

# OF OPUS OPERATUM.

## THE TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sins<sup>5</sup>.

[OF OPUS OPERATUM, WHAT IT IS, AND WHETHER IT REMOVE SIN.—

ARTICLE XX. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Indeed the doctrine uttered in this article is false, and derogatory to the glory of our Saviour Christ. For thereby the honour of Christ's sacrifice, whereby he hath once satisfied for the sins of all, should be transferred to the work of the priest, which were great wickedness and detestable blasphemy. And therefore we will not require M. Jewel to yield and subscribe unto this article. For we grant this was never thought a sound doctrine within six hundred years of Christ's ascension, nor shall be so thought within six thousand years after the same, of any man of sound belief.

(234) Neither hath it been at any time taught in the catholic church, howsoever it liketh our adversaries to charge the scholastical doctors with the slanderous report of the contrary. For it is Christ only, and none other thing, that is able to remove our sins; and that hath he done by the sacrifice of his body once done upon the cross.

Of which sacrifice, once performed upon the cross with shedding of his blood, this unbloody sacrifice of the altar, which is the daily sacrifice of the church, commonly called the mass, is a sampler and a commemoration, (235) in the which we have the same body that hanged on the cross. [Neither is it a sampler or commemoration only, but the self-same sacrifice which was offered on the cross: a sampler or commemoration in respect of the manner, for that it is done without blood-shedding; the self-same, for that the thing which is offered is the same that was offered on the cross.]<sup>6</sup> And whereas we have nothing of ourselves that we may offer up acceptable to God, we offer this his Son's body as a most acceptable sacrifice, beseeching him

to look not upon our worthiness, our act or work, but upon the face of Christ his dear<sup>9</sup> Son, and for his sake to have mercy upon us.

And in this respect we doubt not this blessed sacrifice of the mass to be available and effectual *ex opere operato*, that is, not as M. Jewel interpreteth, for that the mass is said and done, referring *opus operatum* to the act of the priest, not so; but for the work wrought itself, which God himself worketh by the ministry of the priest, without respect had to his merit or act, which is the body and blood of Christ, [whose breaking and shedding is in this mystical sacrifice, so far as the Holy Ghost hath thought expedient for man's behoof, represented, shewed, and recommended to memory.]<sup>6</sup> Which [body and blood]<sup>6</sup>, when it is (236) according to his commandment offered up to God, is, not in regard of our work, but of itself and of the holy institution of his only-begotten Son, a most acceptable sacrifice unto<sup>10</sup> him, both for quick and dead, \*where there is no stop nor let to the contrary on the behalf of the receiver. The dead, I mean such only as through faith have recom-

The two hundred and thirty-fourth untruth. For it hath been so taught and so used, as it shall appear.

The two hundred and thirty-fifth untruth. For Chrysostom saith: "In [vasis sacris]...non...verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur." In Op. Imperf. Hom. 11.<sup>9</sup>

The two hundred and thirty-sixth untruth. For Christ never gave such commandment. \* A folly joined with a contradiction in itself. For the dead can make no stop.

<sup>5</sup> Sin, H. A. 1564.]

<sup>6</sup> The passages between brackets do not appear in H. A. 1564. They are in H. A. 1565.]

<sup>7</sup> This reference first appears in H. A. 1565.]

<sup>8</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. v. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii.]

<sup>9</sup> His most dear, H. A. 1564.]

<sup>10</sup> To, H. A. 1564.]

mended themselves to the redemption wrought by Christ, "and by this faith have deserved of God, that after their departure hence," as St Augustine saith, "this sacrifice might profit them<sup>2</sup>."

De Octo Quæst. Dulciti, Quæst. 2.<sup>1</sup>

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words, *opus operatum*, *opus operans*, *opus operantis*, as they are strange and barbarous, so are they not found neither in the scriptures, nor in the old doctors, nor in any ancient council, but have been lately devised by certain new scholastical doctors of M. Harding's own side, who, notwithstanding, cannot yet well agree upon their own device, nor can certainly tell us what they have found.

Biel. Lect. 27.  
Gers. contr.  
Floret. Lib. iv.  
Scot. Quodlib. Art. 9.  
Innoc. Lib. iii. cap. v.  
Biel. Lect. 27.  
Scot. Quodlib. Art. 2.  
Gers. contr. Floret. Lib. iv.  
Grop. Art. 4. cap. xix.

