

## DOCUMENTS

## THE OLD LATIN TEXT OF OUR NICENE CREED.

THE following note is a contribution to the history of the text of our Nicene Creed, commonly called the Constantinopolitan Creed, in the Latin version which was current from early or the earliest times. The point of view assumed is that which is common to most recent students. Our Nicene Creed is the Old Creed of Jerusalem enlarged by the insertion of Nicene terms. It was quoted by Epiphanius in his *Ancoratus* in 374. It was then in use as a Baptismal Creed in Cyprus. It was quoted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 from the Acts of the Council of Constantinople (381) as 'the *Ecthesis* of the 150 Fathers.' It is probable that it had been brought before the Council of Constantinople either by Cyril of Jerusalem or by Nectarius of Constantinople. It was then regarded as an improved recension of the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, and in course of time was confused with it. It will be convenient to distinguish the Constantinopolitan form as C. But we must admit at the outset that we shall have to wait for a critical edition of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon before we can restore with certainty the earliest form of either Nicene or Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. There was a natural tendency in copyists to corrupt the text by assimilating the forms. We may safely say that this was more often done by adding than omitting. But in these studies it behoves us to advance warily and take nothing for granted.

Hitherto it has been assumed that the collection of Canons which was made by Dionysius Exiguus (498-514) contained one of the earliest versions of C. Kunze<sup>1</sup> rightly laments that the translation of Dionysius is the earliest Latin text quoted in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*. He suggests that the references made by Pope Gelasius in 494 to the Council of Constantinople, which could only be known in its Creed, imply acquaintance with C. This was during the time of the first schism between Old and New Rome when nothing would be imported from Constantinople. Therefore the Creed must have been brought to Rome at an earlier date.

<sup>1</sup> *Das nicänisch-konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 1898, p. 4 n.

The fact is that Dionysius did not include the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds in his collection. They were added to it between the time of Dionysius himself and that of the edition of his collection which was sent by Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great in 774<sup>1</sup>. My object is to prove the existence of an earlier version of C than this of Pope Hadrian's. I am able to quote MSS representing some six collections, which were made before the time of Hadrian. They contain the four following forms of text—(i) from the collection of Theodosius; (ii) from the collection of *Cod. Vat. 1322*, which is the source of the text found in the collection of Quesnel; (iii) (iv) from the collection of Rusticus, who gives two forms of text quoted in the second and sixth *Actiones* of the Council of Chalcedon, the first agreeing with the text found in the collection known as the Hispana, the second agreeing with the text found in the collection of the MS of St. Maur, the collection of the MSS of Toulouse and Albi, and the collection of *Cod. Vat. 1322* at *fol. 11 b*.

(i) *Cod. Veron. LX (58) saec. vii* contains the collection of the Deacon Theodosius, of whom we know nothing more than his name. The form of C, quoted as the Symbol of the Synod of Sardica (*sic*), follows a biography of St. Athanasius, and is followed by the letter of Constantine the Great to the Church of Alexandria. These and other references suggest the conclusion that the collection was put together in Egypt, whether Theodosius copied it in Alexandria or not.

(ii) *n, Cod. Vat. 1322 fol. 1-25 saec. vii-viii*, contains a small Chalcedonian collection, which is important, because in the opinion of the Ballerini several of its pieces are older than any complete version of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. It contains the greater part of the sixth *Actio* in an independent version. This part of the MS came from Verona<sup>2</sup>.

Π, *Cod. Paris. B. N. lat. 3848 A saec. viii-ix*, contains what is known as the collection of Quesnel: the consent of this MS and the printed text of the Ballerini (*S. Leonis Opera* iii 219) is marked as Q. The Chalcedonian chapters (xxv-xxviii) are dependent on the collection of the Vatican MS for everything except the canons.

