THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

ONE of the most interesting of the problems which still perplex historians of the Creeds is the question of the origin of the *Textus Receptus* of the Apostles' Creed. From the eighth century this form began to supersede all others as the Baptismal Creed of the Western Church. It is familiar as the form which we use in Morning and Evening Prayer. But the Creed of our Baptismal Office has two interesting variant readings which point us back to days when uniformity in such details was unheard of. The term 'only begotten' is probably a translation of *unigenitum* which is found in place of *unicum* in many old forms, though in this case its substitution for 'only' may be a reminiscence of the Nicene Creed. The addition of the words 'after death' to the term 'everlasting life' comes to us through the Salisbury Manual (A. D. 1543) from an ancient source which is still obscure. We shall come upon both of these readings in creeds of the Gallican Sacramentary[1]. For practical purposes, however, we may regard our Baptismal Creed as identical with the form quoted as the *Textus Receptus* of the Western Church.

This *Textus Receptus* is an enlarged form of the Old Roman Creed which has been traced back to the early years of the second century. I will print the two forms side by side, and shall refer to them under the symbols T (= *Textus Receptus*) and R (= Old Roman Creed).

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[1] The reading (*shall come*) *again at the end of the world* has a parallel in the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions (vii 41).

R.	T.
1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *creatorem caeli et terrae.*
2. Et in Christum Iesum, Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,	2. Et in [Iesum Christum] Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine,	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus,	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna,*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit in caelos,	6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis,*
8. unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.	8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. Et in Spiritum sanctum,	9. *Credo* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam,	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam, sanctorum communionem,*
11. remissionem peccatorum,	11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem.	12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam.*

In a recent number of the JOURNAL (Oct. 1901) Dr. Sanday quoted the view of Dr. Kattenbusch that T was in use in the Church of Burgundy (Vienne or Lyons) possibly from the end of the fifth century [1]. Dr. Sanday, however, expressed his agreement with the older view which would connect the origin of T with some literary centre, such as the School of Lérins, among whose disciples Faustus of Riez and Caesarius of Arles quote some of its characteristic peculiarities. Another theory of origin has been put forward by Dr. Hahn [2], who suggests that we should look to some church of North Italy for the completion of the form.

[1] *Das apostolische Symbol,* ii p. 793.
[2] *Bibliothek der Symbole,* p. 29, n. 20. Prof. Sanday (*J. T. S.* iii p. 13) is mistaken in quoting him as suggesting that T had its origin in Rome.

In my *Introduction to the Creeds* I ventured to put forward yet
another theory—that T is the Old Roman Creed revised in Rome
itself. I will now endeavour to maintain that theory against the
criticism with which it has met. But I am more concerned to
state the evidence as fully as possible, since it is difficult to procure,
and by so doing I may benefit even those who disagree with me.

The fixed point of our investigation is the occurrence of the
Creed in a treatise by Pirminius, a celebrated missionary of
the eighth century. His treatise *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii de
singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*, is only found in one MS (Cod.
Einsiedeln 199) of the eighth century. It contains three quotations
of the Creed in different contexts, the first narrating the legend
of the Apostolic origin and assigning each clause to an Apostle,
the second in an account of the service of Baptism, the third in
a summary of the teaching given on Faith and Morals.

The second is the most important, and it is not to be denied
that Pirminius is here dependent on an earlier work by Martin
of Bracara. But he deliberately alters both the form of Re-
nunciation and the form of Creed. He quotes the Roman form
of Renunciation, and introduces a reference to the Roman prayer of
Unction. Moreover he speaks of the act of Baptism as following
immediately after the recitation of the Creed, which was dis-
tinctively a Roman custom. In the Gallican services an interval
was allowed to elapse. I am willing to admit that Pirminius
does not attempt to give a formal account of the service, and
that the latter indication of the Roman character of the service
which he has in his mind, carrying with it the suggestion that
it was the Roman form of creed which he quoted, is not decisive
by itself. But I hold that the cumulative argument is strong,
and offers an hypothesis which will explain all the known facts
about the documents in which the Received Text appears before
800. I will indicate by thick type the words quoted from Martin.

Dicta abbatis Pirminii, c 12 [1]:

Ideo, fratres, ad memoriam uestram reducimus **qualem pactum
in ipso baptistirio cum deo fecimus**, v. g. cum interrogati singuli
nomen nostrum **a sacerdote** fuimus, quomodo diciremus [2], re-

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[1] Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, i p. 160. I have reprinted Caspari's text
with the errors of the MS.

[2] The true reading is obviously 'diceremur.'

spondisti aut tu, si iam poteras respondere, aut certe qui pro te fidem fecit, qui te de fontem suscepit, et dixit: Iohannis dicitur, aut aliut nomen. Et interrogauit sacerdus: Iohannis, abrenuncias diabulo et omnibus operibus eius *et omnibus pompis eius?* Respondisti: Abrenuntio, hoc est despitio et derelinquo omnia opera mala et diabolica. Post ista abrenuntiatione diabuli et omnibus operibus eius, et interrogatus es a sacerdote: *Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae?* Et respondisti: *Credo.* Et iterum: *Credis et in Iesu Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuos et sepultos, discendit ad inferna, tertia die surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuus?* Et respondisti: *Credo.* Et tertio interrogauit sacerdos: *Credis et* [1] *in spiritu sancto, sancta aecclesia catholica, sanctorum communione, remissione peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, uitam eternam.* Respondisti aut tu, aut patrinus pro te: Credo. Ecce pactio qualis et promissio uel confessio uestra apud deum tenetur. Et credens baptizatus es in nomine patris et filii et spiritui sancto in remissione omnium peccatorum, et unctus es a sacerdote crisma salutis in uitam eternam, et induit corpus tuum ueste candita . . .'

