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THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE NICENE CREED.

THE problem with which this paper deals is that of the origin of the longer creed recited in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon, and commonly known as C.

It is generally agreed that the attribution of this creed to the Council of Constantinople is mistaken, or at least that the 150 fathers were not responsible for its composition in the sense in which the 318 were responsible for the Nicene Creed, N. Accordingly the first question presented is how to account for this error. But further, the Greek MSS of the Acts of Chalcedon give in the fifth session a creed enlarged from N and concluding with the Nicene anathemas, styling it the Creed of the 318. Is the reading of the Greek MSS to be preferred to that of the Latin MSS which here give N, and if so what account are we to give of this intermediate creed which, for convenience of reference, I shall call E?¹

The solution proposed is that E is an enlargement of N made by the Council of Constantinople in 381, and C is the baptismal creed of Constantinople founded on E and most probably composed in the following year.

The obvious impediment in the way of this hypothesis is the occurrence of C in a slightly differing form in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius; but, as I shall endeavour to shew, there is very strong reason to think that the present text of the *Ancoratus* is corrupt and originally had N, where we now read C.

This is the first point with which I shall deal, and having thus cleared the ground I shall try to prove that the 150 fathers did make some enlargement of N, an enlargement which is in one part definitely known, and in other parts determinable by well-grounded conjecture. I shall then compare this partly hypothetical reconstruction with E, and finally E with C. Of course if my theory is established, that of Dr Hort breaks down; but in any case Dr Hort's theory has to contend with difficulties which seem to have been generally under-estimated. Lastly, as a question germane to the whole argument, I shall give reasons for supposing that Leo in his Tome would be thought by the

¹ The text of E may be found in Heurtley *de Fide et Symbolo* p. 25.

fathers of Chalcedon to be quoting from E rather than R, the baptismal creed of his own see, and, with some modifications, of the Western Church—a supposition which explains some facts in the history of that Council, and moreover is probably true.

The Original Text of the Creed in Epiphanius's Ancoratus ch. cxx.

The text of Epiphanius is derived from a single MS, and consequently corruption is far more possible than if it involved the same alteration in a large number.

The proof of corruption is established by six independent arguments, each shewing that the original reading was N instead of C.

(1) Turning first to ch. cxxi we find a creed identical in its earlier clauses with N and in its later confessedly based upon it. But at the beginning of this chapter this creed is said to be in accordance with the creed of the holy fathers before set forth. The creed therefore in ch. cxx ought to be N.

(2) At the conclusion of ch. cxx comes the sentence *καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν*.

It is obvious that some emendation is required. Kattenbusch holds that *τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει* is an interpolation, but perhaps a more satisfactory change would be to read *ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων (ἐν) τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει καὶ ἀπὸ κτλ* and translate 'from the holy apostles to (or in) the Church in the holy city and from' &c. The first half of the sentence will then be a statement about the matter of the creed such as we find in Irenaeus, and would be in the line of a broad tradition, but the second with any reading is definitely fixed down to the Nicene Council. And the creed to which this description would be applied could only be N.

(3) Immediately preceding this come the Nicene anathemas. Now it is possible that these should follow an enlargement of N, as they do in the creed of Damasus and in E; what would be entirely contrary to all rules is that they should be appended to a baptismal creed, such as C. The original text of Epiphanius must, I think, have had a conciliar creed here, and we have no other knowledge of any conciliar enlargement of N at this date in the Eastern Church.

(4) At the end of the previous chapter, immediately before the creed, we find Epiphanius advising that the creed he is about to write should be diligently taught to all catechumens. This perhaps suggests that the creed which follows should be baptismal, though it may well be thought that so warm an adherent of the Nicene faith as Epiphanius might have considered it eminently wise that catechumens should be taught N as part of their instruction. But the matter is set at rest by his saying that they are to be taught *ῥητῶς ὡς πάντων ἡ αὐτῇ μήτηρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ*

ἡμῶν (διδάσκει). It is difficult to see how this could apply to anything except the Nicene formula.

(5) And moreover in the *Panarion*, which is later than the *Ancoratus*, the only creed cited is that of Nicaea.

(6) It has been pointed out in a previous¹ number of this Journal that the slight variations between the text of C given in Epiphanius and that recited at Chalcedon support the same conclusion. But however that may be, I regard the arguments I have adduced as already sufficient for proof.

The Enlargement of N at Constantinople in 381.

Neglecting the evidence to be derived from the Fifth Session of Chalcedon, there is a substantial and interwoven chain of testimony that the Council of Constantinople did enlarge N. This testimony may conveniently be set out under three heads.

(1) There are those who attribute to the 150 fathers an exposition of the creed which is placed on almost the same level of authority as the original creed of Nicaea.

(2) Next there are those who assert that the successors of the 318 (οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα) added to N, and in some cases the actual additions, or some of them, are given, and the purpose of the enlargement is stated.

(3) These additions or parts of them are quoted as from the Nicene Creed; that is, there was an authoritatively enlarged version of it.

Taking the evidence in inverse chronological order:—

We have at the close of the First Session of the Council of Chalcedon a definite assertion by the imperial commissioners that their master and they themselves believed in accordance with the exposition of the 318 and of the 150 who succeeded them, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, and this statement is anticipated in a letter of Flavian to Theodosius II in 449,² who ascribes exposition to both Councils. This testimony not only assigns an exposition of faith to the Council of Constantinople but treats it as equally authoritative with N. Earlier in the same session in the reading of the minutes of the later Council of Ephesus (the Latrocinium), Eutyches was represented as endeavouring to cover himself for refusing to go beyond the wording of N by pleading the canon of the earlier Council of Ephesus (431). When the reader came to this point Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Diogenes of Cyzicus interrupted. The decision of Ephesus was being strained; it had no such intention. Putting forward the Council of Nicaea was a mere piece of hypocrisy. The creed had received additions from the holy fathers on account of the corruptions of Apollinarius and Valentinus and Macedonius and

¹ Vol. iv no. 14 p. 289.

² Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 320-321.

others like them, and there has been added to the creed of the holy fathers τὸν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, and Eutyches only left them out because he was an Apollinarian. For the holy fathers who succeeded them (οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα) explained the ἐσαρκώθη of the holy fathers in Nicæa by saying ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. This plea, however, was not accepted by the Egyptian party who at once cried out against any addition to N, adding that Eutyches had quoted it correctly.

This evidence furnishes some of the actual additions; it implies that the creed thus enlarged had for those under Constantinopolitan influence equal authority with N, and was not barred by the canon of the Council of Ephesus, and thus recognizes the ecumenicity of the Council which composed it. The reference to the Apollinarians and Macedonians fixes this Council as that of the 150 and thus gives a technical meaning to οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα in this kind of connexion.

In the year 430 Nestorius, at the Council of Ephesus, quoted the words σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου as from N, and in his letter to Pope Celestine he quotes the same sentence, 'from the words of the holy Fathers of Nicæa'; and Cyril corrects his error in *Adv. Nest.* i 8.¹ But this was not all that Nestorius's version of N contained, for in ch. 6 we find also τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα and τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς.²

It is, I think, clear that in 430 there was an authoritative enlargement of N of such importance that its acceptance by an ecumenical council could naturally be expected.

Going back again before the rise of the Nestorian controversy we have a dialogue falsely attributed to Athanasius,³ in which the orthodox champion is compelled to allow that the Catholics had made additions

¹ Cyril *adv. Nestorium* i 8. "Ἰθὶ δὲ οὖν, ὡ γερναίε, ποῦ τεθείκασιν, εἰπέ, περὶ τοῦ Τίτου σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου;

² *Ibid.* i 6. Οὐκ εἶπαν, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Λόγον· ἀλλ' ἔλαβον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ σημαῖνον ἀμφοτέρα, ἵνα ὅταν ὑποκαταβαίνων ἀκούσης θάνατον, μὴ ξενίζῃ ἵνα τὸν σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, μὴ πλήτη τὴν ἀκοήν. . . . Εἶτα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει· Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Τίτον τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα· τὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ· τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

³ *De Sancta Trinitate*, Dial. III § 1 (Migne P.G. xxviii 1205):

Ὁρθ. Τί γὰρ κατέγνωσ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν τιῆ' πατέρων ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐκτεθείσης, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλην περιβλέψῃ;

Μακ. Σὺ γὰρ τί κατέγνωσ τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ;

Ὁρθ. Κατέγνωσ τῆς προσθήκης ἧς προσεθήκατε, καὶ ἔχω δεῖξαι ὅτι προσεθήκατε ἐναντία αὐτῆς.

Μακ. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐ προσεθήκατε τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ;

Ὁρθ. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐναντία αὐτῇ.

Μακ. Ὅλως προσεθήκατε.

Ὁρθ. Τὰ τότε μὴ ζητηθέντα ἃ καὶ νῦν ἠρμήνευσαν οἱ πατέρες εὐσεβῶς κτλ.

to N, and defends the additions by saying that the things which the fathers had now piously explained were not formerly in question.

We may then, I think, take it for all but certain that the Council of Constantinople enlarged N against Apollinarianism by certain additions which we find most fully reported by Nestorius.

We have next to decide what general form N so enlarged would take.

There is, first, no reason whatever for supposing that the action of the Council of 381 would form an exception to the general rule, that only doctrines attacked were formally defined. This means that the creed would contain no clauses after those dealing with the Holy Spirit. We should expect, secondly, that the alterations from N would be not only confined to the points at issue but would be couched in scriptural language, and, if possible, drawn from previously existing baptismal creeds. After the immense difficulties in the way of acceptance which non-scriptural language in N had aroused, no council, we may be sure, would be so unwise as to frustrate its own work by introducing such language. And if we examine N, we shall find moreover that the whole of its phraseology, with the exception of those new terms, can be found in already existing baptismal creeds. Eusebius's own letter warns us that the 318 fathers did not simply adopt the creed of Caesarea enlarged with the necessary homoousian language, and it is not likely that other bishops of more important sees abstained from putting forward their own creeds as equally valuable models, and both here and at Nicaea the adoption of phrases from various baptismal creeds would have given different dioceses a local interest in maintaining the result. Finally, if the enlarged creed was to be regarded merely as N strengthened and interpreted against novel forms of error, it would in all probability end with the Nicene anathemas, and other anathemas would be framed in a later session and form part of the canons rather than be appended to the creed.

Thus it will be seen that in general form it would resemble the creed of the Council held under Damasus,¹ not because the Council of Constantinople would necessarily think itself bound to follow that as setting a precedent, but because similar motives would tend to a like result.

Now if we have regard to the records of the action of the Council which we possess, the works of the historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, the letter sent to Pope Damasus, the verses of Gregory of Nazianzus and the canons, we find that so far as they go they entirely support this scheme of action.

The Council was summoned primarily to deal with Macedonianism. The Emperor desired that if possible the Macedonians should be won over to the orthodox faith. A Macedonian deputation had already

¹ Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 271, 272.

subscribed to N in Rome under Liberius ; and, besides scripture, N was at the time the one and only test of episcopal orthodoxy.

Accordingly the thirty-six Macedonian bishops present were first asked to accept the same test and ratify the action of the deputies from their own party. This they refused, and so demonstrated the affinity between Macedonianism and Arianism. But their withdrawal did not end the task of the Council.

