The Creed, Called the Apostles’ Creed or the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith

1. I believe in God the Father and that he is Almighty, and creator maker of heaven and earth.
2. And I believe in Jesu Christ and that he is his only begotten Son, and our Lord.
3. And that he Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.
4. And suffered passion for our redemption under a certain judge whose name was Pontius Pilate, and so was crucified, dead, and buried. And that he descended into hell.
5. And rose again the third day he rose again from death to life.
6. And that he ascended afterward up into heaven, and sitteth there upon the right hand of Almighty God his the Father Almighty.
7. And that he shall come from thence at doom’s day he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
8. And I believe in the Holy Ghost.
9. And I believe there is one The holy Catholic and universal church.
10. And I believe that there is in the same church the communion of saints; and remission the forgiveness of sins.
11. And I believe that at doom’s day all the people of the world that ever was or ever shall be unto that day shall then arise again in the selfsame flesh and body, which they had when they lived here in earth The resurrection of the body.
12. And I believe that all the elect people of God shall have and enjoy everlasting life for their reward and the life everlasting. Amen.¹

Here follow certain notes and observations, necessary to be taught unto the people, for the better inducing of them unto the right understanding of this the foresaid creed.²

First, it is to be noted, that all and singular the twelve articles contained in this creed be so necessary to be believed for man’s salvation, that whosoever being once taught will not constantly believe them, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, be or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his espouse the church, but be are very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall be perpetually damned.

¹ The form of the Creed printed in the King’s Book was the work of Archbishop Cranmer, who noted: ‘This Credo I have translated as nigh as I can conveniently, word for word, according to the Latin.’ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 104, p. 241.
² In the Bishops’ Book, these notes are grouped together at the end of the section on the Apostles’ Creed. In the King’s Book they are integrated into the relevant article, usually in a greatly abbreviated form. In this edition, the practice of the King’s Book is followed, with the notes from the Bishops’ Book inserted in the appropriate places.
Secondly, it is to be noted, that all true Christian men ought and must most constantly believe, maintain, and defend all those things to be true not only which be comprehended in this creed, and in the other two symbols or creeds, whereof the one was made in the council of Nicaea is used to be said at mass, and is approved by the ancient general councils and the other was made by the holy man Athanasius; but and also all other things which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible.

Thirdly, that all true Christian men ought and must not only repute, take, and hold all the same said things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God’s Word, and such as neither ought nor can be altered or conveyed by any contrary opinion or authority; but also must take and interpretate all the same things according to the selfsame sentence and interpretation which the words of Scripture do purport and signify, and the holy approved doctors of the church do agreeably entreat and defend the same.

Fourthly, that all true Christian men ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said twelve articles of our creed, which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the council of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sense and Interpretation of the First Article

I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.

In my heart I believe assuredly and steadfastly with my mouth I profess and knowledge. For the plain understanding hereof, every material word of this article shall be declared hereafter. And first we must [know, that God is a spiritual and an invisible substance or nature, of infinite power, and eternal, without beginning or ending, and of incomprehensible knowledge, wisdom, goodness, justice and mercy;] and that there is but one very God, and three persons in Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three persons be not three Gods, but all one God, all of one nature, all of one substance, and all of one everlasting essence or being, and all like and equal in might, power, wisdom, knowledge, righteousness, and all other things belonging unto the deity. And that beside or without this God there is none other God.

And I believe also and profess, Moreover, we must know that God the Father which is the first person in Trinity, is not only the God, the Lord, and the Father of heaven and earth, and all things contained therein by creation and governance, but also that he is the and Father of his only begotten Son, the second person in Trinity; and that he did beget him of his own substance by eternal generation, that is to say, by generation that never had beginning.

And I believe also and profess that all and singular the words and sayings of this

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1 'Taken from the notes in the Bishops’ Book. See below.'
God the Father (be they laws, precepts, promises, prophecies or threatenings) and all
that ever was spoken of him or by him in the whole body and canon of the New and the
Old Testament, is most certainly true, and of such infallible verity and truth, that the
same cannot be altered or convolled by any contrary opinion, power or authority. And
I promise and profess, that I do and will not only hope and look surely and without
all doubt to attain and enjoy all those things, which God promiseth in Holy Scripture
unto the elect children of God: but also that I do and will fear lest those punishments
and afflictions which God in Holy Scripture threateneth to cast upon those persons
which do transgress his will and commandments, shall fall upon me, if I shall not, like
an obedient servant and child, study to fulfil and accomplish the same.

And I believe also and profess, that this article containeth

that this Almighty God and Almighty the Father Almighty did at the beginning create,
form, and make of nought heaven and earth, and all things contained in this
world, as well angels and man's soul, and all other things visible and invisible as also
all other visible creatures; and that he did give unto them all their power and
might which they have, and so he doth from time to time continually preserve,
govern, sustain, and maintain the whole world and all creatures therein by
his own goodness and high providence, insomuch that without his continual
working no-thing should be able any while, to continue.

And I believe also and profess, that among his other creatures he did create and
make me, and did give unto me this my soul, my life, my body, with all the members
that I have, great and small, and all the wit, reason, knowledge and understanding
that I have: and finally all the other outward substance, possessions, and things that I
have or can have in this world.

1 Henry VIII added: by his ordinate power. See C 1.
2 Henry VIII added: but by his grace. See C 2.
3 Henry VIII added: 'only by his sufferance.' See C 3.
4 Henry VIII altered this to 'as long as I persevere in his precepts and laws, one of the right
inheritors'. See C 4.
desert that I am in this life preserved and kept from dangers and perils,\(^1\) and that I am sustained, nourished, fed,\(^2\) clothed and that I have health, tranquillity, rest, peace (or any)\(^3\) other thing necessary for this corporal life.\(^4\) I knowledge also and confess that he \(\{\) suffereth\(\}\)\(^5\) and causeth the sun, the moon, the stars, the day, the night, the air, the fire, the water, the land, the sea, the fowls, the fishes, the beasts, and all the fruits of the earth to serve me for my profit and my necessity.

