

BREAD IN THE FORM OF A PENNY

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ERNULF, Bishop of Rochester (1114–1124), in a letter that has come down to us, contrasted various aspects of Eucharistic worship as he knew them in the twelfth century with the corresponding primitive uses. Thus he writes: "Patet attestantibus Scripturis Sacramenta altaris, quae ieiuni modo accipimus, discipulos Domini caenatos accepisse. Patet etiam quod sumimus de mensa lapidea ac sacrata; illos sumpsisse de mensa lignea, non secundum morem Ecclesiae sacrata, aut fortasse nulla. Illi panes quotidianos comederunt; nos in forma nummi panem accipimus."¹ It is proposed in this article to survey the historical process by which what the people first offered in the obvious form of bread came by and by to be offered as a coin, with the strange consequence that the bread upon the altar next took the form of a wheaten coin, and as such was offered for sacrifice. The inquiry is limited strictly to the Western Church, since it would seem that the bread and wine offerings on the part of the people had no long life in the East, were in fact dying out not long after the history of the corresponding offering in the West began to unfold.² A few generations after this change to the coin appearance of the altar bread, once so startling, had been made, men had grown so accustomed to the new style of host that they ceased to think of coins in connection therewith at all. At that stage we may well halt the inquiry, for the evolution had stopped dead. Bishop Ernulf lived close enough to the change to

Note: Based for the most part on previous studies of others on this general subject matter, this article is especially indebted to the three works: Cardinal J. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo* (Paris, 1672); E. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* (Rouen, 1700–1702); and the Innsbruck dissertation, G. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreiche von Chlodwig bis Karl den Grossen* (Innsbruck: Rauch, 1930). Except where expressly stated, I have studied all source materials quoted in their original contexts. It goes without saying that the essay embodies results of my own endeavors.

¹ L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium seu Collectio Veterum Aliquot Scriptorum* (Paris, 1655), II; quoted at second hand from J. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum* (Paris: Billaine, 1672), p. 217.

² View of Edmund Bishop: "It seems to me as if the practice of offering bread and wine by the congregation died out in the East, generally, in the course of the fourth century." Cf. Appendix, R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Texts and Studies, VIII (Cambridge University, 1909), p. 117.

think of the coin similarity in speaking of the altar bread; I have not noticed many such expressions in later authors. We are, then, here concerned with these phases of what might be designated in a current phrase a problem in religious psychology:

- I. The people's offerings as made for centuries in the form of bread and wine.
- II. The offerings of the people as made for a while in various forms, including coins.
- III. The offerings as next made by the people exclusively in the form of coins.
- IV. The subsequent preparation of altar breads in the form of wheaten coins.

"PLEBS FIDELIS OFFERT SE ET SUA DONA DOMINO"

(*Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae*)

The historical survey opens, symbolically, with Rome, the Mass usages of the papal city as described by St. Hippolytus about 225, in that period when he was antipope. As we find in his *Apostolic Tradition* the earliest detailed account of baptism, and the earliest known prayers for the ordination ritual, so, too, is there enshrined the earliest example of Roman Eucharistic prayer.³ In connection with the Mass for the newly baptized, the matter of the faithful making an oblation, as part of their Eucharistic worship, is introduced in very parenthetical fashion in a context primarily concerned with baptismal preparations: "And they who shall be baptized shall not bring with them any ornament of gold, nor ring, nor gem of any kind, or any other vessel except only that which each one will bring for Eucharist: for it is right for him who is worthy to bring his oblation then."⁴ It is not stated in so many words what that vessel contained, which each was to bring as his oblation, but when we come to read the account of the First Communion a little farther on, we find that "the babes" received, in immediate connection with the Eucharistic bread and the Eucharistic wine, drinks from successive cups of milk and honey and of water.⁵ Again, at the end of what we call the Canon of the Mass, as celebrated in connection

³ R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, Texts and Studies, VIII (Cambridge University, 1904), p. 4.

⁴ R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order*, p. 183.

⁵ R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order*, pp. 185-86. One will find here quotations from Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, St. Irenaeus and St. Jerome on this custom of giving the newly baptized milk and honey to drink.

with a bishop's consecration, there is provision made for blessing oil, or cheese, or olives, "si quis oleum offert, . . . si quis caseum et olivas offerat."⁶ Still elsewhere in the same little treatise is an interesting enumeration of what was *licet* to offer as first-fruits, and what flowers.⁷

Here we are obviously face to face with Eucharistic offerings, strictly understood, bread and wine and water, and other offerings, either associated therewith on the occasion of First Communion, or merely eleemosynary offerings, as for the clergy and Church dependents. Doubtless the two types of gift offerings were often closely allied in time and manner of presentation, however widely differing in concept. It is very likely that St. Cyprian in Carthage in the next generation, about 253, is thinking of both types of offering, when he takes shirkers to task in *De Opere et Eleemosynis*: "Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quae corban omnino non respicis, quae in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quae partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis."⁸ The alms was for the "corban," the "sacrificium" for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. At any rate it was found advisable, more than once, as for instance at the Council of Carthage in 397, to limit offerings made "in sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini," to bread and wine. Canon 24 reads in part: "Ut in sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse tradidit. Hoc est panis et vinum aquae mixtum."⁹ But lest this be thought to exclude the milk and honey, special provision is made for the occasion of First Communion: "Primitiae, seu mel et lac, quod uno die sollemnissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri."¹⁰

In connection with a Council at Carthage in 397 it is natural that the figure of St. Augustine rises majestically before us, and so we here allow him to add his evidence on the people's offering of bread and wine. The son praised the piety of his mother Monica, letting no day pass without putting her oblation on the altar, "nullum diem praetermittentis oblationem ad altare tuum."¹¹ Amid the horrors of the "World

⁶ R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order*, p. 176. One might recall that the Holy Oils are still consecrated at this stage of the Mass action, and that the Nuptial Blessing is in part given then also.

⁷ Some sacristans would not like the fact that roses and lilies are the only flowers that could be offered.

⁸ *CSEL*, III/1, 384.

⁹ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence, Venice, Paris, 1758-98), III, 884. Cited below as Mansi.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Confessiones* V, 9 (*CSEL*, XXXIII/1, 104).

War" of his day, Augustine commiserated, among so many other things, the fate of Christian women carried into captivity, "ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei, vel invenire sibi sacerdotem, per quem offerant Deo."¹² Making telling application of the injunction of Christ, "Leave thy gift before the altar and go first and be reconciled,"¹³ Augustine drives his message home in telling words:

Non irascitur Deus quia differs imponere munus tuum: te quaerit Deus magis quam munus tuum. Nam si malum animum gerens adversus fratrem tuum, advenersis cum munere ad Deum tuum, respondet tibi: "Tu pervenisti, mihi quid attulisti?" Offers munus tuum, et tu non es munus Dei. Plus quaerit Christus, quem redemit sanguine suo quam quod tu invenisti in horreo tuo. Ergo relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo et sic veniens offeres munus tuum.¹⁴

With that precision of which he is such a master, he states on another occasion: "Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. Accepit abs te, quod offerret pro te, quomodo accipit sacerdos a te, quod pro te offerat."¹⁵ Whatever is given to God becomes sacred, but especially the oblation of the holy altar: "Voventur autem omnia, quae offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio."¹⁶

There is still another connection of Monica's great son with our present topic. From a passage in his *Retractationes* we learn that Augustine, who had been so profoundly moved by the psalmody as sung by the people of Milan, had himself introduced psalmody as the "musical accompaniment" of the gift procession.¹⁷ This practice later spread over the entire Western Church, a memorial of it being the Offertory Anthem in the proper of every Mass in the Missal.

It is possible that Augustine, as a neophyte at Milan, had heard St. Ambrose say in a sermon: "Et exceptis illis, quibus sacerdos consilium dat, ut non communicent, omnes Christiani omni Dominica debent

¹² *Epist.* 111, 8 (*CSEL*, XXXIV/2, 655).

¹³ *Matt.* 5:24.

¹⁴ *Sermo* 82, 5 (*PL*, XXXVIII, 509).

