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*eaque sorte uate somniis multisque aliis rebus praedicentes, imbecillitates hominum facientes easque curantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis* (ch. xxiii p. 60. 12). Here popular belief has been directly incorporated in the Hermetic system, which rejected (for instance) animal sacrifice. The prophetic, punitive, and medicinal activities of idols are familiar,<sup>1</sup> and the notion that the god or his spirit inhabits his image is common in Greece, in Egypt, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The Neoplatonists spiritualized this conception,<sup>3</sup> and contemporary Christians held that pagan cult statues were tenanted by devils.<sup>4</sup>

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P. LEID, J 395 VII 11.

The papyrus text is *ποίησον με γενέσθαι ἐν ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων λύκον κύνα λέοντα πῦρ δένδρον γῦπα τεῖχος ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεις, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ*.<sup>5</sup> Dieterich emends *ὀνόμασι* to *ὁμοιώμασι* (*Abraaxas* p. 190). No change is, however, necessary: *γίγνεσθαι ἐν* is a Hebraism for *γίγνεσθαι*,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> For prophecy cf. Th. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* i p. 219 § 814, p. 216 § 808, Gruppe *Griech. Myth. und Rel.* p. 1295: for *sorte* cf. Gruppe p. 9824, Macrob. *Sat.* i 23. 13; the general belief is accepted by Procl. *In Tim.* 40 D, Δ p. 287 c (iii p. 155. 20 Diehl), *διὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ μερικῆς ὕλης γενόμενα καὶ φθαρτῆς εἰς τὸ μετέχειν θεοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον*. For healing cf. Lucian *Philops.* 19 [image of Pellichos of Corinth: Rohde (*Psyche* ii<sup>3</sup> p. 352) calls the story 'sehr nett und im richtigen Volkston gehalten'], *Deor. conc.* 12 (Polydamas); for punishment, *Philops.* 20, Pausan. vi 11. 2 ff, Rohde *op. cit.* i p. 194. 2. The idol of Eunostos was said to go of itself on occasions to the sea to bathe (Plut. *Quaest. gr.* 40, p. 301 A: so also the *Mater deum* at Rome once, Dio Cass. xlviii 43).

<sup>2</sup> For Greece cf. Gruppe p. 980 ff (and Radermacher's excellent remarks, *Festschrift Gomperz* p. 197 ff on the identification of a thing and its representation: primitive man sometimes fears that, if represented, he will die: cf. R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen* ii p. 18 ff, J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup> iii p. 96 ff), C. Clerc *Les théories relatives aux cultes des images chez les auteurs grecs du 11<sup>m</sup>e siècle après J. C.* (1915) *passim*; J. Geffcken *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* xix p. 286 ff; for Egypt, Hopfner *op. cit.* i p. 172 § 678, 217 § 808, also *G. B.*<sup>3</sup> i p. 67, *G. B.*<sup>3</sup> iv p. 199 (soul of dead man enters idol: Malay Isles), viii p. 123 (Dutch E. Indies), ix p. 172 (S. Indies), p. 203 (Tibet, Guinea).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zeller iii 2 p. 681 f (Plotinus), p. 755 (Iamblichus), Iambl. *De Myst.* i 9 p. 30. 14 *θείας μετουσίας ἀνάπλεα*: and note C. H. xvii p. 354. 20 R *διὸ προσκύνει τὰ ἀγάλματα ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ιδέας ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου*, Geffcken *l. c.* p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Cypr. *Quod idola non sunt dii* 7 (i p. 24, Hartel), *hi ergo spiritus ut statuis atque imaginibus delitescunt*, *Acta S. Symphoriosae* p. 23, Ruinart.<sup>2</sup> *sacrificiis idolorum ac daemonum qui in idolis habitant*, and Diels *Elementum* p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Leemans *Pap. Mus. Lugd.* ii p. 103. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Moering *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* lxxxvii (1919) p. 148 ff for his explanation of *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* (*Rev.* i 10, iv 2) as equivalent to *ἐγενόμην πνεῦμα*, *ib.* p. 153 for the Hebraic origin of this use of the preposition (also for its wide range of meaning in the *koiné* J. H. Moulton *Grammar of New Testament Greek* i p. 103, A. T. Robertson *Grammar of the Greek N. T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 584 ff).

