‹ of 1566, authored by Jean Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger respectively. On matters of ecclesiastical polity and discipline the ›Articles‹ lean more towards Zurich than Geneva. Although never published as a canonically sanctioned formulary, the ›Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum‹ accords closely in both doctrine and formulation with a considerable number of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹. Given the strong resemblance between the ›Reformatio legum‹ and the Edwardine Articles in both language and theology, it is probable that the two formularies were the joint work of members of one and the same commission of thirty-two members, led principally by Thomas Cranmer, Richard Cox (Dean of Westminster and the King's Almoner), Thomas Goodricke (Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor), and Peter Martyr Vermigli (then Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford).⁸ Within just a few weeks of the promulgation of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ Edward VI was dead, and these Articles were summarily dropped at the accession of Queen Mary. Moreover it was the fate of the ›Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum‹ never to receive canonical recognition, although the historian John Foxe, one of the royal commissioners, saw to its publication in 1571, the same year that saw the Edwardine Articles of 1553 (reduced over all by three in number) achieve full canonical status as the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

After the accession of Edward's sister Elizabeth in 1558, a revised extract of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ was reintroduced for debate in Convocation by Archbishop Matthew Parker.⁹ After some substantive revision, these were subse-

For a critical edition, see Tudor Church Reform. For an historical introduction to the work of the Royal Commission authorized to reform the Canon Law of England, see *ibid.*, xli-cxvi.

7 The ›Forty-Two Articles‹ were published in May, almost three weeks before royal authorisation. Articles agreed on by the Bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord God 1552, for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord, in certain matters of Religion. Published by the King's Majesty's commandment, in the Month of May A.D. 1553, London: Richardus Graftonus, typographus Regius excudebat, June 1553.

8 For the Royal Proclamation appointing the Commission, see Tudor Church Reform, 167-168.

9 A declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by the order of both archbishops [...] and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 106, 421-2). Although the authorship is uncertain, Matthew Parker probably played a lead role in its preparation.

quently approved by both houses of the clergy, although not yet by Parliament. The Latin text of the *editio princeps* of the Articles – the so-called ›Thirty-Eight Articles of Religion‹ – had been adopted by Convocation (i.e. the Provincial Synod of Canterbury) in January 1563 (1562 Old Style, i.e. »according to the computation of the Church of England«), and were issued under royal authority by the Queen’s Printer, Reginald Wolfe.¹⁰ The Articles of 1563 are based closely upon the text of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ of 1553 promulgated at the end of the reign of Edward VI. In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a MS copy of the original Edwardine ›Forty-Two Articles‹ presented by Archbishop Matthew Parker to Convocation in 1562, with various additions, deletions, and emendations together with the signatures of the bishops who subscribed to them. In the Parker MS of the revision of 1563, one article was added, four were removed, and seventeen others were modified either by amplification or reduction, yielding thirty-nine in all. Article II on Christ, V on the Holy Ghost, X on the freedom of the will, XI on Justification by faith, XII and XIII on good works, and XX on the authority of the Church all include phrases or adaptations of language found in the ›Württemberg Confession‹. This extended revision by Johannes Brenz of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ was presented in 1552 to the Council of Trent and aims to show the consistency of the evangelical churches with apostolic doctrine and patristic orthodoxy.¹¹ After the approval of the bishops in Convocation but before being printed, however, Queen Elizabeth struck out Article 29 (*De manducatione corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare*) most probably on the ground that it might offend Lutheran sensibilities on the question of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, although this was more of a diplomatic and political gambit than a determined theological position. When all likelihood of cooperation with the Lutheran churches had faded in the 1560s, the article concerning the *manducatio impiorum* was restored without any fuss in the revision of 1571. A short preamble was also added to Art. 20 (*De ecclesiae auctoritate*). At the time of Parker’s re-presentation of the ARTICLES to Convocation and Parliament in 1571, Art. 29 was restored and thus the canonically approved formulary of thirty-eight articles came to consist of thirty-nine.¹²

The THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES open with a statement in five articles of Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy based on the authority and teaching of the ancient creeds and the formulae of the first four ecumenical councils of the Early Church. There is very little here of a polemical nature, with all substantive points agreed upon by the other principal Lutheran, Reformed, and Tridentine formularies. The atmosphere shifts dramatically in a more polemical direction in the

10 *Articuli, de quibus conuenit inter archiepiscopos, & episcopos vtriusq[ue] prouinciae, & clerum vniuersum in synodo, Londini. an. Dom. 1562. secundum computationem ecclesiae Anglicanae, ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, & consensum in vera religione firmandum. AEditi auctoritate serenissimae Reginae, London: Reginaldus Wolfius 1563.*

11 *Das Württembergische Bekenntnis von 1551*, hg. v. Ernst Bizer, Stuttgart 1952. For the text of the confession, see 139-190.

12 Articles (see note 2).

next three articles on the authority of Scripture and its sufficiency to salvation. Articles IX through XIX address the critical matter of sixteenth-century soteriological debate: original sin, the freedom of the will, grace, faith and justification, works, and predestination. Articles XX to XXV treat ecclesiology, XXVI to XXX the sacraments, XXXI to XXXVI discipline, worship, and ceremonies, and XXXVII through the final article address the office of civil magistracy and the political duty of Christians.

Editor's note

The following text of the ARTICLES OF RELIGION was originally formulated as the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ in 1553 near the end of the reign of Edward VI. After the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 they were extensively revised, reduced in number to Thirty-Eight, and ratified in Latin only by Convocation in 1563. These Latin Articles were subsequently revised and translated into English. Canonical approval by Parliament of a final revision followed in 1571 when both Latin and English texts, with an additional article (Art. XXIX), received Royal Assent and were subsequently published. Given the complex interrelation of these three official redactions of the formulary, and the further complication of two canonical versions – one in Latin and one in English – it has been deemed necessary to combine the annotations and marginalia in the footnotes. Some revisions apply to the Latin text of 1563, others to the English of 1571, while others apply to both versions of the final text of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

[Könnten Sie hier bitte noch erklären, was im Bekenntnistext kursiv gesetzt ist]

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[*Editio Latina princeps (1563)*] *Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi Anno Domini, iuxta ecclesiae Anglicanae computationem, MDLXII ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et firmandum in vera Religione consensum, inter Archiepiscopos Episcoposque utriusque Prouinciae, nec non etiam uniuersum Clerum convenit.*

[Authorized English Articles (1571)]¹ Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishoppes and Bishoppes of both prouinces and the whole cleargie, in the Conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God, 1562, according to the computation of the Church of Englande,² for the auoiding of the diuersities of opinions, and for the stablishyng of consent touching true Religion.

[*I De fide in sacrosanctam Trinitatem*]³ *Unus est vivus et verus Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensae potentiae, sapienti, ac bonitatis, creator et conservator omnium, tum visibilium tum invisibilium. Et in unitate huius divinae naturae tres sunt Personae eiusdem essentiae, potentiae, ac aeternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.*⁴

1 The English spelling follows that of the 1571 edition.

2 Convocation met in January. According to the ›Old Style‹ or Julian calendar, 25 March marked the New Year. Dates given in the notes are according to the New Style, and thus the articles are dated 1563.

3 Art. I through V treat the substance of the Faith contained in the doctrine of God and the Trinity (I), the Incarnation (II-IV), and the Holy Ghost (V). Art. I is derived almost entirely from the ›Confession of Augsburg‹ (1530), Art. 1 ›De Deo‹. Art. I of ›Augsburg‹ reads as follows: ›*Ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent, decretum Nicaenae synodi de unitate essentiae divinae et de tribus personis 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*‹.

4 The first article is derived from Thomas Cranmer's draft of ›Thirteen Articles‹ of 1538. The latter formulary was discovered among Cranmer's papers in the nineteenth century and was first published in: *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*, edited for the Parker Society by John Cox, Cambridge 1846. This article was transmitted unchanged from the first of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ of 1553. The same language also appears in the ›*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*‹, Art. 1 ›*De summa Trinitate et fide catholica*‹, in: *Tudor Church Reform*, 171. The aim of the article is to condemn the ancient Sabellian and Arian heresies which were revived in the sixteenth century by some of the Radical Reformers, e.g. Michael Servetus.

1 [Of fayth in the holie Trinitie] There is but one luyng and true God, euerlastyng,
without body, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wysdome, and goodnesse,
the maker and preseruer of al things both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of
this Godhead there be three persons, of one substaunce, power, and eternitie, the
5 the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost.

[II *Verbum Dei, verum hominem esse factum*]⁵ *Filius, qui est Verbum Patris, |¹ab aeterno a Patre genitus, verus et aeternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis|¹ in utero beate Virginis ex illius substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut duae naturae, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personae, fuerint inseparabiliter coniunctae: ex quibus est unus Christus, verus Deus et verus homo: qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.*⁶

15 [Of the worde or sonne of God which was made very man] The Sonne, which is the worde of the Father, begotten from euerlastyng of the Father, the very and eternall GOD, of one substaunce with the Father, toke man's nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substaunce: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were ioyned together in one person, neuer to be diuided, whereof is one Christe, very GOD and very man, who truely
20 suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to vs, and to be a sacrifice |²for all sin of man, both original and actual|², |³not only for originall gylt, but also for all actual sinnes of men|³.⁷

[III *De descensu Christi ad inferos*]⁸ *Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est, et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad inferos descendisse.*⁹ |⁴*Non corpus*

5 Derived from Art. 3 of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ mediated by Cranmer's draft of the ›Thirteen Articles‹, Art. 2. The Latin text of this article published in 1563 is identical to the earlier Edwardine version of Art. 2 in the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ of 1553. The language of the article evokes the theological grammar of the ›Tome of Leo‹ and the decrees of the council of Chalcedon (451) as well as the Athanasian Creed.

6 The passage marked |¹ was added in 1563 based on of the ›Confession of Württemberg‹ (1552), an extended revision of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ presented in 1552 to the Council of Trent and in which author Johannes Brenz aims to show that the evangelical churches agree with apostolic doctrine, and with patristic orthodoxy. See Art. 2, ›De filio Dei‹, in: *Confessio piae doctrinae quae nomine illustrissimi Principis ac Domini CHRISTOPHORI Ducis Wirtembergensis et Teccensis, ac Comitum Montisbeliardi, per legatos ejus Die XXIII mensis Januarij, Anno MDLII Congregationi Tridentini Concilii proposita est*, Tübingen, in: Heinrich Heppe, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der altprotestantischen Kirche Deutschlands*, Kassel 1855, 487-554. Also Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 139, 197.

7 The phrase |³ was substituted for the words marked |² in the English edition of 1571.

8 Based on ›Augsburg‹, Art. 3, this article addresses the statement in the Apostle's Creed around which violent controversy swirled at the Reformation. The original article of 1553 as written by Cranmer included the words marked |⁴: ›For the body lay in the sepulchre until the Resurrection; but His ghost departing from Him, was with the ghosts that were in prison, or in hell, and did preach to the same as the place of St. Peter doth

usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro iacuit, Spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque praedicavit, quem admodum testatur Petri locus^[4].¹⁰

[Of the goyng downe of Christe into hell] As Christe dyed for vs, and was buryed: so also it is to be beleued that he went downe into hell. ^[4]For the body lay in the sepulchre until the resurrection, but his Ghost departing from him, was with the ghosts that were in prison, or in Hell, and did preach to the same, as the place of St. Peter doth testify.^[4]

[IV *Resurrectio Christi*]¹¹ *Christus vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanae naturae pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in coelum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad iudicandos homines* ^[5]*revertatur*^[5] ^[6]*reversurus sit*^[6].¹²

[Of the Resurrection of Christe] Christe dyd truly aryse agayne from death, and toke agayne his body, with flesh, bones, and all thinges apperteyning to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heauen, and there sitteth, vntyll he returne to iudge ^[7]all^[7] men at the last day.¹³

[V *De Spiritu Sancto*]¹⁴ *Spiritus sanctus, a Patre et Filio procedens, eiusdem est cum Patre et Filio essentiae, maiestatis, et gloriae, verus ac aeternus Deus.*¹⁵

testify« (I Petr 3, 18 – 55, 6). The sentence was omitted at the revision of the articles in 1563.