And in like manner I confess and knowledge, that all bodily sickness and adversity, which do fortune unto me in this world, \(\{\) be sent unto me by his hand and his visitation, and that he punisheth me not\(\}\)\(^6\) to destroy me, but only to save me, and to reduce me again by penance unto the right way of his laws and his religion, and so thereby to prove me, and to exercise me in patience and other virtues, and also to signify unto me the great care, and fatherly love, and goodness, which he beareth towards me.

And therefore I will have none other god, but only this God, which by his almighty power hath created and made heaven and earth, and all things contained in the same. Neither will I glory or put my trust and confidence in mine own power, force, strength, riches, learning, science, wisdom or anything else whatsoever I have, or shall have and possess in this world. Neither will I glory or put my confidence in any other man or creature of this world, be it in heaven, hell, or in earth, nor in any craft of magic, sorcery, charms, witchcrafts or any other false arts subtitled and invented by the devil: but I will put my whole hope, my whole trust and confidence in God only and in him only will I glory, and give all honour and glory unto him and unto him only, and unto his governance will I commit and submit myself, my goods, and all that ever I have, without fearing or regarding the malice, the craft, or power of the devil, or any of his members, which might induce me to the contrary.

Neither will I desire any sign to tempt God, but I will trust firmly and faithfully unto him. And although he shall send any adversity unto me, or shall defer and tarry his pleasure in granting such request and petition as I shall make unto him, yet will not I murmur or grudge thereat, nor go about to prescribe or appoint unto him any end, any time, any measure or season; but I will commit all to his will, with a pure and a steadfast faith, and will patiently abide the time which unto him shall be thought most expedient for me.

This faith I retain steadfastly engraved in my heart, and I promise, by the grace and help of God, never to swerve or decline from the same for any argument, persuasion, or authority that may be objected: nor for any worldly affection or respect of pleasure, pain, persecution or torment whatsoever shall fortune unto me. From this trust and confidence will I never be brought, although all the men in the world should forsake me, and persecute me. Neither will I the less trust in God, for that I am a man of great power, force and authority, endued with all the sufficiencies in this world: ne

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1 Henry VIII added: ‘by his grace and mercy.’ See C 5.
2 Henry VIII added: ‘and.’
3 Henry VIII altered this to ‘and all’
5 Henry VIII altered this to ‘ordained.’ See C 7.
6 Henry VIII altered this to ‘be sometime suffered by him, and sometime sent by his visitation, and that when he punisheth me he doth not punish.’ See C 8.
yet because I want the possessions of this world and am but wretched and poor, rude and unlearned and despised of all men, nor finally because I am a wretched sinner. For sith this God is the Almighty Lord and maker of all things, and bath all things under his hands and governance, what can I lack that he cannot give or do unto me if it be his will so to do? And sith he is my Father,¹ I am assured that for the fatherly love and pity which he bath and beareth unto me, he will not only care for me but he will be also continually present with me by his grace and favour, and will continually govern and direct me, aid and assist me, and provide that that shall be best for me, and will also forgive me all the sins that I ever committed or have done, contrary to his commandment, so oft as I shall by true and unfeigned penance return unto him with all my heart and shall apply my whole mind, purpose and endeavour to amend my naughty life, and to observe his commandments.

[In the first article of this creed two things be also specially to be noted. The first is that herein is declared the infinite goodness of God towards mankind in that he created this whole world for man’s sake only, and thereby distributed such part of his felicity unto man as was convenient for him to receive. The belief and knowledge whereof is the first entry to [know that God is a spiritual and an invisible substance or nature, of infinite power and eternal, without beginning or ending and of incomparable knowledge, wisdom, goodness, justice and mercy, etc.]² for surely that work of creation is so marvellous that nothing in the world, neither man nor angel could perform or accomplish the same, but only such a substance or nature as is before rehearsed, which is God himself.

By this belief also and knowledge we be stirred to fear and dread God and to love and praise God with all our hearts, considering that he did create us even like unto his own image and similitude and endued us with all perfections, both in soul and body, which were necessary for us to have, and did put us in the most excellent state of being, having all other creatures subject and obedient unto us. And so by this article we be taught not only what is the divine essence and being of God the Father, what is his will, what is his power and what is his work and operation (the knowledge whereof destroyeth infinite errors and heresies) but also what faith, love, dread, honour, laud praise and thanks he requireth, that all Christian men should at all times as well in prosperity as in adversity give unto him for the manifold and excellent gifts which they receive daily and hourly at his hands. And surely if all Christian men would ofttimes call this article to their remembrance and would busily exercise their meditations therein, and would unfeignedly and with all their hearts profess the same; no doubt but their hearts would wax warm and would be inflamed to love God, and would be prompt, ready, glad and willing to serve him and to fulfil his will and commandments to their possible powers, and would take in good part without grudging or maligning all sickness and adversities, and whatsoever state of life God sendeth unto them, and would give him thanks and praise therefore, and would use all God’s creatures and spend the gifts which he hath given unto them, to his honour and glory.

And finally they would abhor and detest in their hearts all superstition and idolatry, all charms, witchcrafts and sorceries, all blasphemy and desperation, pride

² Incorporated into the article in the King’s Book. See above.
and arrogancy, all covetousness and ambition, all desire of revenging and malice and all other vices which reign now in the world. For surely whosoever believeth inwardly and with his heart that God is his Father and repute him as his son, and that the same God is of infinite might and power, of infinite knowledge and wisdom, of infinite mercy and goodness, of infinite truth and justice, as he is indeed, no doubt that person will be very loth and afraid to contrary or resist his will in anything, or to have anything for his god and his father beside or without him, or to love or prefer money or anything else in the world before him, or to put affiance, truth, delectation or pleasure in anything more than in him, or beside him. Neither will he gladly seek help at the devil’s hands by any means of witchcrafts or sorcery, or any such other crafts invented by the devil. Neither will he commit those things in the sight of God which he is ashamed to commit in the presence of men. Neither will he murmur against God, nor muse for that he sendeth to some one man health, children, riches and other the felicities of this world, and unto him or some other man he sendeth sickness, poverty and other adversities. Neither will he despair of remission of his sins and so go (peradventure) and murder himself. Neither will he rejoice, delight or glory in his malice and evil living, but will rather live in fear and dread of everlasting death which is due unto all them which, serving the devil, the world and the flesh, liveth in security without fear and repentance.