(iii) N, *Cod. Vat. 1322 saec. vi fol. 26-285*, contains the collection of Rusticus, a Roman deacon, who accompanied Pope Vigilius to Constantinople in 547. The same year he undertook a new translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, using both Greek and Latin MSS. His text of C in *Actio secunda* is found on *fol. 28 a*.

M, *Cod. Mediolanensis Ambrosianus E 147 sup. p. 124, saec. vii-viii*

<sup>1</sup> Maassen *Q. u. L. des canonischen Rechts* pp. 445, 446. I owe this reference with much other information to Mr. C. H. Turner.

<sup>2</sup> Maassen, p. 737.

(Reifferscheid), possibly earlier. This is another MS of the collection of Rusticus and comes from Bobbio.

E, *Cod. Vindob.* 411 saec. ix-x (from Ambras, near Innsbruck), contains the Hispana, a Spanish collection printed from the manuscripts actually in Spain, by F. A. Gonzalez in A. D. 1808; the agreement of E with the edition is marked as **Sp**. It will be noted that this Spanish form on the one hand has suffered much contamination from the genuine Nicene Creed, and, on the other, is the first to show any traces of the *Filioque*.

(iv) N, *Cod. Vat.* 1322 saec. vi fol. 153 b, and M, *Cod. Mediolan. Ambrosianus* E 147 sup. saec. vii (?), give the text of C found in *Actio Sexta* of the version of Rusticus, which is dependent on a MS. from the Monastery of the Sleepless Monks at Constantinople.

f, *Cod. Vat.* 1127 saec. ix, from Angoulême, a sister MS. to F, *Cod. Paris. B. N. lat.* 1451, saec. ix in., contains a collection which is classified by Maassen under the name of St Maur, after the Monastery to which the latter MS belonged. Their agreement is marked as **F**.

T, *Cod. Tolosanus* 364 (I 63) saec. vii, and A, *Cod. Albigensis* 2 saec. ix, are MSS of the same collection: their agreement is marked as **T**. In all probability A was actually copied direct from T. (Creed on T fol. 4 a, A fol. 20 a.)

The second occurrence of the Creed in the collection of the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.* 1322 fol. 11 b) agrees with this form and has a title like that of **F**.

To these MSS I will add—*cant*, an interesting MS in the Cambridge University Library, Gg. 5. 35 saec. xi, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which contains the late text both in Greek (transliterated) and Latin; also **H**, the translation in Hadrian's edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, printed by Hahn<sup>9</sup> p. 165. Lastly, I will include *Vig.*, the text found in the *Constitutum* of Pope Vigilius (553), to which Kunze calls attention as containing an early text (*Migne*, P. L. lxix. 145). It fully confirms the evidence of the MSS, and completes the proof that this Old Latin version existed from the beginning of the sixth century. We are encouraged in the hope that further evidence may come to light.

(*The texts are printed pp. 106–109 below.*)

The discovery of these various forms of text raises several interesting questions, to which we cannot as yet give final answers. Did the Latins know the Creed primarily (or even exclusively) through its being quoted and ratified in the Chalcedonian Acts? There is some justification for this theory in the fact that a complete rupture between East and West was threatening at the time of the Council of Constantinople.

On whatever ground C was accepted by the Council, whether as the Creed of Cyril or of Nectarius, it was not likely to rouse any interest at Rome on that account. But it is not necessary to suppose that it was first introduced to the Roman Church by the Council. Epiphanius, who travelled to Rome with Paulinus of Antioch and St. Jerome on the morrow of the Council, may have brought with him the praises of Cyril's Creed regarded as an uncontroversial document. If the Creed was then stored in the archives of the Roman Church together with the letter which Pope Damasus at that time sent to Paulinus, we have a plausible explanation of the well-attested differences between the texts quoted in the second and sixth *Actiones* of the Council of Chalcedon. The form quoted in the second *Actio* would be the form commonly used in the Church of Constantinople, the other would be a revised text, revised with the concurrence if not the assistance of the Papal legates.