What steps then did the Council take? We know that against Apollinarianism they inserted certain clauses into N ; it is probable therefore that they adopted the same procedure as regards Macedonianism. But we are not left to conjecture.¹ Eusebius and Digenes definitely assert that this was what they did, and this statement reappears in the *allocutio* of the Council of Chalcedon to the Emperor and receives confirmation from the canons of the Council itself, which place the Pneumatomachî with the Marcellians and the Apollinarians on the same level of condemnation ; while the letter sent in the following year to Damasus seems to suggest that they had taken much the same course in regard to Macedonianism as they did with regard to Apollinarianism. This also appears the only possible interpretation of certain verses of Gregory Nazianzen. He desired the Council to do one of two things : either to keep N intact (as had been done at Alexandria), or to insert an unequivocal expression of the deity of the Holy Spirit. Gregory would no doubt have desired *θεός*, though he might have been satisfied with the *de substantia Deitatis* which Damasus had adopted, or the *ὁμοούσιον* of the creed of Charisius.² Instead of this, the Council, he declares, had taken an intermediate position and so incurred his scorn.³ But if they inserted something, and that was

¹ Mansi, vi 632.

² Greg. Naz. *Carm.* lib. ii xiv 26-42 :

Εἰ μὲν ἐξέστην θρόνων,
Τούτου τί μείζον ; εἰ δ' ἀπερρίφθην ἄκων,
Οἱ ταῦτα τολμήσαντες οἶων ἄξιοι ;

ἴσως τὸ Πνεῦμα βάλλεται, φέρω σαφῶς,
τὸ Πνεῦμ', ἀκούσασθ' ὡς θεός, πάλιν λέγω.

Ἔμοι θεὸς σὺ, καὶ τρίτον βοῶ θεός.

Τούτ' ἔστι. Βάλλετ', εὐστοχεῖτε τοῖς λίθοις.

Ἔσθηκ' ἀτρεπτος τῆς ἀληθείας σκοπός.

Πνεῦμά τ', ἄχρονος φύσις.

Θεός, θεός μου, καὶ θεός, τρισσῆ μονάς.

³ *Ibid.* xi 1702-1711 :

Κάκεῖνο δ' οἶον ; τὴν γλυκεῖαν καὶ καλὴν

Πηγὴν παλαιᾶς πίστεως, ἢ τριάδος

Εἰς ἓν συνῆγε τὴν σεβάσιμον φύσιν,

* Ἦς ἦν ποθ' ἡ Νίκαια φροντιστήριον,

neither *ἰσοουσίον*, which might have rekindled the old disturbance and would have been fatal to reconciliation with the Macedonians, nor *θεός*, of which Gregory denies their acceptance, what word or words did they add? There was one word which had the triple advantage, that it was scriptural,¹ that it had already been employed in N as one of the safeguards of the assertion of the deity of the Son, and that it might perhaps serve as a stepping-stone for the Macedonians towards a more definite faith, because though it was capable of bearing the highest meaning yet it could also be used in lower significations. That word was *Κύριος*. But the very fact that its meaning was so wide, while it might recommend it to some, would suggest to others that it needed to be strengthened. If then we are to demand a second term which should fulfil our conditions, there is one and one only which is available, and that is *ζωοποιός*. It appears to have been in the fundamental form of Eastern baptismal creeds²; and the phrase *τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιόν*³ affords an almost exact parallel to *ὁ δὲ Κύριός ἐστιν τὸ Πνεῦμα*, and in fact it is the only other scriptural predicate applied to the Holy Spirit, and it asserts what all would allow was a divine function. Here then the creed itself would end and the Nicene anathemas follow. But in all probability the Council began with Macedonianism, and having added an article to the faith of Nicaea as to which N was insufficiently explicit, since the question had not then been raised,⁴ it proceeded next to make the assertions which I have already quoted, and possibly some others, against Apollinarianism. And possibly by this time Gregory had already withdrawn. At any rate he seems to hint that he had incurred hostility by taking an unpopular line on the article dealing with the Holy Spirit, and that he disapproved of the other additions and disavowed any responsibility in regard to them.⁵

Finally, there was the heresy of Marcellianism to be dealt with. In regard to this it is probable that they adopted the same procedure as with regard to the other two, and the first canon suggests that it was treated

*Ταύτην ἑώραν ἀλμυραῖς ἐπιβροαῖς
 τῶν ἀμφιδόξων ἀθλίως θολουμένην,
 οἷ ταῦτα δοξάζουσιν, οἷς χαίρει κράτος,
 μέσοι μὲν ὄντες, ἀσμενιστὸν δ' εἰ μέσοι
 καὶ μὴ προδήλως κλήσεως ἐναντίας κτλ.*

¹ 2 Cor. iii 17.

² Hahn *Bibliothek* p. 130 note.

³ Jn. vi 63.

⁴ Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cii to Cledonius, . . . ἐγράψαμεν τῇ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ . . . ὅτι ἡμεῖς τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πίστεως, . . . οὐδὲν οὔτε προετιμήσαμεν πάποτε, οὔτε προτιμᾶν δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνης ἐσμέν τῆς πίστεως σὺν Θεῷ καὶ ἐσόμεθα. προσδιαρθροῦντες τὸ ἐλλιπῶς εἰρημένον ἐκείνοις περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (διὰ τὸ μηδὲ κεκινήσθαι τηνικαῦτα τοῦτο τὸ ζήτημα), ὅτι μᾶς θεότητος εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα, Θεὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα γινώσκοντας.