9 See Eph 4, 9.

10 I Petr 3, 18-20. The text marked ^[4] was included in Art. 3 of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹, 1553 and was subsequently dropped from both Latin and English versions of the articles in 1563 and 1571.

11 Composed afresh in 1552-1553, and not dependent on ›Augsburg Confession‹, this article emphasizes the full humanity of Christ (Lk 24, 39 – Joh 20, 20.27) and his session in heaven until Day of Judgement. ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 1.4 »*De duabus Christi naturis post resurrectionem*«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 172.

12 I Kor 15, 3 ff – Mt 28, 6 – Mk 16, 6 – Lk 24, 6 – Joh 20. The article can be interpreted as a departure from the quasi-Eutychian emphasis of Lutheran teaching on Christ's ›glorified body‹. This distinctively Reformed Christology will have important consequences for the sacramental doctrine expounded in later articles. The text marked ^[6] »*Reversurus sit*« substituted for ^[5] »*revertatur*« in the 1563 revision of 1553.

13 The text marked ^[7] added in 1571.

14 Derived from an enlarged version of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ consisting of thirty-five articles presented to the Council of Trent by the ambassadors of Württemberg in 1552, commonly designated the ›Confession of Württemberg‹, Art. 3, »*Von dem heiligen Geist*«. Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 139, 198. This article was first inserted into the ›Articles of Religion‹ in the revision of 1563.

15 This article brings a Trinitarian completeness to the series of the first five articles. It is notable for its affirmation of the »*filioque*« clause added to the Nicene Creed at the provincial synod of Toledo in AD 589. The articles are thus committed to this distinctive formula of Western Christendom. See Gal 4, 6 – Act 16, 7 – Röm 8, 9, and espe-

- 1 [Of the holy ghost] The holy ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, is of one substance, maiestie, and glorie, with the Father, and the Sonne, very and eternall God.

[VI *Divinae scripturae doctrina sufficit ad salutem*]¹⁶ *Scriptura sacra continet omnia, quae ad salutem sunt necessaria,*¹⁷ *ita, ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, |8| licet interdum a fidelibus, ut pium et conducibile ad ordinem et decorum admittatur, attamen a quoquam non exigendum|8| non sit a quoquam exigendum,*¹⁸ *ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.*

- 10 *Sacrae Scripturae nomine, eos Canonicos libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti intelligimus, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.*¹⁹

De nominibus et numero librorum sacrae *Canonica Scripturae veteris Testamenti.*

Genesis.

Exodus.

14 *Leviticus.*

Numeri.

Deuteronomium.

cially Joh 25, 26. While the Father is alone the »fountain« of godhead which the Son, as begotten, is not, the »filioque« serves to reinforce the co-equality and consubstantiality of these two persons in relation to the procession of the third. This implied confirmation of the Son's status as »vere Deus« serves to balance the Chalcedonian Christological emphasis on the fullness of Christ's humanity in the previous articles.

- 16 Art. VI through VIII address the Rule of Faith as contained in the Holy Scriptures and the ancient creeds of the Church. The first paragraph of this article is based on a similar statement in Art. 5 of the ›Forty-two Articles‹ of 1553. The rest of the article was added in 1563.
- 17 Art. VI declares the supreme authority of Scripture as the rule of faith. This Reformed principle challenges the Tridentine ›Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures‹ of Pope Paul III of 1546 which »receives and venerates« ecclesiastical traditions together with the Scriptures, »whether they relate to faith or to morals, as having been dictated either orally by Christ or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church in unbroken succession«. The article's restriction of the sufficiency of Scripture to »matters necessary to salvation« had important implications for debates in the Elizabethan over matters of church government, discipline, and ceremonies where the authority of tradition was permitted to hold sway. See ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 1.9-12 »*Omnia credenda ex canonicis haberi Scripturis*«, etc., in: Tudor Church Reform, 178-180.
- 18 The clause marked |8| was dropped in 1563 and »*non sit a quoquam exigendum*« substituted in its place.
- 19 This clause is derived from the ›Württemberg Confession‹, Art. 27, »Von der heiligen Schrift«. Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 178. »Die heilige Schrift nennen wir die ordenlichen, bestätigten Bücher des Alten und Neuen Testaments, an deren Glaubwürdigkeit in der Kirchen nie kein Zweifel gewesen ist«. The catalogue of canonical books of the Old and New Testaments and of the Apocrypha was not included in the Edwardine formulary of 1553, but was added by Matthew Parker in the revision of 1563. Books followed by an asterisk were added to the list in 1571.

<i>Iosuae.</i>	1
<i>Iudicum.</i>	
<i>Ruth.</i>	
<i>Prior liber Samuelis.</i>	
<i>Secundus liber Samuelis.</i>	5
<i>Prior liber Regum.</i>	
<i>Secundus liber Regum.</i>	
<i>Prior liber Paralipomenon.</i>	
<i>Secundus liber Paralipomenon.</i>	
<i>Primus liber Esdrae.</i>	10
<i>Secundus liber Esdrae.</i>	
<i>Liber Hester.</i>	
<i>Liber Iob.</i>	
<i>Psalmi.</i>	
<i>Proverbia.</i>	15
<i>Ecclesiastes vel Concionator.</i>	
<i>Cantica Solomonis.</i>	
<i>IV Prophetae maiores.</i>	
<i>XII Prophetae minore.</i>	
<i>Alios autem libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia ad exempla vitae et formandos mores; illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet: ut sunt²⁰</i>	20
<i>Tertius liber Esdrae.</i>	
<i>Quartus liber Esdrae.</i>	
<i>Liber Tobiae.</i>	
<i>Liber Iudith.</i>	25
<i>Reliquum libri Hester.*</i>	
<i>Liber Sapientiae.</i>	
<i>Liber Iesu filii Sirach.</i>	
<i>Baruch Propheta.*</i>	
<i>Canticum trium puerorum.*</i>	30
<i>Historia Susannae.*</i>	
<i>De Bel et Dracone.*</i>	

20 The formulation of Art. VI approximates the teaching of the ›French Confession‹ of 1559 (otherwise known as ›La confession de foi de la Rochelle‹ or ›Confessio Gallicana‹, see above, 1-29), composed jointly by John Calvin and Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, who allow that the Church may read and take instruction from these books so far as they agree with the canonical scripture, ›but they are far from having such power and efficacy that we may from their testimony confirm any point of faith of the Christian religion; and much less may they be used to detract from the authority of the other, that is, the sacred books (Art. 6)‹, *ibid.* 19. The ›Westminster Confession‹ (1648), on the other hand, excludes the books of the Apocrypha altogether from the Canon. See Art. 1.3: ›The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings‹. See Jerome, Praefatio in Libros Salomonis Juxta LXX Interpretes, PL XXIX, 403.

1 *Oratio Manassis.**
 Prior liber Machabaeorum.
 Secundus liber Machabaeorum.

5 *Novi Testamenti omnes libros (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, et habemus*
 pro Canonicis.

[Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for saluation] Holy Scripture contey-
 neth all thinges necessarie to saluation: so that whatsoever is ^[9]neither^[9] *not* read
 therein, nor may be proued therby, ^[10]although it be sometime received of the
 faithful, as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness: yet no man ought to
 10 be constrained to believe it^[10] *is not to be required of anye man, that it shoulde*
be beleued as an article of the fayth, ^[11]or repute it^[11] *or be thought* requisite ^[12]to
 the necessity of^[12] *or necessarie to saluation.*

15 In the name of Holy Scripture, we do vnderstand those Canonically books of
 the olde and newe Testament, of whose auctoritie was neuer any doubt in the
 Church.²¹

Of the names and number of the Canonical Books.

 Genesis.
 Exodus.
 Leuiticus.
 20 Nuerie.
 Deuteronomium.
 Iosue.
 Iudges.
 Ruth.
 25 The 1 boke of Samuel.
 The 2 boke of Samuel.
 The 1 booke of Kinges.
 The 2 booke of Kinges.
 The 1 booke of Chroni.
 30 The 2 booke of Chroni.
 The 1 booke of Esdras.
 The 2 booke of Esdras.
 The booke of Hester.
 The booke of Job.
 35 The Psalmes.
 The Prouerbes.
 Ecclesia, or the Preacher.
 Cantica, or songes of Sa.

21 The ›Forty-Two Articles‹ were simplified in 1563 by the omission of the text marked ^[9]; the italicized English text immediately following each passage, as well as the list of specific books of the Scriptures, were added in the revision of 1563. The apocryphal books marked with an asterisk were added to list in the final version of the articles of 1571.

4 Prophetes the greater. 1
 12 Prophetes the lesse.

And the other bookes, (as Hierome saith) the Church doth reade for example
 of lyfe and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establishe
 any doctrene. Such are these followyng: 5

The third boke of Esdras.
 The fourth boke of Esdras.
 The booke of Tobias.
 The booke of Iudith.
 The reste of the booke of Hester.* 10
 The booke of Wisdome.
 Iesus the sonne of Sirach.
 Baruch the prophet.*
 The Song of the 3 Children.*
 The storie of Susanna.* 15
 Of Bel and the Dragon.*
 The prayer of Manasses.*
 The 1 boke of Machab.
 The 2 Booke of Machab.

All the bookes of the newe Testament, as they are commonly receaued, we do
 receaue, and accompt them for Canonicall. 20

[VII *De Veteri Testamento*]²² *Testamentum Vetus Novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in Veteri quam in Novo per Christum, qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et Homo, aeterna vita humano generi est proposita.*²³
*Quare male sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. Quanquam lex a Deo data per Mosen, quoad ceremonias et ritus, Christianos non astringat, neque civilia eius praecepta in aliqua republica necessario recipi debeant: nihilominus tamen ab obediencia mandatorum quae moralia vocantur nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus.*²⁴ 25

22 Art. VII is a revised combination of two separate articles from the Edwardine formulary of 1553: article VI (the first two sentences) and article XIX, the final sentence from »*Quanquam*« through to the end. The original wording of the former part in the »FortyTwo Articles« is as follows: »*Testamentum Vetus, quasi Novo contrarium sit, non est repudiandum, sed retinendum, quando quidem tam in veteri quam novo per Christum qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, aeterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare non sunt audienda, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt*«.

23 Joh 8, 56 – Hebr 10, 1 and 11, 6.

24 The first part of the article is directed against Marcionite tendencies among some of the radical Anabaptist and antinomian reformers and tends to affirm Heinrich Bullinger's position concerning the unity of the Covenant. The latter part anathematizes the opposite extreme of legalism. The distinction drawn between the ceremonial and moral

1 [Of the Olde Testament] The olde Testament is not contrary to the newe, for both
 in the olde and newe Testament euerlastyng lyfe is offered to mankynde by
 Christe, who is the onlye mediatour betweene God and man. Wherefore they are
 not to be hearde whiche faigne that the olde fathers dyd looke only for transitorie
 5 promises. Although the lawe geuen from God by Moses, as touchyng ceremonies
 and rites, do not bynde Christian men, nor the ciuile preceptes thereof, ought of
 necessitie to be receued in any common wealth: yet notwithstanding, no Chris-
 tian man whatsoeuer, is free from the obedience of the commaundementes, which
 are called morall.

10 [Of the three Credes] The three Credes, Nicene Crede, Athanasian Crede, and
 that whiche is commonlye called the Apostles' Crede, ought throughlye to be
 receued and beleued: for they may be proued by moste certayne warrauntes of
 hollye scripture.

15 [VIII *Symbola tria*]²⁵ *Symbola tria, Nicaenum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Aposto-
 lorum appellatur omnino recipienda sunt* |¹³|*et credenda*|¹³;²⁶ *Scripturarum testi-
 moniis probari possunt.*²⁷

commandments of the Old Testament reiterates Calvin's position on Christian liberty articulated in ›Institutio‹ III, 19. See Röm 8, 1.2 – Acts 15, 1 – 28, 29.