Kunze suggested (p 37), and the idea was hailed by Kattenbusch<sup>1</sup>, that Leo's letter to Flavian gave the impulse to put C forward because it contained a parallel to the words 'qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine,' which Leo quoted from the old Roman Creed. We may add another parallel in the words 'crucified and buried,' on which again the Pope laid stress. We may even question whether the Pope did not intend to refer to C when he wrote so emphatically of this teaching as professed 'in the common and undistinguishable confession' by all the faithful, and as confessed in the Creed by all<sup>2</sup>.

We must note that the forms II and IV, both connected with the sixth *Actio*, agree as to seven noteworthy omissions of phrases found in later versions. I have indicated their position by asterisks. They are (1) Deum de Deo, (2) lumen de lumine, (3) de caelis, (4) passus, (5) secundum scripturas, (6) Filioque, (7) sanctam. In six cases out of seven the net result is to make the form more like the Old Creed of Jerusalem, from which it is without question derived. Only three of them are found in form III: only two in form I.

We may note further that in the collection of the Vatican MS. the second occurrence of C (= form IV) is in another version of the *Definitio fidei* agreed to at the sixth session of the Council of Chalcedon, and is followed by the decrees of the Council of Damasus in 378, which formed the main part of the letter of Damasus to Paulinus referred to above.

Thus it appears that the archetype of forms II and IV was the oldest Latin text of C accepted in the Church of Rome, whereas form III

<sup>1</sup> Review of Kunze, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1898, col. 681.

<sup>2</sup> c. 11: illam communem et indiscretam confessionem . . . qua fidelium universitas profitetur, &c. ; c. v: omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur.

## I. C in Cod. Veron. LX (58).

## ITEM SYMBOLVS SCÆ SYNODI SARDICI

Abrenuntio Sathanæ et omnibus operibus eius et omni pompæ eius et omni culturæ eius et omnibus angelis eius. Et

Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem factorem cæli et terræ uisibilem omnium et inuisibilem :

5 et in unum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Deum uerum de Deo unigenitum Filium Dei de Patre natum ante omnia sæcula uerum natum non factum per quem omnia facta sunt : qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cælo et carnem adsumpsit ex Spiritu Sancto de Maria uirgine, hominem factum, crucifixum pro  
10 nobis sub Pontio Pilato, sepultum et surrexit post tertium diem, ascendit in cælum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, iterum uenientem cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni finis non est :

in unum Spiritum sanctum, Dominum et uiuificantem, de Patre procedentem cum Patre et Filio adorandum, qui locutus est per  
15 prophetas : et in unam sanctam catholicam ecclesiam ; spero resurrectionem mortuorum et uitam æternam. AMEN.

1. Satane	cod.	3. celi	4. uisiuiliu	6. m̄nia	8. descendi
celo	11. celum	sede	12. gloriam	fini	15. profetas
catholicat	resurrectionem				

## II. C in Council of Chalcedon, version of Cod. Vat. 1322 and Quesnel.

SYMBOLVM TRECENTORVM DECEM ET OCTO ET CENTVM QVIN-  
QVAGINTA

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium :

et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unicum de Patre natum ante omnia saecula \* \* Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum, eiusdem substantiae qua Pater est, per quem omnia facta sunt : 5  
qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto et ex Maria uirgine homo factus, crucifixus pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato \* , sepultus [est et] resurrexit tertia die \* , ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde uenturus est cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni finis non erit. 10

et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem, a Patre \* procedentem, qui cum Patre et Filio adoratur et glorificatur, quod locutus est per prophetas : in unam \* catholicam atque apostolicam ecclesiam ; confitemur unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum ; speramus resurrectionem mortuorum, uitam futuri saeculi. AMEN. 15