⁵ *Carm.* xiv 25-47 *supra*.

in the same way. Moreover, Marcellus had himself been condemned at an Arian Synod at Constantinople in 336. And if any addition was to be made against this heresy it could only be οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. This was scriptural,¹ it had already occurred in Marcellus's own letter to Julius, and it appears to have been common in Eastern baptismal creeds.²

This form of faith would not be regarded by its authors as a new composition or a separate exposition from N, whatever later ages might think of it. However effective N might have been against Arianism, new heresies had arisen which were not within the purview of the 318 fathers, and in Constantinople the sanctity of N lay solely in its value, whatever might be thought at Alexandria or in the city of its birth. Hence the fathers of Constantinople would consider that they were but following precedent rather than contravening it; following it in the spirit as against the novelties of a later age, rather than being bound by the letter. The additions did but maintain it in a condition of usefulness, and demonstrated rather than impugned their loyalty. When it was not sufficiently explicit for new needs they made it so, and that was all. Such is the defence which is repeatedly offered; such no doubt was the feeling of the actual time.

The enlarged N compared with E and identified with it.

And now if we compare this creed with E³ we shall be struck by

¹ Lk. i 53.

² Hahn *Bibliothek* p. 136.

³ E compared with N and the additions made at Constantinople in 381:

N	Additions	E
τά τε ἐν οὐρανῷ		omitted
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ	Nestorius, &c.	"
(τὸν κατελθόντα)	(τὸν κατελθόντα)	(τὸν κατελθόντα)
	ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν	ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν
(καὶ σαρκωθέντα)	(καὶ σαρκωθέντα)	(καὶ σαρκωθέντα)
	ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου	ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου
	καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου	καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου
	σταυρωθέντα	σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
		ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
	καὶ ταφέντα	καὶ ταφέντα
καὶ ἀναστάντα		(καὶ ἀναστάντα
τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ		τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ)
		κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς
		καὶ καθεζόμενον
		ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς
	Marcellus's letter	καὶ πάλιν
	and scripture	μετὰ δόξης
	οὐ τῆς βασιλείας	οὐ τῆς βασιλείας
	οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	οὐκ ἔσται τέλος
	Scripture and other creeds	
	τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν	τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν

their substantial agreement. E has other additions, and these may be due to a corruption of E, or the creed as it issued from the 150 may have had them also; but E is substantially N enlarged against Apollinarianism, Marcellianism, and Macedonianism, by just those phrases for which we either have direct testimony or else strong indirect probability. It is conciliar in form; it has the Nicene anathemas just as the creed of Damasus would lead us to expect; and it stops short just where conciliar action would in fact stop. On the other hand, it is extremely probable that a Latin scribe, finding the title at the beginning and having already given N under the same title earlier in his work, would substitute one for the other, and it is equally improbable that a Greek scribe, who starting with N had lapsed into C, would suddenly stop short at *ζωοποιόν* and finish by appending the Nicene anathemas.

The relation of E to C.

The creed thus produced was not baptismal but conciliar. It had at its conclusion anathemas which were not a feature of baptismal creeds, and it lacked those final clauses which were common in one form or another to all baptismal creeds at this period. It would not be too much to say that if any one claimed to have been baptized during the last quarter of the fourth, or the first quarter of the fifth, century with the creed of some Eastern council, we should take it for granted that the creed used had no anathemas and that it had some of the final clauses added. If it was N which he claimed had been used, the form would have been something like the creed produced by Charisius,¹ or the longer form in Epiphanius² with omission of the explanatory phrases. Now this is precisely the case with which we are called upon

It is probable that the baptismal creed of Constantinople resembled that of Antioch from which it was derived (Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 75 n), and in this case it would contain *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* and *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, and the presence of these words in the baptismal creeds of Antioch and Constantinople would perhaps account for their addition to N in 381.

They also occur in the Nestorian baptismal creed published by Caspari. This creed is entitled 'the creed of the 318 fathers (and) bishops assembled in the city of Nicaea'. It seems to be a combination of N and either the baptismal creed of Antioch or a Syrian derivative of it (Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 144-146). It omits with *Ε τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ*, and contains also *ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου* (but not *ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*), *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιᾶς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν, τὸ ζωοποιόν*. Its date is uncertain but cannot be later than 381.

Finally, the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, which has Antiochene affinities, contains *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν, καὶ μετὰ δόξης*. These facts render it not improbable that the phrases in E which we cannot definitely trace back to their origin, may also have been inserted at the Council of 381.

¹ Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 318-319.

² *Ancoratus* ch. cxxi.

to deal. Among those who at the Council of Chalcedon had at first refused to subscribe Leo's Tome was a certain Archimandrite Dorotheus. He stated that he stood fast to the faith of the 318 in which he had been baptized, and to the decision of the Council of Ephesus which had condemned Nestorius; thus he believed, and beside that he knew no other faith. But later on, being asked about his personal belief, he said, 'We were baptized into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, confessing the Saviour Christ who came down and was incarnate of the Virgin, and was made man and was crucified under Pontius Pilate'. The quotation is not verbally exact, but it is obviously made from N with enlargements.

And this witness is confirmed by a letter of the Emperor Theodosius. The Synod of Chalcedon, he writes, has retained the symbol of the 318 intact with neither addition nor subtraction. With this symbol he was baptized, and with this as his basis of belief, he confesses 'That our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin, the Theotokos'. The quotation again is not verbally exact and we may dismiss the title Theotokos as forming part of the Emperor's baptismal creed, but there is no doubt that the creed of his baptism would be the local baptismal creed of Constantinople.

A similar assertion was made by the bishops at Chalcedon in the second session with regard to N. So again at the beginning of the fourth session the commissioners ask what had been decided about the faith, and the legate Paschasius replies that the Council held to the formula of Nicaea, and that the Council of Constantinople had confirmed or strengthened it (*ἐβεβαίωσεν*); and thereupon follows the shout by the bishops that in this faith they baptized and had themselves been baptized.

Now most of the bishops present belonged to the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence, and some of them must have been elderly men. The inference is that towards the close of the fourth century the Constantinopolitan baptismal creed was N with enlargements common to it and E, and no doubt also clauses at the end dealing with the Church and baptism, and having no anathemas. It is, I think, difficult to doubt that this creed is C.