25 This article was composed in 1553 to affirm the Church of England's commitment to Patristic catholicity. This catholicity as embodied in the ancient credal formulae is implicit in much of the Trinitarian and Christological doctrine contained in both Lutheran and Reformed Confessions. Compare ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 1.5 »*De tribus symbolis*« and 1.13 »*Symbola fidei utilia sunt ad interpretandam Scripturam*«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 172 & 180. As quoted in the note to the first article above, the ›Augsburg Confession‹ affirms the decree of the Nicene Council on the Trinity. The ›Second Helvetic Confession‹, cap. III, explicitly affirms this: »*Breviter recipimus Symbolum Apostolorum, quod veram nobis fidem tradit*«.

26 Appears as Art. VII in 1553; »*et credenda*« marked |¹³| was added in 1563. Also affirmed by the ›French Confession‹ of 1559, Art. 5: »[...] et suivant cela nous avouons les trois Symboles, savoir des Apôtres, de Nicée et d'Athanase, parce qu'ils sont conformes la parole de Dieu«. See Art. 9 of ›[Confessio Belgica](#)‹. The article asserts the Catholic character of Reformed doctrine. All three creeds are prescribed for regular liturgical use in the ›Book of Common Prayer‹ (1559). The Prayer Book refers to the Athanasian Creed as »commonly so-called« usually designated by its opening words »*Quicumque vult*«.

27 Act 4, 29-31 – I Thess 2, 13 – II Kor 2, 17. Given the claim concerning the sufficiency of scripture to salvation in Art. 6, the three creeds must be referred to Scripture for acceptance.

[IX *Peccatum originale*]²⁸ *Peccatum originis*²⁹ *non est ut fabulantur Pelagiani* |¹⁴|*et hodie Anabaptistae repetunt,*|¹⁴|³⁰ *in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturae eiuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati,*³¹ *qua fit ut ab originali iustitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat; unde in unoquoque* |¹⁵|*nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur.*³² *Manet etiam in renatis haec naturae depravatio*|¹⁵|,³³ *qua fit ut affectus carnis, Graece φρόνημα σαρκός (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis* |¹⁶|*vocant*|¹⁶| *interpretantur), legi Dei non subiiciatur.*³⁴ *Et quanquam renatis et credentibus, nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.*³⁵

[Of originall or birth sinne] Originall sinne standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vaynely talke) |¹⁴|which also the Anabaptists do nowadays renew|¹⁴| but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery man, that naturally is engendered of the ofspring of Adam, whereby man is very farre gone from |¹⁷|his former|¹⁷| *originall* ryghteousness, [which he had at his creation] and is of his owne nature |¹⁸|given|¹⁸| *enclined* to euyill, so that the fleshe |¹⁹|de-sireth|¹⁹| *lusteth* alwayes contrary to the spirite; and therefore in euery person

28 The series of Art. IX through XIX address the elements of the doctrine of salvation. Art. IX begins the series by defining the human condition with a firmly Augustinian emphasis on original sin while X defines its effects upon the will. There follows a definition of Justification (XI) and works (XII-XIV). The impossibility of works of supererogation is reinforced by the teaching that Christ alone is sinless (XV) and that men sin after baptism (XVI). Art. XVII treats predestination and election; the series is drawn to completion by the affirmation of salvation »*tantum in nomine Christi*«, by Christ alone. Art. IX is derived from the second of the »Thirteen Articles« which in turn is based on Art. 2 of the »Augsburg Confession«. Concern at the renewal of Pelagianism is a theme also taken up in the »Reformatio legum«, »*De Haeresibus*«, 2.7 & 11, in: Tudor Church Reform, 192, 196: »*In labe peccati ex ortu nostro contracta, quam vitium originis appellamus, primum quidem Pelagianorum, deinde etiam Anabaptistarum nobis vitandus et submovendus est error [...]*«.

29 The phrase »*peccatum originis*« is not scriptural, but derived chiefly from the soteriology of Augustine.

30 The phrase marked |¹⁴| contains words from Art. VIII of the Edwardine formulary of 1553 dropped in the revision of 1563.

31 Original sin is not an imitative (i.e. »active«) unrighteousness, but rather a »passive« and inherited lack of the original *iustitia* – or birth sin.

32 The fault is universal in extent (Gen 6, 12) and in effect privative (loss of *iustitia*), positive (inclination towards evil), and punitive (warfare of flesh and spirit, sin and ultimately death as the penalty – Röm 5, 12-21 – I Kor 15, 22).

33 Compare Trent, Sess. V. c. 2 where original sin is defined as »*privatio naturae*«. The phrase marked |¹⁵| was added in the revision of 1563.

34 Röm 8, 1. |¹⁶| »*Vocant*«, found in 1553, was replaced by »*interpretantur*« in 1563.

35 Röm 6, 12 – Gal. 5, 16-24. Phrases |¹⁷| through |²⁰| were also dropped in the revision of 1563 and substitutions made are given italicized in the English version immediately following.

1 borne into this worlde, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation. And this infection
of nature doth remayne, yea in them that are ^[20]baptized^[20] *regenerated*, whereby
the luste of the fleshe called in Greke φρόνημα σαρκός which some do expounde
the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the affection, some the desyre of the fleshe,
5 is not subiect to the lawe of God. And although there is no condemnation for
them that beleue and are baptized: yet the Apostle doth confesse that concupis-
cence and luste hath of it selfe the nature of synne.

[X *De Libero Arbitrio*]³⁶ ^[21]*Ea est hominis post lapsum Adae conditio, ut sese,*
naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei con-
10 *vertere ac praeparare non possit.*^[21]³⁷ *Quare absque gratia Dei, quae per Chris-*
tum est, nos praeviente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis
*opera facienda, quae Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.*³⁸

[Of free wyll] ^[21]The condition of man after the fall of Adam is suche, that he can
not turne and prepare hym selfe by his owne naturall strength and good workes,
15 to fayth and calling vpon God: Wherefore^[21] we haue no power to do good
workes pleasaunt and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christe
preuentyng us, that we may haue a good wyll, and workyng with vs, when we
haue that good wyll.³⁹

36 Nothing is stated affirmatively concerning the freedom of the will in this article.

37 The opening section of this article (in brackets) was added in 1563 to the remainder
which originally constituted Art. IX of 1553. The passage »ut sese [...] non possit«
is derived from the ›Confession of Württemberg«, Art. 4 »Von der Sünde«. Owing to the
»depravatio naturae« (Art. IX above) the human condition is considered to be utterly
corrupt – Röm 7, 14 – Gal 5, 16, 17.

38 Ps 59, 10 »Deus meus misericordia eius praevient me«. See Phil 2, 13. The language
of »prevenient« and »cooperating« grace derive from Augustine. The former inclines
the will to good (Joh 6, 44) while the latter assists in the action (I Kor 15, 10). See
Augustine, De gratia et libero arbitrio, PL XLIV, 876. In the ›Book of Common
Prayer‹ (1559) a collect appointed to follow the Offertory in the Order for the Ad-
ministration of the Lord's Supper reads as follows: »Prevent us, O Lord, in all our
doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in
all our works, begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name,
and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen«.

39 An article titled »De Gratia« was inserted in the formulary of 1553 between »De
libero arbitrio« and »De hominis iustificatione«. The article was deleted in the revision
of 1563. The text is as follows: »Gratia Christi, seu Spiritus Sanctus, qui per
eundem datur, cor lapidem aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quae
recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilomi-
nus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de causa, cum peccaverit, seipsum excu-
sare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam accusari non me-
reatur aut damnari«. In English: »The Grace of Christ, or the holy Ghost by him
given doth take away the stony heart, and giveth an heart of flesh. And although,
those that have no will to good things, he maketh them to will, and those that would
evil thinges, he maketh them not to will the same: Yet nevertheless he enforceth not

[XI *De hominis Iustificatione*]⁴⁰ |²²| *Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in Homelia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina*²².⁴¹ *Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, iusti coram Deo reputamur.*⁴² *Quare sola fide*⁴³ *nos iustificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima;*⁴⁴ *ut in Homilia de Iustificatione hominis fusius explicatur.*⁴⁵

[Of the iustification of man] We are accompted righteous before God, only for the merite of our Lord and sauour Jesus Christe, by faith, and not for our owne workes or deseruynges. Wherefore, that we are iustified by fayth onely, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homilie of iustification.

[XII *De bonis operibus*]⁴⁶ *Bona opera, quae sunt fructus fidei et iustificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare et divini iudicii severitatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo,*⁴⁷ *atque ex vera et viva fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis aequae fides viva cognosci possit atque arbor ex fructu iudicari.*⁴⁸

[Of good workes] Albeit that good workes which are the fruites of fayth, and folowe after iustification, can not put away our sinnes, and endure the seueritie of

the will. And therefore no man when he sinneth can excuse himself, as not worthy to be blamed or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillingly, or by compulsion«.

40 By drawing a clear distinction between Justification and Sanctification the article adheres to the stance taken by other Reformed confessions, and corrects the Tridentine »Decree on Justification«, Sess. VI. cap. 7, where justification is defined as both the remission of sins and »the sanctification and renewal of the inner man«.

41 |²²| Deleted from the Edwardine formulary in the revision of 1563.

42 This sentence is based on the »Confession of Württemberg«, Art. 5 »Von der Rechtfertigung«, Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 141, 198.

43 Röm 3, 28 – 4, 5.

44 Compare Art. XVII where Predestination is described as »*dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plenas est*«.

45 The homily appeared under the title »A Sermon of the Salvation of Mankind« in the »First Book of Homilies«. These homilies were first authorized by Convocation in 1542, but were not published until after the accession of Edward VI in 1547. The Homilies were revoked by Queen Mary and restored by Elizabeth: Certaine sermons, or homelies, appoynted by the kynges Maiestie, to bee declared and redde, by all persones, vicars, or curates, euery Sondaye in their churches, where they haue cure, London: Printed by Richard Grafton 1547. See Art. XXXV below.

46 The article, composed in 1563, constitutes a corollary to the doctrine of Justification by faith alone. Faith works through love, Gal 5, 6. Compare »Confession of Württemberg«, Art. 7 »Von den guten Werken«, Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 144, 198.

47 Eph, 2, 10.

48 Mat 7, 16-20 – Jak 2, 17.

1 Gods iudgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe, and do
spring out necessarily of a true and liuely fayth, in so mucche that by them, a
lyuely fayth may be as euidently knowen, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

5 [XIII *Opera ante iustificationem*]⁴⁹ *Opera quae fiunt ante gratiam Christi et
Spiritus eius afflatum, eum ex fide Iesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata
sunt,*⁵⁰ *neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur:*⁵¹ *imo cum non sint
facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et praecepit, peccati rationem habere non dubita-*
mus.

10 [Of workes before iustification] Workes done before the grace of Christe, and the
inspiration of his spirite, are not pleasaut to God forasmuche as they spring not
of fayth in Jesu Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as
the schole aucthours saye) deserue grace of congruitie: ^[23]but because^[23] ^[24]yea
rather for that^[24]^[52] they are not done as GOD hath wyllend and commaunded them
to be done, we doubt not but they haue the nature of synne.

15 [XIV *Opera supererogationis*]⁵³ *Opera quae supererogationis*⁵⁴ *appellant non
possunt sine arrogantia et impietate praedicari. Nam illis declarant homines non
tantum se Deo reddere quae tenentur, sed plus in eius gratiam facere quam de-*
*berent: eum aperte Christus dicat: Cum feceritis omnia quaecunque praecepta
sunt vobis, dicte, servi inutiles sumus.*

20 [Of workes of supererogation] Voluntarie workes besydes, ouer and aboue Gods
commaundementes, which they call workes of supererogation, can not be taught

49 A second corollary to the article on Justification composed in 1553, and retained without alteration in 1563. There is a discrepancy between the title and the text, where the latter identifies »works done before the grace of Christ«. The text agrees with the title in an earlier draft of the Edwardine articles signed by six royal chaplains in 1552, but the text (although curiously not the title of the article) was later emended by Cranmer to read as it now stands. The clear implication is that the grace of God may in fact precede Justification. The effect of this change is to delimit even more radically the realm of possibility in the performance good works without »prevenient« grace (see Art. X). Again, compare ›Württemberg‹, Art. 7 ›Von den guten Werken‹, Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 144, 198.