And finally to conclude, surely whosoever believeth in his heart that God did create this whole world and all things that be therein, only for man’s sake and for his use and commodity; no doubt he could turn his eyes nowhere but he should incontinently be stirred and ravished in his heart, to honour, to praise and to laud the infinite goodness of Almighty God, showed unto him and all mankind in that party, and should also be afraid to use the things created by God, otherwise than to his glory. But it is to be feared lest the most part of them which pronounce and speak daily this article which they mouth do not believe the same with their hearts, or if they do believe it that their belief is but faint and a cold belief. For we see, no doubt, the most part of Christian people live in marvellous darkness and blindness, declaring by their outward facts and deeds that they have no respect in the world to God, nor that they knowledge him to be his creator, or at the least they give unto him no such fear and reverence as is due unto a Lord and maker, nor no such honour and obedience as is due unto a father, nor no such praise and thanks as his sundry benefits and goodness towards us do require. All which things no doubt proceed, for that we have not the right and hearty faith in God the Father, which is required in this first article of our creed.

The second thing to be noted in this first article is this manner of speaking: And for the more evident and plain understanding of the first part of this article, which is, ‘I believe in God,’ for thereby no doubt is signified it is to be noted, that we must not only believe steadfastly that God is, and that he is true in all his words and promises, and that he is omnipotent, and creator of heaven and earth, and so forth; but we must also with this our belief go into God by love God, and adhere cleave only unto him, and that with all our heart and power, and so continue and dwell still in him by love. It signifieth also, that we must obey unto his will, and express the same our obedience as well in all our inward thoughts

1 Malachi 1:6.
and affections as also in all our outward acts and deeds; and that we must abhor all tyranny and vice, and not wish or desire of God no vain any evil or ungodly thing. It signifieth also, that we must constantly betake and commit ourselves and all ours wholly unto God, and fix all our whole hope, trust, and confidence in him, and quiet ourselves in him, believing perfectly and assuredly that he will indeed show no less goodness, love, mercy, grace, and favour unto us, than he promiseth by his word to do, and knowing also for certain that we and all the creatures in the world be conserved by his only goodness and high providence, and that without his special grace we should not be able to continue or live the space of one minute of an hour with us, using ourselves as afore is said.

This manner of belief we ought to have in no creature of God, be it never so excellent, but in God only; and therefore in this creed the said manner of speaking, I believe in, is used only in the three articles which concern the three persons in Trinity, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.]¹

The Sense and Interpretation of the Second Article

And in Jesu Christ, his only Son, our Lord.

I believe constantly in my heart and with my mouth I do profess and knowledge For the understanding of this second article, it is to be known, that Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of Almighty God the Father, and that he was begotten of his godly nature and substance eternally, before the world was made or formed, and that he is very God, equal the same substance with God the Father and the Holy Ghost in substance and all other, unto whom he is equal in all things belonging to of the Godhead. And although we Christian men may be called the children of God by adoption and grace, yet only our Saviour Jesus Christ is God the Father’s Son by nature.

And I We must know also and believe likewise that this Jesus Christ was eternally preordained and appointed by the decree of the whole Trinity to be our Lord, that is to say, to be the only Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, and to reduce redeem and bring the same us from under the dominion of the devil and sin unto his only kingdom, lordship, and governance;

And I believe likewise that this Jesu Christ is true in all his words and promises, or rather that he is very truth itself. And that all things which be spoken of him or by him in Holy Scripture be certainly and infallibly true.

And I believe also and profess that Jesu Christ is not only Jesus and Lord to all men that believe in him, but also that he is my Jesus, my God and my Lord.² For whereas of my nature I was born in sin and in the indignation and displeasure of God and was the very child of wrath, condemned to everlasting death, subject and thrall to the power of

¹ This section is from the notes at the end of the Apostles’ Creed in the Bishops’ Book. Most of the last two paragraphs were incorporated into the King’s Book as indicated.

² Henry VIII added: ‘I being Christian and in will to follow his precepts.’ See C 10.
the devil and sin, having all the principal parts or portions of my soul and body not only so destituted and deprived of the gifts of God wherewith they were first endued, but also so blinded, corrupted and poisoned with error, ignorance and carnal concupiscence that neither my said powers could exercise the natural function and office for which they were ordained by God at the first creation,\(^1\) nor I by them could do or think anything which might be acceptable to God, but was utterly dead to God and all godly things, and utterly unable and insufficient of mine own self to observe the least part of God’s commandments, and utterly inclined and ready to run headlong into all kinds of sin and mischief. I believe, I say, that I, being in this case, Jesu Christ, by suffering of most painful and shameful death upon the cross, and by shedding of his most precious blood, and by that glorious victory which he had when, descending into hell and there overcoming both the devil and death, rose again the third day from death to life and so ascended unto heaven, hath now pacified his father’s indignation towards me and hath reconciled me again into his favour, and that he hath loosed and delivered me from the yoke and tyranny of death, of the devil and of sin, and hath made me so free from them that they shall not finally hurt or annoy me, and that he hath poured out plentifully his Holy Spirit and his graces upon me, specially faith, to illumine and direct my reason and judgment, and charity to direct my will and affections towards God, whereby I am so perfectly restored to the light and knowledge of God, to the spiritual fear and dread of God and unto the love of him and mine neighbour, that with his grace I am now ready to obey and able to fulfill and accomplish his will and commandments.

Besides all this, he hath brought and delivered me from darkness and blindness to light, from death to life, and from sin to justice, and he hath taken me into his protection and made me as his own peculiar possession, and he hath planted and grafted me into his own body and made me a member of the same, and he hath communicated and made me participant of his justice, his power, his life, his felicity and of all his goods, so that now I may boldly say and believe, as indeed I do perfectly believe, that by his passion, his death, his blood and his conquering of death, of sin and of the devil, by his resurrection and ascension, he hath made a sufficient expiation or propitiation towards God, that is to say, a sufficient satisfaction and recompense as well for my original sin as also for all the actual sins that ever I have committed,\(^3\) and that I am so clearly rid from all the guilt of my said offences and from the everlasting pain due for the same, that neither sin nor death nor hell shall be able or have any power to hurt me or to let me,\(^4\) but that after this transitory life I shall ascend into heaven, there to reign with my Saviour Christ perpetually in glory and felicity.