Hebraisms are not out of place in a work professing to be Βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μονὰς ἢ ἀγδὸν Μωϋσεως περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου<sup>1</sup>: further, ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων hardly differs from πᾶσι κτίσμασι.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. Nock.

### THE BOBBIO MISSAL.<sup>3</sup>

'A LITTLE over twelve hundred years ago, in an obscure village somewhere on this side of the Alps, in a district where French was the spoken language, near a convent of nuns, an old cleric once copied a service-book. His hand was not very steady, but he wrote with a will, and meant to do a good job. His parchment was not of the best, and his penmanship shewed that he was no master of the craft. He had two kinds of ink: ordinary dark for the text, and red for the rubrics. He used the red as unskilfully as the black. He had little time, busy priest that he was, for over-care or refinements to bestow on titles and rubrics. But he could not deny himself the pleasure of some ornamentation, so when he could he copied a decorative initial, with results pathetic in their crudity. The old scribe was trying to follow his original page for page. When he came to passages he knew by heart, such as lessons from the gospels or prophets, he often cast a mere glance at his copy, and trusted his memory for the rest. He was a simple, downright man—no purist in spelling or grammar. He wrote as he spoke, with *ci* for *ti*, soft *g* for *j*, and vice versa; and he had small regard for case or verb endings. Coming from a modest place, he could not afford many books, so he crowded into his Missal much more than properly belonged there. And when his parchment went back on him, he borrowed fortuitous scraps.

'In the centuries that elapsed between the writing of the Missal and its discovery by Mabillon, many a priceless manuscript treasure has been destroyed and lost to us for ever. By some strange freak of fate, this homely copy by an obscure, unnamed cleric has survived to puzzle and edify us.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dieterich *op. cit.* p. 137 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein *Poimandres* p. 176 (Πνεῦμα τὸ διήκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ὀνομα τὸ διήκον), and for identification of name and thing, Th. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungssauber* i p. 177 § 693, 180 § 703, J. G. Frazer *G. B.*<sup>3</sup> iii p. 319, also the coins on which the king's name is represented as being crowned by a deity [coins of Lysimachus, *Head Coins of the Ancients*<sup>2</sup> pl. xxviii 19, 20; *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup> p. 284 fig. 170; of the Bithynian kings, *H. N.*<sup>3</sup> p. 519; of the Pergamene kings, *H. N.*<sup>3</sup> p. 533].

<sup>3</sup> Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications: No. liii, *The Bobbio Missal* (Facsimile); No. lviii (Text); No. lxi (Notes and Studies by Dom André Wilmart, Dr E. A. Lowe and the Rev. H. A. Wilson), 1924.

In these lively paragraphs Dr Lowe (p. 105 f) sums up the result of more than two centuries of investigation into the origin of what is perhaps the oldest Mass-book that survives entire. And even here he does not carry every vote, for Dom Wilmart, agreeing with Edmund Bishop, would place it 'aux environs de Bobbio' (p. 58). Who shall decide? In one sense, of course, it does not matter, because *Bobiense*, even if most of it be a direct copy of another codex, is not the representative of a definite edition of the Service-book, but rather a specimen of the kind of book that was current in the Merovingian period. It is a mixture of true Roman, Gallican, and Irish elements: 'le Missel de Bobbio est, quoi qu'on pense pour le reste, un témoin gallican. Un autre fait important, maintes fois relevé, est la trace d'influences irlandaises'. So Dom Wilmart (p. 39), but he goes on to say, very frankly: 'Mais la difficulté est de savoir quelle portée il faut donner à ce fait'.