*Opus operantis* some of them call the "work and worthiness of the priest<sup>3</sup>;" but Innocentius III. rather calleth *opus operantis* "the priest himself<sup>4</sup>." Likewise about these words, *opus operatum*, they have made much ado, and yet are not well resolved of it what it should be. Scotus and Biel say: "It is the consecration, the oblation, and the receiving of the sacrament<sup>5</sup>." Gerson saith: "It is the word of the Creator, and the power of the Holy Ghost<sup>6</sup>." Pighius saith: "It is the will of God that appointed the sacrament to this purpose<sup>7</sup>." Gropper of Colaine saith: "It is the body of Christ<sup>8</sup>." Howbeit, it were hard to say, either that Christ's body is a work, or that any work is Christ's body.

It were a point of mastery to make all these contrary resolutions agree in one. Thus it fareth evermore where as men shoot without a mark. Howbeit, if neither M. Harding nor any other of his fellows for him be able to find these words, *opus operatum*, in any ancient doctor or council, then, notwithstanding the great multitude of his words, my assertion standeth still true. But, if he and others of his side have maintained this doctrine even in such sort as I have uttered it, then by his own confession they have deceived the world by wicked and blasphemous doctrine, to the great derogation of the glory and cross of Christ.

And, forasmuch as M. Harding seemeth now to blush at his own terms, and therefore beginneth to shun and to shift the same by vain and frivolous expositions, it shall not be amiss to open the true meaning thereof, both by the old records of the ancient writers in whose days the like folly began to grow, and was then reprov'd, and also by the plain words of M. Harding's own allowed doctors.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xix.

St Augustine saith there were some in his time that thought and taught the people that, if a man had been baptized and had once received the communion, notwithstanding he lived wickedly and maintained heresies and wilful doctrine, yet he could not be condemned, only because he was baptized and had once received the holy communion<sup>9</sup>; which thing now is called *opus operatum*.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 19.

Chrysostom saith: *Mulieres et parvi pueri, pro magna custodia, ad collum*

[<sup>1</sup> H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[<sup>2</sup> Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in ecclesia fiunt. Sed eis hæc prosunt, qui cum vivent, ut hæc sibi postea possent prodesse, meruerunt.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Oct. Dulcit. Quæst. Quæst. ii. 4. Tom. VI. col. 130.]

[<sup>3</sup> Ex opere operante, hoc est, ex merito personalis personæ celebrantis.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50.]

... quia non in merito consecrantis, sed in verbo perficitur Creatoris et virtute... et illud dicitur opus operatum.—Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 96. 2.

... missa non solum valet virtute meriti, sive operis operantis; sed etiam virtute sacrificii, et operis operati.—Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. Quodlib. Quæst. xx. Tom. XII. p. 515. Conf. Art. ii. ibid. pp. 524, 5.]

[<sup>4</sup> The words of Innocent in the place referred to are these: non in merito sacerdotis, sed in verbo conficitur Creatoris... Quamvis igitur opus operans

aliquando sit immundum, semper tamen opus operatum est mundum.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. III. cap. v. Tom. I. p. 367.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ex opere operato. i. ex ipsa &c.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50. See above, note 3, and the next page.]

[<sup>6</sup> See above, note 3.]

[<sup>7</sup> Baptismus et cetera illa sacramenta... valent ex ipso opere operato... Non quidem ex aliqua virtute quæ in ipsis symbolis hæreat... sed ex una Dei voluntate hoc pendet universum, &c.—Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. De Miss. Sacrif. Controv. v. fol. 117.]

[<sup>8</sup> ... operi operato innititur, hoc est, ei quod Deus per sacerdotis ministerium confert, insistimus.—Gropper. De Præst. Altar. Sacram. Antv. 1539. Quart. Art. Tom. II. p. 160.]

[<sup>9</sup> Item sunt alii, ab æterno supplicio liberationem, nec ipsis saltem omnibus hominibus promittentes, sed tantummodo Christi baptismate ablutis, qui participes fiunt corporis ejus, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacumque hæresi vel impietate fuerint.—August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 639.]

*suspendunt evangelia*<sup>10</sup>: "Women and young children for great safety hang the gospel at their necks." They thought the gospel itself, and of itself, could save them from all mishaps, not because they believed in it, but only because it was hanged or tied about them; and this is also *opus operatum*.

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. Hom.  
43.  
Hieron. in  
Matt. Lib. iv.  
cap. xxiii.

So there were certain in old times, that of mere superstition used to minister the communion unto the dead, and to lay the sacrament in the mouths of them that were departed<sup>11</sup>; as St Benet also caused the sacrament to be laid upon a dead woman's breast, thinking that the very outward ceremony thereof, without faith or inward motion of the party, might be sufficient to do her good; which also is called *opus operatum*.

Conc. Carth.  
111. can. 6.  
Inter Decret.  
Deusd. can.  
12.<sup>12</sup>

Even in St Paul's time there were certain that of like superstition began to baptize the dead; which thing also continued a long while after, as may appear by the council of Carthage<sup>13</sup>. They thought the very outward work of baptism itself, only because it was done without any further motion of the mind, was sufficient to remit their sins.