To point the contrast between Martin's form of Renunciation and that of Pirminius, I will quote them in parallel columns with other Gallican forms.

Martin † 580.

Promisistis uos abrenuntiare diabolo et angelis eius et omnibus operibus eius malis.

Miss. Gallic.

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis saeculi, et uoluptatibus eius?

Pirminius.

Abrenuntias diabolo et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?

Eligius of Noyon † 659.

Abrenuntiastis enim diabolo et pompis et operibus eius.

Sacr. Gallic.

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis eius, luxuriis suis, saeculo huic?

Roman rite (*Sacr. Gelas.* and *Greg.*)

Abrenuntias Satanae et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?

[1] I insert *et*, which is omitted by Caspari, from a photograph.

In the Roman rite the newly baptized were presented to a priest who anointed them with perfumed oil, saying :
' Deus omnipotens, Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te linit *chrismate salutis in uitam aeternam.*'
It can scarcely be doubted that Pirminius had the words of this prayer which I have printed in italics, when he wrote : *unctus es a sacerdote crisma*[1] *salutis in uitam aeternam.*
The prayer in the Gallican Sacramentary is as follows:
' Deus Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit per aquam et Spiritum sanctum, quique tibi dedit remissionem peccatorum per lauacrum regenerationis et sanguinem, ipse te liniat chrismate suo sancto in uitam aeternam. . . .'
Very little is known about Pirminius. He was probably an Irish monk[2], who came through Neustria into Germany, and is best known as the founder of Reichenau Abbey. Driven thence he founded other monasteries in Bavaria and in Alsace, where he ended his days in the Abbey of Hornbach. He was a friend of Boniface, who is said to have visited him at Hornbach before starting on his last missionary journey. As Kattenbusch has clearly shown, there is no evidence in the writings of Boniface as to the form of Creed which he used. But the following passage from instructions sent to him by Pope Gregory II is important: ' Disciplinam sacramenti, quam ad initiandos deo praeuio credituros tenere studes, ex formula officiorum sanctae nostrae sedis apostolicae instructionis tuae gratia praelibata uolumus ut intendas[3].' This plainly points to the use of an official Roman Order of Baptism, which would carry with it the use of the Roman form of Creed. From the analogy of the creed used by Pirminius we may conjecture that Boniface also used T. I venture to think that we can trace the use of T along the line of the missionary journeys of Pirminius and Boniface[4] before Charles the Great made enquiries as to the forms of Creed used in the Empire.

[1] The form chrisma is found in *Miss. Gallic.* as a noun of the first declension, *ed.* Mabillon, p. 363.
[2] See *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. ii 1, 1894.   [3] *Ep.* i ; Migne, P. L. lxxxix 496.
[4] Reichenau, *Cod. Augiensis* cxcv *saec* viii (now at Karlsruhe), and the Freising MS *Cod. Lat. Monacensis* 6298 quoted below.

The king's first set of questions was issued in 789. The replies of the Bishops showed that there was no agreement among them as to the form of Creed. For our present purpose the most important answer was that of Amalarius of Trèves. The form which he quoted was certainly T, though being embedded in a short commentary one or two clauses are inexactly quoted Thus he makes no mention of the Holy Spirit in clause 3, though it is incredible that the words were not found in his Creed. And he stated definitely that he used the Roman Order: ' In scrutinio quippe facimus signum crucis super pueros, sicut inueni- mus scriptum in romano ordine, et genuflexionem et adiurationem, et docemus orationem dominicam patrinos etc. Similiter docemus symbolum [1].'

In 813 Charles, who was now Emperor, summoned five Provincial Synods for the country west of the Rhine and the Alps. One of these, that of Mainz, has preserved in its Acts the statement of the Emperor's wish for uniformity. In c. 4 we read: ' Sacramenta baptismatis uolumus, ut sicut sancta uestra fuit admonitio ita concorditer atque uniformiter in singulis par- ochiis secundum romanum ordinem inter nos celebrentur iugiterque conseruentur, id est scrutinium ad ordinem baptismatis, sicut in decretis Leonis papae sub duobus continetur capitulis[2].' In c. 47 the Council of Mainz gave directions that those who could not learn the Creed in Latin might learn it in their own tongue. From that date we can begin to trace Old German translations of T, and it is a remarkable fact that T is the only complete form which has been translated into the verna- cular, showing the wide extension of its use in Anglo-Saxon England as well as on the Continent from the beginning of the ninth century[3].

[1] Alcuini opp. ii 521. Cf. Haussleiter Neue kirchl. Ztschr., 1898, p. 341, who has published a new text. I do not think that Amalarius omitted uitam aeternam from his Creed, since he wove it into the exposition : iusti autem in uitam aeternam.

[2] Mansi Concilia xiv 66, Labbe-Coleti ix 330.