All which things considered I may and therefore is worthily called him my ‘Jesus’, that is to say, my Saviour, and my Christ, that is to say, my anointed King and Priest; and my Lord, that is to say, my Redeemer and Governor.

For he hath done and fulfilled for all mankind the very office both of a priest, and of a king and of a lord. Of a priest, in that he hath offered up his blessed body and blood in the altar of the cross, for the satisfaction of my sins forasmuch

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1 Henry VIII added: ‘and shall continue as long as the world lasteth.’ See C 11.
2 Henry VIII added: ‘rejecting in my will and heart the devil and his works.’ See C 12.
4 Henry VIII added: ‘for them.’
as he hath made sacrifice and oblation on the cross, in that he there willingly suffered his natural body to be slain and his blood to be shed for remission of sin, and so was both the priest and the sacrifice itself; and of a king and lord, in that he hath, like a most mighty conqueror, overcome and utterly oppressed his enemies (which were also mine enemies), and hath spoiled them of the possession of mankind,\(^1\) which they won before by fraud and deceit, by lying and blasphemy, and hath brought us now into his possession and dominion, to reign over us in mercy, like a most loving lord and governor. And therefore in this article we call him our Lord.

And although this word ‘Dominus’ divers times is translated into our English tongue ‘the Lord’ and the place and circumstance of Scripture oftentimes requireth the same, yet among us Christian men, in our common speech, when we speak of Christ, and call him Lord, it is most meet and convenient that we call him ‘our Lord’, to signify and admonish us that we be his peculiar people, redeemed by him, and delivered from the dominion and the captivity of the devil, and be made his own proper and obedient servants; after which sort the heathen people (because of their infidelity) be neither his servants nor partakers of his benefits, and therefore cannot say and call him (as Christian men do) ‘our Lord’.

Finally, I believe assuredly and also profess that this redemption and justification of mankind could not have been wrought nor brought to pass by any other means in the world, but by the means of this Jesu Christ, God’s only Son, and that never man could yet nor never shall be able to come unto God the Father or to believe in him or to attain his favour by his own wit or reason, or by his own science and learning, or by any of his own works, or by whatsoever may be named in heaven or in earth, but by the faith\(^2\) in the name and power of Jesus Christ and by the gifts and graces of his Holy Spirit. And therefore, sith he is my Jesu Christ and my Lord I will put my whole trust and confidence in him and will have the selfsame faith and assurance in him in all points, which I have in God the Father. And I will knowledge him for my only Lord, and will obey all his commandments during my life, without any grudging. And I am sure that while he is my Lord and governor, and I under his protection, neither sin, neither the devil, nor yet death, nor hell can do me any hurt.

The Sense and Interpretation of the Third Article
Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary.

\(^1\) Henry VIII added: ‘willing to return to him.’ See C 14.
\(^2\) Henry VIII altered this to ‘by his grace first called, and then by the faith’. See C 15.
\(^3\) Henry VIII added: ‘which I am void of while I continue in sin.’ See C 16.
should be saved and redeemed, this Jesus Christ then the Son of God, the second person in Trinity, and very God, descended from heaven into earth the world, to take upon him the very habit, form, and nature of man, and in the same nature to work, to suffer all those things which were necessary his glorious passion for our the redemption and salvation of all mankind.

And for further declaration hereof, it is to be considered that before the coming of Christ mankind was so blinded and drowned in sin that the true knowledge of God was every where in the world forgotten, and his laws broken, not only by the gentiles in all other nations, but also by the Jews, the chosen people of God, to whom God had by his servant Moses given his laws, whereby they might know how to avoid sin, and please him; and where those laws given by God were often by them transgressed; yet Almighty God did from time to time send to them his prophets, inspired with his holy spirit, both to admonish them of their sins, and to teach them how they should truly understand and observe the said laws given by his servant Moses. After the which admonitions, many times so given by the prophets, and nothing regarded, Almighty God of his infinite goodness and inestimable mercy, for the love that he bare to mankind, did send at the last into the world his only begotten Son, being his eternal wisdom, by whom in the beginning he did create heaven and earth, and all creatures in them, to take upon him man's nature, for to redeem mankind, and to teach the world the truth of his laws, and by what means the world might, by faith, to be given to his words and doctrine, amend their lives, and attain to come to the life in heaven, following him in his doctrine, who was the way, to come to the Father, the truth, to attain the knowledge of the Father, and the life itself, wherein he should finally lead them, to come unto the Father, unto whom God the Father commanding the world to give full credence, said to all men: 'Ipsum audite, hear him.'

And I believe also and profess that he so descending from heaven, did light down into Wherefore the said Son of God, in the womb of a most the blessed virgin called Mary, and that he did there take upon him of her very flesh, nature and substance, man's nature, and was being conceived by the Holy Ghost, was begotten and born of her very flesh, nature and substance body, and so did unite and conjoin together the same nature of man, taken of the substance of the said most blessed virgin, with his Godhead in one person, with such an indissoluble and inseparable knot and bond, that he being one person Jesus Christ, was, is, and ever shall be in the same person very perfect God and very perfect man; and I believe also and profess that this which holy work of the incarnation was not wrought by the seed of man, but by the Holy Ghost in the said most blessed virgin, conceived this her child Jesus Christ without spot or blot of sin or carnal any motion of concupiscence or spot of sin, and without any commixtion or conjunction had between her and any mortal man or any other creature in heaven or earth. And that the Holy Ghost, the third person in Trinity, descending also from heaven, lighted down into this most blessed virgin and there of her flesh and substance brought this ineffable and incomprehensible work of the incarnation of this child Jesus Christ.