The Date of the Compilation of C.

But supposing C to be the baptismal creed of the Church of Constantinople, can we decide when it was likely to have been compiled? With a fair show of probability I think we may put it down to the bishops of the Constantinopolitan district who remained behind after those from other districts had left the Council of 382.

In response to a request from a Milanese Council held early in 382, the Emperor Gratian desired to summon an ecumenical council at

Rome at the end of that year, and accordingly he issued letters inviting the Eastern bishops to attend. But Theodosius, not approving of this scheme, assembled a number of bishops at Constantinople. This may be regarded as an adjourned sitting of the Council of the previous year; but I think we may gather from the letter of excuse which was sent to the Italian bishops that this assembly did not regard itself as having the same authority. The former Council it speaks of as ecumenical, but it does not claim the title for itself. It attributes to the Council of 381 an exposition of faith and declares its own agreement with it. It passed canons, but they seem to deal only with the discipline of the Constantinopolitan district and to suggest that the Antiochene patriarchate was not sitting in joint session. And I think we may take it as probable that the Alexandrine patriarchate was equally unrepresented. That is, the Council of 382 would consist of few, if any, bishops from outside the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence. They, of course, could come with less trouble than the more distant bishops; and it would be quite sufficient to frustrate the ecumenicity of the council to be held in Italy, if Constantinople was unrepresented there.

Now we know for a fact that in post-Nicene times it became a common practice to enrich the local baptismal creed by combining with it the whole or some part of N; and there is evidence that this had taken place at Constantinople itself.¹ This was an obvious precaution where a diocese was now threatened with Arianism. But Constantinople was threatened with just those heresies against which the Council of 381 had guarded. Is there not then a great probability that the bishops who belonged to the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence would combine the existing baptismal creed of Constantinople with E? And by this route we reach exactly the same conclusion as we have already arrived at by other evidence, namely that C is the baptismal creed of Constantinople subsequent to 381.

And if it is allowed that a creed like E was in existence before C, the mere comparison of the two will create in the mind a strong prepossession in favour of this view; and this is strengthened if it is observed that the main dogmatic difference between C and E is in the clauses which concern the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and safeguard it against Macedonianism which had been elaborated under the walls

¹ In 449 Eutyches in his letter to Leo claimed to have been baptized with N without the additional clauses quoted by Nestorius. Such language might be used somewhat loosely. It is, however, fairly certain (a) that he would have been baptized with the baptismal creed of Constantinople, (b) that it must have closely resembled N and could not have contained these clauses, and (c) that it must have had some clauses after 'the Holy Spirit' dealing with the Church, &c., and no anathemas. Mansi, vi 632.

of the Imperial City and was almost confined in its actual range to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, though ecclesiastical leaders throughout the Christian world might dread its extension.

Granting this hypothesis, the attribution of E to the 318 and of C to the 150 by the Council of Chalcedon becomes comparatively intelligible. E was simply an enlarged N, and was already current in the Constantinopolitan sphere under the title of 'the words of the Fathers of Nicaea' as early as Nestorius; while it was not accepted in Egypt, in some parts of the Antiochene patriarchate, and at Nicaea itself, which clung to N in its original form. The doctrinal decree of the Council was drawn up by a committee dominated by Constantinopolitan influence and including Anatolius, Diogenes of Cyzicus, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Maximus of Antioch (who had supported Flavian and pledged his patriarchate to Leo's Tome), and the Roman legate, while the Egyptian party was not represented on it. The attribution of E to the Council of Nicaea was therefore natural and easy. The attribution of C to the 150 is a difficulty with which any theory has to contend; for C is certainly not conciliar in form. But if C is an enlargement of E made for baptismal purposes in 382 by the Constantinopolitan bishops, who were by far the greater portion of this second council, it might easily have come to be regarded as the work of the Council itself. The later proceedings at Chalcedon add little to the data already collected; but the *Allocutio* to the Emperor affirms that the later fathers, *οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα*, had felt themselves obliged to define against the Marcellians and the Macedonians, and that Basil, Damasus, and the Councils of Sardica and Ephesus, had judged it necessary that against novel heresies additions should be made to the creed of the 318.

We have now to account for the little recognition accorded to E between the year of its composition and the Council of Chalcedon. This policy of neglect seems most strongly manifested in Egypt. But it is precisely there that we are best able to account for it. The pressure of Apollinarianism had been widely felt, and though the converts to Macedonianism were confined within a comparatively small territory, Athanasius and Damasus had both thought it needful to secure their own sphere of jurisdiction against it by conciliar action, and there was a common opinion that the Council of Sardica had authorized additions to N to guard against these heresies; while, as we have seen, the Council of Chalcedon held that this had actually been done. The opinion was wrong, but it shews what sort of procedure was expected from an authoritative council. Writing to the Antiochenes, Athanasius says: 'That composition which is being circulated as the work of the Council of Sardica you must suppress, for the Council issued nothing of the kind. It is quite true that such a motion was brought forward,

but the Council was indignant at it, and it defined that the faith of Nicaea was to suffice and nothing ought to be added to it as though it were incomplete, and no one ought to put out another creed lest reflexions should be cast on N, and an excuse be given to those who are for ever wanting to be writing and defining about faith.¹