[3] This is true of complete forms, but Wiegand, Die Stellung des ap. Symb. i 310, n. 4 quotes short vernacular forms : (1) of the year 770 a confession of the Trinity; (2) of the beginning of the eighth century, a shortened form like that quoted by Hrabanus of Mainz de cleric. inst. i 27 : ' Si credat in deum patrem omnipotentem, In Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, In spiritum sanctum, Unum deum in Trinitate et Unitate. Si confiteatur unam esse ecclesiam catholicam. Si credat remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.'

We now come to the doubtful stage of our enquiry in dealing with documents which contain both Roman and Gallican elements, so that the Creed-forms approximating to T which are found in them might have come from either source. We have to deal also with anonymous sermons which have not yet been traced to any locality and cannot be classified with certainty. It will be convenient to discuss them in the following order: (*a*) The Gallican Sacramentary, and *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243; (*b*) The Gallican Missal, and *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242; (*c*) *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 240, 241 ; (*d*) *Cod. Sessorianus* 52.

(*The text forms will be found on pp.* 488, 489.)

(*a*) *The Gallican Sacramentary, Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243.

The so called Gallican Sacramentary (*Cod. Paris. Lat.* 13246, saec. vii) is sometimes called the Missal of Bobbio, because the MS undoubtedly came from Bobbio. Opinions vary as to the origin of the liturgical collection contained in it. It contains a mixture of Hispano-Gallic, Roman, and perhaps other elements and rites, and for my present purpose it is immaterial whether these were combined at Bobbio in this MS or in some archetype at Luxeuil. It contains four texts of the Creed which I will distinguish as A, AE, B, C. The first three are Baptismal Creeds, the fourth is an isolated form which does not now concern us as it was apparently used in the hour offices[1].

The first Creed, A (No. 1, p. 488) is a creed interpolated in a sermon used at the *Traditio Symboli*, in a section of the collection which is undeniably of Roman origin. It follows the ceremony known as *apertio aurium*, or delivery of the first words of the four Gospels, which was a Roman custom. Therefore A represents the form used by the monks at Bobbio before 700 or a form derived with this section from Rome. A differs from T only by repetition of *Credo* instead of *Et* (*in Iesum Christum*) and by reading *unigenitum sempiternum* for *unicum*, a variation which we shall meet with again, and which is probably due to the influence of the *Te Deum*[2].

[1] Kattenbusch, i p. 55, ii p. 747 n. 54, p. 881 n. 14.
[2] Kattenbusch, ii p. 776 n. 28.

1, 2. *Sacramentarium Gallicanum.*

A

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli*[1] *et terrae.*
2. *Credo* in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius *unigenitum sempiternum,* . . .
3. *conceptum* de Spiritu sancto, *natum ex* Maria uirgine
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato, *crucifixum mortuum* et sepultum. *descendit*[2] *ad inferna,*
5. tertia[3] die resurrexit a mortuis.
6. ascendit *ad* celos
7. sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis,*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in ⟨sancto Spiritu⟩
10. *sancta* ecclesia catholica[4] *sanctorum communione,*
11. remissione peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem[5], *uitam aeternam.*

AE

1. Credo in Deum! omnipotentem !
2. Et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum,
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum, *mortuum* et sepultum. *descendit ad inferna,*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
6. ascendit in caelos,
7. sedit ad dexteram . . Patris *omnipotentis.*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in Spiritum sanctum
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam,
* *
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*

3. *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, (*creatorem* [
2. Et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, natus *ex* Maria uirgine.
4. qui *passus* est sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus, *mortuus* et sepultus,
* * *
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
6. ascendit *ad* caelum,
7. sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis.*
8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. Et in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, *sanctorum communionem*
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *et uitam aeternam.*

4, 5. *Missale Gallicanum.*

A

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae.*
2. *Credo* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩, Filium eius *unigenitum sempiternum,*
* *
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, natus *est de* Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, *mortuus* et sepultus. *descendit ad inferna,*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis.*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in ⟨sanctum Spiritum⟩,
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, *sanctorum communionem,*
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*

AE

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem * *
* *
2. *Credo* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius *unigenitum sempiternum,*
* *
3. ⟨natus *de* Maria uirgine *conceptus*⟩ est de Spiritu sancto),
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, *mortuus* et sepultus,
* * *
5. tertia die resurrexit * *
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis.*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. *Credo* in ⟨sanctum Spiritum⟩,
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam *sanctorum communionem*
11. * *
12. carnis resurrectionem *uitam aeternam.*

6. *Sacramentarium Gallicanum.*

B

1. Credit in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae ?*
2. *Credit* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum,
3. *conceptum* de Spiritu sancto natum *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. *passum* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum * et sepultum. *descendit ad inferna,*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. ascendit in caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos *ac* mortuos !
9. *Credit* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam *sanctorum communionem*
11. remissionem peccatorum
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam habere post mortem, in gloriam Christi resurgere !*

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[1] Cod. celi.   [2] discendit.   [3] tercia.   [4] aeclesia catolica.   [5] resurreccionem.

