

DOCUMENTS

AN ARIAN SERMON FROM A MS IN THE CHAPTER LIBRARY OF VERONA.

(MS LI foll. 133-136.)

THE following document is a first instalment of unpublished material from a sixth-century MS at Verona. Towards the close of a week's work, in May of the present year, at the Verona manuscripts of Canons, I wandered round the shelves of the Chapter Library, in company with the zealous and accomplished librarian, Don Antonio Spagnolo, turning over some of the more ancient MSS. We looked at the two wonderful Hilarys, one of them, if not perhaps both, of the fifth century, and finally concentrated attention on a MS of the sixth (perhaps late sixth) century, entitled 'Maximus of Turin', which was largely used in the Roman edition (1784) of the works of St Maximus.

It soon became clear that there was more than Maximus in the MS. Some earlier scholar had deciphered from the colophon on the last page words which at once caught my eye *CANONES NICENORUM*. Closer investigation revealed the fact that the last part of the MS consists of a version, not indeed of the Canons of Nicaea, but of the latter part of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions and of the Apostolic Canons at the end of them. The version is quite unknown, and is the earliest witness to the text of either Constitutions or Canons; part of it at any rate I hope to publish in a later number of the *JOURNAL*.

Unfortunately the MS, like several others among the earlier Verona MSS, has suffered severely from damp. Towards the end not more, and sometimes much less, than a third of each page is legible with ease; and two mornings devoted to the task of decipherment were enough to convince me that I could not myself hope to complete all, or anything like all, the work without a far longer stay at Verona than I could possibly compass. So to my friend Don A. Spagnolo is due the whole credit for the patient and unstinted labour which has been necessary to recover these lost fragments of primitive antiquity: I should not like to estimate how many days and weeks it has occupied.

The work on the translations is not ready for publication: for after receiving the draft from Verona, I have had to go through it with the Greek text and to suggest supplements and (occasionally) corrections, to be verified by Don Spagnolo with the MS, and this process is not yet by any means complete. But the MS contains besides a considerable number of apparently unpublished sermons: and one of these, which

stands by itself and reveals when examined very definite and individual characteristics, is now put before the readers of the JOURNAL as a specimen of what the MS has to give.

No one can read through this document without seeing at once that it is Arian; for the 'heretics' to the preacher are those who say that 'the Father and the Son are equal' (2. 4, 6. 17), and 'how can the begotten be equal to the Unbegotten, the visible to the Invisible, the servant to his Master, the suppliant and advocate to his Superior?' And the Arian literature that has come down to us in perfect state is scanty indeed. For Latin Arianism we have the Sermons and the bit of Commentary on St Luke found by Mai at Milan; the notes appended to the Acts of the Council of Aquileia in the Chartres MS of Hilary, now Paris lat. 8907; the Arian Sermon printed in St Augustine's works vol. viii, and the long quotations from Maximin in the same volume; and of course the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* of pseudo-Chrysostom. Brief as it is, our Sermon is a welcome addition.

But the sermon is not only Arian; it is, if I guess rightly, Arian of the earliest and most successful period of Latin Arianism, between 350 and 400, or even between 350 and 380.

(i) The MS which contains it was only written in the sixth century, perhaps at the end of the sixth century; but it is quite certain that a scribe of the Latin Church at Verona at that date—and most if not all of the early Verona MSS were written at and for Verona, not collected later from elsewhere—would not willingly have inserted an Arian sermon of the day. He has blindly copied what he found in some earlier, perhaps already ancient, MS.

(ii) I somewhat doubt if 'heretic' would have been used to denote the Catholics at a time when the Italian Church, and (so far as it still counted) the Roman Empire behind it, were committed to the Catholic side. Indeed one would doubt how far, apart from a Court chaplain or two, there was any Latin-speaking Arianism in Italy in the sixth century.

(iii) The particular *nuance* of Catholic theology against which the preacher inveighs, suggests a very early stage in the development of the controversy. The 'heretics' not only assert that Father and Son are equal, but that 'Father and Son and Holy Spirit are one person' (2. 2: 'unus,' not 'unum'); and again they disprove the inferiority of the Son by His session at the right hand of the Father, seeing that 'He who is at the right hand is the greater' 'qui est in dexteram, ipse est maior' (3. 9, 4. 16). Of these two formulæ the former is more or less Sabellian, and suggests the generation when the orthodox opposition to Arianism was compromised by the doctrinal excesses of Marcellus and Apollinaris: while the use of the latter in the Catholic interest

again seems to reflect the thought of a time anterior to St Ambrose who takes the truer line that such expressions cannot be literally used of the Divine: *de Fide* II xii 102, 105 'Sedet ergo ad dexteram Patris Filius. dic nunc qui de saecularibus arbitraris aestimanda divina, num tibi videatur inferior qui ad dexteram sedet? num iniuria Patris, quia ad sinistram sedet? . . . ad dexteram quoque sedere nulla praelatio est, neque ad sinistram iniuria; divinitas enim gradum nescit, nec loco aliquo circumscibitur, nec temporibus definitur. angustis animis homines ista pensamus'.

(iv) The Biblical quotations appear to be quite independent of the Vulgate. The longest quotation, that from Acts ii 25 sqq., is unfortunately the one point where the text is so far gone as at the ends of the lines to defy restoration. But enough remains to shew a strong degree of agreement with Berger's Perpignan MS (*p*) against our other Old Latin MSS, e.g. in verse 26 (5. 14) 'delectatum' for 'laetatum', and in verse 33 (6. 1-3) 'dextera itaque . . . hoc donum quod'. 'Hoc donum' is further shared, it is interesting to note, with Ambrose and Maximin the Arian (Sabatier *ad loc.*). 'Palam' in verse 29 (5. 20) appears to be unique.

The manuscript is written in long lines across the page and in uncial characters. In the hopes of making the text more intelligible to readers I have added a limited amount of punctuation, and have distinguished Scriptural passages by the use of capitals, quotations from the 'heretics' by clarendon type, and conjectural restorations by italic. For the rest we have scrupulously followed the MS, and have reproduced its few abbreviations.

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