Conc. Carth.  
111. can. 6.

This old error our adversaries of late years have taken up and made it catholic, bearing the people in hand that their mass itself, *ex opere operato*, only of itself, and because it is said, is available for the remission of their sins.

Thus they expound their own dream: *Ex opere operato, id est, ex ipsa consecratione, [et] oblatione, et sumptione venerabilis eucharistiæ*<sup>14</sup>: "*Ex opere operato* is as much to say as for the very consecration, and oblation, and receiving of the reverend sacrament."

Biel. Lect. 27.  
Scot. Quod-  
lib. Art. 2.

In *Manipulus Curatorum*, which not long sithence was thought to be a book most necessary for all parsons and curates, as containing all necessary doctrine for the church of God, it is written thus: *Opus operatum est actus exercitatus circa sacramentum; sicut opus operatum in baptismo est inspersio, vel immersio aquæ, et prolatio verborum*<sup>15</sup>. And therefore cardinal Cajetan, at Augusta in Germany, requiring Doctor Luther to recant this article, said thus: *Fides non est necessaria accessuro ad eucharistiam*<sup>16</sup>: "Faith is not necessary for him that will receive the sacrament;" meaning thereby that the very sacrament itself, only because it is ministered, is sufficient, although the receiver be utterly void of faith.

Manip. Curat.

In Paralip.  
Ursperg. An.  
1518.

And therefore the bishops in the late council of Trident have determined thus: *Si quis dixerit, per sacramenta novæ legis non conferri gratiam ex opere operato, sed fidem solam divinæ promissionis sufficere ad gratiam consequendam, anathema sit*<sup>17</sup>: "If any man say that grace is not given by the sacraments of the new testament, even for the work that is wrought, but that faith only of the heavenly promise is sufficient to achieve grace, accursed be he."

Concil.  
Trident. Sess.  
6. can. 8.

Likewise Gabriel Biel: *Hoc sacrificium in illis, pro quibus offertur, non præexigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, &c.*<sup>18</sup>: "This sacrifice, in them for whom it is offered, requireth not a spiritual (or godly) life in act and in deed, but only in possibility. Neither is this against the saying of St Augustine: 'Who will offer the body of Christ, but only for them that are the members of Christ?' For

Biel. Lect. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xix. Tom. II. p. 197.

... εὐαγγέλιον κρέμασθαι παρὰ τὴν κλίσην κ. τ. λ.  
—Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xliiii. Tom. X. p. 405.

Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iv. in Matt. cap. xxiii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 109.]

<sup>11</sup> Concil. Carth. III. cap. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1168. See before, page 6, note 1.]

<sup>12</sup> The reference is to the council of Auxerre.—Concil. Autisiod. can. 12. in eod. Tom. V. col. 958. See before, page 7, note 11. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. Tom. II. pp. 184, 5.]

<sup>13</sup> See above, note 11.]

<sup>14</sup> Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50. See before, page 750, notes 3 and 5.]

<sup>15</sup> Manip. Curat. Rothom. 1494. Tractat. i. Prim. Pars, cap. ii. fol. 6; where *vocatur actus, sacramenta, and est aspersio.*]

<sup>16</sup> Paraleip. Rer. Memor. ad calc. Chron. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 472; where the article

Luther was required to recant is thus expressed: Accessuro ad sacramentum necessarium esse ut credat.]

<sup>17</sup> Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit.—Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. can. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. col. 777.]

<sup>18</sup> ... unde ut dicit beatus Thomas... Eucharistia in quantum est sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur: in quibus non præexigit vitam spiritualem in actu; sed in potentia... Nec contra illud est quod Augustinus ad renatos dicit: Quis offerat corpus Christi nisi pro his qui sunt membra Christi? [August. Op. De Anim. et ejus Orig. Lib. i. cap. ix. 10. Tom. X. col. 342.] Intellegitur enim pro membris Christi offerri, quando offertur pro aliquibus ut sint membra Christi.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. lxxxv. fol. 152. 2. Conf. Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Quart. Sent. Dist. xii. Quæst. ii. Art. 2. Tom. VII. fol. 67. 2.]

thus we understand it, that the oblation is made for the members of Christ, when it is made for any that may be the members of Christ."

And therefore cardinal Cajetan, notwithstanding that he had spoken against Doctor Luther in open conference to the contrary, confesseth a general error therein in his time. For thus he writeth: *Unde in hoc videtur communis multorum error, quod putant, hoc sacrificium ex solo opere operato habere certum meritum, vel certam satisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic vel illi*<sup>1</sup>: "Wherefore herein appeareth the common error of many that think that this sacrifice, even of the work that is wrought, hath a certain merit or a certain satisfaction, that may be applied to this man or that man."