1 Matthew 17:5.
And I believe also and profess that this work and operation of the Holy Ghost was all holy, without any sin or impurity, and that it was done accomplished without any violation or detriment unto the virginity of that blessed virgin St Mary, and I believe also that this child Jesus Christ was not only thus conceived without sin, but also that he was born in like manner of his said most blessed mother, and that she who, both in the conception and also in the birth and nativity of this our Saviour Jesus Christ, her child, (and ever after),1 retained still her virginity pure and immaculate, and as clear without blot as she was at the time that she was first born.2

And I believe that this conception and nativity of our said Saviour was ordained to be thus pure, holy and undefiled, to the intent that all filthiness and malediction, wherewith the conception and birth of me and of all other men that ever were sith Adam, or shall be, and that all the filthiness and malice of the sins of the whole world,3 as well original as actual, should thereby be purified, purged and made clean.4

[In the third article it is to be noted that the cause why it was ordained by God that our Saviour Jesus Christ should be born of a virgin and conceived by the only operation of the Holy Ghost (whose work is ever without all manner of sin) was, for that he was ordained and appointed by God to come and deliver mankind from the captivity of the devil and the malediction which man was in, and to redeem him clear from all sin, death and damnation, and to restore him again to the very blessing of God, that is to say, to justice, righteousness, health, life everlasting and all other the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost. And forasmuch as it was necessary that he which should work this effect should be himself all blessed, all innocent, all righteous, all void and pure from sin and utterly free and clear from the yoke and power of the devil; therefore was it ordained by God that this child Jesus Christ should be so conceived and born as was said before. For surely if Christ should have been otherwise born or conceived, that is to say, of the seed of man and woman and by the act of generation which is done between them, he should have been born in like sin, in like filthiness and iniquity, as all other the children of men that ever was sith Adam, or ever shall be, be born and conceived. But surely neither was it convenient, neither the will of God that Christ should by such generation contract any spot of sin, or should be subject to any part of that malediction which was inflicted unto Adam.]5

1 Henry VIII removed this to the end of the sentence.
2 Henry VIII added: ‘and ever after also, as we verily think.’ There were three comments on this, as follows: The Bishop of Chichester said: ‘This is well changed so it be put in the singular number because of the phrase in this manner: “Also, I verily think that this conception, etc.”’ Nicholas Heath commented: ‘It is more meet to leave out these words “and ever after” than to add to them “as we verily think” for they shall make men more to doubt of the perpetual virginity of our lady.’ Christopher St German wrote: ‘The perpetual virginity of our lady is agreed in the correction and yet no Scripture is alleged to prove it. Wherefore it is like that it would be taken hereafter as an unwritten verity. And yet the truth is that it may be proved by Scripture.’ See British Library, Royal MS 7 C XVI, fo. 201r.
3 Henry VIII altered this to ‘of all the Christian people in the world’.
4 Henry VIII added: ‘as soon as they reconcile themselves by his grace after their fall.’
5 This paragraph is from the notes at the end of the section on the Apostles’ Creed in the Bishops’ Book.
The Sense and Interpretation of the Fourth Article

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, buried, and descended into hell.

I believe assuredly in my heart and with my mouth I do profess For declaration of this article, it shall be expedient briefly to repeat the process of a great part of our Saviour Christ’s life, from the beginning unto the time of his most glorious passion, with the same passion also, and the descense of his soul into hell: wherefore we must understand, that this Christ, very God and man, after he was thus conceived and born of his blessed mother, waxed and lived forth here in the world until he came unto the age of thirty-two years and above thirty-third year of his age; and that in all this time of his life he suffered and endured for our sakes and for our wealth, and also for our example, much bodily affliction, much labour, and much travail, much hunger, thirst, and poverty, much injury and ignominy, and many other the such miseries and infirmities, whereunto as all mortal men be subject unto (sin and ignorance only except).

And I believe that although this our Saviour Jesus Christ and so passed over all the whole course of his said life, even from his nativity until his death, in such perfect obedience unto the laws of God and man, according to the will of his Father, and in such perfect innocency of living, that neither any man in the world, ne the devil himself, could ever find in him suspicion of any the least crime or no fault or blame of living, ne any offence that might be devised or transgression could justly and truly be laid against him; and yet the blind, ignorant and obstinate Jews, replete with envy and malice, and as the very members of the devil, by whom they were provoked and induced thereunto, laboured continually by all craft and means they could to destroy him; and at length conspiring together, and suborning him, and brought him before false witnesses, they took him, searching and procuring false witness to accuse him; and after they had beat him, and spit in his face, and used all the villainy they could unto him, they bound him, and brought him before one Pontius Pilate, being then the chief judge in Jerusalem, under the emperor of Rome, and there they most falsely accused him as a subverter of the laws of God, and as a person that seduced the people and moved sedition among them, and as a traitor against the emperor of Rome.

{And I believe that After which accusations our said Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ being thus most falsely and wrongly accused and brought before the said judge, was grievously scourged by the commandment of Pilate, and had a crown of thorn put upon his head by the soldiers of the garrison, and was by them not only most spitefully mocked and scorned, but also most cruelly tormented and afflicted; and after this he was at length the last in public and open judgment condemned by the sentence of the said judge to be nailed unto a cross and to be hanged upon the same crucified, to the intent he should so suffer that kind of death which among the Jews was ever most abhorred and detested, and accounted to be the most shameful and cursed of all others.}
And I believe that after this so, according to the said sentence, and judgment thus pronounced, and given contrary to all justice and equity, the Jews did take this innocent Jesus Christ our Saviour and, first of all binding him fast to a pillar and pressing with great violence a crown of thorns upon his head, they did not only most spitefully mock him and scorn him, but they also most cruelly scourged, tormented and afflicted him, and finally they the soldiers of the garrison crucified him, that is to say, they nailed him through hands and feet unto a cross, and so hanged him upon the same between two thieves, upon a certain hill called Calvary,\(^1\)

And I believe also and profess that he hanged there upon the same cross between two thieves, {which were malefactors},\(^2\) until he was dead, {and his soul departed from his body.}\(^3\) And that after he was thus dead, one Joseph of Arimathea, being one of Christ’s disciples, {and certain other devout men and women which also believed in Christ,}\(^4\) obtained licence of the said judge to take down this the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ from the said cross; {and that when they had so done, they}\(^5\) he and another of Christ’s disciples, called Nicodemus, wrapped and folded the same body in a clean syndon, and so laid it and buried it in a new grave or sepulchre, which the said Joseph had made of stone, wherein there was never man buried before.\(^6\)