We are dealing with events of the Dark Ages, when the only civilization there was the memory of Rome. There was no organic development during this period, no conscious change of system. The scribe of *Bobiense* called his Mass 'Missa Romensis'. But to the 'Roman' form variations were continually made, giving expression to the various barbarian—Irish, Gallo-Frankish, Visigothic—tendencies in the expression of their worship. From time to time, notably under Charlemagne, reforms were made by bringing in the true, authentic, Roman use, which then in turn becomes infected by non-Roman elements and interpolated with supplements, too much endeared by familiarity and manner to be let go.

Meanwhile Rome itself changed somewhat from century to century. What the liturgical arrangements were in the time of Leo (†461) is, strictly speaking, a matter of conjecture. There may still have been a certain amount of spontaneity left to the minister in various parts of the services, though S. Leo himself no doubt had a decisive share in fixing the form of that peculiarly Roman prayer which we know as the Collect. It is likely that Gelasius (†496) drew up or approved a form for all Services, perhaps (as Edmund Bishop suggested somewhere in his Notes to the *Book of Cerne*) as a kind of protest against barbarian forms and phraseology. But this Gelasian book was the Roman standard only during the sixth century: Gregory the Great (†604) revised all parts of the liturgy, including even the musical portions: from 600 onwards it is S. Gregory's book, not that of S. Gelasius, that is used at Rome, and those who send to Rome for a standard liturgy will be given Gregory's book and not the *Gelasianum*.

But some churches during the sixth century had taken pains to be up to date: we know there was at least one place in France which had

adopted the Roman *Gelasianum*, and it was certainly done at Coire. Once adopted in these semi-barbarian lands the process of change began, and though our oldest copy was written before 650 (*Vat. Reg.* 316, Wilson's V) it is already not quite the true *Gelasianum*, but has taken up elements of Gallican origin. Still more changed are the later MSS which reflect the use of some parts of the districts to the north-east of Switzerland in the generation that preceded the reforms of Charlemagne.

The districts in which we can trace the use of the *Gelasianum* (progressively un-Romanized, it is true, but still clearly a form of the *Gelasianum*), are German districts, districts of missionary enterprise, newly-Christianized districts. Gaul, Spain, and Ireland, where Christianity had been at home for generations, had no need to adopt the new Service-book *en bloc*. Roman fashions were not without influence in these lands, but they were adopted one by one, if adopted at all. At a much later period, indeed, after two more centuries of general confusion, the genius of Charlemagne saw the need for uniformity (or, at least, a good deal more uniformity), and a general reform was made by the imposition of Pope Hadrian's *Gregorianum*, with or without its supplement. But in the sixth century the contemporary Roman influence was sporadic, and much that was current, if Roman at all, was Roman of a yet earlier period.

So it comes to pass that the perhaps Burgundian *Bobiense*, the Irish *Stowe* Missal, and the *Missale Francorum* contain elements which may be older even than the *Gelasianum*.<sup>1</sup> Readers of the JOURNAL will remember the noteworthy examination of the text of the Canon in all these MSS by Edmund Bishop (vol. iv, 555-577). In the same article, p. 576, Mr Bishop brought forward a striking instance of the *ingenium* of the Bobbio text, concerning its treatment of the recitation of the names of the departed. Bishop's article, indeed, might well be added as an Introduction to *Bobiense*, in addition to the admirable essays of Dom Wilmart and Dr Lowe, and the invaluable series of Notes on parallel liturgical forms contributed by Mr Wilson. In any case, even if all the problems have not yet been solved, the Henry Bradshaw Society has now put into the hands of the liturgical student in a convenient form all that is necessary for the study of this ancient Book.

F. C. BURKITT.

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that the *Missale Gothicum*, which seems to be the best example of a 'Gallican' Sacramentary, contains only a fragment of its *Missa cotidiana Rominsis*.