

# Contents

Preface — VII

Abbreviations — XVII

## 1 Introduction: What is a Creed? — 1

- 1.1 Preliminary remarks — 1
- 1.2 The scope of this book — 8
- 1.3 Some remarks on nomenclature — 10

## 2 A Brief History of Credal Research since Caspari — 13

- 2.1 The Apostles' Creed and the origins of the creeds in general — 15
  - 2.1.1 From Caspari to Lietzmann: The age of historicism — 15
  - 2.1.2 From Haußleiter to Kelly: The role of baptismal questions in the emergence of the creeds — 23
  - 2.1.3 Beyond Kelly: Widening the scope — 26
- 2.2 The Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople — 31
  - 2.2.1 From Hort to Schwartz — 31
  - 2.2.2 Lietzmann – Kelly – Ritter — 33
  - 2.2.3 The critics of the Ritter-Kelly hypothesis — 35
  - 2.2.4 Other shortcomings of Kelly's book — 38
- 2.3 The Athanasian Creed (*Symbolum Quicunque*) — 39
- 2.4 The task ahead: Some methodological reflections — 46

## 3 *Symbolum* and Related Terms for the Creed — 50

## 4 In the Beginning: Confessing Christ without Creeds — 54

- 4.1 Believing in and confessing God or Christ in the New Testament — 55
  - 4.1.1 'Believing' in God/Christ — 58
  - 4.1.2 'Confessing' God/Christ — 64
  - 4.1.3 Conclusions — 69
- 4.2 The *Sitze im Leben* of the earliest Christian confessions — 70
  - 4.2.1 Worship — 72
  - 4.2.2 Mission and conversion — 74
  - 4.2.3 Paraenesis and praise — 75
  - 4.2.4 Martyrdom — 76

4.3	The development of homological building blocks — 80
4.3.1	Homologies and christological summaries in the New Testament — 81
4.3.2	Dyadic and triadic homologies in the second and third centuries — 89
4.3.3	Christological summaries in the second and third centuries — 96
4.4	The rule of faith — 101
4.4.1	Preliminary remarks — 101
4.4.2	<i>Third Letter to the Corinthians</i> — 102
4.4.3	Irenaeus — 103
4.4.4	Tertullian — 110
4.4.5	Novatian — 113
4.4.6	Later authors — 116
4.4.7	Conclusions — 119
4.5	The emergence of credal interrogations — 120
4.5.1	Rome — 121
4.5.2	North Africa — 132
4.6	The emergence of the western christological summary — 133
<b>5</b>	<b>The Old Roman Creed and its Descendants — 145</b>
5.1	The Creeds of Rome — 145
5.2	From the Creed of Rome to the Apostles' Creed — 157
5.3	The general endorsement of T in the Carolingian Reform — 189
5.4	The legend about the origin of the Apostles' Creed — 192
5.5	A descendant of the Roman Creed: The Creed of Jerusalem — 200
<b>6</b>	<b>Eastern Synodal Creeds from Nicaea up to Constantinople — 213</b>
6.1	Arius and Alexander of Alexandria — 213
6.2	The Council of Antioch (Spring 325) and its context — 219
6.3	A local creed in Caesarea? Eusebius' Letter to his Church — 235
6.4	The Creed of Nicaea — 242
6.4.1	The prehistory of the council — 243
6.4.2	The creed of Eusebius and N — 244
6.4.3	The rule of faith underlying N — 251
6.4.4	The biblical basis of N — 254
6.4.5	The theological cause of discontent: <i>homooúsiοs</i> — 255
6.4.6	The anathemas of N — 263