And what Athanasius advised he followed in his own patriarchate. The Council of Alexandria in 362 made decrees against heretics, but left N untouched. The Creed of Nicaea would naturally have a kind of sanctity in Alexandria which it might well fail to attain elsewhere. Athanasius was an ecclesiastical, almost a national, hero in a land where political parties readily grouped themselves round religious catch-words. And to this traditional feeling on behalf of N was added, as time went on, an ecclesiastical rivalry between the throne of St Mark and that upstart see of Constantinople, which owed its position solely to imperial patronage. When Nestorius the Antiochene succeeded to the throne of Chrysostom differences of theological thought intensified the hostility, and Cyril manifests a malign pleasure in correcting the enlarged version of N quoted by Nestorius. The real problem is not so much to account for the suppression of E, wherever Egypt could bring pressure to bear, as to account for the Egyptian bishops ever acquiescing in its formation. Now the letter of Athanasius shews how readily it was believed that the Council of Sardica had taken the course which was adopted at Constantinople; and it shews also considerable anxiety lest some other council should do what Sardica had as a matter of fact refused. Outside Alexandria N had not the same halo of sanctity. It was a safeguard, the value of which was appreciated; but the question of enlargement was simply one of theological policy. A small local synod might well hesitate, a synod of the whole East need not have the same scruple. It would of course be careful to select its phraseology so as not to create needless difficulties; but it was the future welfare of the Church and its immediately pressing need, rather than the honour of the Council of Nicaea, of which they had to think. We can well imagine that the Egyptians did not yield without a struggle; but they would have felt themselves in an unsympathetic atmosphere, and for

¹ *Tomus ad Antiochenos* cc. iv, v (Migne P.G. xxvi 799). Ch. iv παρακαλούμεν . . . μήτε τοὺς περὶ Παυλίον ἑτερόν τι μήτε πλέον τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ προβάλλεσθαι. Ch. v καὶ τὸ θρυληθὲν γούν παρὰ τινῶν πιττάκιον, ὡς ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν συνόδῳ συνταχθὲν περὶ πίστεως, κωλύετε κἀν ὅλῳ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἢ προφέρεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ὤρισεν ἡ σύνοδος. Ἐξίωσαν μὲν γάρ τινες, ὡς ἐνδεοῦς οὕσης τῆς κατὰ Νικαίαν συνόδου, γράψαι περὶ πίστεως, καὶ ἐπεχείρησάν γε προπετώσ' ἡ δὲ ἀγία σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ ὤρισε μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ πίστεως γράφεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὁμολογηθείσῃ πίστει, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ λείπειν, ἀλλὰ πλήρη εὐσεβείας εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ δεῖν δευτέραν ἐκτίθεσθαι πίστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφεῖσα ὡς ἀτελής οὖσα νομισθῇ, καὶ πρόφασιν δοθῇ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πολλάκις γράφειν καὶ δριζύνει περὶ πίστεως.

the insertion of a clause against Macedonianism, which was probably the point first raised, the example of the Council under Damasus furnished a powerful precedent; while, even though the party at Antioch to which Athanasius addressed his letter would support the Egyptians in their resistance, it was the rival party which was in the ascendant at Constantinople. And without support they would have to be very strong men to refuse their assent, for they numbered only two.¹ But on their return home the position would be entirely reversed. The proceedings at Chalcedon emphasize the fact that the strong feeling of the Egyptians did not die down after the death of Athanasius, but continued in full force; and, this being so, we should not expect that an enlarged version of N would be tolerated either at the first Council of Ephesus or at the Latrocinium. But when we have made allowances for this feeling, whenever it had the opportunity to express itself, there are but few, if any, occasions on which we should rightly expect E to appear and do not find it, and on the other hand we are left with the evidence I have already quoted on the other side.

We have now only to summarize the conclusions from the evidence I have brought forward. This makes it clear that the Council of 381 added certain phrases to the creed of the 318 against heresies which had not arisen when this was composed.

We cannot precisely define *a priori* the limits of the added matter, but we know some of the wording and can conjecture a part of the remainder with very fair certainty. The creed thus produced was conciliar in form; it did not deal with doctrines which were not in question, and, like the creed of Damasus, it ended with the Nicene anathemas. It was not regarded as a new symbol, but only as a strengthened form of the old; and within the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence it was probably called the Nicene Creed, and as such it appears in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon. Soon afterwards we obtain evidence of a baptismal creed, connected as it would appear with Constantinople and containing at least one phrase which we know to have been inserted by the Council of 381. This was commonly regarded, within the limits of its use, as the baptismal form of the Nicene Creed. The number of bishops who in 451 said they had been baptized with it, puts the date of its composition back very close to 381, while the letter of Eutyches to Leo proves that it cannot have been much earlier. Omitting the evidence of Epiphanius, we have no quotation of it before the Council of Chalcedon. At that date there were two forms of the creed of the 318 recognized. The original form obtained especially

¹ *J.T.S.* vol. xv no. 58 p. 168.

in Egypt and sporadically elsewhere ; but this had been supplanted by the longer form over a large district which had fallen under the influence of the see of Constantinople, and apparently in some portion of the Antiochene patriarchate. The Council of Chalcedon seems to have been misinformed with regard to the action of the Council of Sardica, and to have imagined that the Council of Ephesus, as was claimed by Eusebius and Diogenes, had recognized the longer, and not, as was actually the case, the shorter form of the Nicene Creed. It need not therefore greatly surprise us to find that they attributed to the 150 the composition of the baptismal creed of Constantinople, though it is evident that this creed would not be the work of a council which was claimed as legislating for the whole Eastern Church. If we compare together the enlarged Nicene Creed, as we have seen reason to suppose it to have been issued from the Council of 381, with this baptismal creed, it is clear that the latter is based on the former, but combined in the last clauses, and probably in some of the earlier, with the traditional baptismal creed of Constantinople, the form of which, however, is not precisely known to us. Such a basis is, I think, not only obvious from the creed itself but also accounts most readily for the attribution of C to the 150, and this attribution becomes still easier if we imagine, as is not improbable, that C was thus put together in 382 by the Constantinopolitan bishops who remained behind in local synod after the other fathers of the Council of 381 had departed. The Council of 381 would naturally adhere as closely as possible to the Nicene Creed ; but a baptismal creed would avail itself of a larger latitude both of addition and also of omission or alteration where it should seem desirable.