50 Röm 8, 7.8 – Joh 15, 5.

51 Röm 4, 1-4 – 9, 11-13; see also Tit 3, 5. There can be no natural human merit apart from that imputed by Christ alone.

52 The English translation in phrase ^[24] substituted in revision of 1563 for earlier version of 1553 ^[23].

53 Art. XIII of 1553, unchanged in the revision of 1563, constitutes a corollary of the preceding article. Lk 17, 10. According to scholastic Catholic teaching authorised by Clement VI in 1343, the works of the saints constituted a spiritual treasure which the Pope was able to draw upon and to apply to the benefit of souls in Purgatory. There can be no measurable excess nor need of merit when Christ's merit is infinite.

54 See Lk 10, 35, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, in the Vulgate.

without arrogancie and ^[25]iniquity^[25] ^[26]impietie^[26].⁵⁵ For by them men do declare that they do not onely render vnto God as muche as they are bounde to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe sayth playnly, When ye have done al that are commaunded to you, say, We be vnprofitable seruantes.

[XV *Nemo praeter Christum est sine peccato*]⁵⁶ *Christus in nostrae naturae veritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato,*⁵⁷ *a quo prorsus est immunis, tum in carne*⁵⁸ *tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus absque macula esset,*⁵⁹ *qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret.*⁶⁰ *et peccatum, ut inquit Iohannes, in eo non erat.*⁶¹ *Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: et, si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.*⁶²

[Of Christe alone without sinne]⁶³ Christe in the trueth of oure nature, was made lyke vnto vs in al thinges (sinne only except) from which he was clearley voyde, both in his fleshe, and in his spirite. He came to be the lambe without spot, who by *the* sacrifice of hym self once made, shoulde take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne, (as S. John sayeth) was not in hym. But al we the rest, (although baptized, and borne agayne in Christ) yet offende in many thinges, and if we say we haue no sinne, we deceaue our selues, and the trueth is not in vs.

[XVI *De lapsis post baptismum*]⁶⁴ *Non omne peccatum mortale post Baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum, et irremissibile.*⁶⁵

55 ^[25] and ^[26]: The more literal »impiety« substituted for »iniquity« in English version of 1571.

56 The article's emphasis on »solus Christus« reinforces the rejection of supererogatory merit in Art. XIV. See »Reformatio legum«, Art. 2.9, in: Tudor Church Reform, 194.

57 Art. IX. Human nature is to be distinguished from corrupt nature.

58 Joh 1, 14.

59 Joh 1, 29 – I Petr 1, 19.

60 I Joh 2, 2.

61 I Joh 3, 5.

62 I Joh 1, 8.

63 English title revised in 1571. The original title of 1553: »No man is without sin, but Christ alone«.

64 Composed in 1553 in response to the view that the truly regenerate cannot fall into sin and that sin cannot be forgiven through repentance after baptism. Shows some influence by Art. 16 of the »Augsburg Confession«. Exception was taken to this article in particular by the Puritans John Field and Thomas Wilcox in »An Admonition to the Parliament« (1572) on the ground of its inconsistency with the irresistibility of grace. See also the »Reformatio legum«, »De Haeresibus«, 2.8 in: Tudor Church Reform, 192-195.

65 In the revision of 1563, Archbishop Matthew Parker insisted on the excision of Art. XVI from the 1553 formulary. The article titled »Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum« aimed to define deadly sin positively. The present article is formulated negatively. Mt 12, 31.32 – Mk 3, 28.29 – Lk 12, 10 and Hebr 6, 4-6.

1 *Proinde lapsis a Baptismo in peccata locus penitentiae non est negandus.*⁶⁶ *Post*
acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare,
*denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere.*⁶⁷ *Ideoque illi damnandi sunt*
5 *qui se quamdiu hic vivant,*⁶⁸ *amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere*
resipiscentibus veniae locum denegant.

[Of sinne after Baptisme] Not euery deadly sinne willingly committed after bap-
 tisme, is sinne agaynst the holy ghost, and vnardonable. Wherefore ^[27]the place
 for penitents^[27] *the graunt of repentaunce* is not to be denied to such as fall into
 sinne after baptisme. After we have receaued the holy ghost, we may depart from
 10 grace geuen, and fall into sinne, and by the grace of God (we may) aryse agayne,
 and amend our lyues. And therefore, they are to be condemned, whiche say they
 can no more sinne as long as they lyue here, or denie the place ^[28]for penitents^[28]
 of forgeuenesse to such as truely repent ^[29]and amend their lives^[29].⁶⁹

[Article XVII *De Praedestinatione*]⁷⁰ *Praedestinatio ad vitam est aeternum Dei*
 15 *propositum, quo, ante iacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem oc-*
*culto, constanter decrevit eos, quos in Christo*⁷¹ *elegit ex hominum genere, a*
maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta per Christum ad
*aeternam salutem adducere.*⁷² *Unde qui tam praeclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati,*
 20 *illi, Spiritu eius opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum eius vocan-*
tur; iustificatur gratis; adoptantur in filios Dei; unigeniti eius Iesu Christi ima-
gini efficiuntur conformes; in bonis operibus sancti ambulant; et demum ex Dei
*misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.*⁷³

66 I Kor 5, 1-5 – II Kor 2, 5-11.

67 Joh 1, 8. Although baptism sin need not ›reign in us‹ on account of baptism (Röm 6, 14), this does not mean that there is no longer danger of sinning (II Petr 1, 10 – Mt 5, 13). The formulation of the doctrine of perseverance aims at resolving these differences.

68 I Joh 3, 6.

69 The italicized text was substituted for ^[27] in the formulary of 1571. Phrases ^[28] and ^[29] deleted from 1563 in the revision of 1571.

70 This longest article of the formulary was composed in 1553 (also Art. XVII). The ›Reformatio legum‹ testifies to widespread dispute concerning Predestination in the early 1550s. Such polemics became even more pronounced during the reign of Elizabeth. See ›*De Haeresibus*‹, 2.22 ›*De praedestinatione*‹ in: Tudor Church Reform, 210-213.

71 The revision of 1563 refined the definition of election as ›*in Christo*‹.

72 Eph 1, 3-11. The article avoids mention of a positive decree of reprobation in a manner reminiscent of Heinrich Bullinger's formulation of the doctrine of Predestination, with emphasis on the secrecy – ›*occultu*‹ – of the decree. The positive statement of the doctrine is thoroughly scriptural. Mt 12, 14 – Röm 9, 21. 22. Compare Peter Martyr Vermigli, who spoke of election as predestination, and not reprobation (although he also recognized reprobation), on the grounds that ›the Scriptures speak this way for the most part‹. Peter Martyr Vermigli, Locus on Predestination, 9, in: Peter Martyr Vermigli, Predestination and justification. Two theological loci, translated and edited with an introduction by Frank A. James III, Kirksville Mo. 2003, 16.

73 Röm 8, 28-30. A list of the seven stages in the progress from election to glory.

Quemadmodum Praedestinationis et Electionis nostrae in Christo pia consideratio dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quae adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad coelestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de aeterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: ita hominibus, curiosis carnalibus et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari Praedestinationis Dei sententiam perniciosissimum est praecipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit vel in desperationem vel in aequae pernitiosam impurissimae vitae securitatem.⁷⁴

Deinde ^[30]licet praedestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota^[30] promissiones ^[31]tamen^[31]⁷⁵ divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositae sunt; et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est quam in verbo Dei habemus deserte revelatam.⁷⁶

[Of predestination and election] Predestination to lyfe, is the euerlastyng purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were layd) he hath constantly decreed by his ^[32]own judgement^[32] *councell* secrete to vs, to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen *in Christe* out of rnkynnd, and to bryng them *by Christe* to euerlastyng saluation ^[33]by Christ^[33], as vessels made to honour. ^[34]Whereupon such as have^[34] Wherefore they which be indued with so excellent a benefite of God, ^[35]given unto them^[35] be called accordyng to Gods purpose by his spirite workyng in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be iustified freely: they be made sonnes of God by adoption: they be made lyke the image of his onely begotten sonne Jesus Christe: they walke religiously in good workes, and at length by Gods mercy, they attaine to euerlastyng felicitie.⁷⁷

As the godly consyderation of predestination, and our election in Christe, is full of sweete, pleasaunt, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feele in themselues the working of the spirite of Christe, mortifying the workes of the fleshe, and their earthlye members, and drawing vp their mynde to hygh and heauenly thinges, as well because it doth greatly establyshe and confirme their fayth of eternal saluation to be enjoyed through Christe, as because it doth feruently kindle their loue towardes God. So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirite of Christe, to haue continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods predestination, is a most daungerous downfall, whereby the deuyll ^[36]may^[36]⁷⁸ *doth* thrust them either into desperation, or into rechelesnesse of most vncleane liuing, no lesse perilous then desperation.

74 The phenomenal and experiential aspects of election became increasingly important in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

75 ^[30] and ^[31] found in the 1553 version are omitted in the Latin revision of 1563 as well as in English revision of 1571.

76 Joh 3, 16. The emphasis is on rejecting Stoical fatalism, and on embrace of the promise of salvation (I Tim 2, 3.4).

77 Matter of ^[32] through ^[35] deleted in revision of 1571 and italicized matter inserted in its place.

78 Subjunctive mood ^[36] in 1553 version replaced by the indicative (»doth«) in revision of 1563. Phrase ^[37] deleted in revision of 1563.

- 1 Furthermore, [37]although the decrees of predestination are unknown to us, yet[37] we must receaue Gods promises in such wyse, as they be generally set foorth to vs in holy scripture: and in our doynge, that wyl of God is to be folowed, which we haue expreslye declared vnto vs in the worde of God.
- 5 [XVIII *Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est aeterna salus*]⁷⁹
Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo iuxta illam et lumen naturae accurate vixerit: eum sacrae literae tantum Iesu Christi nomen praedicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.
- 10 [Of obtaynyng eternall saluation, only by the name of Christe] They also are to be had accursed [38]and abhorred[38]⁸⁰ that presume to say, that euery man shal be saued by the lawe or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life accordyng to that lawe, and the light of nature. For holy scripture doth set out vnto vs onely the name of Jesus Christe, whereby men must be saved.
- 15 [XIX *De Ecclesia*]⁸¹ *Ecclesia Christi visibilis est coetus fidelium,*⁸² *in quo verbum Dei purum praedicatur et sacramenta, quoad ea quae necessario exiguntur, iuxta Christi institutum recte administrantur.*⁸³ *Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena:*⁸⁴ *ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et caeremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quae credenda sunt.*⁸⁵

79 Composed 1553 and unrevised since. The article condemns the hyper-rationalist tendency manifest among such radical reformers as Michael Servetus, Laelius and Faustus Socinus and the Polish Brethren, and Bernardino Ochino.

80 [38] deleted in the revision of 1571.

81 Art. XIX through XXXI deal with matters ecclesiological: the Church, ministry, and sacraments. Omitted from the Edwardine formulary is Art. XIX »*Omnes obligantur ad moralia legis praecepta servanda*«. Art. XIX (originally XX of the ›Forty-Two Articles‹) was composed in 1553 and propounds a definition of the visible Church distinguished by two »*notae*«.

82 »*Ecclesia*« in the classical Greek sense is a representative assembly called out or elected from the citizenry. In the Septuagint and Vulgate, the same word designates »*Kahal*«, the congregation of Israel. Jud 20, 2 – Joel 2, 16 – Act 7, 38.

83 Mt 28, 19.20 and II Tim 4, 2. See Art. XXV below on the »two sacraments of the Gospel«. A possible third mark of the visible Church is suggested by the phrase »duly administered«. The question of this third mark embodied in »*disciplina ecclesiastica*« became the focus of attacks on the Elizabethan Settlement by Walter Travers, Thomas Cartwright and others in the course of the Admonition Controversy of the 1570s. This controversy between Archbishop John Whitgift and promoters of the Genevan model of reform in England is in many respects a replay of the dispute on the continent between Thomas Erastus and Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva.

