eaque sorte uate somnis multisque aliis rebus praedicentes, imbescillitates 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, and the notion that the god or his spirit inhabits his image is common in Greece, in Egypt, and elsewhere. The Neoplatonists spiritualized this conception, and contemporary Christians held that pagan cult statues were tenanted by devils.

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P. LEID, J 395 VII 11.

The papyrus text is πογονον με γενεσθαι ἐν όνομασι τάντων κτυπάτων λύκον κύνα λέοντα πῦρ δενδρόν γύπτα πείχος ὤδωρ ἡ δ θέλει, ὁτι δυνάτος εἰ. Dieterich emends όνομασι το όνομαισι (Abraxas p. 190). No change is, however, necessary: γενεσθαι ἐν ἀ is a Hebraism for γιγνεσθαι, and


5 Leemans Pap. Mus. Lugd. ii p. 103. 11.

Hebraisms are not out of place in a work professing to be Βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλομένη Μονας ἦ ὁγδόη Μωυσέως περὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος τοῦ ἄγιου: further, ὄνοματο πάντων κτισμάτων hardly differs from πάσι κτίσματι.

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THE BOBBIO MISSAL.³

'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.'

¹ Cf. Dieterich op. cit. p. 137 ff.
² Cf. Reitzenstein, Poimandres p. 176 (Πεύκα το θάνατον ἀπὸ οὔφωνις ὡς το θάνατον), and for identification of name and thing, Th. Hopsner, Grieschisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungsauber p. 177 § 693, 180 § 705, J. G. Frazer G. B. 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 pl. xxvii 19, 20; Historia Numorum p. 284 fig. 170; of the Bithynian kings, H. N. p. 519; of the Pergamene kings, H. N. p. 533].
³ 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) 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 Bobienie, 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 témoign 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 was the memory of Rome. There was no organic development during this period, no conscious change of system. The scribe of Bobienie 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*.1 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.

1 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*. 