This of late years was the school-doctors' catholic meaning touching these new terms of their own inventing; which now M. Harding and his fellows are fain for shame to colour over with some finer varnish. Hereof, good christian reader, mayest thou judge how aptly this doctrine may stand with the glory and cross of Christ.

Now touching these words, "oblation" and "sacrifice," with the shew whereof M. Harding thinketh it good skill to dazzle and to abuse the eyes of the simple; first, where he saith, a mortal man offereth up the Son of God indeed and verily unto his Father, and that Christ commanded such a sacrifice to be made; he knoweth himself it is both a great untruth, and also a manifest and a wilful blasphemy. And further, where he addeth, that the same sacrifice so offered is available for the dead, unless there be some stop or let in the receiver; this is a very vain and unadvised folly: for children know that the dead can neither receive the sacrament, nor make let or stop against the receiving of the same. Therefore this addition might have been better surveyed ere it came abroad.

Indeed St Augustine, having occasion somewhat to touch the state of the faithful departed, saith that the prayers of the living, being either joined with alms-deeds<sup>2</sup>, or made at the time of the holy communion, at which time the death of Christ is laid open before us, and therefore our mind the more inflamed to devotion, may be available for the dead. Howbeit St Augustine herein compareth the sacrifice of the holy communion with the sacrifice of alms-giving<sup>3</sup>, and in that behalf of relieving the dead maketh either equal with the other. But for this present it is needless hereof to make further<sup>4</sup> treaty; for M. Harding well knoweth this is none of the articles we have now in question.

But certain it is that St Augustine, neither here nor elsewhere, ever moved one word of *opus operatum*, that now so mightily is defended.

#### M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

*But to speak of this matter more particularly and more distinctly, the term "mass" may be taken two ways; either for the thing itself which is offered, or for the act of the priest in offering of it. If it be taken for the thing itself that is offered, which is the body of Christ, and is in this respect of the scholastical doctors called opus operatum, no man can justly deny but that it removeth and taketh away sin. For Christ in his flesh crucified is our only sacrifice, our only price, our only redemption, whereby he hath merited to us upon the cross, and with the price of his blood hath bought the remission of our sins; and St John saith "he is the propitiation for our sins." So Œcumenius saith: Caro Christi... est propitiatorium nostrarum iniquitatum: "The flesh of Christ is the propitiation for our iniquities." And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass specially, but for that he offered it once himself with shedding of his blood upon the cross for the redemption of all. Which oblation done upon the cross is become a perpetual and continual oblation, not in the same manner of offering, but in the same virtue and power of the thing offered. For since that time the same body of Christ, appearing always before the face of God in heaven, pre-*

*Mass taken two ways.*

1 Cor. vi. 4. vii. Tit. ii.

Rev. xiv.

1 John ii.

In iii. cap. ad Romanos.

Heb. ix. 6

[<sup>1</sup> Thom. a Vio Cajet. Quæst. et Quodl. Venet. 1530. De Celebr. Miss. Quæst. ii. Tom. III. fol. 76.]

[<sup>2</sup> Almose-deeds, 1565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Almose-giving, 1565.]

[<sup>4</sup> Farther, 1565.]

[<sup>5</sup> Œcum. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Rom. Comm. cap. iii. Tom. I. p. 243.]

[<sup>6</sup> This reference is not in H. A. 1564, but in H. A. 1565.]

*senteth and exhibiteth itself for our reconciliation; and likewise it is exhibited and offered (237) by his own commandment here in earth in the mass, where he is both priest and sacrifice, offerer and oblation, [verily and indeed]’, though in mystery and by way of commemoration, that thereby we may be made partakers of the reconciliation performed, [applying the same unto us (so far as in this behalf man may apply) through faith and devotion, no less than if we saw with our eyes presently his body hanging on the cross before us, and streams of blood issuing forth.]’ And so it is a sacrifice in very deed propitiatory, not for our act or work, but for his own work already done and accepted. To this only we must ascribe remission and removing of our sins.*

The two hundred and thirty-seventh untruth. For God never commanded the priest, neither to say mass, as it is now used, nor to offer up the body of Christ.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding is driven to make wonderful hard shift, and to leave all the whole company of his school-doctors, and to go alone. The mass, saith he, sometime signifieth the body of Christ. Sometime, say you? And at what time, I beseech you? And if at one time, why not at all times? What ancient doctor or holy father ever told us this tale? But let us give M. Harding leave to make somewhat of himself, and to uphold his strange religion with strange phrases and forms of speech. For he hopeth that, whatsoever he list to say, the ignorant people will believe him.