¹⁵ *Ennar. in Psalm.* 129, 7 (*PL*, XXXVII, 1701).

¹⁶ *Epist.* 149, 16 (*CSEL*, XLIV, 363).

¹⁷ *Retract.* II, 37 (*CSEL*, XXXVI/2, 144). These passages from St. Augustine are found handily grouped in W. Roetzger, *Des Augustinus Schriften als Liturgie-Geschichtliche Quelle* (München: Hueber, 1930), pp. 114-15.

offerre et communicare. In Quadragesima vero moneo ut omni die, aut saltem, ut dixi, omni Dominica, offeratis et communicetis.”¹⁸ The words occur in a sermon still attributed to St. Ambrose, but not all scholars accept the Ambrosian authorship.

There is no extant Mass book such as was used by St. Augustine in Africa or St. Ambrose in Milan, but a literary tradition since the ninth century ascribes to Pope Gelasius (492–496) a book that we know as the *Gelasian Sacramentary*. The oldest copy is considerably later than Gelasius’ time, but careful scholars agree that the book is substantially what it was at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. The series of Sunday Masses therein embodied may well be the very ones being celebrated at Rome, when Augustine, not yet a Christian, was staying in the Eternal City. The Secret Prayer of the Mass of the fifth Sunday after Pentecost in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* preserves a picturesque reference to the people’s individual offerings: “Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et has oblationes famulorum famularumque tuarum benignus assume: ut, quod singuli obtulerunt, ad honorem nominis tui, cunctis proficiant ad salutem. Per. . . .”¹⁹ In the course of all the intervening years this prayer has varied a little in being assigned to some other Sunday, but the prayer itself has doubtless been used at the altars of the Roman church from a time a full century before Gregory I.

The next great personage that witnesses to the traditional Western mode of making individual offerings of bread and wine is St. Caesarius of Arles, from 502 to 543 Archbishop of Arles and nearly all that time Papal Vicar for Gaul. A sermon, long since identified as his but printed by Migne among the unauthentic discourses of Augustine, says simply that a man of means should blush at communicating from another’s oblation: “Oblationes quae in altario consecrentur offerte. Erubescere debet homo idoneus si de aliena oblatione communicaverit.”²⁰ In the very same passage the great prelate also urges alms for the poor, clearly differentiating between the types of offerings. Canonists revere a venerable collection of decrees known as *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*: some authors, Hefele among them, claim that the *Statuta* derive from

¹⁸ *Sermo de Quadragesima*, XXV (PL, XVII, 656).

¹⁹ H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1894), p. 224.

²⁰ *Sermo* 265 (PL, XXXIX, 2238).

the Councils of the ancient African church; others—Maassen and Duchesne might be named—ascrcribe the decrees to the neighborhood of Arles, while Malnory claims as their author St. Caesarius himself. However that may be, the decrees were surely in use in the lower Rhone country in the opening years of the sixth century. This has its bearing on our investigation, inasmuch as canon 94 stipulates that gifts sweated from the poor have no place in Catholic worship: “Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt dona a sacerdotibus refutanda,” while canon 93 makes a distinction between gifts offered “in sacrario,” ostensibly for the sacrifice, and those brought “in gazophylacio,” at the treasury, doubtless as alms: “Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.”²¹

Gallic usage for a date a generation later than Caesarius is preserved in the fourth canon of the national Council of Maçon (585). Because I happen to have it at hand I subjoin a translation of this as made by Edmund Bishop from the best text of the *Acta*:

Since we have assembled we have learnt from the report of brethren, that some Christians in some places have deviated from the divine command in not offering a host at the sacred altar. Wherefore we decree that on every Sunday an offering as well of bread as of wine be made at the altar by all, men and women, that by these oblations they may obtain remission of their sins, and may deserve to be sharers with Abel and the rest of just offerers. Let all who seek by disobedience to void these prescriptions incur anathema.²²

There can be no doubt that this canon means to preserve what it holds as of divine command. Maçon, Bishop points out, was the largest sixth-century Council in Gaul, fifty-eight bishops and eight bishops' delegates attending from practically every section of the country, except Tours. For that city and its immediate environs, in the period halfway between the time of Caesarius and the conciliar enactments at Maçon, we have a good deal of evidence in the writings of Gregory of Tours (d. 576). From these it is clear that contemporary usage at Tours (and perhaps elsewhere) was ordering things somewhat differently, in having the people hand in their bread and wine offerings (at the door?) on entrance, and what was then needed for the sacrifice was

²¹ Mansi, III, 958.

²² Latin text, *MGH, Concilia*, I, 166, or Mansi, IX, 951: the English rendering, last sentence excepted, is from Appendix, R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. 115.

brought in due time to the altar by clerics, the bread in as many "towers" as necessary, the wine in chalices. In the whole stock of Gregory's bag of stories scarcely any is more famous than that related in *De Gloria Confessorum* of the pious widow whose daily "sixth" of the finest wine,²³ offered for Mass for the repose of her husband's soul was being daily appropriated by an unscrupulous subdeacon.²⁴ The fraud was uncovered, when, warned in a dream, she communicated without giving warning beforehand, and drank such an acid bitter draught from the chalice, "ut putaret sibi dentes excuti, si haustum segnius deglutisset."

Just about the time the Gallic bishops were legislating at Maçon, a monk named Gregory was returning to Rome from Constantinople, where he had been the Pope's ambassador. He was in deacon's orders, was made abbot at St. Andrew's, Rome, and continued in the papal service as a secretary. In 589, when the barbarian frenzies were at their very worst, he was elected Pope. A year intervened before the imperial assent was received, so that the consecration came in 590. Gregory the Great we call him, the greatest pope, perhaps, in the first one thousand years. His reforming hand, every one knows, was soon felt in a revision of the public worship as previously organized in the papal city. The great body of the Church's music has borne his name through all the succeeding years: the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, as he left it, was to be the parent book from which the prayer text of our missals has sprung, while his ceremonial prescriptions for the conduct of worship, called *Ordo Missae*, were the norm by which all subsequent Mass ritual was measured, the starting-point for all further development. This was particularly the case after Charlemagne imposed the Roman way upon his wide dominions. That being the case, the offering-prescriptions of Gregory's Mass become of prime importance in the tradition we are following. Barring a few identifiable details, scholars are all agreed, the Mass rite is just as Gregory left it: in the matter here under review the only item known to be subsequent to Gregory's time is the introduction of the subdeacon-

²³ *De Gloria Confessorum*, 65 (PL, LXXI, 876). One may also confer his *De Gloria Martyrum*, 86, the story of a deacon unable to carry the "tower" of Eucharistic oblations (PL, LXXI, 781-82).

²⁴ Gregory says nothing of her offering of bread, but since it was irrelevant to the anecdote, it was doubtless simply omitted.

oblationer. The exceptionally long and detailed provision for collecting the offerings of the people, as embodied in a festal Mass, I append in the somewhat stilted translation of Cuthbert Atchley:

13. The pontiff now goes down to the place where the notables sit, the chancellor holding his right hand and the chief counsellor his left: and he receives the loaves of the princes in the order of 'promotion' (?). The archdeacon next receives the flasks of wine, and pours them into the greater chalice which is carried by a district-subdeacon, and a collet [acolyte] follows him holding a bowl outside his planet [chasuble], into which the chalice when full is emptied. A district-subdeacon takes the loaves from the pontiff, and hands them to the subdeacon-attendant, who places them in the linen cloth held by two collets. An hebdomadary bishop receives the rest of the loaves from the pontiff, so that he may, with his own hand, put them into the linen cloth which is carried after him. Following him the deacon-attendant receives the flasks of wine, and pours them into the bowl with his own hand, after the archdeacon. Meanwhile, the pontiff, before passing over to the women's side, goes down before the Confession, and there receives the loaves of the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor. For on festivals they offer at the altar after the deacons. In like manner the pontiff goes up to the women's side, and performs there all things in the same order as detailed above. And the presbyters do likewise, should there be need, either after the pontiff or in the presbytery [sanctuary].