Lastly, I come to deal with the hypothesis of Dr Hort. If the original text of Epiphanius read N, this hypothesis is *ipso facto* destroyed ; but it labours under difficulties which would seem fatal to its acceptance, even if C is still read in Epiphanius. Let us suppose with Dr Hort that Cyril's adoption of Nicene language dated from about 362, and that Sozomen, in saying that Cyril had formerly been a Macedonian, had no other source of information than Socrates, and meant nothing more than a semi-Arian. It is an arbitrary and most improbable supposition, for which no precedent can be quoted, that any council with the least approach to a claim to ecumenicity would go into committee on the orthodoxy of any bishop's baptismal creed ; in fact, no baptismal creed required the authorization of such a synod. Nor would such a procedure give to that creed an authority which enabled it afterwards to be quoted as on a level with the creed of Nicaea. Nor would such a council accept the production of an orthodox creed as a sufficient proof of personal orthodoxy. Was that

the test which the councils used, or had they another form of test which was in constant employment wherever possible? Such a test we do know that they had. The Nicene Creed with its anathemas was framed for that purpose. It was employed by Athanasius at Alexandria, as Dr Hort allows. It was the test to which the Macedonians submitted in Rome under Liberius; it was the test proposed to the Macedonians at this very Council of 381. There is not the least suggestion that they were asked to produce a creed other than that of Nicaea either here or in Rome, and *a fortiori* neither would Cyril, who had never been so heretical as they were, and for the last twenty years had been thoroughly orthodox, have been asked to do so.

On the difficulty of deriving C from Cyril's creed, J, there is little that needs to be added to the remarks of Dr Gibson¹ and others. We know J verbally with the exception of the clauses between *ἐγένετο* and *ἀναστάντα*, where the creed has been filled up from the chapter-headings of the catecheses, which are very possibly later, and almost certainly in these clauses are slightly wrong. The text furnishes no support for *σαρκωθέντα*, whereas *γεννάω* occurs in some form no less than ten times in the course of Catechesis xii. Supposing C to have been based on J, the most purely arbitrary alteration is *καθεζόμενον* instead of *καθίσαντα*. It is not only that the latter comes at the end of a long list of aorist participles, but a study of Cyril shews that he is uniformly careful to use *καθεζόμενος* of the eternal session of God the Son, while he uses the aorist of that session of our Lord in His humanity which had a beginning in time. The only exception to this rule is that he once uses *τῷ Πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος* in insisting on the present exalted state of our Lord in His human nature. But this gives no help when the creed is speaking of a series of definite historic acts. Nor, it may be remarked, is Epiphanius any more likely to have accepted this alteration from Cyril, for his creed in ch. cxxi has also *καθίσαντα*. Cyril was accused of semi-Arianism,—granted; but why should he introduce phrases directed against Apollinarianism, Marcellianism, and Macedonianism? Or what is the advantage of the concluding clauses over those in J?

But we have to suppose, not only that Cyril was dissatisfied with J, which was quite sufficiently definite against semi-Arianism, but that, wishing to strengthen it, he was not content to enlarge it from N, but introduced many other arbitrary alterations, and then that it found such favour with Epiphanius that he thought in ch. cxx it ought to be taught to all catechumens, while in the next chapter he adopts a baptismal

¹ *The Three Creeds* pp. 171, 172.

creed based on N and differing largely from C wherever C does not agree with N.

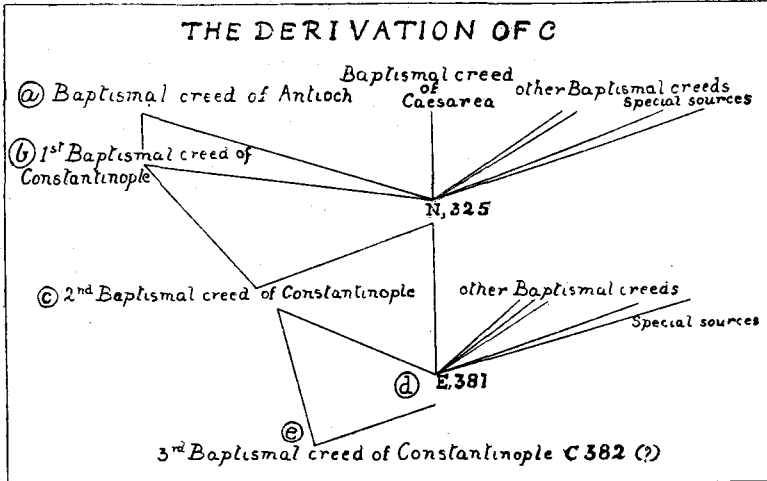
APPENDIX I.

C compared with Cyril's Creed and E.

<i>Cyril</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E</i>
Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν	πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν	πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν
Πατέρα παντοκράτορα	Πατέρα παντοκράτορα	Πατέρα παντοκρά- τορα
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὄρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων	ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὄρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀορά- των	πάντων ὄρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν
καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰη- σοῦν Χριστὸν	καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ	τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ	τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα	τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα	τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονο- γενῆ
πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων	πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων	τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς Θεοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ
Θεὸν ἀληθινόν	φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀλη- θινοῦ γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα	φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιη- θέντα
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο*	ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτη- ρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα	ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀν- θρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα

* * (ἐγένετο . . . ἀναστάντα) The text of Cyril's creed is unknown between these two points.