Missale Gallicanum.	8, 9. *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 [2]	
B [1]	A	E
do in Deum Patrem	1. Credo in Deum Patrem	1. Credo in Deum Patrem
ipotentem, *creatorem* [3]	omnipotentem, *creatorem*	omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli*
et terrae [4].	*caeli* [5] *et terrae*.	*et terrae.*
n ⟨Iesum Christum⟩	2. Et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩	2. Credo et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩
im eius, unicum	Filium eius unicum	Filium eius . . .
inum nostrum,	Dominum nostrum,	. . . . . .
conceptus est de Spiritu	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu	3. qui *conceptus* de Spiritu
cto natus *ex* Maria uir-	sancto, [natus] [6] *ex* Maria	sancto natus ex Maria uir-
	uirgine,	gine,
sus sub Pontio Pilato	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato [7]	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato,
cifixus *mortuus* et sepul-	crucifixus *mortuus* et sepul-	crucifixus est . . . et sepultus
	tus	
* * *	*descendit* [8] *ad inferna*	* * *
tia [9] die resurrexit a mortuis	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit * *
cendit *uictor ad* caelos [10]	6. ascendit in caelo	6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
dit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris	7. sedit ad dexteram [*Dei*] [11] Patris	7.
nipotentis,	*omnipotentis*	
de uenturus iudicare	8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare	8. *inde* uenturus [12] iudicare
ios et mortuos.	uiuos *ac* mortuos.	uiuos et mortuos.
redo in sancto Spiritu	9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum [13]	9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum
sancta ecclesia [14] catholi-	10. sanctam ecclesiam [15] *catholi-*	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholi-*
	cam [16]	*cam*
nctorum communionem	*sanctorum communionem* [17]	*sanctorum communionem* [17]
abremissione peccatorum	11. remissionem peccatorum.	11. remissionem peccatorum
carnis resurrectionem [18] *ui-*	12. carnis resurrectionem *et*	12. carnis resurrectionem *uitam*
m aeternam	*uitam aeternam.*	*aeternam.*

10, 11. *Sacramentarium Gellonense.*

I (fol. 181 *a*)	II (fol. 191 *b*).
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem	1. Cred*is* in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?
creatorem caeli et terrae.	* * * *
Et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius unicum	2. *Credis* et in ⟨Iesum Christum⟩ Filium eius
	unicum
Dominum nostrum,	Dominum nostrum,
qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto	3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto
natus *ex* Maria uirgine,	natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus [19]	4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus
mortuus et sepultus.	*mortuus* et sepultus,
descendit [20] *ad inferna,*	*descendit* [20] *ad inferna,* —
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
ascendit *ad* caelos [21]	6. ascendit *ad* caelos [21]
sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris	7. sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris
omnipotentis	*omnipotentis*
inde uenturus iudicare uiuos	8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos
et mortuos [22].	et mortuos ?
Credo in Spiritum sanctum,	9. Cred*is* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam,*	10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam* [22],
sanctorum communionem,	*sanctorum communionem,*
11. remissionem peccatorum,	11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*	12. carnis resurrectionem, uitam aeternam !

[1] The exposition in the *Missale Gallicanum* (= *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242) is defective. The Creed-
form is: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae. Credo* in Filio eius.
[2] I quote the text of *Ps. Aug.* 242 A and E from *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6298, *saec.* viii.
[3] *Cod.* creatori.   [4] terre.   [5] celi.   [6] natus *supr. lin. man. sec.*   [7] philato.
[8] discendit.   [9] tercia.   [10] celos.   [11] dei *supr. lin.*   [12] inde uenturus *supr. lin.*
[13] sanctum *supr. lin. man. sec.*   [14] eclisia.   [15] aeclesiam.   [16] *seq. tres. litt. ras. ut uid.*
[17] commonionem.   [18] resurreccionem.   [19] crucefixus.   [20] discendit.
[21] caelus.   [22] mortuus.   [23] chatolicam.

When we turn to AE (No. 2), the creed embedded in the exposition following, we find another form closely allied to T. It has *Credo—Et—Credo.* The uncertainty which usually attends the extraction of a creed quoted piecemeal in a commentary, prevents us from asserting that it had *creatorem caeli et terrae.* It happens in this case that the word *Patrem*, of Art. 1, does not find a place in the commentary. As this is common to all forms we are warned not to build an argument on the omissions of commentators. It is important also to notice the nominatives *conceptus, natus,* and the *in* (*caelos*), when A has accusatives and *ad*, since these variations from A form a connecting link with R.

Further, the sermon has points of connexion with *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243 (No. 3), which seem to have escaped notice. Wiegand[1] traces that sermon 243 to the sixth century, but cannot decide whether it belongs to Gaul or Italy. Kattenbusch calls attention to the fact that its construction *qui conceptus est, qui passus est,* is like R, so that it forms a connecting link between R and T, and removes most of the objections which he urged against my theory of the Roman origin of T from the point of view of the text-form[2]. But 243 differs from T by omission of *desc. ad inferna* and has *Et* (*Sp. s̄c̄m̄*).

243	AE
Si te triduana domini sepultura conturbat, resurrectio gloriosa confirmet.	Si te triduana domini *tui* sepultura conturbat, resurrectio *magis aeterna* confirmet.
[Quod in Christi gloriosa resurrectione audisti completum, hoc in te omnino in futuro iudicio crede esse complendum ;] ut carnis tuae resurrectio te reparet in aeternum.	Vt per gratiam baptismi peccatorum tibi remissio concedatur et carnis tuae resurrectio reparetur in aeternum.