5. eiusdem *n* : eiusdemque **Q** 6. salute *n* natus *n* : incarnatus **Q** (*fortasse recte*) 7. de : ex **Π** et ex Maria *n* : in Maria (*om* et) **Q**  
8. sepultus est et resurrexit *n* : sepultus resurrexit **Q** 9. in caelos *n* : ad caelos **Q** sedit *n*\* **Π** inde **Q** : unde *n* est : *om* *n*\* 10 et mortuos *n* : ac mortuos **Q** finis non erit *n* **Π** : *tr* non erit finis *Ballerini*  
11 in spū s̄co *n* et (*ante* uiuificantem) *n* **Π** : ac *Ballerini* 12. qui : *praem* et *n* adhoratur *n* quod *n* **Π** (*cum Graeco*) : qui *Ballerini*  
14. in remissione **Π**

III. C in Council of Chalcedon : Rusticus' version of *Actio Secunda*  
(with **Sp**).

SANCTA FIDES QVAM EXPOSVERVNT SANCTI CL PATRES CONSONA  
SANCTAE ET MAGNAE NICAENO SYNODO

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et inuisibilium :

5 et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine, Deum uerum ex Deo uero, natum non factum, homousion Patri hoc est eiusdem cum Patre substantiae, per quem omnia facta sunt ; qui propter nos et nostram salutem descendit \* et incarnatus est de Spiritu  
10 sancto et Maria uirgine, homo factus, et passus est sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit \*, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, iterum uenturus in gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis :

15 et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem, ex Patre \* procedentem, cum Patre et Filio conglorificandum, qui locutus est per prophetas : in unam \* catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam ; confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum ; expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum, uitam futuri saeculi. AMEN.

I. SYMBOLVM EORVNDEM SANCTORVM CL PATRVN APVD CONSTAN-  
TINOPOLIM INSTITVTVM **Sp** (*praem* Incipit E) 4. inuisibilium :  
+ conditorem **Sp** 7. homousion M : omousion N omoeusion E  
8 facta sunt : + que in caelo et in terra E, quae in caelo et quae in terra  
*duo MSS* (Gonzalez) 9. propter nos et nostram salutem N : propter  
nostram salutem M propter nos et propter nostram salutem (*tr* salutem  
nostram E) **Sp** discindit N incarnatus : + et homo factus est  
M \* 10. et Maria uirgine MN : ex Maria uirgine **Sp** sub Pontio :  
supPontio N et sepultus MN : sepultus **Sp** 11. ascindit N  
12. Patris : *praem* Dei *duo MSS* (Gonzalez) iterum MN : inde **Sp**  
in gloria MN : cum gloria **Sp** 14. et 1<sup>o</sup> M Gonzalez : credimus E,  
*om* N Dominum et uiuificantem MNE *duo MSS* (Gonzalez) ·  
Dominum et uiuificantem *unum MS* (Gonzalez), Dominum uiuifica-  
torem *quatuor MSS* (Gonzalez) ex Patre : + et Filio (Gonzalez)  
procedentem N 15. conglorificandum ME : cumglorificantedum N  
glorificandum (Gonzalez) loquutus M 16. catholicam M\* (*corr m p*)  
et MN : atque **Sp** ecclesiam M 17. remissione M<sup>2</sup>

IV. C in Council of Chalcedon, Rusticus' version of *Actio Sexta*,  
(with **F T H Vig cant**).

ITERVM SYMBOLVM CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium :

et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula \* \* Deum uerum de Deo uero, 5 natum non factum, consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram descendit \* et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine, et humanatus est et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato \*, et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die \*, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, 10 iterum uenturus [est] cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis :

et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem ex Patre \* procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per sanctos prophetas in unam \* catholicam et 15 apostolicam ecclesiam : confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum : expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum [et] uitam futuri saeculi. AMEN.