14. After this the pontiff returns to his throne, the chancellor and the secretary each taking him by the hand, and there washes his hands. The archdeacon stands before the altar and washes his hands at the end of the collection of the offerings. Then he looks the pontiff in the face, signs to him, and, after the pontiff has returned his salutation, approaches the altar.

Then the district-subdeacons, taking the loaves from the hand of the deacon-attendant, and carrying them in their arms, bring them to the archdeacon, who arranges them on the altar. The subdeacons, by the bye, bring up the loaves on either side. Having made the altar ready, the archdeacon then takes the pontiff's flask of wine from the subdeacon-oblationer, and pours it through a strainer into the chalice; and the deacon's flasks, and, on festivals, those of the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor as well. Then the subdeacon-attendant goes down into the choir, and receives a ewer of water from the hand of the ruler of the choir and brings it back to the archdeacon, who pours it into the chalice, making a cross as he does so. Then the deacons go up to the pontiff: on seeing which, the chancellor, the secretary, the chief of the district-counsellors, the district-notaries, and the district-counsellors come down from their ranks to stand in their proper places.

15. Then the pontiff, arising from his throne, goes down to the altar and salutes it, and receives the loaves from the hands of the hebdomadary presbyter and the deacons. Then the archdeacon receives the pontiff's loaves from the subdeacon-

oblationer, and gives them to the pontiff. And when the latter has placed them on the altar, the subdeacon takes the chalice from the hand of a district-subdeacon and sets it on the altar at the right side of the pontiff's loaf, the offertory-veil being twisted about its handles. Then he lays the veil on the end of the altar, and stands behind the pontiff, and the latter bows slightly to the altar and then turns to the choir and signs to them to stop singing.²⁵

There is ample direction, surely, for the smooth performance of a solemn ritual act engaging hundreds of people, but the prescriptions are forthright, dignified, Roman. True, except by implication, little is said of the people's duty to bring the oblations, but unless that is presumed, the whole passage cited has very little meaning. That Gregory could not easily abide an infraction of decorum stands out in a little anecdote preserved by John the Deacon (c. 875) in his *Vita Gregorii*:

Matrona quaedam divo Gregorio per stationes publicas Missarum solemnia celebranti solitas oblationes obtulerat, cui post mysteria traditurus cum diceret, 'Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam,' lasciva subrisit. Ille vero dexteram ab ore eius convertens partem illam dominici Corporis deposuit. Expletis vero missarum solemniiis, coram populo inquisivit quamobrem Corpus dominicum sumptura ridere praesumpserit. At illa diu mussitans tandem prorupit, quia panem, inquires, quem propriis manibus me fecisse cognoveram, tu Corpus dominicum perhibebas.²⁶

The writer of these lines was a Roman, writing almost three centuries after Gregory, and so his witness belongs to a date much later than that thus far surveyed.

Good evidence for the age right after St. Gregory's is rare, but the passage from the *Breviarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis* may be taken as a monastic compromise between the Roman type of Offertory ritual, where the celebrant and attendants "came down" and collected the offerings of the people, and the Gallican, in which clerics "went up" and put their offerings on the altar. Its Merovingian Latin, too, strikes a workable compromise in the troublesome matter of case-endings: "Item in monasterio, ubi non ingrediuntur femine, post-

²⁵ C. F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus* (London: Maring, 1905), pp. 133, 135, 137: the *Ordo* is best consulted in R. Stapper, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, Opuscula et Textus, Series Liturgica, I (Monasterii: Aschendorff, 1923), or in an inferior text in *PL*, LXXVIII, 957 ff.

²⁶ *Vita Gregorii*, II, 41 (*PL*, LXXV, 103).

quam primitus sacerdos lavaret manus, ingrediuntur sacerdotes cum levitas in sacrario et accipient oblationes, et procedant de sacrario, et offeruntur super altare, cantantibus interim fratribus offerturia."²⁷

The seventh-century Spanish churches reflect another strange and passing usage, perhaps bearing a relation to the subject matter of this inquiry, namely, a money gift for church support, given at the Communion of the Mass. St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) writing to Leudefred, Bishop of Corduba, sets it down as a duty devolving on the archdeacon "collectam pecuniam de Communionem ipse accipit et episcopo defert et clericis partes proprias ipse distribuet."²⁸ The language of a Council of Merida in 666 is none too clear in dealing with the allotment of monies collected, but seems to imply that such an offering at Communion is a recognized custom: "c. 14. In sancta Dei Ecclesia diebus festis pro consuetudine et mercede communicationis tempore a fidelibus pecuniam novimus poni."²⁹ The (Spanish?) custom of a money gift for church support given at Communion time would seem to have borne no thought then, or later, to supplanting the people's bread and wine offering at what we call the Offertory.

²⁷ *Breviarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis*: as cited by Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, p. 46, from C. Silva-Tarouca, *Giovanni Archicantor . . . e l'Ordo Romanus da lui composito*: Atti della Pontificia Academia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie, I, 1 (Roma, 1923), p. 198.

²⁸ *PL*, LXXXIII, 896.

²⁹ Mansi, XI, 83. Although it belongs to a period four centuries later, I append here a decree of a Council of Campostella of 1066: "Et per omnes Communiones majores Nativitatis Domini, Paschae et Pentecostes quisquis de quo habuerit munera offerat" (Mansi, XIX, 856). There is no need of pressing this text to mean that the money was offered at Communion time; the three great festivals are designated as "Communion days." No one, as far as I know, interprets the passages cited as clear evidence of money stipends offered for the celebration of Mass, but Many in his *Praelectiones Canonicae de Missa* (Paris: Letouzey, 1903), p. 80, indicates what he considered contemporary evidence of the practice: "Venerabilis Beda, in *Historia Anglorum*, lib. iv, c. xxii, agens de anno circiter 679, aperte loquitur de fidelibus qui extra Missam presbyteris dabant pecuniam, ut hi celebrarent Missam." This is a slip, since Bede's words say nothing at all about *money* being offered, or of anything being offered *extra Missam*: "Multique haec a praefato viro audientes, accensi sunt in fide ac devotione pietatis ad orandum, vel ad elemosinas faciendas, vel ad offerendas Deo victimas sacrae oblationis" (ed. Plummer, Oxon.: Clarendon, 1896, I, 244 ff.). In legislating for diocesan priests and clerics, whom he was persuading to live as regular canons, St. Chrodegang, in his *Regula Canonicorum*, also cited by Many, does afford unimpeachable evidence of stipends for Masses, Office, and other services: "42. Si aliquis uni sacerdoti pro missa sua, vel pro confessione, aut clerico pro psalmis et hymnis seu pro se ipso, vel pro quolibet caro suo, aut vivente aut mortuo, aliquid in elemosyna dare voluerit, hoc sacerdos vel clericus a trahente accipiat, et exinde quid voluerit, faciat" (*PL*, LXXXIX, 1076).

There may be a question of Mass stipends, although money is not mentioned, in a prohibition of a Roman Synod of 826, repeated again in 853: "Presbyteri nullius blandiantur, aut suadeantur sermonibus, ut non omnium ad se concurrentium in quibuslibet sacris locis oblationes ad missarum solemnitates recipiant."³⁰ But centuries were to elapse between the recognition of Mass stipends as such, and Roman acquiescence, in 1570, in the disappearance of the bread and wine offerings, the most conspicuous feature of the people's participation in what was being done on their behalf at the altar.

Before taking leave of the Visigothic Church of Spain, we may glance at this canon of a Toledan Council of 693. It is the earliest prescription that altar breads were to be baked especially *ad hoc*: "6. Non panes mundos et studio praeeparatos . . . sed . . . de panibus suis usibus praeeparatis crustulam in rotunditatem auferant [ad altare]. Non aliter panis proponatur nisi integer et nitidus qui et studio fuerit praeeparatus, neque grande aliquid, sed modica tantum oblatae, secundum quod ecclesiastica consuetudo retentat."³¹ That canon in an abbreviated form, much as here cited, was destined to echo through the acts of not a few synods of the Carolingian era.³² Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was himself a Goth, and an honored associate of Charlemagne. In his *Capitula ad Presbyteros* of about 790, in words reminiscent of the Toledan prescription, Theodulf prescribed: "5. Panes, quos Deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis ipsis, aut a vestris pueris coram vobis, nitide et studiose fiant."³³ This passed verbatim into the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*,³⁴ the law of the land.³⁵

The Frankish documents of the period are greatly concerned with suppressing the abuse of women coming right up to the altar in making their oblations. Theodulf's prescription, "Feminae, missam sacerdote celebrante, nequaquam ad altare accedant, sed suis locis stent et ibi

³⁰ Mansi, XIV, 494, 1005: text in col. 1005.