84 These churches compromised their orthodoxy during the Arian controversy of the fourth century.

85 Under Pope Zosimus (417) Rome endorsed Pelagius and under Honorius (634) supported Monotheletism. The chief point is that the visible Church, as a human politic society, of its very nature cannot be infallible.

[Of the Church] The visible Church of Christe, is a congregation of faythfull men 1
 in the which the pure worde of God is preached, and the Sacramentes be duely
 ministred, accordyng to Christes ordinaunce in all those thynges that of necessitie
 are requisite to the same. As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioche
 haue erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their liuing and 5
 maner of ceremonies, but also in matters of ³⁹their⁸⁶ fayth.

[XX *De Ecclesiae auctoritate*]⁸⁷ ⁴⁰*Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi ius et in fidei
 controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis*⁴⁰⁸⁸ *Ecclesiae non licet quicquam instituere
 quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, neque unum Scripturae locum sic exponere
 potest, ut alteri contradicat.*⁸⁹ *Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis
 et conservatrix; attamen, ut adversus eos nihil discernere, ita praeter illos nihil
 credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.*⁹⁰ 10

[Of the auctoritie of the Church] ⁴⁰The Church hath power to decree Rites or
 Ceremonies, and auctoritie in controuersies of fayth: And yet⁴⁰ it is not lawfull 15
 for the Church to ordayne any thyng that is contrarie to Gods worde written,
 neyther may it so expounde one place of scripture, that it be repugnaunt to an-
 other. Wherefore, although the Churche be a witnesse and a keper of holy writ:
 yet, as it ought not to decree any thing agaynst the same, so besides the same,
 ought it not to enforce any thing to be beleued for necessitie of saluation.

86 ³⁹ omitted in the revision of 1571.

87 This article is from the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ of 1553 with the addition of the first clause (40) from the ›Württemberg Confession‹, Art. XXIX ›Von der Kirchen‹ added in 1563 and 1571 to the Latin and English versions respectively. See especially clauses vi, vii, and vii, Bizer (see Introduction: note 11), 182, 198-199.

88 The clause marked ⁴⁰ based the ›Württemberg Confession‹, Art. 29, was not ratified until 1571. It is absent from the Latin MS of the articles signed by the bishops on 29 January 1563. Nor is it in the English edition printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1563 referred to by the Statute of 1571 authorizing the articles (13 Eliz. cap. 12, SR, vol. 4, 546-547). The clause is included in an early Latin draft of the Thirty-Nine Articles preserved among the Elizabethan State Papers, and is thought to have been added by Royal prerogative. The article defends the Church's authority against Anabaptists who denied it altogether, against Disciplinary Puritans who sought to minimise it in matters of government and ceremony, and against Rome who exaggerated it in the definition of doctrine. ›*lus*‹ and ›*auctoritas*‹ belong to the Church as a ›*corpus politicum*‹, and thus Scripture cannot be taken as the sole source of authority in matters of doctrine and practice.

89 Scripture is nonetheless supreme and may not be contradicted by positive ecclesiastical ordinance. The article is ambiguous concerning the locus of such power, whether it be with universal visible Church or with particular national churches. See Art. XXXIV below: ›every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying‹.

90 Röm 3, 2. On the sufficiency of Scripture for salvation (*sola scriptura*) see Art. VI above.

- 1 [XXI *De auctoritate conciliorum generalium*]⁹¹ *Generalia Concilia sine iussu et voluntate principum congregari non possunt.*⁹² *Et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes Spiritu et verbo Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quae ad normam pietatis pertinent. Ideoque quae ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.*⁹³

[Of the auctoritie of generall Counselles] Generall Counsels may not be gathered together without the commaundement and wyll of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuche as they be an assemblie of men, whereof all be not gouerned with the spirite and word of God) they may erre, and sometyme
10 haue erred [⁴¹not only in worldly matters, but also⁴¹]⁹⁴ euen in thinges parteynyng vnto God. Wherefore, thinges ordayned by them as necessary to saluation, haue neyther strength nor auctoritie, vnlesse it may it declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

- 15 [XXII *De purgatorio*]⁹⁵ [⁴²*Scholasticorum*]⁴² *doctrina* [⁴³*Romanensium*]⁴³ *de purgatorio*,⁹⁶ *de indulgentiis*,⁹⁷ *de veneratione tum imaginum tum reliquiarum*

91 Originally XXII of the Edwardine formulary, this article provides a corollary to the preceding treatment of the authority of the visible Church. On the authority of the ancient Councils of the Church, see ›Reformatio legum‹, 1.14 ›*De conciliis quid sentiendum*‹, in: Tudor Church Reform, 180-182.

92 A familiar sixteenth-century reassertion of the Constantinian model. Indeed all seven of the Ecumenical Councils of the ancient Church were summoned by emperors. In the Act of Supremacy of 1534 (26 Henry VIII, cap. 1, SR, vol. 3, 492-493), Henry VIII's title ›Head of the Church‹ is predicated on the claim made previously in the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) that the Realm of England is an ›empire‹ governed by one Supreme Head, namely the king himself, and that under his rule the Church was wholly self-sufficient ›without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons‹, chief among them the ›Bishop of Rome‹ as he was now officially designated (24 Henry VIII, cap. 12, SR, vol. 3, 427-429). This Act of Supremacy was repealed by Queen Mary and reenacted by Elizabeth's first Parliament, with the alteration of style of headship to ›Supreme Governor‹. In the original draft of 1553 included the following clause: ›Kings and pious magistrates can without waiting for the decision or gathering together of General Councils, in their own state according to the word of God, decide about matters of religion‹. This claim was substantively revised in the version of 1563 printed here. See also Art. XXXVII below.

93 This reaffirms the full sufficiency of scripture in matters of faith and salvation. See Art. VI above.

94 Phrase marked [⁴¹] omitted in 1571.

95 [⁴³] substituted for [⁴²] in 1563, with corresponding changes to the English version of 1571. ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 2.10 ›*De missis et purgatorio*‹, in: Tudor Church Reform, 194.

96 An intermediate condition between death and judgement is attested by Scripture (Joh 11, 11-13 – I Thess 4, 13-16) as one of sleep. The so-called ›Romish‹ doctrine of a purgatorial fire before the Last Judgement is evident in the theology of Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XXI.13 & 16, but was not authoritatively formulated until the Council of

nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conflictata, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur; imo verbo Dei ^[44]*perniciose*^[44]⁹⁸ *contradicit.*⁹⁹ 1

[Of Purgatorie] The ^[43]Romishe^[43] doctrine ^[42]of School-authors^[42] concernyng purgatorie, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of Saintes, is a fonde thing, vainly inuented, and grounded vpon no warrantie of Scripture, but rather repugnaunt to the worde of God. 5

[XXIII *Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus*]¹⁰⁰ *Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice praedicandi aut administrandi sacramenta in ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad haec obeunda legitime vocatus et missus.*¹⁰¹ *Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in ecclesia, co-optati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.*¹⁰² 10

[Of Ministryng in the congregation] It is not lawful for any man to take vpon hym the office of publique preaching, or ministring the Sacramentes in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, whiche be chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publique authoritie geuen vnto them in the congregation, to call and sende ministers into the Lordes vineyarde. 15

Florence in 1439 and subsequently reaffirmed at the final session of the Council of Trent in the same year of the promulgation of these articles by Convocation (1563).

97 Pardons were dispensed out of the so-called ›Treasury of merits‹ built up through works of supererogation as means of shortening the pains of Purgatory. See Art. XIV above. The Council of Trent (Sess. XXI. cap. 19) abolished some of the excesses of the doctrine of Indulgences. The ecclesiological force of the present article is to reinforce the clear distinction between the external-visible and mystical-invisible aspects of the Church.

98 ^[44] omitted in the revision of 1563.

99 Christ alone is affirmed to be the mediator of salvation in the sphere of the external as well as the mystical means of grace. This ecclesiological Christo-centrism complements the soteriology of Art. XI-XVIII.

100 The first statement of this article is derived from Art. 14 of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ as mediated by the tenth of the ›Thirteen Articles‹ of 1538. ›Augsburg‹ reads as follows: »*De ordine ecclesiastico docent, quod nmo debeat in ecclesia publice docere aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus*«. In 1538 formulary ascribes this public power of ordination »to whom it belonged [...] by the Word of God and the laws and customs of each country«. This clause was dropped in 1553 and was not revived thereafter.

101 The article continues the definition of the external visible Church with the affirmation of the necessity of an external and visible vocation to ministry. Christ himself waits for the call which comes at his baptism (Mt 3, 16).

102 For the public laying on of hands see Act 6, 3-6 – 14, 23 – II Tim 1, 6. On the distinction between »*co-optati et asciti*«, the community in Act are described as »electing« the seven deacons, but the Apostles nonetheless »appointed« them to their office.

1 [XXIV *Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quae sit populo nota*]¹⁰³ *Lingua populo non intellecta publicas in Ecclesia preces peragere aut sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei*¹⁰⁴ *et primitivae Ecclesiae consuetudine plane repugnat.*¹⁰⁵

5 [Of speakyng in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth] It is a thing playnely repugnaunt to the worde of God, and the custome of the primitiue Churche, to haue publique prayer in the Churche, or to minister the Sacramentes in a tongue not vnderstanded of the people.

[XXV *De Sacramentis*]¹⁰⁶

10 *Sacramenta* ^[44]*per verbum Dei*^[44]¹⁰⁷ *a Christo instituta non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei, per quae invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat verum etiam confirmat.*¹⁰⁸

*Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet, Baptismus et Coena Domini.*¹⁰⁹

103 Article rewritten in 1563. The original text of 1553 reads as follows: »*Decentissimum est et Verbo Dei maxime congruit, ut nihil in Ecclesia publice legatur aut recitetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur*«.

104 I Kor 14, 9.26.

105 Compare the ›Augsburg Confession‹, Art. 24. Latin came to be used in public worship throughout the western Church by virtue of being the language of the Roman Empire. The use of Latin in public worship was continued after the Reformation owing to its being the common language of educated people. The ›Book of Common Prayer‹ (1559) was translated into Latin and published in 1560 »*cum privilegio Regiae Maiestatis*« principally for use in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge under the title ›*Liber precum publicarum*«. In some notable instances the ›Liber‹ follows the more conservative order of the first Edwardine Prayer Book of 1549. The Latin Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper is still read in the University Church, Oxford at beginning of each new term.

106 Art. XXV defines the nature, number, and use of the dominical sacraments. The first paragraph is based largely on Art. 9 of the ›Thirteen Articles‹ (1538), which in turn repeats the language of article 13 of the ›Augsburg Confession‹ (1530). The second and third paragraphs were composed in 1563. Compare ›*Reformatio legum*«, Art. 2.17 »*De sacramentorum natura*« in: Tudor Church Reform, 202.

107 [44] added to ›Articles‹ in 1563. This brief alteration of the text is yet another instance of the Christo-centrism implicit in the revision of the ›Articles‹ in 1563.

108 The first section repudiates Anabaptist or Zwinglian memorialism. The phrase defining sacraments as »*efficacia signa gratiae*« is a significant revision of the 1553 text. This represents a classically Reformed affirmation of the instrumental realism characteristic of Peter Martyr Vermigli's sacramental theology as set forth in his »*Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae*«, London 1549, and agrees also with Art. 38 of the ›French Confession«.

109 This new clause added in 1563 affirms the substance of Art. 35 of the ›French Confession«. Mt 28, 19 – I Kor 11, 24.25.

*Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Poenitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quae partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitae status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati, sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Coena Domini rationem non habentes, ut quae signum aliquod visibile seu ceremoniam a Deo institutam non habeant.*¹¹⁰

*Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur sed ut rite illis uteremur.*¹¹¹ *Et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem, ut inquit Paulus, sibi ipsis acquirunt.*¹¹²

[Of the Sacramentes] Sacramentes ordayned of Christe, be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather they be certaine sure witnesses and effectuall signes of grace and Gods good wyll towardes vs, by the which he doth worke inuisible in vs, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirme our fayth in hym.

There are two Sacramentes ordayned of Christe our Lorde in the Gospell, that is to say, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lorde.