1. ITERVM : ITEM M IDEM ET CENTVM QVINGVAGINTA SANCTORVM PATRV M QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT **F** EXPOSITIO FIDEI CL SANCTORVM [+PATRV M A\*] QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT **T** 2. credo *cant* 3. omnium : *om T* 4. in : *om T* unigenitum : *om T H* 5. omnia : *om M* 7. et 1<sup>o</sup> : + propter **F cant** *tr* nostram salutem **F cant** descendit N ; + de caelis **H cant** 8. et (ante Maria) : ex **H** et humanatus (inhumanatus T) est et : et homo factus est *cant* est (*post* humanatus) : *om Vig* 9. pro nobis : propter nos **F** sup N Pilato : + passus *cant* 10. die : + secundum scripturas *cant* ascendit N in : ad **T** caelo N caelum **H cant** sedit N\* *Vig cant (praem et Vig)* 11. iterum : *praem et F cant* est : *om M F T H Vig* quibus M 12. *tr* finis non erit **T** 13. uiuificantem **F** qui ex Patre Filioque procedit *cant* 14. qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur *cant* Patrem *f* coadorandum et glorificandum *Vig* 15. loquutus M T sanctos : *om f\* cant* in : et **H cant** et in *Vig* unam : + sanctam **H cant** 16. confiteor A\* (*corr m p*) *cant* apostolicam M baptismā T baptismam A in remissione **T cant** 17. expectamus : speramus *Vig* et expecto *cant* resurrectionem mortuorum **T** et : *om M T* futuri *f*



exhibits the form which became common in the Church of Spain. Now the leading theologian at the Council of Toledo in 589, John of Biclaro, had recently returned from Constantinople, where he had resided for some years. May we not suppose that it was partly under his influence that the Synod decreed the recitation of the Creed in the Liturgy, following the custom of the Eastern Churches? This connexion through him with Constantinople confirms the suggestion that this form iii was the text used in the Church of that city.

There is no need to enlarge here on the omission of *Filioque* from all four forms. But here are two other variations in late texts to which Caspari has called attention. The first is the change from plural to singular in *Credo, Confiteor, Expecto* (*Spero*). It has been transferred from the Baptismal to the Liturgical use of the Creed, being found in the (Baptismal) form quoted by Theodosius, then in the Gelasian Sacramentary, in which C appears as a Baptismal Creed, though not as the only Creed of the Roman Church. It can be traced in the use of the Frank, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Old English Churches. The Creed was regarded as the personal Creed of each worshipper.

The second is the omission in later versions of the word *in* before *ecclesiam*. From the time of Rufinus, and more especially under the influence of St. Augustine, an important distinction was drawn between 'believing in' God (Father, Son, Holy Spirit), and 'believing' the Church. Rufinus writes: 'Hac itaque praepositionis syllaba creator a creaturis discernitur et diuina separantur ab humanis'.<sup>1</sup> But the preposition was often used by later writers without any theological significance. And in some instances the retention of *in* in a later Latin version of C simply points to the fact that it is a new translation from a Greek text in which *eis* has been preserved. In most cases, however, the Greek text of the later version drops *eis*, e. g. the Cambridge MS. Gg 5. 35, quoted above.

It is interesting to compare the text used by Pope Vigilius with that used by Pope Hadrian in his edition of *Dionysius*, which includes two of the later additions *de caelis*<sup>2</sup>, *sanctam*. On the other hand, the version which Pope Leo III set up in St. Peter's on a silver shield some years later, according to the testimony of Abelard, contained all the later variants<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Symb. Apost.* c. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the singular *caelum* is used below, proving that this phrase is a later addition in this form; also *ex* (Maria) as in the Old Roman (Apostles') Creed.

<sup>3</sup> Abelard, *Sic et Non*, quoted by Caspari, i. p. 221, n. 10. But this form was plainly a new translation from the Greek version set up beside it. It has *qui . . . natus, descendente, incarnatum, &c.*, and the forms *baptismum, uenturi* (saeculi). And Leo has *et* (Maria) = translation of *καί*.