³¹ Mansi, XII, 73.

³² An English Council at Chelsea, in 787, stipulated that the offerings of bread be bread and not crust: "10. Praecipit oblationes fidelium tales fieri, ut panis sit non crusta," in a context where the next sentence forbade the use of chalice or paten made of oxhorn (Mansi, XII, 942).

³³ *PL*, CV, 193.

³⁴ *Capitularia Regum Francorum*: quoted from Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, iv, viii.

³⁵ Whether this implied leavened or unleavened bread is hotly disputed, and need not in either case detain us.

sacerdos earum oblationes Deo oblaturus accipiat,"³⁶ shows up at Mayence, 793,³⁷ at Vercelli,³⁸ and elsewhere. In the same strain Bishop Haito of Basle, writing about 810, lays it down that when the altar cloths need laundering, the priests shall hand them to the willing women "ad cancellos," and goes on: "Similiter a presbyteris, cum oblata ab eisdem mulieribus offeruntur, ibidem accipiantur, et ad altare deferantur."³⁹ By mid-century, however, even the men were excluded from the sanctuary, as is clear from the stipulation of Herard, Bishop of Tours (858): "82. Ut laici infra cancellos non stent et ut oblatio populi foris septa recipiatur."⁴⁰

The provision that bread offered at Mass had to be especially baked for that purpose may have been one of the factors most responsible for the decline and ultimate disappearance of the early gift procession. At least the canons and regulations and private writings of the same period are the first to become argumentative, and to urge various reasons as to why the people should make the bread and wine offerings, and even to suggest a sort of virtual apostasy in an evident unwillingness to make them. "Hoc populo nuntietur," was the law of the land in the Carolingian lands, at about the turn of the century, "quod per omnes dies Dominicis oblationes Deo offerant."⁴¹ The prelates of a Bavarian synod of 799 or 800 upbraid the people for being ashamed to make the former offerings, while alleging the great spiritual advantages in doing so: "4. Oblationes suas adferre usum adsumant atque pro seipsis et pro parentibus seu vivis seu defunctis offerre non pigeat, in quo magnam constat esse animarum a delictis absolutionem."⁴² A Mayence synod of 813, one of the last that felt the direct touch of Charlemagne, re-echoes the same idea, as indicating that the Kiss of Peace, too, was falling into neglect: "44. Oblationem quoque et pacem in ecclesia facere iugiter admoneatur populus Christianus, quia oblatio sibi et suis magnum remedium est animarum."⁴³ Bishop

³⁶ *PL*, CV, 993.

³⁷ Mansi, XIII, 996.

³⁸ L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, VIII, page not indicated; as cited by E. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* (ed. Rotomagi, 1700), IV, 381. The same author adduces a canon of a Mayence Council, to the effect that menstruous women, religious or lay, were to be excluded from the offering procession. The reference is to J. Burchard's *Decretorum Liber*, but I have not found this in Burchard.

³⁹ *PL*, CV, 765.

⁴⁰ *PL*, CXXI, 769.

⁴¹ *Capitulare Caroli Magni*: quoted from Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, p. 400.

⁴² Mansi, XIII, 1026.

⁴³ Mansi, XIV, 74.

Herard of Tours, mentioned a moment ago, insisted: "53. Ut populus praedicetur ut oblationes Deo offerant."⁴⁴ An unidentified writer of about 850, author of *Eclogae de Officio Missae*, says with something of a threat: "Et qui dedignantur oblationes offerre, dedignantur, quamvis non viva voce, confiteri se Christi passione non esse redemptos, ita tamen . . . non sit aliqua causa quae forte ad tempus impediat."⁴⁵

It is pleasant at this juncture to turn from the provisions of kings and councils, synods and bishops, and confront the text of a liturgical manual or the treatise of a liturgical writer. Beyond the retention of the full Offertory ceremonial, there is little of special significance in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, France, a ninth-century re-working of the *Ordo Romanus Primus*.⁴⁶ There is a bit of brightness in the rubrical direction of what is known as *Ordo Romanus II*, a strongly gallicanized version of the genuine *Ordo Romanus Primus*; its date is at the beginning of the ninth century. Here we find the direction that the bread (and wine?) was carried on a white handkerchief: "Deinde transit sacerdos ad suscipiendas oblationes. Interim cantores cantant Offertorium cum versibus, et populus dat oblationes suas, id est panem et vinum, et offerant cum fanonibus candidis, primo masculi, deinde feminae, novissime sacerdotes et diaconi offerunt, sed solum panem, et hic ante altare."⁴⁷

Amalar's great commentary, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, was based on an *Ordo* very closely allied to *Ordo Romanus II*, and so his comment at this section reads like a gloss of the words just cited: "Dein transit sacerdos ad suscipiendas oblationes. . . . Populus dat oblationes suas, id est, panem et vinum. . . . Panis quem offert et vinum, exprimunt omnia desideria pia intrinsecus latentia. . . . Quod foris agitur, signum est illius quod intrinsecus latet."⁴⁸ Amalar, too, has his picturesque presentation of the offering made by the members of the choir, who,

⁴⁴ *PL*, CXXI, 763.

⁴⁵ *PL*, CV, 1324.

⁴⁶ The text is printed as an appendix to Duchesne's *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1889): the dating I give is based on E. Bishop's study of the *Ordo* in *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1918), pp. 151-60, who concluded: "It may date from any time in the ninth century after, probably, 830."

⁴⁷ *Ordo Romanus II*, printed in various editions: this and many other liturgical documents and treatises I cite from M. Hittorp, *De Divinis Officiis* (Parisii, 1610), p. 4. This volume is quoted below as Hittorp.

⁴⁸ *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, III, xix (Hittorp, p. 416).

in Gregory's *Ordo*, gave the ewer of water. Note the reason assigned for this by Amalar: "Omnis populus intrans ecclesiam debet sacrificium Deo offerre: at cantores . . . propter instantem necessitatem cantandi non habent licentiam huc illucque discurrendi, ut singuli offerant cum ceteris. Statutum est eis, ut penitus non sint extorres a sacrificio, custodire aquam et hanc unum offerre pro ceteris."⁴⁹

Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), Alcuin's greatest scholar, subsequently Abbot of Fulda and Archbishop of Mayence, in his *De Institutione Clericorum*, includes a short exposition of the Mass, which takes for granted a general offering by the people: "Deinde . . . recitatur Evangelium. . . . Per [post?] hoc oblationes offeruntur a populo et offertorium cantatur a clero."⁵⁰

Every century knows that anxious type of worshipper who literally lights a candle at every shrine. Walafrid Strabo in his serenely sane and common sense book, *De Exordiis et Incrementis Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, rebukes those who insist on placing an altar bread on every altar, even though they do not stay to attend its offering:

Sciendum autem, quosdam inordinate offerre, qui attendentes numerum oblationum potius quam virtutem Sacramentorum, saepe in illis transeunter offerunt Missis, ad quas persistere nolunt. Rationabilius si quidem est ibi offerre, ubi velis persistere, ut qui munus Domino obtulisti, offeras pariter pro eodem munere suscipiendo postulationem devotam. Non enim frustra in actione dicitur, 'Qui tibi offerunt': non dicit 'Qui obtulerunt,' ut intelligamus eos persistere debent in offerendo, donec oblata ad hoc perveniant, ad quod oblata sunt.⁵¹

In the same context Walafrid speaks of a somewhat similar error, of a separate bread offering for each person for whom one is having the sacrifice offered, "pro singulis singulatim offerre." Hincmar of Rheims, a contemporary of Walafrid's, and a great canonist and prelate, likewise prescribed a maximum of one oblation per worshipper: "Oblationem autem unam tantummodo ad offertorium pro se suisque omnibus unusquisque offerat."⁵²

⁴⁹ Hittorp, p. 417.