Those fyue, commonly called Sacramentes, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimonie, and extreme Vnction, are not to be compted, for Sacramentes of the gospel, being such, as haue growen partly of the corrupt folowing of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the scriptures: but yet haue not lyke nature of Sacramentes with Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, for that they haue not any visible signe or ceremonie ordayned of God.

The Sacramentes were not ordayned of Christ to be gased vpon, or to be caryed about; but that we shoulde duely use them. And in such only, as worthyly receaue the same, they haue a wholesome effect or operation: But they that receaue them vnworthyly, purchase to them selues damnation, as S. Paul sayth.

110 Peter Lombard was the first to have fixed the number of the sacraments at seven (IV Sent., d. 23) and this was officially adopted at the Council of Trent, Sess. VII. Can. 1 »de sacramentiis«. The other five »commonly-called sacraments«, although not of dominical origin, continue nonetheless to be represented in the offices of the Book of Common Prayer. As the laying on of hands, confirmation is of Apostolic origin (Act 8, 14-17); Penance is replaced by the form of a general confession in the liturgy; Matrimony, in the language of the form of its »Solemnisation« in the Prayer Book, »was adorned and beautified by His presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee« (Joh 2, 1-11); Orders also were of Apostolic institution (Act 6, 6). Extreme Unction was dropped from the Prayer Book and was replaced by an »Order for the Visitation of the Sick«.

111 This final statement emphasizes the Reformed insistence on faithful »reception« or »spiritual feeding« as essential to the true definition of a sacrament. The necessary corollary of this position is to reject adoration as idolatry. See Calvin, Institutio, 4.17.35.

112 I Kor 11, 29.

- 1 [XXVI *Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum*]¹¹³
Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili bonis mali semper sunt admixti, atque interdum
ministerio verbi et sacramentorum administrationi praesint ; tamen cum non suo
5 *sed Christi nomine agant, eiusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum*
ministerio uti licet cum in verbo Dei audiendum tum in sacramentis percipiendis.
Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur aut gratia do-
norum Dei minuitur quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quae
propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos
10 *administrantur.*
Ad Ecclesiae tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut ^[45]*eos*^[45] *in malos*¹¹⁴ *ministros in-*
quiratur, accusenturque ab his qui eorum flagitia noverint; atque tandem, iusto
*convicti iudicio, deponantur.*¹¹⁵

[Of the unworthynesse of the ministers, which hinder not the effect of the Sacra-
mentes] Although in the visible Church the euyl be euer myngled with the good,
15 and sometime the euyl haue cheefe auctoritie in the ministration of the worde
and Sacramentes: yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name but
^[46]*do minister by Christ's*^[46] *in Christes, and do minister by his* commission and
auctoritie, we may vse their ministrie, both in hearing the word of God, and in
the receauing of the Sacramentes. Neither is y^e effect of ^[47]*God's*^[47] *Christes*¹¹⁶
20 ordinaunce taken away by their wickednesse, nor the grace of Gods gyftes di-
minished from such as by fayth and ryghtly do receaue the Sacramentes minis-
tered vnto them, which be effectuell, because of Christes institution and promise,
although they be ministred by euyl men.

Neuerthelesse, it apperteyneth to the discipline of the Church, that enquire
25 be made of ^[48]*such*^[48] *euyl ministres*, and that they be accused by those that haue
knowledge of their offences: and finally, beyng founde gyltie by iust iudgement,
be deposed.

113 Unchanged since 1553 and substantially derived from Art. 8 of the ›Augsburg
Confession‹ as mediated by Art. 5 of the ›Thirteen Articles‹. The article builds on
the distinction drawn between the visible and invisible Church and condemns the re-
vived Donatist heresy that the holiness of the minister was essential to the valid
preaching of the Word or administration of the sacraments (Mt 23, 3). The Church is
a ›mixed‹ body (Mt 13, 24-30.47-50 – Joh 15, 2). Compare ›Second Helvetic Con-
fession‹, cap. 18.

114 ^[45] Substitution of the ›*in malos*‹ for the pronoun ›*eos*‹ made in 1563 and retained
in 1571.

115 Although the Church is a mixed body, it is nonetheless necessary to maintain good
discipline (I Tim 5, 19.20).

116 ^[46], ^[47], and ^[48] removed in 1571 and replaced by the italicized words immediately
following. By these two alterations the English translation of 1571 is brought into
closer conformity to the Latin text of 1563.

[XXVII *De Baptismo*]¹¹⁷ *Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis nota qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte baptismum suscipientes Ecclesiae inseruntur;*¹¹⁸ *promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur; fides confirmatur, et vi divinae invocationis gratia augetur. Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.*¹¹⁹

[Of Baptisme] Baptisme is not onely a signe of profession, and marke of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened: but is also a signe of regeneration or newe byrth, whereby as by an instrument, they that receaue baptisme rightly, are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgeuenesse of sinne, and of our adoption to be the sonnes of God, by the holy ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: fayth is confyrmed: and grace increased by vertue of prayer vnto God.

The baptisme of young children, is in any wyse to be retayned in the Churche, as most agreable with the institution of Christe.

[XXVIII *De coena Domini*]¹²⁰ *Coena Domini*¹²¹ *non est tantum signum mutae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostrae*

117 Composed by English Reformers in 1553 and unchanged with the exception of a more emphatic affirmation of infant baptism in the concluding statement in the revision of 1563. Compare ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 2.18 ›*De baptismo*‹, in: Tudor Church Reform, 200.

118 Röm 11, 17. As in Art. 25, ›*signum*‹ is to interpreted as an effectual instrument whereby a real engrafting into the body of Christ (›*insitio in Christum*‹) is effected. The sign effects the regeneration (Tit 3, 5). Compare Calvin, Institutio 3.2.24 and 4.16. Augustine speaks of circumcision as a ›*signum regenerationis*‹, in: De civitate Dei 16.27, PL XLI, 506-507.

119 Compare the similar affirmation of infant baptism in Art. 35 of the ›French Confession‹ of 1559. According to the first article of the ›Schleitheim Confession‹ of the Swiss Brethren, infant baptism was the ›chief abomination of the papacy‹. Remarkably the council of Trent treats adult baptism as dogmatically normative in the ›Decree concerning Justification‹, Sess. VI. cap. 5 & 6 (1547), although infant baptism is endorsed in liturgical practice, Decree on the Sacraments, Sess. VII, ›*De baptismo*‹, can. xiii. Both the Anabaptists and the bishops at Trent opposed the key Reformed teaching on passive, forensic Justification where the prevenient grace of regeneration precedes repentance and conversion and which order is so effectively signified by the baptism of infants. While infant baptism cannot be proved directly from Scripture, the principle is nonetheless established by the authority of Scripture and is internally coherent with the first principles of Reformed soteriology.

120 This revised formulation of 1563 affirms a real partaking of Christ's body and blood in the faithful receiver. This is the none other than the ›instrumental realism‹ of Peter Martyr Vermigli and John Calvin. See Vermigli's ›Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae‹ and Calvin's formulation of this position in Art. 37 of the ›French Confession‹ and Calvin, Institutio 4.17.19 seq. The article as it appeared in formulary of 1553 (then Art. XXIX) explicitly denied ›real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh

1 *per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque ideo rite digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.*

5 *Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturae verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem*

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Coena, tantum coelestis et spirituali ratione.¹²² Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur et manducatur in Coena, fides est.

10 *Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.¹²³*

[Of the Lordes Supper] The Supper of the Lord, is not only a signe of the loue that Christians ought to haue among them selues one to another: but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christes death. Insomuch that to suche as ryghtlie, worthly, and with fayth receaue the same the bread whiche we breake is a parttakyng of the body of Christe, and likewise the cuppe of blessing, is a^[49] communion^[49] partakyng of the blood of Christe.¹²⁴

20 Transubstantiation (or the chaunge of the substaunce of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lorde, can not be proued by holye writ, but is repugnaunt to the playne wordes of scripture, ouerthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath geuen occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christe is geuen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heauenly and spirituall maner: And the meane whereby the body of Christe is receaued and eaten in the Supper, is fayth.

25 The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper was not by Christes ordinaunce^[50] to be kept^[50] reserued, caryed about, lyfted vp, or worshipped.

and blood in the sacrament of the Lord's supper«, there is a substantial change in the revision of 1563 and this denial of real presence is eliminated.

121 I Kor 11, 20.

122 The body of Christ is given, received, and eaten in the Supper in a spiritual manner. Here »*coelestis*« and »*spirituali*« denote the contrary of ›carnal‹ eating rather than of ›bodily‹ eating, i.e. there is a spiritual discernment on the part of the communicant (I Kor 11, 27.28). The presence is thus real, but not sensible. Joh 6, 48-63.

123 Since reception is intrinsic to the reality of presence, certain traditional medieval uses of the sacrament are no longer acceptable. Reservation, procession, elevation, and adoration of the host exemplify an externalising, localising, and sensible objectification of the presence in a manner separable from the sense of presence involved in the spiritual lifting of the heart »*coram Deo*« (Eph. 2:6) in a spiritual eating. Compare Art. 36 of the ›French Confession: «Nous tenons bien que cela se fait spirituellement, non pas pour mettre au lieu de l'effet et de la vérité imagination ni pensée, mais d'autant que ce mystère surmonte en sa hautesse la mesure de notre sens et tout ordre de nature, bref, pour ce qu'il est céleste, ne peut être appréhendé que par foi«, see above, 27 f.

124 ^[49] »Partakyng« is substituted for »communion« and ^[50] »reserued« replaces »to be kept« in the revision of the English translation in 1571.

[XXIX *De manducatione corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare*]¹²⁵ 1
*Impii et viva fide destituti, licet carnaliter et visibilitur (ut Augustinus loquitur)*¹²⁶ 2
corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen 3
modo Christi participes efficiuntur; sed potius tantae rei sacramentum seu sym- 4
*bolum ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.*¹²⁷ 5

[Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christe in the vse of the Lordes Supper] The wicked, and suche as be voyde of a liuelye fayth, although they do carnally and visibly presse with their teeth (as Saint Augustine sayth) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ: yet in no wyse are they partakers of Christe, but rather to their condemnation do eate and drinke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing. 10

[XXX *De Utraque Specie*]¹²⁸ *Calix Domini laicis non est denegandus, utraque enim pars Dominici sacramenti, ex Christi institutione et praecepto,*¹²⁹ *omnibus Christianis ex aequo administrari debet.*¹³⁰

[Of both kindes] The cuppe of the Lorde is not to be denyed to the laye people. 15
 For both the partes of the Lordes Sacrament, by Christes ordinaunce and commaundement, ought to be ministred to all Christian men alike.

125 This article was composed in 1563 and appears in the Parker MS of the articles signed by the bishops, but was omitted from the articles published by Reginald Wolfe in 1563, hence the usual designation of this edition as the ›Thirty-Eight Articles‹. Art. XXIX was approved with the final revision passed by Convocation and Parliament in 1571, and has ever since been included among the ›Thirty-Nine Articles‹. The article constitutes a corollary of the doctrine of real presence set out in the previous article, XXVIII, viz. that the body and blood of Christ is eaten »*coelestis et spiritali ratione*« and not »*carnaliter et visibilitur*«. See the treatment of ›impanation‹ in ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 2.19, »*De transubstantiatione in eucharistia*«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 204-207.

126 Augustine, In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV, 26, 12 (on Joh 6, 41-59), PL XXXV, 1614.

127 Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, IIIa, q. 80, Art. 3, holds that the wicked receive both the »*signum*« and the »*res*«, but not the »*virtus sacramenti*«. The term »*sacramentum*« as employed here, however, cannot refer to the »*res*« as construed by Art. XXVIII, that is as something received by the »*medium*« of faith. It must therefore be the mere »*signum*«, which is consumed to their condemnation. The body of Christ is offered (»*datur*«), but not received (»*accipitur*«), and therefore there is properly no sacrament for the impious. Compare ›Confessio Belgica‹, Art. 35.