Another point of resemblance between AE and 243 is that the preacher addresses himself to one hearer (like Niceta and

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[1] *op. cit.* p. 167 n.

[2] ii p. 982 : ' Burn selbst, oder wer sonst seine Hypothese sich aneignen will, sei darauf hingewiesen, dass er gut thut, bei diesem Sermon einzusetzen.'

Faustus), and in this respect the preface, which is addressed to more than one hearer, shows that it was not part of the original sermon.

It is plainly important that the MSS in which *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 243 occurs should be investigated. Any clue to connect the sermon with Italy or Rome itself would be most valuable. The occurrence of a warning against idolatry—'Nihil de idolorum cultu uel superstitionibus Paganorum cogites'—though more probable outside Italy, would not be out of place in a Roman sermon even of the eighth century, since Boniface wrote to Pope Zacharias of the scandal caused by the pagan superstitious usages which were tolerated in Rome on New Year's Day.

From the Roman section of the Gallican Sacramentary we turn now to what is plainly a Gallican section headed *ad Christianum faciendum,* which quotes an Interrogative Creed, B (No. 6), in the service of Baptism for Easter Eve, and quotes a collect for the washing of the feet after Baptism, a purely Gallican custom. The form of renunciation also is Gallican (quoted above, p. 484), and the Baptismal formula has a phrase *unam habentem substantiam,* which finds a parallel in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary. B appears to me to be the work of some Irish monk, who, in the archetype of this section or in this MS. itself, improved the form after the model of the Bangor Antiphonary, which also comes to us from Bobbio [1].

(*b*) *The Gallican Missal, Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242.

The Gallican Missal now at the Vatican (*Cod. Vat. Palat. Lat.* 493) written *c.* 700, is (as Mr. E. Bishop has kindly informed me) 'a volume containing fragments of two separate Sacramentaries which have nothing to do with one another.' There are two occurrences of the creed in the sections dealing with the ceremonies of Baptism.

The first sermon on the creed in section xi belongs to the second Sacramentary, the history of which is unknown. It precedes the *apertio aurium* and should therefore be traced to

[1] The creed of the Bangor Antiphonary is of course ultimately Gallican, to be connected perhaps with Lérins. But at this point we are not considering its origin, only the possibility of its influencing another form while it remained at Bobbio.

a Roman source. It contains two forms (Nos. 4, 5) which agree so closely that in this case we may conclude that the creed A (No. 4) was interpolated at a later date than the compilation of the sermon containing B (No. 7). In such a case we cannot judge by the omission of *creatorem caeli et terrae* because the sermon containing A, AE is a compilation from works of Rufinus, Faustus, and a third source which has not been identified. Rufinus, of course, had no such words in his creed, and we can build no argument on their omission from a passage quoted from him.

The remarkable omission of *dominum nostrum* in A, AE, shows dependence on the creed of the Faustus homilies. Perhaps this is the explanation of the phrase *unigenitum sempiternum* put in because *unicum dominum nostrum* was lacking as in the true creed of BE (see p. 489 n. 1).

The carelessness of the compiler is shown by the inversion *natus de Maria uirgine conceptus de Spiritu Sancto,* and by the insertion of the following paragraph, which proves that he was quoting from a sermon used in monastic services: 'Iam, iam si iubetis, haec quae dicta sunt caritati uestrae sufficiant: et die crastina secundum sanctam consuetudinem uestram per ministerium patrum nostrorum ea quae restant maturius audietis. Quod ipsi.'

The special interest of the MS is centred in another sermon (No. 7) in section xvi which belongs to the first Sacramentary, and may be connected with the diocese of Auxerre. This sermon follows prayers common to the Gothic Missal, and is therefore derived from a Gallican source. Only part of the sermon has been preserved in this MS, but it is known to exist in other MSS and has been printed among *Ps. Aug. Sermones* as 242. I have transcribed the latter form from a Munich MS, *Cod. Lat.* 6298 of saec. viii, which comes to us from Freising, and was written in a Saxon hand probably by some wandering monk. Thus we have the advantage of comparing two forms (*Miss. Gall.* B, No. 7 = *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 A, No. 8) which have been interpolated in this sermon, in the diocese of Auxerre *c.* 700, and in the diocese of Freising some seventy years later. I do not say interpolated by the two copyists, but I suggest that their tendency would be to assimilate them to the forms used in their day. Both forms are substantially like T, but they show the following variations:—

Miss. Gall. B   *Ps. Aug.* 242 A

4. *om* desc. ad inferna
6. ascendit *uictor* [1] *ad* caelos   ascendit in caelo
                                             8. uiuos *ac* mortuos
9. *Credo* in Sancto Spiritu   9. *Credo* et
10. sancta ecclesia catholica
11. *ab*remissionem [2]
12. *uitam aeternam.*   12. *et uitam aeternam.*

On the other hand the true creed of the sermon (E, No. 9) of which only a fragment has been preserved in the Gallican Missal is plainly a Gallican Creed of the type of that of Faustus to which *creatorem c. et. t.* has been added. We note the threefold *Credo*, omission of *unicum dominum nostrum*, of *mortuus*, and of *a mortuis*. The *huius* (*carnis*) which Hahn (p. 47) and others insert belongs solely to the exposition as the Munich MS reads *huius affectu carnis*. Thus *tuae* (*carnis*) has been added in the exposition of *Sacr. Gallic.* AE (No. 2), though it does not belong to the form commented on.