But wherefore allegeth he not either the scriptures, or some old council, or some ancient doctor; at the least some one or other of his own school-doctors, Innocentius, Thomas, Scotus, Alexander, Henricus de Gandavo, Robertus de Collo Torto, or some other like, in this behalf? Is there none of all these that ever could understand that the mass is the body of Christ? And must we needs believe M. Harding in so strange a matter without witness? Verily, if the mass according to this new doctrine be Christ’s body, and that verily and indeed, without shift or help of figure, then was the mass born of the blessed virgin; then was it crucified; then was it buried in the grave: for all these things happened to the body of Christ. Then whosoever denieth the mass denieth Christ’s body; and whosoever believeth Christ’s body believeth the mass. But what should M. Harding do? A monstrous doctrine requireth a monstrous kind of words.

Indeed, Christ’s body crucified was “the price and propitiation for all our sins.” Christ “with one oblation hath made perfit for ever all that be sanctified.” For in his flesh “he was that Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world.” And now in the same flesh “he appeareth before God, and evermore entreateth for our sins.”

1 John ii.  
Heb. x.  
John i.  
Rom. viii.  
Heb. vii.

But, M. Harding, what is all this to your mass? Who ever bade you to sacrifice Christ unto his Father? Who ever warranted you that your sacrifice, devised by yourselves, should be of the same virtue and power, as you say, that was the sacrifice of Christ himself upon his cross? Who ever told you that your sacrifice should be the price and propitiation for the sins of the whole world? or that Christ in your mass should evermore appear before God, and entreat for us?

But why add you further<sup>s</sup> this *special* exception of yourself, “And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass specially?” What needeth you with this so *special* proviso so finely to mince this matter? Why should you so *specially* disable or discredit the unbloody sacrifice of the church? If the flesh of Christ be not *specially* available, for that (as you say) it is offered by the priest, how then, being so offered, can it be propitiatory for our sins? If it be propitiatory indeed, and if the priest offer up Christ unto his Father, and that in all respects of power and virtue as effectual and available as that Christ himself offered upon the cross, how then is it not *specially* profitable, for that (as you say) it is offered by the priest? Ye should have brought some Daniel with you to expound your dream, or some skilful surveyor to part tenures between Christ and the priest, and to limit each part *generally* and *specially* his own right.

[<sup>7</sup> The passages between brackets are not in H. A. 1564. They appear in H. A. 1565.]

[<sup>8</sup> Farther, 1565.]

O M. Harding, what a miserable doctrine is this! Remove only this vain shew of strange words, wherewith ye delight to astonne the simple, and the rest that remaineth is less than nothing.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

If the term "mass" be taken for the act of the priest in respect of any his only doing, it is not able to remove sin: for so we should make the priest God's peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ; as our adversaries do unjustly slander us. Yet hath the mass virtue and effect in some degree, and is acceptable to God by reason of the oblation of the sacrifice, which in the mass is done by the offerer, without respect had to Christ's institution, even for the faithful prayer and devotion of the party that offereth, which the school-doctors term *ex opere operantis*. For then the oblation seemeth to be most acceptable to God, when it is offered by some that is acceptable. Now the party that offereth is of two sorts. The one offereth immediately and personally: the other offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally. The first is the priest that consecrateth, offereth, and receiveth the sacrament, who so doth these things in his own person, yet by God's authority, as none other in so offering is concurrent with him. The party that offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally, is the church militant, in whose person the priest offereth, and whose minister he is in offering. For this is the sacrifice of the whole church. The first party that offereth is not always acceptable to God, neither always pleaseth him, because oftentimes he is a sinner. The second party that offereth is evermore acceptable to God, because the church is always holy, beloved, and the only spouse of Christ. And in this respect the mass is an acceptable service to God *ex opere operantis*, and is not without cause and reason called a sacrifice propitiatory, not for that it deserveth mercy at God's hand of itself, as Christ doth, who only is in that principal and special sort a sacrifice propitiatory; but for that it moveth God to give mercy and remission of sin already deserved by Christ. In this degree of a sacrifice propitiatory we may put prayer, a contrite heart, alms<sup>1</sup>, forgiving of our neighbour, &c. This may easily be proved by the holy fathers.