⁵⁰ *De Institutione Clericorum*, XXIII (Hittorp, p. 585). In his *De Expositione Missae*, Florus of Lyons (c. 860), has the following: "xi. Subiuncta quoque symboli confessione, et oblatione populorum" (*PL*, CXIX, 25). Every contemporary explanation of the Mass consulted has a similar provision for the people's offerings.

⁵¹ Walafrid Strabo, *De Exordiis et Incrementis*, XXI (Hittorp, p. 683).

⁵² *Capitulare*, I, art. 16 (*PL*, CXXV, 778).

What became of all these bread offerings, since, obviously, not all were needed for communicating the people? A direction, more than once repeated, and stemming from the same Hincmar, ordered that the superfluous breads be blessed and distributed as *eulogae*, blessed bread, after Mass.⁵³

By way of transition to the data from the dreadful tenth-century Age of Iron, let us pause to watch Grimlaicus write in his *Regula Solitatorum* for those who wished to get away from it all: "16. Idipsum quoque oratorium ita sit domui Ecclesiae contiguum, quatenus idem solitarius per fenestram eiusdem oratorii possit ad Missas per manus sacerdotum oblationes offerre," and adds Grimlaicus, "ac cantantes et legentes fratres congrue audire, atque simul cum eis possit psallere."⁵⁴

Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908) handed on the torch of liturgical knowledge in that darkest hour by a little treatise, "*De Celebratione Missae et eius Significatione*, where, in mentioning the people's offerings, he stresses the priest's role as mediator: "Sequitur deinde Offerenda. . . . Suscipit interim sacerdos a populo oblata, ut ipse qui est inter Deum et ipsum populum mediator, preces eorum et vota Domino offerat."⁵⁵ A generation after Remigius' death, about 935, some one put out a long tractate, *De Divinis Officiis*, that was so long attributed to Alcuin it is still called *Pseudo-Alcuin*. This author, whoever he was, took Remigius' little treatise and embodied it, as Chapter Forty, into his own much longer work, and so doubtless gave it the advantage of a wider reading public.⁵⁶ We shall presently meet the work again.

An Abbot of Prüm, named Regino (d. 915), put all future students of canon law into his debt by publishing *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*. From Hincmar's former collection Regino embodied (I, 73) the direction that each worshipper should offer only one oblation, and also a provision emphasizing the distinction between the bread and wine offerings for the sacrifice, and other things that might be offered at the

⁵³ *Capitulare*, I, VII: De Pane ad eulogias benedicendo. . . . "Ut de oblatis quae offeruntur a populo, et consecrationi supersunt, . . . ut post Missarum solemnia . . . eulogias omni die Dominico . . . exinde accipiant" (*PL*, CXXV, 774).

⁵⁴ *Regula Solitatorum*, XVI (*PL*, CIII, 594).

⁵⁵ *De Celebratione Missae* (*PL*, CI, 125).

⁵⁶ *Pseudo-Alcuin*: cf. Hittorp, col. 281.

time of Mass (I, 72). The bishop in making his annual visitation is to inquire of the priests "Si offerentes instruat, ut candelam vel quidquid aliud ad altare deferre placuerit, ante Missam, vel antequam Evangelium legatur, offerant." It is doubtless of these non-sacrificial gifts that the direction is given in another passage (I, 62): "Si aliquid fideles ad altare offerant, a ministro acceptum post altare ponatur."⁵⁷

Regino also bears witness to the fact that it became harder and harder to maintain the bread and wine offerings. If the men will not offer, then let the women (the pious female sex) offer for all: bishops shall see to it: "Si oblationem, id est panem et vinum, viri et feminae ad Missas offerunt. Et si non viri, coniuges pro illis pro se suisque omnibus, ut in canone continetur."⁵⁸

By a somewhat ironical compensation, as the gift offering itself was falling off, its ceremonial expression became more and more elaborate. A contemporary *Expositio Missae*, jejune enough in its rubrics, but wildly imaginative in its interpretations, found the rite to be a counterpart to the joyous ceremonial of the first Palm Sunday at Jerusalem:

Quod autem Offertorii celebratur officium, nulli aptius convenit quam his, qui obviam Christo Hierosolymam properanti, sternentes vestimenta sua in via, ramosque de arboribus frangentes exierunt. . . . Illi enim vestimenta ramosque offeriebant: nos vero panem et vinum, tunc nuncque cantu celebrato. Ideoque illi hoc agebant tunc, nosque modo, ut ostendamus nos paratos esse pro fratribus morti succumbere. . . . Quod primum quidem masculi offerunt significat. . . . Ex hinc vero offerunt mulieres. . . . Novissime vero sacerdotes et diaconi offerunt, sed solum panem. . . . Ad ultimum vero archidiaconus . . . infundensque aquam in calicem . . . offert.⁵⁹

One may note, however, how the rite has developed in the so-called *Missale Mixtum*, a Spanish Mass book of the tenth century: "Et sacerdos vertat se ad populum; et [populus] faciat offertorium si voluerit." "Ad Offertorium populi dicat sacerdos offerenti: 'Centuplum accipias et vitam eternam possideas in regno Dei Amen!'"⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis* I, 72-73; II, 62 (*PL*, CXXXII, 190, 204).

⁵⁸ *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis* (*ibid.*, 287).

⁵⁹ *Expositio Missae* (Hittorp, coll. 1172-73).

⁶⁰ *Missale Mixtum* (*PL*, LXXXV, 113, 529). For the date assigned, cf. Edmund Bishop's Liturgical Note to A. B. Kuypers, *The Book of Cerne* (Cambridge University, 1902), p. 239: "The manuscripts, the earliest of which are not older than the tenth century."

In eleventh-century Mass books the forms are more detailed. By way of a sample I cite a missal used at Minden in Saxony, about 1030. After the directions concerning the priest have been given, this suggestion touching the individual offerer is made: "Quando quis oblationem in manu episcopi vel presbyteri offert, dicat: 'Tibi, Domine, Creatori meo, offero hostiam pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum.'"⁶¹

That undisciplined Age of Iron left as a heritage behind it the custom of priests celebrating two or three or four or five or more Masses on the same day, to satisfy the multiple demands of the faithful offering stipends! Money stipends, offered outside of Mass, seem to have multiplied in direct ratio as the bread and wine offerings made during Mass fell off. The synods and councils blame the unseemly multiplication of Masses, while striving again and again to revive, or at least to preserve from complete extinction, the old custom of individual gift offerings at the Offertory. In the absence of positive law regarding the multiplication of private Masses, opinion, of course, was divided, and as early as the middle of the ninth century Walafrid Strabo summed things up by stating reasons for and against, and adding sagely: "Itaque unusquisque in suo sensu abundet."⁶² But by 1022 authority had to step in; a synod at Seligenstadt that year forbade priests to say more than three Masses daily.⁶³ It was the mind of the reforming Alexander II (1061-73), Hildebrand's "man" and immediate predecessor, as enacted into papal decree: "Pro pecuniis et adulationibus saeculorum una die praesumunt plures facere Missas, non estimo evadere dampnationem."⁶⁴ In the Hildebrandine reform period canon law declared one Mass a day sufficient, except for cases of necessity:⁶⁵ this necessity, however, so multiplied itself as to stalk the rectories for a long time to come—but that is not our present concern.

⁶¹ This is the so-called Missal of Flaccus Illyricus, on which see J. Braun, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXIX (1905), pp. 143-55.

⁶² *De Exordiis et Incrementis*, XXI (Hittorp, col. 679).

⁶³ Quoted from A. Franz, *Die Messe im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1902), pp. 73, 74.

⁶⁴ *Sufficit*: De Consecr., Dist. I, 53; A. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Lipsiae: Tauchnitz, 1879), I, 1308.

⁶⁵ Cf. Franz, *Die Messe*, pp. 74 ff.