128 Composed by Archbishop Parker in 1563. The aim is to restore participation of both species of the sacrament. The denial of the cup to the laity had been customary in the Western Church since early in the twelfth century, though the practice was condemned as late as 1118 by Pope Paschal II.

129 Scripture indicates communion in both kinds (I Kor 11, 24-26.28) and explicitly enjoins the cup (I Kor 10, 16).

130 See ›Augsburg Confession‹, Art. 22: »*Laicis datur utraque species Sacramenti in Coena Domini, quia hic mos habet mandatum Domini [Mt 26, 27]: Bibite ex hoc omnes*«.

- 1 [XXXI *De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta*]¹³¹ *Oblatio Christi, semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi,*¹³² *tam originalibus quam actualibus;*¹³³ *neque praeter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus*
5 *vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem poenae aut culpae pro vivis defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt et pernitosae imposturae.*¹³⁴

[Of the one oblation of Christe finished vppon the Crosse] The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propiciation, and satisfaction for all the sinnes of the whole worlde, both originall and actuall, and there is none other
10 satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priestes did offer Christe for the quicke and the dead, to haue remission of payne or gylt, were blasphemous fables, and daungerous deceits.

- 15 [XXXII *De conjugio sacerdotum*]¹³⁵ *Episcopis, Prebyteris et Diaconis* ^[51]*non est mandatum*^[51] *nullo mandato divino praeceptum est, ut aut coelibatum voveant* ^[52]*neque iure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere*^[52]^[136] ^[53]*aut a matrimonio absteneant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut caeteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere iudicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.*^[53]

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- 131 This article dates from 1553, and is the last in the series relating to Church, ministry, and sacraments (Art. XIX-XXXI). Rejects the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, defined by the Council of Trent in 1562 (Sess. 22, can. 1) and asserts the uniqueness and perfect sufficiency of the sacrifice of the Cross.
- 132 The article echoes the language of Cranmer's prayer of consecration in the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the ›Book of Common Prayer‹ (1552): »God our heavenly father whiche of thy tender mercye, diddest give thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Crosse for our redemption, who made ther (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a ful, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the synnes of the whole worlde [...]«.
- 133 The uniqueness and perfection of Christ's oblation is made clear in the Epistle to the Hebrews (7, 26.27 – 9, 11-14 – 10, 10-14) and ties the articles on the sacrament back to the soteriological articles on Justification (Art. XI), of Christ alone without sin (Art. XV), and of salvation only by the name of Christ (Art. XVIII).
- 134 The final statement condemns the sacramental apparatus attached to the doctrine of works of supererogation and a treasury of merit (Art. XIV), as well as of Purgatory (Art. XX).
- 135 Appeared in the ›Forty-Two Articles‹ under the title »*Caelibatus ex verbo Dei praecipitur nemini*«. Also ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 2.21 »*De matrimonio sublato religiosorum et ministrorum ecclesiae*«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 208.
- 136 The phrases ^[51] and ^[52] of 1553 were dropped and the passage »*aut a matrimonio absteneant [...] contrahere*« was added, all in the revision of 1563. The addition to the second clause positively asserts the propriety of the marriage of the clergy rather than simply denying the validity of celibacy. Compare ›Augsburg Confession‹, Art. 23, »*De coniugio sacerdotum*«.

[Of the marriage of Priestes] Byshops, Priestes, and Deacons, are not commaunded by Gods lawe eyther to vowe the estate of single lyfe ^[54]without^[54] ^[55]or to abstayne from^[55] mariage ^[56]neither by God's law are they compelled to abstain from matrimony^[56].¹³⁷ Therefore it is lawfull ^[57]also^[57] for them, as for all other Christian men, to mary at ther owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlynesse. 1 5

[XXXIII *Excommunicati vitati sunt*]¹³⁸ *Qui per publicam Ecclesiae denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiae praecisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per poenitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio iudicis competentis,*¹³⁹ *habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.*¹⁴⁰ 10

[Of excommunicate persons, howe they are to be auoided] That person whiche by open denuntiation of the Church, is rightly cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faythfull as an Heathen and Publicane, vntill he be openly reconciled by penance, and re-ceaued into the Church by a iudge that hath auctoritie thereto. 15

[XXXIV *Traditiones ecclesiasticae*]¹⁴¹ *Traditiones atque caeremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles; nam et variae semper fuerunt et mutari possunt, pro regionum temporum et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituat.*¹⁴²

137 ^[54] and ^[56] deleted from and ^[55] and ^[57] added to 1571 version. The final statement was also added to the canonical version of 1571.

138 Composed in 1553 and unchanged in the revisions of 1563 and 1571. The Church, like any self-governing society, reserves the right to exercise discipline and to expel members who are disloyal to her principles. Exclusion from the synagogue was a common punishment for grave offences: Esr 10, 8 – Lk 6, 22 – Joh 9, 22 – 16, 2 – 12, 42. Apostolic use of excommunication as a means of discipline occurs with some frequency: Röm 16, 17 – II Thess 3, 14 – Tit 3, 10 – II Joh 10.

139 The judge is bishop or Ordinary. In the Canons of 1604, notorious crimes and scandals are to be referred to the Ecclesiastical Courts. The practice of the Reformed Church of England was to continue the distinction of the primitive church between a ›greater‹ and ›lesser‹ excommunication, the former a complete exclusion from the divine society, the latter a deprivation of participation in worship and the sacraments. See ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 32 »De excommunicatione« and Art. 19.11 »Excommunicatio quomodo sit exercenda«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 342, 462. It is worthy of note that statutory approval by Parliament of the Articles of Religion in 1571 follows upon the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth herself by Pope Pius V in the bull »Regnans in excelsis« (1570).

140 Mt 18, 17.

141 The first statement is derived from the ›Thirteen Articles‹ of 1538, and both it and the second statement constitute Art. 33 of the 1553 formulary. The third statement was inserted in 1563 based on a draft by Matthew Parker of 1559. The substance of the article is tied closely to that of Art. 20 »De ecclesiae auctoritate«.

142 The affirmation of the diversity of traditions, customs, and ceremonies may be taken as a response both to the Council of Trent's assertion of a universal uniformity and

1 *Traditiones et caeremonias ecclesiasticas quae cum verbo Dei non pugnant et*
sunt auctoritate publica institutae atque probatae, quisquis privato consilio volens
et data opera publice violaverat, is ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiae,
 5 *quique laedit auctoritatem magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias*
*vulnerat, publice, ut caeteri timeant, arguendus est.*¹⁴³

Quaelibet Ecclesia particularis sive nationalis auctoritatem habet instituendi
mutandi aut abrogandi caeremonias aut ritus ecclesiasticos, humana tantum aucto-
*ritate institutos, modo omnia ad aedificationem fiant.*¹⁴⁴

[Of the Traditions of the Church] It is not necessarie that traditions and ceremon-
 10 nies be in al places one, or vtterly like, for at all times they haue ben diuerse, and
 may be chaunged accordyng to the diuersitie of countreys, times, and mens man-
 ners, so that nothing be ordeyned against Gods worde.

Whosoeuer through his priuate iudgement, wyllyngly and purposely doth
 openly breake the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repug-
 15 nant to the worde of God, and be ordayne and approued by common aucthoritie,
 ought to be rebuked openly (that other may feare to do the lyke), as he that
 offendeth agaynst the Common order of the Church and hurteth the aucthoritie
 of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren.

Euery particuler or nationall Church, hath aucthoritie to ordaine, change,
 20 and abolishe ceremonies or rites of the Church ordeyned onely by mans aucthoritie,
 so that all thinges be done to edifyng.

to the anarchic insistence of some of the radical Protestants on the exercise of private judgement in such matters.

143 The article is supported here by the Preface to the ›Book of Common Prayer‹ (1549) ›Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished some retayned‹: ›And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremonie (in itselfe considered) is but a small thyng: Yet the wilfull and contemptuous transgression, and breakyng of a common ordre, and disciplyne, is no small offence before God. Let all thynges bee done among you (sayeth Sainte Paule) in a semely and due ordre. The appoyntemente of the whiche ordre pertayneth not to pryuate menne: Therefore no manne ought to take in hande nor presume to appoynte or alter any publyke or common ordre in Christes Church, excepte he be lawfully called and autorized thereunto. And whereas in this our tyme, the myndes of menne bee so diuerse, that some thynke it a greate matter of conscience to departe from a peece of the leaste of theyr Ceremonies (they bee so addicted to their olde costumes), and agayne on the other syde, some bee so newe fangle that they woulde innovate all thyng, and so doe despise the olde that nothyng canne lyke them, but that is newe: It was thought expediente not so muche to have respecte howe to please and satisfie eyther of these parties, as howe to please God, and profite them bothe‹.

144 Röm 14, 19 – I Kor 14, 26. The sovereignty of ›national churches‹ can be interpreted as the ecclesiological means of ensuring peace, order, and good government in the regulation of things in themselves indifferent (›adiaphora‹) and therefore subject to human authority in the visible, external realm (›forum politicum‹) as distinct from the realm of the spiritual life (›forum conscientiae‹). See Calvin, Institutio, 3.19.15. The power to ›ordain, change, or abolish‹ rites and ceremonies belongs finally to the Magistrate whose duty it is to ensure the stability of the Church as a human, political society, with the condition that ›all things be done to edifying‹.

[XXXV Homiliae]¹⁴⁵ *Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subiunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam et his temporibus necessarium, non minus quam prior tomus Homiliarum, quae editae sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti.*¹⁴⁶ itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse iudicamus.¹⁴⁷

Catalogus Homiliarum

1. *De recto Ecclesiae usu*
2. *Adversus idolatariae pericula*
3. *De reparandis ac purgandis Ecclesii*
4. *De bonis operibus; de ieiunio* 10
5. *In gulae atque ebrietatis vitia*
6. *In nimis sumptuosos vestium apparatus*
7. *De oratione sive precatione*
8. *De loco et tempore orationi destinatis*
9. *De publicis precibus ac sacramentis, idiomate vulgari omnibusque noto, habendis* 15
10. *De sacrosancta verbi divini auctoritate*
11. *De eleemosyna*
12. *De Christi nativitate*
13. *De Dominica passione* 20
14. *De resurrectione Christi*
15. *De digna corporis et sanguinis dominici in coena Domini participatione*
16. *De donis Spiritus Sancti*
17. *In diebus, qui vulgo Rogationum dicti sunt, concio*
18. *De matrimonii statu* 25
19. *De otio seu socordia*¹⁴⁸
20. *De poenitentia*

145 From the formulary of 1553 re-composed in 1563. The corresponding article (XXXIII) of 1553 ran: »The Homilies of late given, and set out by the king's authority, be godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received of all men: and therefore are to be read to the people diligently, distinctly, and plainly«. The homilies were sermons composed by prominent divines and were intended to counter »such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people«. The majority of those in the »Second Book of Homilies« are attributed to John Jewel, Edmund Grindal, Matthew Parker, and James Pilkington. »The seconde tome of homelyes of such matters as were promised and intituled in the former part of homelyes, set out by the auctoritie of the Quenes Maiestie: and to be read in euery paryshe church agreeably«, London: In Powles Churchyard, by Richard Jugge, and John Cawood printers to the Quenes Maiestie 1563.

146 The »First Book of Homilies« (1547), consisting of twelve sermons, was largely the work of Thomas Cranmer, although some are attributed to Hugh Latimer and Thomas Becon.

147 A number of the clergy were opposed to the doctrine propounded by the homilies, and so read them unintelligibly. Abolition of the homilies was one of the demands made by Puritan critics of the Elizabethan Settlement in »An Admonition to the Parliament« (1572).

148 The order of homilies 19 and 20 was reversed in 1571 when the homily against Rebellion (21) was also added in response to the Northern Rebellion of 1569. See English version.

1 [Of Homilies] The seconde booke of Homilies, the seuerall titles whereof we
 haue ioyned vnder this article, doth conteyne a godly and wholesome doctrine,
 and necessarie for these tymes, as doth the former booke of Homilies, which
 were set fourth in the time of Edwarde the sixt: and therefore we iudge them to
 5 be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently, and distinctly, that they may be
 vnderstanded by the people.