Origen's words be very plain: *Si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat... Deum<sup>2</sup>: "If thou look to that commemoration whereof our Lord saith, 'Do this in my remembrance,' or in commemoration of me, thou shalt find that this is the only commemoration that maketh God merciful."* St Augustine saith thus: *Nemo... melius præter martyres meruit... ibi requiescere, ubi et hostia* In Levit. Homil. 13. *Christus est, et sacerdos, scilicet ut... propitiationem de oblatione hostiæ consequantur<sup>3</sup>: "No man hath deserved better than the martyrs\* to rest there where Christ is both the host and the priest, (238) (he meaneth to be buried under the altar), to the intent they might attain propitiation by the oblation of the host." But here, to avoid prolixity in a matter not doubtful, I leave a number of places whereby it may be evidently proved that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory in this degree of propitiation, both for the quick and the dead, the same not being specially denied by purport of this article. [Thus we have declared, as we might superficially treating of this article, that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory, both ex opere operato, that is, through the merit of Christ's body that suffered on the cross, which is here opus operatum, and is by Christ through the ministry of the priest in the mass offered, truly, but in mystery, and also ex opere operante, that is, through the doing of the priest, if he have the grace of God, and so be acceptable, but in a far lower degree of propitiation, which is called opus operans, or opus operantis.]<sup>5</sup> And this is the doctrine of the church touching the valor of the mass ex opere operato, whereby no part of Christ's glory is impaired.*

\*St Augustine speaketh not of any material altar in earth, but of the spiritual altar in heaven. The two hundred and thirty-eighth untruth, standing in untrue construction. For St Augustine saith: "Vidi sub ara Dei (non corpora, sed) animas sanctorum".

<sup>1</sup> Almose, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 255; where *facit*.]

<sup>3</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxxi. 1. in Natal. SS. Innoc. Tom. V. Append. col. 365.

This sermon is spurious.]

[<sup>4</sup> See below, page 756, note 1.]

[<sup>5</sup> H.A. 1564 omits the sentence between brackets. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the worthiness of the priest, which they call *opus operantis*, it appeareth M. Harding could partly be contented to make it equal with the sacrifice of Christ, were it not that it should seem too great presumption. For thus he saith: "So we should make the priest God's peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ." And therefore they say, "A wicked priest's mass is as good and as meritorious in this respect as a good priest's mass<sup>6</sup>;" for that the worthiness of the work hangeth nothing of the worthiness of the priest.

Notwithstanding, St Hierome seemeth to say far otherwise: *Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes eucharistiam imprecantis verba facere, non vitam*<sup>7</sup>: "They do wickedly against the law of Christ, thinking it is not the life, but the word of the minister, that maketh the sacrament." And likewise Irenæus saith: *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem; . . . sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens*<sup>8</sup>: "The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man; but the conscience of the priest, being upright and pure, doth sanctify the sacrifice." In like manner Gabriel Biel, his own doctor, saith: *Videant, ne, si peccato obnoxii offerant, sit illorum oblatio quasi ejus, qui victimat filium in conspectu patris, neve rursus crucifigant Filium Dei*<sup>9</sup>: "Let them take heed, lest, if they sacrifice, being in sin, their oblation be like unto the oblation of him that slayeth the child in the sight of the father; and lest they crucify again the Son of God." Verily, of wicked priests God saith: *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*: "That you bless I will curse."

Touching St Augustine and Origen, that here are brought in for a countenance, if these ancient holy fathers were now alive, they would blush to hear their tales thus reported. Origen's words, if it might have pleased M. Harding to have laid them out whole and at large without clipping, as he found them, both would have been clear and plain in themselves<sup>10</sup>, and also would have soon shaken down all this whole frame of *opus operatum*. For he neither speaketh of the mass, neither<sup>11</sup> promiseth remission of sins for any thing that is done in the mass; but only and wholly for the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross. His words be these: *Si redeas ad illum panem, qui de cælo descendit, et dat huic mundo vitam, illum panem propositionis, [hoc est, Christum ipsum] quem proposuit Deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine ejus; et si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite ad meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat hominibus Deum*<sup>12</sup>: "If thou turn to that bread that came down from heaven and giveth life to this world, I mean that shew-bread, that is, Christ himself, whom God hath appointed to be a propitiation by faith in his blood; and if thou behold that remembrance whereof the Lord saith, 'Do this in remembrance of me;' thou shalt find that it is this remembrance only (that is to say, the body of Christ crucified, and the price of his blood thus remembered) that maketh God merciful unto men." Now let M. Harding indifferently judge, whether these words be likely to prove his *opus operatum*, or any other thing belonging unto his mass.

The place of St Augustine is yet much plainer. For, as he toucheth none of all these M. Harding's fantasies, so he speaketh only of the innocents and blessed martyrs, that were slain only for the testimony of Christ; "whose souls," St John saith, "lie underneath the altar of God," not in earth, as M. Harding fancieth, but in heaven. For thus he writeth: *Vidi sub ara Dei animas occi-*

Thom. in iv.  
Sent. Dist.  
14.  
Gers. contr.  
Floret. Lib.  
iv.  
Summ.  
Angel. in  
Missa.  
Hieron. in  
tert. cap.  
Zophon.  
Iren. Lib. iv.  
cap. xxxiv.