Hildebrand's true moral greatness is measured only by seeing the conditions from which he rescued the Church of Christ. In the matter of the neglected offerings he sought to apply the remedy of positive legislation. In his Roman Synod of 1078 he carried a decree, whose opening sentence ran: "Omnis Christianus procuret ad Missarum solemniam aliquid Deo offerre, et ducere in memoriam, quod Deus per Moysen dixit: 'Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus.'"⁶⁶ This passed into current canon law and appeal was afterwards often made to it. It vastly strengthened the position of local authorities, a canonist such as Burchard of Worms (d. 1125): "Oblationem quoque et pacem in ecclesia facere iugiter admoneatur populus Christianus, etc.,"⁶⁷ or a bishop like Hildebert of Le Mans,⁶⁸ and the like.

Before concluding this phrase of the survey it is interesting and pleasant to glance at the variety attaching to the gift procession in monastic circles. Martène cites a manuscript source he had used, the author of which summed up a good deal in a single sentence: "Monachi etiam offerunt hostias, singuli singulas, more Graecorum; qui omnes ad missam panem offerunt, unde Corpus Christi conficitur; et inde communicant omnes communiter."⁶⁹ (Here we may note that as the Offertory gift procession faded out more and more, it was regarded as a usage of the Greek Church!) Doubtless that anonymous writer was over-simplifying things: the monastic gift procession would not have been just as plain as that. The printed *Consuetudines Farfenses*, for instance, have no less than seventeen entries for the *offerenda*, and distinguish days on which only one monk, days on which two, or "medietas tantum fratrum," and when "cuncti" marched with their offerings.⁷⁰ The Cluniac Customary had provision, for days when all were to make the offering, for a small table set in choir, the table being covered with the small chalices and five patens heaped with hosts.⁷¹ There is a special reverence attaching to the funeral Requiem

⁶⁶ De Consecratione, Dist. I, c. 69: *Corpus Iuris*, I, 1312, 1313.

⁶⁷ Burchard, *Decret.* V, 25: *PL*, CXL, 757.

⁶⁸ Hildebert's *Liber de Expositione Missae*, *PL*, CLXXI, 1159; *Versus De Mysterio Missae*: *PL*, CLXXI, 1179.

⁶⁹ Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, VI, vi (ed. Rouen, 1700), I, 380.

⁷⁰ "Consuetudines Farfenses" in B. Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae* (Stuttgardiae: Roth, 1900), pp. 7, 10, 17, 30, 37, 38, 67, 76, 83, 85, 96, 99, 112, 122, 123, 124, and 130.

⁷¹ L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der Liturgik* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1933), II, 134.

for the deceased member of a religious family: Martène has reference to a monastic *Ordo*, according to which, on such an occasion, it required the explicit sanction of abbot or prior to excuse any of the community from taking part in the gift procession!⁷²

So the story goes. At some date during the twelfth century the author of the *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae* penned the short sentence we attached as a heading to this part of the essay, "Plebs fidelis offert se et sua dona Domino."⁷³ This formulation would seem to have been then and long afterward something of a commonplace; authors repeat it, without knowing, apparently, that they are quoting.

"PANIS, VINUM, DENARIUS ET CANDELA."

(Anonymous, twelfth century)

In the decadent Age of Iron, as the bread and wine offerings were becoming ever rarer, other things began to be substituted as Mass gifts. Candles were a favorite substitute, money, perhaps, even a more welcome one all around. One of the brightest lights in the Hildebrandine galaxy, St. Peter Damien (d. 1072), had need on one occasion to defend himself before some chaplains, to which fact we owe this engaging picture: "Age igitur Missarum mihi mysteria celebranti, uxores principum, ducis scilicet et marchionis, Bizanteos obtulerunt. Quos utique monachus noster Paulus, expletis mysteriis apud altare, nobiscum foras prodiens, dereliquit. Unus autem ex vestris, vobis

⁷² Reference made by L. Eisenhofer, *op. cit.*, II, 134, to Martène, IV, 160: this is the volume, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, not included in the earlier (Rouen) edition of *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, to which I have access.

⁷³ *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXVII, 361). Since we here part company with the fortunes of the Offertory procession of bread and wine, it might be of value to indicate how and when Rome wrote *Finis* to that long chapter in the Eucharistic worship of Western Christendom. The Tridentine Fathers requested the Holy See to publish a revision of the Missal, which, practically speaking, became universally obligatory on its appearance in 1570. Well, when John Burchard's papal *Ordo Missae* was being "tidied up" to serve as the *Ritus Servandus* in the new, world-wide Missal, this passage, typical of what could then be found in every Missal, was expunged, doubtless because no longer corresponding with reality: "Si sint qui volentes offerre celebrans accedit ad cornu Epistole: ubi stans detecto capite latere suo sinistro altari verso deponit manipulam de brachio sinistro et accipiens illud in manum dexteram porrigit summitatem eius singulis offerentibus osculandum dicens singulis: 'Acceptabile sit sacrificium tuum omnipotenti Deo,' vel 'Centuplum accipias et vitam aeternam possideas.'" Cf. text in J. Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904), p. 149.

tamen non modo non ignorantibus, set etiam absentibus . . . fraude subripuit."⁷⁴ The bizantines, we are told, were gold pieces: in this instance the offering would seem to have been money only. Ives of Chartres, in a sermon included in a volume published about 1090, expressly differentiates between the altar breads, offered by the servers, and divers other oblation gifts given by the people: "Salutato denique populo," he says, "dum sacerdos accipit hostias a ministris, et diversi generis oblationes a populo, offertorium cantatur."⁷⁵ In his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, dating perhaps around mid-century, John of Beleth, who died some time after 1165, introduced a new note, a reference to the giving of gifts of plate to be displayed on great days:

Necessarium hic considerandum tres omnino esse quae offerre debemus: primo, nosmetipsos, ac deinde ea quae sacrificio sunt necessaria, scilicet panem, vinum et aquam, et si qua sint alia sacrificio apta. . . . In quibusdam ecclesiis in magnis solemnitatibus pretiosa offeruntur Ecclesiae utensilia, et in altari ponuntur vel in locis competentibus. Tertio demum sequuntur manuales laicorum oblationes.⁷⁶

A certain distinction between the priest's gifts and the people's seems to be implied in the treatise, *De Sacramento Altaris*, of Stephen Bolgiaco (d. 1136), Bishop of Autun: "Inprimis meipsum offero, ut sacrificium nostrum sit humilitas et cordis contritio. Tunc sacerdos offert dona, sive libamina cum incensu, scilicet, panem et vinum sanctificanda, populus, sua munera."⁷⁷ This sharp distinction between priest's and people's offerings meets us, too, in that *Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae* mentioned above: "Sacerdos statim offert dona consecranda, et dehinc munera sua populus, significans offerre seipsum Deo."⁷⁸

If any doubt still lingered behind these short statements, as to the form the Offertory was now taking, it fades before the detailed and forthright statements of the *Gemma Animae*. We shall have to quote the work more than once, so we must delay a brief moment with its author, Honorius, as he is called, Augustodunensis. Little is known about the circumstances of his life: a wide scholar he was, and a

⁷⁴ *Epist.* V, 13 (*PL*, CXLIV, 359).

⁷⁵ Ives' *De Convenientia Veteris et Novi Sacrificii* (Hittorp, 800).

⁷⁶ Beleth, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (*PL*, CCII, 50).

⁷⁷ Stephen Bolgiaco, *De Sacramento Altaris* (*PL*, CLXXII, 1284).