Of the names of the Homilies

- 1 Of the right vse of the Churche.
- 2 Agaynst perill of Idolatrie.
- 10 3 Of repaying and keping cleane of Churches.
- 4 Of good workes, first of fastyng.
- 5 Agaynst gluttony and drunkennesse.
- 6 Agaynst excesse of apparell.
- 7 Of prayer.
- 15 8 Of the place and time of prayer.
- 9 That common prayer and Sacramentes ought to be ministred in a knowen
 tongue.
- 10 Of the reuerente estimation of Gods worde.
- 11 Of almes doing.
- 20 12 Of the Natiuitie of Christe.
- 13 Of the passion of Christe.
- 14 Of the resurrection of Christe.
- 15 Of the worthie receauing of the Sacrament of the body and blood of
 Christe.
- 25 16 Of the gyftes of the holy ghost.
- 17 For the Rogation dayes.
- 18 Of the state of Matrimonie.
- 19 Of repentaunce.
- 20 Agaynst Idlennesse.
- 30 21 Agaynst rebellion.

[XXXVI *De episcoporum et ministrorum consecratione*]¹⁴⁹ *Libellus de Consecratione Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum et de ordinatione Presbyterorum et Diaconorum*,¹⁵⁰ *editus nuper temporibus Edwardi Sexti et auctoritate Parliamenti*¹⁵¹ *illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad eiusmodi consecrationem et or-*

149 Composed in 1563 to replace a more vaguely formulated article in the Edwardine formulary.

150 As does Art. XXXII, this affirms the three-fold ministry of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Bishop and presbyter are convertible terms in the Scripture, Act 20, 17.28 – Tit 1, 5-7. Some objectors to this article insisted on parity of ministers in the name of realising a scriptural polity and discipline as, e.g., in ›An Admonition to the Parliament‹ (1572). See ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 20 »*De ecclesia et ministris eius, illorumque officiis*«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 346 ff.

151 The Edwardine ›Ordinal‹ as it is called, was first published in 1550 under statutory sanction of 3 and 4 Edw. VI cap. 12 (SR, vol. 4, 112), and in a revised form in 1552

*dinationem necessaria continet; et nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium.*¹⁵² 1

*Itaque quicumque iuxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt, ab anno secundo praedicti Regis Edwardi usque ad hoc tempus aut in posterum iuxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur aut ordinabuntur, rite, atque ordine, atque legitime statuimus esse et fore consecratos et ordinatos.*¹⁵³ 5

[Of consecration of Bishops and ministers] The booke of Consecration of Archbishops, and Byshops, and orderyng of Priestes and Deacons, lately set fourth in the time of Edwarde the sixt, and confirmed at the same tyme by auctoritie of Parliament, doth conteyne all thinges necessarie to suche consecration and orderyng: neyther hath it any thing, that of it selfe is superstitious or vngodly. 10

And therefore, whosoeuer are consecrate or ordered accordyng to the rites of that booke, sence the seconds yere of the aforenamed king Edwarde, vnto this time or hereafter shal be consecrated or ordered accordyng to the same rites, we decree all such to be ryghtly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered. 15

[XXXVII *De civilibus magistratibus*]¹⁵⁴ *Regia Maiestas in hoc Angliae regno ac caeteris eius dominiis summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum huius regni, sive illi ecclesiastici sive civiles, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externae iurisdictioni est subiecta, necesse debet.* 20

Cum Regiae Maiestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus regibus nostris aut

sanctioned by the ›Second Act of Uniformity‹, 5 and 6 Edw. VI cap. 1 (SR, vol. 4, 130-131).

- 152 The article vindicates the rites of ordination against the Roman objection of deficiency of form as well as against the Puritan charge of superstitious excess. The essence of ordination consists in »publique prayer with the imposition of hands« (Act 6, 6) as stated in the Preface to the Ordinal.
- 153 This second statement affirms the statutory legality of the Ordinal as having been attached to the ›Book of Common Prayer‹ restored by Act of Parliament in 1559 (1 Eliz. cap. 2, SR, vol. 4, 355-358). The legality of the Ordinal was confirmed again in 1566 by ›An Act declaring the making and consecration of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect‹ (8 Eliz. cap. 1, SR vol. 4, 484-486).
- 154 Composed in 1553 and rewritten 1563. The first sentence of the Edwardine formulary stated that »the King of England is Supreme Head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland«. The language of headship is replaced in 1563 with the affirmation of »highest power of dominion« (»dominiis summam potestatem«) and »supreme governance« (»suprema gubernatio«). When Parliament restored to the Crown its »ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual« in the Act of Supremacy of 1559 (1 Eliz. cap. 1, SR, vol. 4, 350-355), the Queen is styled as »the only Supreme Governor of this realm and of all other her Highness Dominions and Countries, as well in all ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal«. See also ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 2.21 »De potestate Romani pontificis«, in: Tudor Church Reform, 208-210.

1 *verbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem,*¹⁵⁵ *quod etiam Iniunctiones ab*
*Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper editae apertissime testantur.*¹⁵⁶ *sed eam tantum*
*prerogativam quam in Sacris Scripturis a Deo*¹⁵⁷ *ipso omnibus piis principibus*
 5 *videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei*
suae a Deo commissos, sive illi ecclesiastici sint sive civiles, in officio contineant,
et contumaces ac delinquentes gladio civili coerceant.

*Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliae.*¹⁵⁸
 [58] *Magistratus civilis est a Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quamobrem illi, non*
solum propter iram sed etiam propter conscientiam, oboediendum est.[58]¹⁵⁹
 10 *Leges regni possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte*
punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare et iusta bella admini-
*strare.*¹⁶⁰

15 [Of the ciuill Magistrates] The Queenes Maiestie hath the cheefe power in this
 Realme of Englande, and other her dominions, vnto whom the cheefe gouern-
 ment of all estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuile, in all
 causes doth apparteine, and is not, nor ought to be subiect to any forraigne iuris-
 diction.

20 Where we attribute to the Queenes Maiestie the cheefe gouernment, by
 whiche titles we vnderstande the mindes of some slanderous folkes to be of-
 fended: we geue not to our princes the ministring either of God's word, or of
 Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our
 Queene, doth most plainlie testifie: But that only prerogatiue whiche we see to
 haue ben geuen alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God him selfe,

155 The article distinguishes here between the »*potestas ordinis*« and the »*potestas iurisdictionis*«.

156 ›Iniunctions geuen by the Queenes Maiestie, Anno Domini 1559‹, London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood (1564?). Drawn up by William Cecil and members of the Privy Council, these detailed regulations of ecclesiastical practice were issued in June of 1559 under the authority of the Royal Prerogative to be administered by visitors within each diocese.

157 The scriptural exemplars of the Royal Supremacy are the kings of Ancient Israel: David, Solomon, Josiah, and Hezekiah. That the Old Testament should be taken as authoritative in matters of ecclesiastical polity shows the strong influence of the Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrih Bullinger and the ›Schola Tigurina‹ on the institutions of the reformed Church of England.

158 The article reaffirms the Henrician »Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome« was passed by Parliament in 1536 (28. Henry VIII cap. 10, SR, vol. 3, 663-666).

159 Passage [58] from the 1553 formulary was deleted in the revision of 1563. The statement refers to the classic Reformed teaching on the authority of the Magistrate derived from Röm 13. Compare Art. 39 of the ›French Confession‹ (see above, 29) and Art. 36 of the ›Confessio Belgica‹.

160 Röm 13, 1 – I Petr 2, 13-17. In these final clauses the coercive power of the Prince is affirmed against antinomian objections. Compare Art. 40 of the ›French Confession‹ (see above, 29).

that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, and restraine with the ciuill sworde the stubberne and euyl doers. 1

The bishop of Rome hath no iurisdiction in this Realme of Englande.

[⁵⁸The Civil Magistrate is ordained and allowed of God; wherefore we must obey him, not only for fear of punishment but also for conscience sake.]⁵⁸ 5

The lawes of the Realme may punishe Christian men with death, for heynous and greeuous offences.

It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and serue in the warres. 10

[XXXVIII *Christianorum bona non sunt communia*]¹⁶¹ *Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia quoad ius et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistae falso iactant; debet tamen quisque de his quae possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.*

[Of Christian mens goodes, which are not common] The ryches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the ryght, title, and possession of the same, as certayne Anabaptistes do falsely boast. Notwithstandyng euery man ought of suche thinges as he possesseth, liberally to geue almes to the poore, accordyng to his habilitie. 15

[XXXIX *De iureiurando*]¹⁶² *Quemadmodum iuramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino nostro Iesu Christo et [⁵⁹ab]⁵⁹ Apostolo eius Iacobo¹⁶³ Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianorum religionem minime prohibere censemus quin, iubente magistratu in causa fidei et caritatis iurare liceat, modo id fiat iuxta Prophetiae doctrinam in iustitia, in iudicio, et veritate.*¹⁶⁴ 20

161 Composed for ›Forty-Two Articles‹ in 1553 and unchanged since. Condemns the communism advocated by Anabaptists and other radical reformers. See Mk 10, 17-22 and Act 2, 42-47 – 4, 32-35 for the texts usually cited in favour of holding property in common among Christians. The article holds to the view that Christians are not bound to a community of possession but rather to a degree of community of use (Eph 4, 28).

162 Another article against the political teachings of the Anabaptists dating from 1553 and unchanged since. Some Christians have refused the administration of oaths, frequently on the strength of Mt 5, 33-37 and Jak 5, 12, among other passages. Yet the use of oaths on solemn occasions is affirmed elsewhere in Scripture (Hebr 6, 17) and even employed by the Apostle Paul (II Kor 1, 23). When Christ was put on oath by the High Priest regarding His Messiahship, He answered with a simple affirmation (Mt 26, 62-64). Compare ›Reformatio legum‹, Art. 39 ›*De iuramentis et periuriis*‹, in: Tudor Church Reform, 548-555.

163 Jak 5, 12.

164 Jer 4, 2. [⁵⁹] deleted in 1563. Since attestation by oath is allowed in Scripture, Christians may help in the administration of the law by testifying in civil courts. This completes the series of articles concerned with the exercise of the civil power as one of the external means of grace.

1 [Of a Christian mans othe] As we confesse that vayne and rashe swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christe, and James his Apostle: So we iudge that Christian religion doth not prohibite, but that a man may sweare when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charitie, so it be done accordyng
5 to the prophetes teaching, in iustice, iudgement, and trueth.¹⁶⁵

[The Ratification] *Hos Articulos fidei Christianae, continentes in uniuersum nouemde cimpaginas in autographo, quod asseruatur apud Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem, Dominum Matthaeum Centuariensem Archiepiscopum, totius Angliae Primatem & Metropolitanum, Archiepiscopi & Episcopi utriusque Pro-
10 uinciae regni Angliae, in sacra prouinciali Synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut ueros atque Orthodoxos, manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, uicesimo nono die mensis Ianuarij: Anno Domini, secundum computationem ecclesiae Anglicanae, millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo:*¹⁶⁶ *uniuersusque Clerus Inferioris domus, eosdem etiam unanimiter & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Reuerendissimum, quinto die Februarij, Anno praedicto. Quibus omnibus articulis, Serenesima princeps Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regina, fidei Defensor, &c. per seipsam diligenter prius lectis & examinatis, Regium suum assensum praebuit*

20 This Booke of Articles before rehearsed, is agayne approued, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realme, by the ascent and consent of our Soueraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande Queene, defender of the fayth, &c. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed agayne by the subscription of the handes of the Archbyshop
25 and Byshoppes of the vpper house, and by the subscription of the whole Cleargie in the neather house in their Conuocation, in the yere of our Lorde GOD, 1571.

165 The ›Forty-Two Articles‹ of 1553 have four additional articles of an eschatological nature, namely on the resurrection of the dead, on the condition of the souls of the departed, on the millenarian heresy, and on eternal damnation of the wicked. All four were dropped at the revision of 1563 which produced the ›Thirty-Eight Articles‹. The addition of article XXIX on the »*manducatio impiorum*« achieved the final number of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION of the Church of England.

166 I.e. 19 January 1562 (Old Style).