Biel. Lect. 26.

Mal. ii.

August. de  
Sanct. Sermon.  
11.

[<sup>6</sup> Sive ergo per bonos, sive per malos ministros intra ecclesiam dispensetur, sacrum tamen est, quia Spiritus sanctus vivificat: nec bonorum dispensatorum meritis ampliatur, nec malorum attenuatur.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In iv. Lib. Sentent. Dist. xiii. Quæst. 1. Tom. VII. fol. 70.

Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 96. 2.

Clavas. Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Missa 56. fol. 209.

In some respects these two authors last cited make the mass of a good priest better than that of a bad one.]

[<sup>7</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Sophon.

Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1671; where *facere verba.*]

[<sup>8</sup> Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 3. p. 250. See before, page 723, note 16.]

[<sup>9</sup> There is probably a mistake in the reference, as given above. But see for ideas very similar Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lectt. vii. viii. foll. 12, &c.]

[<sup>10</sup> Themselves, 1565.]

[<sup>11</sup> Nother, 1565.]

[<sup>12</sup> Orig. Op. In Levit. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 255. See before, page 754, note 2.]

Rev. vi.

*sorum propter verbum Dei, et propter testimonium Jesu, &c.*<sup>1</sup>: “I saw under the altar of God” in heaven “the souls of them that were slain for God’s word, and for the testimony of Jesus.’ What thing is there either more reverend or more honourable than to rest under that altar” in heaven, “in which sacrifices are made and oblations are offered unto God, and wherein” no mortal man, but “the Lord himself is the priest? For so it is written: ‘Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.’ It is right” not that the bodies, but “that the souls of the just should remain under the altar; because that upon that altar” in heaven “Christ’s body is offered. And well it is that just men do there require revengeance of their blood, where as Christ’s blood for sinners is poured out.”

Immediately after this he intermeddled somewhat touching altars or communion-tables in the earth. For thus he addeth further: *Convenienter igitur, et quasi pro quodam consortio, ibi martyribus sepultura decreta est, ubi mors Domini quotidie celebratur, &c.*<sup>2</sup>: “Therefore upon good discretion, and in some token of fellowship, martyrs’ burials are appointed in that place” here in earth “where the Lord’s death is daily remembered; as the Lord himself saith: ‘As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall set forth my death until I come.’ I mean, that they that died for the Lord’s death may rest under the mystery of his sacrament.”

After this he returneth again to the souls of the blessed martyrs under the altar in heaven: *Legimus plerosque justorum Abraham sinibus refoveri, &c.*<sup>3</sup>: “We read,” saith St Augustine, “that many just men are refreshed in Abraham’s bosom; and that many are in the pleasures of paradise. Yet no man deserved better than the martyrs to rest there” in heaven “where as Christ is both the sacrifice and the priest. I mean, that they may enjoy God’s favour by the offering of that sacrifice, and may receive the blessing and ministry of that priest.”

Hereby it is plain that St Augustine speaketh of heaven, and not of earth, nor of purgatory; of the souls received above, and not of the bodies buried beneath: for all these things St John, by revelation, saw in heaven. And for proof hereof St Augustine addeth further: *Inter ceteros igitur martyres, quos sub ara Dei consistere predicamus, etiam beatas illas infantum lactentium pro Christo primitias martyrum laudemus*<sup>4</sup>: “Therefore amongst the rest of the martyrs whom we say to be under the altar of God” in heaven “let us commend those blessed first-fruits of sucking infants that were martyrs for Christ.”

This is St Augustine’s plain and undoubted meaning. But M. Harding, to serve his turn, is fain of souls to make bodies; of joy to make pain; and of heaven to make purgatory: and yet in all this great ado findeth neither *opus operatum*, nor his mass. Thus is it lawful for these men to carry about and to use their readers.

Touching the substance of this doctrine, which M. Harding now at last upon better advice seemeth in some part to mislike, notwithstanding it were not long sithence generally received both in schools and churches, and counted catholic, Origen, that ancient learned father, writeth thus: *Quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et per obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat utentem. Nam id si esset, sanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indigne Domino*<sup>5</sup>: “The thing that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, of his own nature”

Orig. in Matt.  
cap. xv.

[<sup>1</sup> Vidi enim sub &c. ... Quid reverentius, quid honorabilius dici potest, quam sub illa ara requiescere, in qua Deo sacrificium celebratur, in qua offeruntur hostiæ, in qua Dominus est sacerdos, sicut scriptum est, Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech? Recte sub altari justorum animæ requiescunt; quia super altare corpus Domini offertur. Nec immerito illic justî vindictam sanguinis postulant, ubi etiam pro peccatoribus Christi sanguis effunditur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxxi. 1. in Natal. SS. Innoc. Tom. V. Append. eol. 365.]