(*c*) *Ps. Aug. Sermones* 240, 241. For the sake of completeness we must also take into account the forms in other Ps. Augustinian Sermons.

Ps. Aug. Serm. 240 has the Creed (T) divided up among the Apostles following the order of the names in the Roman Canon, but omitting Paul in the second place and adding Matthias at the end. In the commentary the epithet *uictor* is added to *ascendit*. Its date is uncertain, but I have found quotations of it in a commentary which appears to have been written in a MS at St. Gallen at the beginning of the ninth century (*Cod. Sangall.* 27 ; a copy at Brussels, *Cod.* 9188, *s.* x). This suffices to throw the date back to the eighth century.

Ps. Aug. Serm. 241 is another sermon of which the origin at present is very doubtful. The triple recitation of the Creed in honour of the Trinity and the triple repetition of *Credo* point

[1] This expression recurs in Ps. Aug. 238, Ps. Aug. 240 (*expos.*), Codd. Vat. Pal. 212 and 220, Cod. Sangall. 732, a Vésoul MS 73, and the sermon *Auscultate expositionem* (*Ztschr. f. K. G.* xix (1898), p. 179).

[2] The reading *abremissionem* is found in the Creeds of Faustus of Riez, the Bangor Antiphonary, Cod. Sangallensis 188.

to a Gallican source. The list of Apostles is founded on Acts i 13, which is the order used by Pirminius, but the clauses are not divided in the same way.

(d) *Cod. Sessorianus* 52. Of greater importance are the sermons which Dom Morin and others have brought to light in *Cod. Sessorianus* 52, in the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome. The MS is late, of the eleventh or twelfth century, but the collection was formed in the ninth century. It includes a new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus*, in which T is used at the baptism of an infant, though there is a reference to the custom of reciting the Nicene Creed over the catechumens at the *redditio symboli* on Thursday in Holy Week.

There are two other forms of creed in *Cod. Sessor.* 52, one in a sermon commenting on T, the other in a sermon commenting on R. The MS comes from the Abbey of Nonantula in the South of Italy whence came Abbot Peter the companion in travel of Amalarius, whom we have found pressing the use of the Roman form (= T) upon Charles the Great.

The sermon on T is particularly interesting because it is found in two other MSS, in a shorter form in *Cod. Sangallensis* 732, of the ninth century, and in a longer form in a MS at Vésoul, Cod. 73, of the eleventh century. In these it has received the addition *uictor (ad caelos)*[1]. But it presents internal evidence of an earlier date in the fact that the Communion of Saints is explained to refer to the duty of all the faithful to communicate every Lord's Day[2]. There is an interesting section on the seven remissions of sin by baptism, penitence, martyrdom, forgiveness of enemies, true love, almsgiving, preaching. Kattenbusch (ii p. 872) has given a full analysis of the sermon, and is inclined to follow Caspari in dating it from the seventh century.

The *Cod. Sessor.* 52 brings us to the consideration of a very serious difficulty, the question whether the Roman Church had really substituted the Nicene Creed for R or not. The Gelasian Sacramentary has been said to prove that this was the case, and Caspari suggested that it was done to meet the pressure of Gothic

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[1] I have published it with the readings of all three forms in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxi p. 128.

[2] Morin, *Rev. Bén.* xi p. 485.

Arianism under Odoacer, *c*. 476-493. An insuperable objection seems to me to lie in the fact that Roman missionaries to Britain who, as Duchesne shows, traversed Gaul constantly in the seventh century, took with them at first R and possibly T, but never C. Thus the famous *Cod. Laudianus* which was in the hands of Bede, *c*. 700, brought R to England. We can trace the use of T in this country back to the end of the eighth century, when it superseded the use of R. I cannot believe that if C had been substituted for R in the ordinary Baptismal Office of the Roman Church, we should not have found some traces of its use in Britain, or, I may add, in the earliest mission Churches in Germany.

The *Ordo Bapt.* of Vienne[1] which is dependent on the sources of the Gelasian Sacramentary preserves, I believe, the explanation of the mystery. The question is put to the God-parents, 'Is Greek understood?' The answer 'No' follows, and then *Credo in Deum*.

With this we may compare the evidence of the Florentine Missal in a MS of the twelfth century, but comprising a collection which belongs to the seventh or eighth century. The Apostles' Creed is recited in Latin for males, the Nicene Creed in Greek for females, and then again in Latin for both.

In the Gelasian Sacramentary and one text of the *Ordo Romanus* C is recited both in Greek and Latin over males, and in the *Ordo* again over females.

All this variety of custom may be explained by the suggestion that during the time of Byzantine influence C, the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, was offered to Greek-speaking catechumens as the equivalent of R, the Greek text of which had long before been forgotten. We find that Pope Vigilius I in his Encyclical called C *symbolum*[2], and the Latin text in use at Rome had several phrases in common with R[3].