And after he was thus crucified, and dead upon the cross, he descended in soul into hell, and loosed the pains or sorrows thereof, wherewith it was not possible that he should be holden, and conquered and oppressed both the devil and hell, and also death itself, whereunto all mankind was condemned by the fall of our forefather Adam into sin.\(^7\)

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1 Henry VIII replaced these two paragraphs with 'And I believe this innocent Jesu Christ our Saviour was grievously scourged by the commandment of Pilate, and had a crown of thorns put upon his head by the soldiers, and was by them not only most spitefully mocked and scorned, but also most cruelly tormented and afflicted. And after this he was at the last in public and open judgment condemned by the sentence of the said judge to be crucified, to the intent he should suffer that kind of death, which among the Jews was evermore most abhorred and detested, and accounted to be the most shameful and accursed of all others. And so according to the said sentence the soldiers crucified him, that is to say, they nailed him through hands and feet unto a cross, and hanged him upon the same, on a certain hill called Calvary.'

2 Henry VIII deleted this phrase.

3 Henry VIII deleted this phrase.

4 Henry VIII deleted this phrase.

5 Henry VIII replaced this phrase with: 'And that done, he with another of Christ’s disciples called Nicodemus, which was incorporated more or less unchanged into the King’s Book.


7 At the request of Henry VIII, who was supported in this by Cranmer, Christ’s descent into hell was moved here from the next section and rephrased. Henry’s own wording was: ‘And I believe assuredly that this our Saviour Jesu Christ, after he was thus crucified, dead upon the cross, and buried, descended with his soul into hell, leaving his blessed body in sepulture here in earth, and loosed the pains and sorrows thereof, wherewith it was not possible that he should be holden.’ Nicholas Heath commented on this: ‘We think it is to be read in this wise: “And I believe assuredly that this our Saviour Jesus Christ, after that he was thus crucified and dead upon the cross, descended in his soul down into hell, his blessed body still remaining in earth, etc.”’ See British Library, Royal MS 7 C XVI, fo. 201v.
And I believe that the process of our Saviour Jesus Christ's life, death, burial, and descense to hell, thus declared, it is specially to be noted, and to be believed for a certain truth, that our said Saviour, in all the time of his most bitter and grievous passion, and in suffering this his most vile painful and shameful cruel death, not only endured and sustained for our redemption all the pains and injuries, and all the opprobries and ignominies which were done to him therein, most patiently, without resistance, and like an innocent lamb, not opening his mouth once to the contrary, but also that he did willingly and gladly, without force or constraint of any power, suffer this cross and this kind of death and his soul also to depart from his body for our example, that we should follow the steps of him in patience and humility, and that we should bear our own cross, as he did bear his, and that we should also hate and abhor all sin, knowing for surety that whosoever doth not in his heart hate and abhor sin, but rather accounteth the breach and violation of God's commandment but as a light matter, and of small weight and importance, he esteemeth not the price and value of the passion and death of Christ according to the dignity and worthiness thereof.

And I believe that by this passion and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only my corporal death is to be destroyed, that it shall never have power to hurt me, but rather it is made wholesome and profitable unto me, but also that all my sins and the sins also of all them that do believe in him and follow him be mortified and dead, that is to say, all the guilt and offence thereof, and also the damnation and pain due for the same is clearly extincted, abolished and washed away, so that the same shall not afterward be imputed or inflicted unto me. And therefore will I have this passion and this death in my daily remembrance. And I will not only glory and rejoice continually therein and give all the thanks I can unto God for the same, considering I have and shall assuredly attain thereby my redemption, my justification, my reconciliation unto God's favour and life everlasting, but I will also endeavour myself to my possible power and by the help of God, to follow this my Saviour Jesus Christ in the bearing of mine own cross, according to the will and commandment of God, that is to say, I will daily labour and study to mortify and kill my carnal affections and to subdue them unto the Spirit, and I will patiently bear all adversities, afflictions, and punishments that God shall send unto me in this world, and I will in my heart hate, abhor and detest all sin, considering that the same was ever so odious and displeasing unto God that nothing in the world could worthily satisfy and content him for the same, but only the death and the blood of his only and most dear beloved Son Jesus Christ.

[In the fourth article it is to be noted that the same doth follow upon the second and the third articles, for surely the cause why Christ was thus made man and born of his mother was for that he should, in the same nature of man, not only be conversant in the world with other people, and so partly by the example of his most godly and most innocent and perfect life, and partly by his miraculous works and miracles, and partly by the heavenly doctrine of his gospel, should induce the world unto the right knowledge of the will of God his Father, and should declare unto them his infinite mercy and goodness towards mankind; but also that he might in the same nature which was mortal, suffer death and so offer up the same his corporal death and his blood in sacrifice unto God his Father, as the

¹ Henry VIII added: "I doing my duty." See C 17.
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sufficient host, oblation or expiation, and as the very just price and valour for the which God the Father should hold himself satisfied for all our sins and offences, and should remit and forgive us the same and receive us again into his grace and favour. Which sacrifice and oblation Christ could not have made by his death and by his blood if he should have continued still only God and should not have taken also this our nature of man upon him.

In the fourth article it is also to be noted that it is the will of God our Father that we his sons and his children should in this world follow our head Christ in patience and humility, and that we should bear our own cross as Christ did his. And that we should also hate and abhor all sin, knowing for surety that whosoever doth not in his heart hate and abhor sin, but rather accounteth the breach and violation of God's commandment but as a light matter and of small weight and importance, he esteemeth not the price and valour of this passion of Christ, according to the dignity and worthiness thereof, but rather seemeth to consent and as much as in him is to go about to cause Christ to be crucified again.]

The Sense and Interpretation of the Fifth Article

And the third day he rose again from death.

