

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 Quicumque*) — 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
5	The Old Roman Creed and its Descendants —	145
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
6	Eastern Synodal Creeds from Nicaea up to Constantinople —	213
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>homooúsios</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 *Expositio fidei* 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^{Ant}) — **346**
- 7 The Council of Constantinople (381) and its Creeds — 355**
 - 7.1 The council’s origin and history — **355**
 - 7.2 The text and theology of the creeds of Constantinople — **363**
- 8 The Reception of N and C² in the Latin and Greek Churches until the Time of Charlemagne — 379**
 - 8.1 The adoption of N and C² as normative creeds at the Council of Chalcedon (451) — **379**
 - 8.2 Reception of C² after Chalcedon — **397**
 - 8.2.1 Reception in the east — **398**
 - 8.2.2 Reception in the west — **404**
- 9 The Reception of N and C² beyond the Latin and Greek Churches — 414**
 - 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 C² in Arabic — **450**
- 9.6 Georgia — **460**
- 10 Creeds as Means of Control in Synodal and Imperial Legislation — 465**
 - 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**
- 11 Creeds and the Liturgy — 485**
 - 11.1 The creed at baptism — **485**
 - 11.1.1 The development of the *Traditio* and *Redditio symboli* — **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**
- 12 The Creed and the Liturgical Year — 518**
- 13 Preaching the Creed — 523**
- 14 Creeds in Daily Life — 535**
- 15 From Summary to Sacred Formula: Creeds, Magic, and Miracles — 540**
- 16 The Controversy over *Filioque* — 549**
- 17 The Apostles' Creed, the Creed of Constantinople, and the Athanasian Creed as Standard Creeds in the Middle Ages and Beyond — 571**

- 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**