<i>Cyril</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E</i>
	σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
	ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα	ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα
*ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	κατὰ τὰς γραφάς καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρα- νοὺς	κατὰ τὰς γραφάς καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς	καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς	καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ	καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης	καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης
κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς	κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς	κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς
οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος
καὶ εἰς ἕν Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον
τὸν παράκλητον	τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν	τὸ Κύριον τὸ ζωο- ποιόν
	τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευό- μενον	E ends here
	τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συν- δοξαζόμενον	
τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προ- φήταις	τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προ- φητῶν	
καὶ εἰς ἕν βάπτισμα μετανοίας	εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν	
εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν	
καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθο- λικὴν	ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα	
Ἐκκλησίαν	εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	
καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστα- σιν	προσδοκοῦμεν ἀνάστασιν νε- κρῶν	
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον	καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος	



(a) Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 141-143, and compare with it the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, *ibid.* pp. 139-141.

(b) 'A priori we should expect Constantinople to have received its creed from Antioch, its ecclesiastical mother.' Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 75 n.

(c) Compare the letter of Eutyches to Leo in 449, which makes it probable that the baptismal creed of Constantinople had been combined with N. In any case N must have received additions for baptismal purposes and have been shorn of its anathemas.

(d) Quoted as N in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon.

(e) C is certainly baptismal in form, and almost certainly Constantinopolitan in origin.

APPENDIX II.

The Tome of Leo.

Leo's Tome was written in 449 and was intended to be read at the Council of Ephesus, the Latrocinium. It did not then get a hearing, but was first read in the second session of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. It contains two passages with regard to the creed.

Nesciens igitur (Eutyches) quid deberet de Verbi Dei Incarnatione sentire, nec volens ad promerendum intelligentiae lumen, in sanctorum scripturarum latitudine laborare, illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem sollicito recepisset auditu, qua fidelium universitas profitetur, credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine (ch. ii.).

Unde unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur (ch. v).

We are not here primarily concerned with the question what creed it was from which Leo was quoting, but with the impression produced:

i. e. with the question, from what creed he would have been thought by the assembled fathers to be quoting.

Leo's first statement is that Eutyches ought to have acknowledged the authority of scripture, propheticae voces, apostolicae litterae, evangelicae auctoritates. But a knowledge of scripture could not be expected from one who did not comprehend the beginning of the creed. Et quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur (ch. i).

The appeal to scripture is clear and does not now concern us, but the question arises, what form of creed would the fathers of Chalcedon think Eutyches ought to have acknowledged as authoritative?

This question admits of a double answer. The Egyptians claimed that among creeds N was the sole text of orthodoxy, and it was as judged by this standard that Eutyches had claimed, and by the Latrocinium had been allowed, to be orthodox.

But it is equally clear that Leo was not quoting from N, and in demanding that Eutyches should acknowledge as authoritative Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine, he was endeavouring to enforce on a member of the Church in Constantinople a creed which the Egyptian bishops did not accept.

The question we are discussing is not settled by saying that these words were in the Roman baptismal creed. That was purely Western, and did not run, in the sense of being an authorized form, in the East.

But if the Eastern Church had authorized a creed including these words which Egypt had accepted under pressure at the time but afterwards ignored in deference to a strong sentiment and tradition, the whole situation is explained. Let us grant that Leo was quoting from R, still the words would at once suggest to Easterns the more familiar formula. Nor to Eastern ears would any other interpretation appear possible of 'illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem, qua fidelium universitas profitetur . . .' and 'omnes . . . confitemur'. Such language could not to them mean the Western baptismal creed; it must mean N, either in its original or in its enlarged form. Nor would they admit that Eutyches should be judged by a Western symbol.

Thus the Constantinopolitan would rejoice in Leo's apparent acceptance of the dogmatic work of the Council of 381, Leo had acknowledged E as authoritative, while on the other hand the Egyptians would be confounded; Rome, Constantinople, Antioch were all against them.

Such a blow could not have been without effect on the proceedings of the Egyptian party. Nor was it. The opposition to the sentiment of the majority which they had manifested in the earlier stages of the Council died down, killed as it appears by Leo's Tome, and in the end E and C were accepted as authoritative with no dissentient voice.

It is, I think, hardly open to doubt that the Council thought Leo was quoting from E. But was it so in fact? On this point there is still room for difference of opinion. The words undoubtedly occur in R, but would Leo have quoted R as authoritative to Flavian or to an Eastern council? Or did he press the claims of his see so far as to make his own baptismal creed a standard equal in authority to the Scriptures over a Constantinopolitan archimandrite? On this point I refer to Dr. Gore: 'Leo appears to make no exact or definite claim over the Eastern bishops. He professes his "universalis cura" for the whole church . . . but when he comes to write his celebrated letter to Flavian . . . he writes in a tone no wise different from that adopted by St Cyril in his letters against Nestorius' (*Dictionary of Christian Biography* vol. iii p. 662). On the other hand Leo had no objection on principle to a conciliar enlargement of N; for his own predecessor Damasus had already adopted that course. And two years later Leo acknowledged E through his legates at Chalcedon.

F. J. BADCOCK.

THE PRIMITIVE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS, A REJOINDER.

AMONG the notices of my work upon the Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts three differ from the rest in that they are signed. The writers are Dr Sanday,¹ Dr Souter,² and Sir Frederic Kenyon,³ three well-known defenders of what Westcott and Hort call the 'Neutral' text. I have always made it a rule not to reply to reviewers, and it is with the utmost reluctance that I break this ordinance. I only do so because it has been represented to me by friends that, if I do not reply, an unfavourable interpretation may be placed on my silence.

Since I cannot expect that my little book may have made its way into the hands of more than a few of those who read this answer, I may be allowed to state my main points. This I will do very briefly.

My work consists of two parts. In the first I treat the Gospels and in the second the Acts. The method followed is different in the two cases, but the result is the same. This is, that the primitive text is to

¹ *Oxford Magazine*, June 4, 1914.

² *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, August 14, 1914.

³ *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1914 (under the title 'Von Soden's edition of the New Testament').