Time passed, and there were no more Greek-speaking catechumens. It became necessary to explain the existence of two parallel forms, and the absurd explanation was given that the second was used for girls. On the other hand we must bear in mind the possibility that the use of the Nicene Creed in Greek was confined to

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[1] Martene, *de ant. eccl. rit.* i 42.
[2] Mansi, ix p. 50 ff., *Ep. ib.* p. 57.
[3] Cf. my article on the ' Old Latin Versions of C,' *J. T. S.* ii p. 102.

the ceremonies of Thursday in Holy Week, as is suggested by
the evidence of the seventh *Ordo Romanus* in *Cod. Sessor.* 52.
In that case it was not really used as a Baptismal Creed proper,
but introduced with Greek lessons and Greek hymns to emphasize
the idea of the unity of the Church which among different nations
and in different languages worships one God, one Lord. Caspari[1]
calls attention to the evidence of this MS, but does not suggest
such symbolical use of the Creed, which was not made of it in its
Old Roman form.

Having thus reviewed the evidence we may turn to conclusions,
and may at once put out of court the suggestion that the origin
of T is to be sought in North Italy. It was advanced by Hahn
without arguments and has received no support.

The usual conclusion is that of both my critics, Vacandard and
Kattenbusch, that its origin must be sought in Gaul. Kattenbusch
narrows down the issue to Burgundian Gaul because he traces
the main source of the Gallican Sacramentary to Luxeuil and the
diocese of Besançon. He claimed further that his view is
supported by the occurrence of T in the second form of the *Sacr.
Gellonense* of the eighth century.

By the kindness of M. de Mély, I have obtained a copy of this
form (No. 10). It occurs in a section of Roman origin and follows
the *apertio aurium*. To the question 'In what language does
[the child] confess?' the acolyte answers 'In Latin.' After the
Creed follows the summary of the Gelasian Sacramentary: 'Haec
summa est fidei nostrae.'

M. de Mély calls attention to an Interrogative form some pages
later (No. 11) which omits the words *creatorem caeli et terrae*, and
is apparently one of the purely Gallican forms with which we are
familiar, since it is substituted for the shortened form of R, which
occurs in the same context, the Baptism of a sick catechumen, in
the Gelasian Sacramentary. It is to be hoped that some one
will soon edit this Sacramentary, which appears to confirm my
view of the connexion of T with Rome.

It remains true, then, that no pure Gallican Creed before
700 contains the clause *creatorem c. et t.* We may verify this
statement in the testimonies of Caesarius of Arles († 533) and

[1] iii p. 494, cf. p. 120 n. 206.

Eligius of Noyon († 659). Vacandard admits this, but he goes on to charge me with a *petitio principii*[1] because the Gallican Missal and Gallican Sacramentary, which contain as I admit Gallican elements, contain also variations of T. But I had guarded myself against such an argument by the word ' purely.' The creeds in those documents are not ' purely Gallican creeds,' because they have come under other influence. If it could be proved that the Gallican Sacramentary was written at Besançon before it came to Bobbio, it would still be necessary to separate the Gallican section, and impossible to deny Roman influence which might account for variations from the Gallican type. Following Hahn[2] I went too far in denying the existence of a ' purely Gallican Creed' containing the words *creatorem c. et t.* before 1100, the creed of Honorius of Autun. Since Pirminius came through, if not from, Gaul it is permissible to claim his creed as a Gallican Creed unless proof to the contrary is forthcoming. I have therefore narrowed down my statement about Gallican Creeds to the date 700.

Kattenbusch[3] suggests that T may be a Gallican form of the fifth century, to which date we can trace back most of the additions which it makes to R, but with the all-important exception of *creatorem c. et t.* He suggests Musaeus of Marseilles, of whom Gennadius writes (*cap.* lxxx), ' composuit Sacramentorum egregium et non paruum uolumen,' as the possible author. But he admits the precariousness of such hypotheses and seeks a safer conclusion in the details which point to the use of T in Burgundian Gaul in the eighth century. To this district belonged the diocese of Besançon (Vesontio) and the monastery of Luxeuil, where in his opinion the Gallican Sacramentary was compiled and at least one of the Gallican Missals; also Vienne, where one of the earliest Greek translations of T was used. Kattenbusch also lays stress on the early use of T by Irish monks : Pirminius may have been, as the Bollandists think, an Irish monk, and there would be no difficulty in explaining the passage of the creed to Ireland if carried back by one of these wandering monks. He

[1] *Revue des Questions historiques*, Oct. 1899, p. 373.
[2] The Creed of Pirminius, c. 730, explains the use of T in other Benedictine monasteries : if e. g. the sermon *Quando beatum* may be ascribed to Theodulf of Orleans, we may trace its use at Fleury, c. 800. Kattenbusch, ii p. 742.
[3] ii p. 780.

thinks that T may have been brought into its present form for use in the Hour Offices[1], but in relation to R did not count as a new form. He holds that R was preserved at Rome intact until the time that it was exchanged for T. But he acknowledges freely that all conclusions are at present merely tentative, and he is willing to consider the theory that T was introduced at Rome by one of the Popes, and that it arrived at its oecumenical position through the corrected Psalters which spread from the schools of Charles the Great all over the West[2].