6.5	Creeds between Nicaea and Constantinople — 268
6.5.1	The creeds associated with the Dedication Council in Antioch (341) — 270
6.5.2	The Council of Serdica and its creeds (343) — 283
6.5.3	The Macrostich Creed (344) — 291
6.5.4	The First Creed of Sirmium (351) — 294
6.5.5	The <i>Expositio fidei</i> attributed to Athanasius — 297
6.5.6	The Second Creed of Sirmium (357) — 299
6.5.7	The formation of the Homoiousians in Ancyra (358) — 302
6.5.8	A union failed? The so-called Third Creed of Sirmium (358) — 305
6.5.9	The victory of the Homoians: The Fourth Creed of Sirmium (359) and its successors — 307
6.5.10	Debates about the sufficiency of N among Nicene theologians — 323
6.5.11	The Roman Synod of 377/378 — 338
6.5.12	The Synod of the Meletians in Antioch (379) — 344
6.5.13	The text and theology of the ‘Romano-Nicene Creed’ (N <sup>Ant</sup> ) — 346
<b>7</b>	<b>The Council of Constantinople (381) and its Creeds — 355</b>
7.1	The council’s origin and history — 355
7.2	The text and theology of the creeds of Constantinople — 363
<b>8</b>	<b>The Reception of N and C<sup>2</sup> in the Latin and Greek Churches until the Time of Charlemagne — 379</b>
8.1	The adoption of N and C <sup>2</sup> as normative creeds at the Council of Chalcedon (451) — 379
8.2	Reception of C <sup>2</sup> after Chalcedon — 397
8.2.1	Reception in the east — 398
8.2.2	Reception in the west — 404
<b>9</b>	<b>The Reception of N and C<sup>2</sup> beyond the Latin and Greek Churches — 414</b>
9.1	Syriac Christianity — 414
9.1.1	Baptism and the creed — 414
9.1.2	Miaphysites (‘Jacobites’) — 416
9.1.3	Dyophysites (‘Nestorians’) — 420

9.2	Armenia — 432
9.2.1	N and cognate creeds — 433
9.2.2	Liturgical use of the creeds — 438
9.2.3	Creeds other than N — 439
9.3	Coptic Egypt — 441
9.4	Ethiopia — 446
9.5	N and C <sup>2</sup> in Arabic — 450
9.6	Georgia — 460
<b>10</b>	<b>Creeds as Means of Control in Synodal and Imperial Legislation — 465</b>
10.1	The bishops, the synods, and the creeds — 465
10.2	The emperors and creeds — 472
10.2.1	First Phase: Appeal to the creed as a means of Church discipline — 473
10.2.2	Second phase: The confession as part of imperial legislation — 475
10.2.3	Third phase: The emperor's personal confession — 478
10.2.4	Reasons for the emperors' new confessional focus — 481
<b>11</b>	<b>Creeds and the Liturgy — 485</b>
11.1	The creed at baptism — 485
11.1.1	The development of the <i>Traditio</i> and <i>Redditio symboli</i> — 485
11.1.2	The creed at the baptism of infants — 502
11.2	The creed in the mass — 507
11.3	The creed in the liturgy of hours — 516
<b>12</b>	<b>The Creed and the Liturgical Year — 518</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>Preaching the Creed — 523</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>Creeds in Daily Life — 535</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>From Summary to Sacred Formula: Creeds, Magic, and Miracles — 540</b>
<b>16</b>	<b>The Controversy over <i>Filioque</i> — 549</b>
<b>17</b>	<b>The Apostles' Creed, the Creed of Constantinople, and the Athanasian Creed as Standard Creeds in the Middle Ages and Beyond — 571</b>

18 The Creeds in Medieval Art — 590
19 The Creeds in Medieval Music — 598
20 By Way of Summary: A Very Brief History of the Early Christian Creeds — 606
21 A Theology of the Creeds? Some Concluding Thoughts — 615
Bibliography — 627

## Indices

I Biblical Passages — 681
II Ancient and Medieval Sources — 689
III Inscriptions, Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, Wooden Tablets — 727
IV Manuscripts — 729
V Numbers in FaFo — 733
VI Ancient and Medieval Names — 743
VII Modern Names — 751
VIII Credal Content — 763