{I believe assuredly with my heart and with my mouth I do profess that this our Saviour Jesus Christ, after he was thus dead upon the cross, he descended immediately in his soul down into hell, leaving his most blessed body here in earth, and that at his coming thither, by the incomparable might and force of his Godhead, he entered into hell.} And like as that mighty man, of whom St Luke speaketh, which, entering into the house of another strong man first overcame him and bound him hand and foot, and afterward, spoiling him of all his armour and strength wherein he trusted, took also always from him all the goods and substance he had, and like as strong Samson slew the mighty lion and took out of his mouth the sweet honey; even so our Saviour Jesus Christ {at his said entry into hell, first he} conquered and oppressed both the devil and hell, and also death itself, whereunto all mankind was condemned {and so bound them fast, that is to say, restrained the power and tyranny which they had before and exercised over all mankind, that they never had sith that time, nor never shall have any power finally to hurt or annoy any of them} that do faithfully believe in Jesus Christ, {and afterward he spoiled hell and delivered and brought with him from thence all the souls of those righteous and good men, which from the fall of Adam

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1 These paragraphs are from the notes at the end of the section on the Apostles' Creed in the Bishops' Book.
2 The descent of Christ into hell was taken out of the fifth article and moved to the fourth, at the request of Henry VIII.
4 Judges 14:5-9.
5 Henry VIII replaced these words with 'In simili, though their powers be not comparable to his'. See C 18.
6 Henry VIII replaced this phrase with 'and so conquered it, that finally he bereaved the devil and hell of all their power to hurt any of them.'

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died in the favour of God and in the faith and belief of this our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was then to come.

And I believe that by this descending of our Saviour Jesus Christ into hell, not only his elect people which were holden there as captives were delivered from thence, but also that the sentence and judgment of the malediction and of eternal damnation (which God himself most rightfully pronounced upon Adam and all his posterity, and so consequently upon me) was clearly dissolved, satisfied, released and discharged, and that the devil and hell both have utterly lost and be deprived of all the right, claim and interest which they might have pretended to have had in me by the authority of that sentence, or by reason of any sin that ever I had or have committed, be it original or actual.

And that the devil, with all his power, craft, subtlety and malice is now subdued and made captive, not only unto me but also unto all other faithful people and right believers in Jesus Christ, that ever was or shall be sith the time of Christ's said descending into hell.

And that our Saviour Jesus Christ hath also, by this his passion, and this his descending into hell paid my ransom, and hath merited and deserved that neither my soul, neither the souls of any such as be right believers in Christ, shall come therein or shall finally be encumbered with any title or accusation that the devil can object against us or lay unto our charge.

And I believe that this By this article it appeareth, how our Saviour Jesus Christ, after he had thus is soul conquered and spoiled the devil and hell of all their force, power and tyranny, and made them subject unto me and all true Christian men, in like case as they were unto Adam before his fall, he returned again from hell thence, like a most mighty king and conqueror, in triumph and glory, and came unto the sepulchre where his blessed body lay buried, and so resuming resumed and taking took again the very same his blessed natural body upon him, the third day after his said death, he lived again, and so doing, rose out of that sepulchre in his natural and perfect manhood, that is to say in his soul and in the selfsame body which was born of the virgin Mary, and did hang upon the cross. And I believe also and profess that after he had so done, he lived which resurrection he was conversant in the world by the space of forty days, in the which time he was conversant and did eat and drink with his apostles and his disciples, and preached unto them, and authorized them to go forth into the world to manifest and declare that he was the very Christ, the very Messiah, and the very God and man which was promised in Scripture to come and to save and to redeem all those that would believe believing in him ordered themselves in obeying and following his precepts and commandments accordingly.

And I believe assuredly that by (this descending of Christ into hell and) this his
resurrection again from death to life, Christ hath merited and deserved for me and all true and faithful Christian men, (not only that our souls shall never come into hell, but also)\(^1\) that we shall here in this life be perfectly justified in the sight and acceptation of God and shall have such grace, might and power given unto us by him that we shall be made able thereby to subdue, to mortify and to extinguish our old Adam and all our carnal and fleshly concupiscences in such sort that sin shall never \(^2\) reign in our mortal bodies, but that we shall be wholly delivered from the kingdom of sin and from spiritual death, and shall be resuscitated and regenerated into the new life of the spirit and grace.

And whereas I and all other Christian men should have been the most miserable of all other creatures in the world, and should have died like heathens and pagans without all hope of everlasting life or of rising again after our death, if Christ our head and Saviour had not risen again to life after his death, I believe and trust now assuredly that by the virtue and efficacy of this \(\text{descending of Christ into hell, and of his\(^3\) resurrection again \(\text{from death to life}\),}\(^4\) not only our corporal death and all the afflictions which we may sustain in this world shall not annoy us, but shall rather turn unto our profit and be as entries and occasions of our greater glory, but also that we shall, after our corporal death, be preserved from the captivity of hell and shall be made partakers of Christ’s resurrection, that is to say, that we shall arise and live again in the selfsame bodies and souls that we now have, and so shall utterly overcome death in like manner as our head and our Saviour Jesus Christ hath done before us, and shall finally live with him immortally in joy and felicity.

[In the fifth article it is to be noted that therein is included and contained the grounds and foundations of the greatest part of all the mysteries of our catholic faith. Insomuch that St Paul saith that whosoever believeth in his heart that God the Father did resuscitate and raise up his Son Christ from death to life, he shall be saved.\(^5\) And in another place he saith,\(^6\) that whosoever believeth not that Christ is risen from death to life, \(\text{it is not possible his sins should be remitted.}\)\(^7\)

\(\text{It is also to be noted in this article that the victory and conquest which Christ had over death, hell and the devil himself, with all their power and tyranny, beside that it proceeded of the infinite mercy and goodness of God towards us, it was also founded upon very justice. For surely like as the sin of man and his disobedience was the only mean and cause wherefore God ordained and suffered that death and the devil should have and occupy such dominion and tyranny over all mankind as they had, even so was it contrary to the will and ordinance of God that death, hell or the devil should have or exercise any power or authority whereas no sin reigned. Insomuch that if man had never sinned, he should never have dies but should have been immortal, nor never should have descended into hell, but should ever have had the superiority over the devil, death and hell and}