⁷⁸ *Speculum De Mysteriis Ecclesiae* (*PL*, CLXXVII, 361).

prolific writer; he is said, too, to have been a recluse in the south of Germany. The French claimed him for Autun, Germans for Augsburg, or Basle: other cities, the Latin form of whose names began with *Augusta*, could with equal right, as far as we know, claim his reflected glory. Honorius distinguishes clearly the different kinds of gifts people in his day put upon the altar: "Quidam de populo aurum, quidam argentum, quidam de alta [alia?] substantia sacrificant. . . . Qui panem offerunt. . . . Qui vinum offerunt. . . . Qui de aliis sacrificant. . . . Qui aquam offerunt. . . ." ⁷⁹ In the late seventeenth century an eminent liturgical scholar often quoted in these pages, Dom Edmund Martène, utilized a book in manuscript form that has a sentence relevant to our subject. Martène's description of the book is simply: "Anonymus Turonensis in suo ms Speculo, quod sub finem saeculi XII composuisse videtur."⁸⁰ Since he had few peers in his field, we can accept Martène's judgment as thoroughly sound. The sentence, dating, let us say, 1180–1190, reads as follows: "Sciendum itaque quia quattuor sunt quae ad Missam offerre consuevimus, panis, vinum, denarius, et candela."⁸¹

That all things obey money seemed to Solomon so axiomatic as to merit inclusion in the Proverbs (Eccles. 10:19), and in the matter here in question it does not seem to have been very long before the money collection had quite superseded the older forms of offering. Of course there were grumblers, who chafed at the thought of fattening the purses of greedy clergymen—but we must not turn aside from our main pursuit. One such thirteenth-century complaint, and its answer, are included in the notes.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Gemma Animae*, I, 27 (Hittorp, 118).

⁸⁰ Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, VI, vi (ed. Rouen, 1700), I, 380.

⁸¹ *Loc. cit.* This Speculum is not the *Speculum De Mysteriis Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXVII, 335), nor, unless I have missed the quotation, the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXII, 813), of Honorius called of Autun. The book has likely remained unprinted. If it seems that there is here a needless multiplication of *Specula*, I can only plead that I did none of the multiplying; again, how many *Summae* were written in the next century? *Speculum* was a current title for a liturgical treatise.

⁸² A. Franz, *Die Messe im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1902), p. 652, quotes the following from a sermon by "Sweet Brother Berthold," (O.S.F.) of mid-thirteenth-century: "Etliche die sprechent: 'Der pfaffe ist doch riche genuoc: war zuo solten wir im opfern?' Got der wil sin niht entbernen, unde davon spricht der wise man: 'sacrificate sacrificium, etc.,' wan ez eht sô grôrs dinc und sô guotiu dinc bediutet."

“STATUTUM EST PANEM IN MODUM DENARII FORMARI.”

(*Gemma Animae*)

After it had become the common thing to bring coins, instead of bread and wine, to the altar at the Offertory, the host upon the altar, in a sort of pragmatic application of that figure of the container for the thing contained, began to be “minted,” so to speak, i.e., was made in the form of a coin. From the viewpoint of religious psychology, this is doubtless the most interesting phase of this whole development. It was not a change imposed by authority, but a silent gradual penetration of mind after mind, church after church. There are, I believe, enough pertinent data, scarce as they are, to enable us to date the beginning, the middle, and the end of the period of change. Results can be summed up by saying that it began about 1075, was generally accepted fifty years later, was the basis of speculative interpretation about 1150, and so taken for granted as to cease being noticed at all by 1200.

Before addressing ourselves directly to the evidence at hand, there is an allied topic that calls for momentary examination, namely, the size of the host used for either the priest’s or the people’s Communion at that time. It is usually assumed that the use of leavened bread at the altar automatically meant an oblation in the form of a small roll, such as is to be seen on every breakfast table, but that the change to unleavened bread *ipso facto* entailed the use of the almost paper-thin, round wafers of the present day. There is no need of our entering upon the thorny problem of the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the early Middle Ages: everyone is in perfect agreement on this, that at the time Caerularius made his violent charge that the West was without a valid Eucharist, because they were “Azymites,” the West was everywhere using unleavened bread. There are, nevertheless, not a few indications that the altar bread was then of a substantial size and thickness. American travelers to Europe, who have not taken all their meals at “foreign” hotels, will have often seen, at least, the heavy loaves of the poor. Round, and thick, and heavy, and leavened or unleavened, they are, by our standards, pretty much of one heaviness. I am inclined to think that the unleavened altar breads were in that style in the beginning, and acquired their thinness only little by little.

In the treatise known as *Pseudo-Alcuin*, of about 935, there is described the consecration of a bishop at Rome, and mention is made of the circumstance that at Communion the Pope gave the new bishop a consecrated *oblata*, which served for his Communion that day and for forty days thereafter: "Ad communicandum vero pontifex porrigit ei formatam atque sacram oblationem. Quam accipiens, communicat super altare, caetera vero reservat sibi ad communicandum usque ad dies quadraginta."⁸³ What that brief statement lacks in specific detail is amply provided by the chattiness of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (952–1028), addressing one of his own newly ordained priests, who had asked the meaning of this rite. Says the bishop: "Ante hos paucos dies, ut meminisse licet, mihi vespertinis horis supervenisti, et repentina inquisitione me permovisti de Hostia quam paulo ante permotus ad sacerdotium de manu episcopi suscepisti, quae ratio sit videlicet, usque ad quadragesimum diem, usu quotidiano, consumere."⁸⁴ Before interpreting the rite, the prelate unbends and tells a little story of the mishap of a new priest traveling shortly after ordination: ". . . Hostiam quoque . . . de manu episcopi suscepit, quam in pergamento in hos usus parato involutam quotidiana celebratione solvebat, et portiunculam parvam iuxta instantium dierum numerum computatam sumebat."⁸⁵

Now it could well be that this "ordination Host" was unusually large, but the Cluniac Customary, of about 1070, has a story picturing a priest, about to communicate a dying man, breaking off a portion of the consecrated Host and carrying it over a chalice, a circumstance which suggests a very sizeable Particle reserved: "Sacerdos . . . redit ad ecclesiam, ut Corpus Domini apporet; quod . . . incensat, frangit, et partem quam allaturus est, super calicem tenet."⁸⁶ As late as about 1150, in his *De Miraculis*, Peter the Venerable of Cluny wrote of an unworthy Communion in a sickroom, in which the patient, even though chewing the particle and taking wine, and trying for a long time, could not swallow it: "Quo allato et praesumptuoso ore suscepto, cum diu conaretur nec valeret, cum vino quod susceperat frustra omnia comminuti Corporis Christi in vas . . . refundere coactus

⁸³ *Pseudo-Alcuin* (Hittorp, p. 271).

⁸⁴ Fulbert of Chartres, *PL*, LXXVIII, 506.

⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ *Cons. Clun* (*PL*, CXLIX, 771).

est."⁸⁷ The *Ritus Servandus*, we may here remind ourselves, still preserves the medieval direction that the server follow the priest, as he distributēs Communion, in order to give each communicant a sip of wine and water. How surprised people would be next Sunday to see the direction being carried out: "Minister autem dextra manu tenens vas cum vino et aqua, sinistra vero mappulam, aliquando post sacerdotem eis porrigit purificationem, et mappulam ad os abstergendum."⁸⁸ This "purification" suggests a host of some size.

The monks, always very conservative, were perhaps not quite abreast of the time as to the size of the altar bread they were using. Cardinal Humbert, commissioned to answer the taunts of Caerularius in 1054, regarding the use of unleavened bread, has a sentence in which he speaks of thin hosts: "Siquidem tenues oblates et sanas sacris altaribus nos quoque superponimus, et ex ipsis post consecrationem fractis cum populo communicamur."⁸⁹ And Bernard of Constance, about 1075, brings the matter of penny thinness down to a part of the penny likeness in one joint complaint.

At a time, when by his own testimony, people were still making offerings in bread and wine, as well as money, the author of *Gemma Animae* undertakes to explain, in good medieval allegorism, why the bread used at the altar was formed "in modum denarii." Whatever we may think of his reasons, we note that he treats the matter with the utmost philosophic calm and aloofness. He had no thought of protesting against novelty. Says our Honorius, whether of Autun, or Augsburg or Basle:

De Forma Panis. c. 35

Panis vero ideo in modum denarii formatur: quia panis vitae Christus pro denariorum numero tradebatur: quia verus denarius in vinea laborantibus in praemium dabitur. Ideo imago Domini cum litteris in hoc pane exprimitur: quia et in denario imago et nomen imperatoris scribitur, et per hunc panem imago Dei in nobis reparatur, et nomen nostrum in libro vitae notatur.⁹⁰

De Dominico Pane. c. 66

Fertur quod olim sacerdotes singulis domibus vel familiis farinam accipiebant. Quod adhuc Graeci servant, et inde Dominicum panem faciebant. . . . Et quia populo non communicante, non erat necesse panem tam magnum fieri, STATU-

⁸⁷ *De Miraculis*, I, v (PL, CLXXXIX, 857).