The way seems to be left open for a restatement of my theory that T was substituted for R in Rome sometime before 700 [3]. All the evidence seems to converge upon this conclusion. Amalarius recommends T to the Emperor with the statement that he follows the *Ordo Romanus*. The new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus* in *Cod. Sessor.* 52 proves the existence of T in a Roman collection of the ninth century. Pirminius, the friend of Boniface, is found to quote the Roman form of Renunciation and the Roman prayer of Unction. Though it is not clear from his writings what form Boniface used, there can be little doubt from the evidence of the interpolated creed in *Sacr. Gallic.* A (No. 1 : Bobbio), compared with *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 A in *Cod. Monac.* 6298 (No. 8 : Freising), that he and his disciples generally used T. With this hypothesis concerning Boniface compare the definite instructions of Pope Gregory II, and the plain fact that a constant Romanising of liturgical forms was at work throughout Gaul during the eighth century. This is clearly stated by Wiegand without reference to the formation of T, but it has an important bearing on our subject. He says: ' Das steht jedenfalls fest, dass nicht erst Karl der Grosse eine Romanisierung der fränkischen Taufliturgie angebahnt hat, sondern dass bereits lange vor ihm sich dieser Prozess sowohl in Franken wie in Deutschland zu vollziehen begann [4].'

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[1] He suggests, ii p. 793, n. 53, that the last form in the Gallican Sacramentary was a form used in the Hour Offices at Luxeuil from the time of Columban. But we need not pursue the question because it does not contain *creatorem c. et t.*

[2] p. 966 f.

[3] I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of Dr. Dörholt in a recent review of my *Introduction to the Creeds* (*Theologische Revue*, April 8, 1902, p. 171) that this theory is worthy of consideration.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 275.

I come last to the doubtful evidence of the Psalter of Gregory in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (*Cod.* N. 468). I still see no difficulty in accepting Caspari's suggestion that the Psalter, which in its present form dates from the fifteenth century, was copied from an older MS sent by Pope Gregory III (731–741). This corresponds exactly to the date of Pirminius. Here our investigation is brought to an end by lack of materials. What is needed is some seventh century testimony which may throw light on Roman usage. All that I claim to have shown is a probability that R was exchanged for, or was gradually changed into, T in Rome, the centre from which alone it could spread as it did without, as well as with, the aid of Charles. All its new phrases were taught by teachers held in honour at Rome. The first, *creatorem c. et t.*, was in the creed of Niceta, which also contained *passum, mortuum, catholicam, communionem sanctorum, et uitam aeternam.* Caesarius of Arles, who had all these with the exception of *creatorem c. et t.*, had the two remaining phrases *conceptus* and *descendit ad inferna*, and was treated with great distinction by Pope Symmachus[1]. But in view of the fact that the Creed of Caesarius had the threefold repetition of *Credo* which does not occur in T, it is rather the influence of Niceta's Creed that we should consider as a possible factor in the completed form of T. In this connexion it is important to observe that a phrase from his sermon has a parallel in the Preface to the Delivery of the Creed in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Niceta.	*Sacr. Gelas.*
Pauca quidem sunt uerba sed omnia continent sacramenta[2].	Suscipientes euangelici symboli sacramentum . . . cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt sed magna mysteria.

The same words are quoted in the preface which has been added to *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242 : 'Breue est uerbis sed magnum est sacramentis.' And it is interesting to note further that a commentary in *Cod. Sangallensis* 27, *saec.* ix *in.*, unites quotations from Niceta and *Ps. Aug.* 242. These, with the other proofs

[1] Arnold, *Cäsarius von Arelate*, Kap. ix, 'Cäsarius in Ravenna und Rom.'
[2] This passage is quoted from Niceta by Isidore, *de eccl. off.* ii 23, and from Isidore by Ildefonsus of Toledo, *de cognit. bapt.* 33.

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which come to hand of the wide influence of Niceta's sermon, may suffice to establish a possibility that it was ultimately from his sermon, though probably through a Roman medium [1], that the words *creatorem caeli et terrae* came into T : and the source of these words is the crux of the whole investigation into the history of its origin [2].

[Since this article was in print I have received from Dr. G. Mercati [3] a note on the anonymous Arian Fragments of the fourth or fifth century which were published by Card. Mai from *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5750 [4]. The seventh Fragment contains the first words of the Creed in the following form : *Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae? Credis et in Christo Iesu filio eius?* Dr. Mercati suggests that the anonymous writer and the Liturgy which he quotes may have belonged to some Church on the Danube. If this conjecture can be maintained, the addition of *creatorem caeli et terrae* in his Creed becomes an important parallel to the use of these words in the Creed of Niceta, whose sphere of activity extended to the Danube.]

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[1] Cf. the account given by Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus (*Ep.* xxix) of the impression which Niceta's learning had made in Rome.

[2] I may add that I have found a new MS of Niceta's sermon, earlier than the only other complete MS (*Cod. Chisianus*), in the British Museum, Royal 7 C ii, *saec.* xi, which contains the words *creatorem c. et t.* in the text and not only in the commentary. Further, I have found two new MSS of some of the Fragments of Niceta, *Codd. Lat. Monacensis* 6325 (*Fris.* 125), *saec.* ix, and 6324 (*Fris.* 124), *saec.* ix-x, which mention him in a list of doctors of the church, 'Athanasius, Hilarius, Niceta, Hieronimus, Ambrosius, Augustinus,' &c.

[3] *Antiche Reliquie Liturgiche* (Studi e Testi 7), Rome, 1902, p. 47.

[4] *Script. vet. nova coll.* III.