\(^1\) Henry VIII deleted this phrase.
\(^2\) Henry VIII replaced this with ‘finally’.
\(^3\) Henry VIII replaced this with ‘his passion, death and’.
\(^4\) Henry VIII replaced this with ‘continuing a Christian’s life’. See C 20.
\(^5\) Romans 10:9.
\(^6\) Henry VIII added: ‘to this effect.’
\(^7\) 1 Corinthians 15:17. Henry VIII altered this to: ‘remaineth still in sin, and so dying cannot be saved.’
should have had them always subdued unto him. And therefore sith the devil himself did perfectly know that our Saviour Jesus Christ expressed in all his life most exact and most perfect obedience unto the laws and will of God, and so fulfilled and satisfied the same in every point to the uttermost that there could never be found untruth or deceit in his mouth, nor any spot or blot of filthiness or impurity in any part of all his living, and yet that notwithstanding (knowing him to be a very natural man) laboured, procured and caused the Jews to kill this innocent Christ and to put him unto most sharp and bitter death, contrary to all equity and justice, and all to the intent that he might after his said death have Christ with him down into hell as one of his captives, and so there to exercise his tyranny upon him, like as he had done over all other men from the beginning of the world unto that time, no doubt but that the devil in this doing did extreme and manifest wrong and utterly exceeded the limits of the power given unto him. And therefore God, considering this high presumption and malice of the devil and this intolerable abuse of his said power, did send his only-begotten Son down into hell, there to condemn the devil of this extreme iniquity and to conquer, to spoil and deprive him not only of the possession of all the souls of the righteous men which by his craft and subtlety he had before reduced and brought under his dominion, but also restrained him of the power and authority which he, by death and hell, had over mankind. All which things Christ did not by the might of his godly power only, but for and upon this just and reasonable cause given unto him on the behalf of the devil, which for the causes aforesaid most worthily eserved to be served so.]

1 Henry VIII replaced this with (largely incorporated into the King’s Book) “There is nothing that can in all adversity and trouble be more joyful and comfortable unto us than the belief of this article, that Christ rose again from death to life, and that we shall also do the same. The faith and belief of this (we living well [see C 30]), is our victory and triumph over the devil, hell, and death, and the only remedy to put away the horror and fear of them; forasmuch as hereby we be assured, that as death could not hold Christ, even so it cannot hold us which are by a Christian faith the very members and body of Christ, but that we shall rise from death and live again, if we order and conform our will in this world to his precepts [see C 31]. And the only hope hereof maketh us, that we regard not persecutions nor adversities in this world which we sustain for Christ’s sake, because we be assured to have a better and a more glorious life after this, as St Paul writeth unto the Corinthians, saying: “If we Christian men that live in persecution, and contempt of the world, had no hope of other life than this that is present, then were we the most miserable of all men. But now Christ is risen again from death, and hath declared thereby, that there is a life after this life which all Christian men hope to come to.” [1 Corinthians 15:19-20.]: According hereto saith St Austen [Augustine]: “All the hope of our faith standeth in this point, that we shall rise again.” [Pseudo-Augustine. In fact, it is Quodvultdeus, De symboło ad catechumenos, 2.11.1.] This made St Paul wish to be dissolved, and be with Christ [Philippians 1:21-23]. Of this article the epistles of St Paul and the New Testament be full. To the Romans he writeth: “Christ rose again for our justification.” [Romans 4:25] To Timothy he saith: “Remember that Jesus Christ is risen again from death.” [2 Timothy 2:8]. The apostles, beside other names pertaining to their office, be especially called the witnesses of Christ’s resurrection. The which resurrection as it was by many and sundry apparitions and other infallible arguments declared and proved unto them, so they did in all places and at all times open and inculcate the same, as a principal and a chief article of Christ’s doctrine: wherein should depend and rest the great comfort and solace of all true and faithful believers in Christ; [Acts 1:3–2:32.]:

2 These paragraphs are taken from the notes at the end of the section on the Apostles’ Creed.
In this article of resurrection it is to be noted that there is nothing that can in all adversity and trouble be more joyful and comfortable unto us than the belief of this article, that Christ rose again from corporal death to life, and that we shall also do the same. The faith and belief of this (if we do continue in living well) is our victory and triumph over the devil, hell, and death, and a special remedy to put away the horror and fear of them; forasmuch as hereby we be assured, that as death could not hold Christ, even so it cannot hold us, which are by a Christian faith the very members and body of Christ, but that we shall rise from death, and live again in glory with him everlastingly, if we order and conform our will in this world to his precepts. And the only hope hereof should make us not to fear the adversities in this world, because we, living as afore, be assure to have a better and more glorious life after this, as St Paul writeth to the Corinthians, saying: ‘If we Christian men had no hope of other life than this that is present, then were we the most miserable of all men. But now Christ is risen again from death, and hath declared thereby that there is a life all Christian men hope to come to.’

According hereunto, saith St Augustine: ‘All the hope of our faith standeth in this point, that we shall rise again.’ This made the faithful and good men (of whom St Paul speaketh to the Hebrews) to refuse to be preserved from bodily death, because they looked assuredly for a better resurrection.

Of this article the epistles of St Paul and the New Testament be full. To the Romans he writeth: ‘Christ rose again for our justification’; to Timothy he saith: ‘Remember that Jesus Christ is risen again from death.’ The apostles, besides other names pertaining to their office, be specially called the witnesses of Christ’s resurrection; the which resurrection, as it was by many and sundry apparitions, and other infallible arguments, declared and proved unto them, so they did in all places and at all times open and inculcate the same, as a special and a chief article of Christ’s doctrine, wherein should depend and rest the great comfort and solace of all true and faithful believers in Christ.

Moreover, by this article it is not only confirmed unto us how the natural body of man shall, after the corporal death and departing out of this present life, arise again, as is before expressed, but also by this resurrection of our Saviour Christ we be admonished, that as Christ after his death rose again, so we, dying from sin, should rise again, and walk in a new life of spirit and grace.

in the Bishops’ Book. There is a reference to Romans 8:1-11 in support of this statement, but modern exegetes would dispute its relevance.

1 1 Corinthians 15:19-20.
2 In fact, the quotation is from Quodvultdeus of Carthage, a contemporary of Augustine’s, De symbolo ad catechumenos 2.11.1. The Latin text reads: ‘Omnis spes fidei nostrae haec est, quoniam resuscitabimur.’
3 Hebrews 11:35.
4 Romans 4:25.
5 2 Timothy 2:8.
6 Acts 1:3-2:32.
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