⁸⁸ *Ritus Servandus*, X, 6.

⁸⁹ *Adv. Graec. Calumnias* (PL, CXLIII, 952).

⁹⁰ *Gemma Animae* (Hittorp, p. 1190).

TUM EST EUM IN MODUM DENARII FORMARI VEL FIERI, et ut populus pro oblatione farinae denarios offerrent, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoscerent, qui tamen denarii in usum pauperum qui membra sunt Christi crederent, vel in aliquid quod ad hoc sacrificium pertinet.⁹¹

There may be a little wistfulness in that statement of the Bishop of Rochester a generation earlier: "Illi panes quotidianos comederunt: nos in forma nummi panem accipimus."⁹² But there is nothing colorless or dispassionate in the phrases of Bernard of Constance, writing in 1089. This Bernard, a great supporter of Hildebrand, and one of the greatest liturgists of his age, is known to us, it would seem, from personal notebooks never written for publication. Two such notebooks have long been joined in publication under the name of *Micrologus de Ecclesiasticis Observationibus*. In yet another book by Bernard, not published and doubtless now lost, but used by George Cassander in his sixteenth century *Liturgica*, the question of the form of the altar bread was directly dealt with. Among other things he has this to say:

Manifestum est cuius mensurae vel formae debeant esse sacerdotum oblatae, quae ex pugillo [handful] similiae fieri iubentur, et ad speciem coronae, quod est tortam [roll] panis offerre. Mensura pugilli minima est omnium mensurarum, unde possit panis fieri, quae scilicet mensura legitimo iure constituitur sacerdotibus ad ministerium altaris. Quodsi minor mensura quam pugillus non invenitur in tota serie veteris et novi Testamenti, et si nihil omnino debet fieri intro vel extra templum Domini absque mensura et ratione, videntur Oblatarum minutiae ad Christum et ad Ecclesiam nihil pertinere, quia sunt absque mensura et ratione.⁹³

The reasoning gags Cassander, and he says he is skipping a good deal from this author "otherwise prudent, pious and excellently acquainted with ecclesiastical traditions." By dropping into indirect discourse Cassander gives more of Bernard's complaints. The passage is so engaging as to invite translation, but lest I be thought to exaggerate, I set the original down before my rendering:

Qui indignissime tulisse videtur, aetate sua in quibusdam ecclesiis Oblatas panis, quae prisca Ecclesiae consuetu-	He seems to have felt outraged that in some churches at his time the bread offerings, which in the ancient custom
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⁹¹ *Gemma Animae* (Hittorp, pp. 1198-99).

⁹² Quoted by J. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, p. 217.

⁹³ G. Cassander, *Liturgica* (Cologne, 1551?): not available for direct consultation. I owe the citations to the circumstance that Cardinal Bona embodied them in his great work of 1671.

dine ad usum sacrificii ad mensam Domini a populo fidei offeriebantur, ad imaginem nummorum, et ad tenuissimam et levissimam formam a veri panis alienam fuisse redactas: quare per contemptum minutias nummulariarum oblatarum appellat, imaginariam et umbratilem levitatem illis tribuit, et indignas esse panis vocabulo pro sua tenuitate; ac propter eas officium atque religionem Ecclesiastici officii multum per omnem modum confundi asserit.⁹⁴

of the Church were wont to be brought to the Table of the Lord by the pious faithful for the use of the sacrifice, were reduced to the likeness of coins, and to a thinness and lightness entirely foreign to the appearance of real bread, and hence he contemptuously calls them infinitesimal minted wafers, ascribing a fantastic and unreal smoothness to them, unworthy for their lightness of the name of bread, and asserting that, because of them, the worship and piety of the Church's public service is everyway disturbed.

There is surely no doubt but that Bernard was disturbed for those ecclesiastical traditions he knew so well. In his day the introduction of hosts of small change coinage, so to speak, was causing pain and indignation. Altar bread in the form of a penny—he would have none of it!

Are there any such things as "practical conclusions" to be drawn from a survey like this? None, of course, beyond the fresh recognition that a lot of history stands behind the uses of today, and the efforts being made today to change the Offertory from the status of a mere prayer into at least a mental action. Our thoughts might first revert to the religious, both men and women, and the devoted sacristans, who labor long hours in preparing the multitudinous altar breads happily needed for the service of the altars in this age of frequent Communion. It is a commonplace in such circles that the hosts, be they as numerous as the sands of the sea, be each one perfect in itself, of a uniform texture and color and thickness, perfectly round, free from cracks, blemishes, not too thin. Behind those rules stand a long line of prescriptions coming down even from the rudest and crudest period of the Church's long life-span. In that very open letter, in which Cardinal Humbert refuted the scornful assertions of Caerularius about the "dry mud" (*lutum est aridum*) of the azymes, the spokesman for Western Christianity gives a lively picture of how altar breads were prepared in his day: To the great Table of Christ is brought "illud solum

⁹⁴ Bona, p. 218.

quod diaconi cum subdiaconis seu ipsi sacerdotes, sacris amicti vestibus, cum melodia psalmodum conspersum et in ferro paratum ex secretario proferunt."⁹⁵ By and by the psalmody disappeared, and still later the sacred vestments were not put on for the baking, and the baking oven shifted from sacristy to workroom, but the same care, zeal and reverence comes down undiminished to our days. "Hostias faciat, quam fieri poterit, pulchras,"⁹⁶ the *Institute* of the Society of Jesus tells the sacristan, and the provision is typical, I am sure, of scores of such Rules.

Again, in discussion at liturgical conferences of the present day, one hears of devices of one sort or another now being used by priests, the object of them all being to bring the coin collection into conspicuous and proximate conjunction with the "great Table of Christ," to bridge the existing gap between the laymen's coin in the basket and the mediator's altar bread on the paten.

A final reflection offers itself in this wise: In various localities today the bishops are experimenting with the restoration, in a modern guise, of an Offertory procession, at least for those occasions when gifts for the poor are being sanctified by being offered to Him, who being rich for our sakes became poor. The action of such prelates as His Excellency of Osnabrück and His Eminence of Munich in urging this type of Offertory procession to the altar has been mentioned more than once in the press.⁹⁷ Nor have American bishops been unrepresented in this re-educational process. Not to repeat items that have been mentioned before, we may advert here to a student's report in a recent issue of the Cathedral High School paper of Superior, Wisconsin: "History was made at the Cathedral of Christ the King in Superior on December 16th [1942]," the youthful reporter relates,

. . . when the students participated in the Golden Mass celebrated in honor of the Blessed Virgin on Wednesday of Ember Week. . . . The distinctive feature of the Mass was the Offertory Procession for which special permission was granted by His Excellency, the Most Reverend William P. O'Connor, D.D., Bishop of Superior. Each student brought his gift, tastily wrapped, and placed it on a table arranged in the sanctuary for that purpose. The gifts were food, clothing, or toys

⁹⁵ *Adv. Graec. Calumnias* (PL, CXLIII, 980).

⁹⁶ *Institutum Societatis Iesu* (Florentiae: Conceptio, 1893), III, 148.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Orate Fratres*, IX (1935), p. 331.

offered for the poor in the parish. It was a grateful giving to Him who, by His Incarnation, gives Himself to us. All the students received Communion at this Mass, mindful that after they had offered their gifts to God at the Offertory, that God offered Himself to them at the Communion. . . . The Mass was a High Mass sung by the students. . . . The prefects of the Sodality carried the hosts, which the gifts betokened, to the altar. The financial offering made for the Mass was a voluntary one on the part of the student body.

I have before me pictures of the cathedral sanctuary that day, showing the altar flanked with two long tables literally heaped up with the gifts of the pious folk, who then knew better than ever before, I feel confident, that at Mass they give themselves and their gifts to God. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, St. Gregory I and St. Gregory VII, to mention no more, must have gazed with special joy at that morning's Mass.