[<sup>2</sup> Convenienter &c. Sicut ipse ait, Quotiens-

cumque hæc feceritis, mortem Domini annuntiabit, donec veniat: scilicet ut qui propter mortem ejus mortui fuerant, sub sacramenti ejus mysterio requiescant.—Id. ibid.]

[<sup>3</sup> Legimus &c. nonnullos paradisi amœnitæ lætari: nemo tamen melius &c. [see before, page 754.] et benedictionem functionemque sacerdotis accipiant.—Id. ibid.]

[<sup>4</sup> Inter &c. beati illi infantes lactentes, pro Christo primitiæ martyrum, ... coronas meruerunt.—Id. ibid.]

[<sup>5</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 490.]



or *ex opere operato* "sanctifieth not him that useth it. For otherwise it should sanctify him that eateth unworthily of the Lord."

Again he saith: *Assiduitas communicationis, et alia... similia, ... non ipsæ sunt justitiæ, sed condituræ habentur justitiarum. Res autem spirituales, quæ ex se ipsis justitiæ sunt, dicuntur iudicium, ... misericordia, et fides*<sup>6</sup>: "The often using of the communion, and other like things, be not righteousness itself," of itself or of the work that there is wrought, "but only the seasoning and setting forth of righteousness. But the spiritual things, which be righteousness itself, are called judgment, mercy, and faith."

So St Hierome: *Ne quis confidat in eo solo, quod baptizatus est; aut in esca spirituali vel potu putet Deum sibi parcere, si peccaverit*<sup>7</sup>: "Let no man presume of this thing only, that he is baptized; nor let him think that God for receiving the spiritual meat or drinking the spiritual cup," *ex opere operato*, "will pardon him if he offend."

So St Augustine: *Non ait, mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis; sed... propter verbum, quod locutus sum vobis*<sup>8</sup>: "Christ saith not, Ye are clean for the baptism's sake wherewith ye are washed; but for the word's sake that I have spoken unto you." And again: *Fœlix venter qui te portavit, &c.*<sup>9</sup>: "Blessed is that womb that bare thee. But Christ answered: 'Nay, blessed be they that hear the word of God and keep the same:' that is to say: My mother, whom ye call blessed, thereof is blessed, for that she keepeth the word of God."

Likewise again: *Materna propinquitatis nihil matri profuisset, nisi felicius Christum [in] corde, quam [in] carne gestasset*<sup>10</sup>: "The nearness of mother's blood should have profited Christ's mother nothing at all, unless she had more blessedly carried Christ in her heart than in her body."

Verily, to ascribe felicity or remission of sin, which is the inward work of the Holy Ghost, unto any manner outward action whatsoever, it is a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error.

Origen of the sacrament of circumcision writeth thus: *Circumcisionis nisi reddatur ratio, nutus tantum est circumcisio, et opus mutum*<sup>11</sup>: "Unless there be a reason yielded of the meaning of circumcision, it is but an outward shew and a dumb labour," and availeth nothing.

And touching the use and order of the holy mysteries, Christ saith not, Do this for remission of your sins; but, "Do this in my remembrance."

The only and everlasting sacrifice for sin is the Son of God crucified upon the cross. He sitteth now in the nature and substance of our flesh at the right hand of his Father, "and evermore maketh intercession for us, and is the only sacrifice and propitiation for our sins."

Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to this doctrine is wicked and blasphemous, and, as M. Harding hath confessed, injurious to the glory and cross of Christ.

[<sup>6</sup> Id. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 20. Tom. III. p. 843; where *justitiæ sunt, justitiarum habentur*, and *spirituales quæ a semetipsis.*]

[<sup>7</sup> Ne quis confidens in eo solum, quod &c. ... sibi Deum parcere &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. x. Tom. V. col. 994.]

[<sup>8</sup> August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[<sup>9</sup> Felix venter qui te portavit. Et ille, Immo

felices qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt. Hoc est dicere, Et mater mea, quam appellastis felicem, inde felix, quia verbum Dei custodit.—Id. ibid. cap. ii. Tractat. x. 3. col. 369.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. Lib. de Sanct. Virgin. cap. iii. 3. Tom. VI. col. 342; where *Mariæ* for *matri*.]

[<sup>11</sup> Nisi enim circumcisionis ratio reddatur, nutus est circumcisio et opus mutum.—Orig. Op. In Luc. Hom. v. Tom. III. p. 937.]