

able to put before the Synod a long declaration of faith, which was finally greeted with shouts of approval on October 25. The Acts cite first of all quite a lengthy preamble, which is followed by the creeds of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381). After a long transition we then read the text which may be described as the 'Chalcedonian creed.' A *clausula* finally lays stress on the significance and binding character of this document of the faith. We are here concerned with this 'Chalcedonian Definition' proper:¹

Following, then, the holy Fathers, we all with one voice teach that it should be confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Son, the Same perfect in Godhead, the Same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the Same [consisting] of a rational soul and a body; *homoousios* with the Father as to his Godhead, and the Same *homoousios* with us as to his manhood; in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; begotten of the Father before ages as to his Godhead, and in the last days, the Same, for us and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin *Theotokos* as to his manhood;

One and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only begotten, made known in two natures [which exist] without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the difference of the natures having been in no wise taken away by reason of the union, but rather the properties of each being preserved, and [both] concurring into one Person (*prosopon*) and one *hypostasis*—not parted or divided into two persons (*prosopa*), but one and the same Son and Only-begotten, the divine Logos, the Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from of old [have spoken] concerning him, and as the Lord Jesus Christ himself has taught us, and as the Symbol of the Fathers has delivered to us.

As the whole psychological attitude of the Fathers at the Council already shows, the task of the special committee must necessarily have been to construct its own exposition of the tradition. Otherwise it could not expect its work to be recognized. An analysis of the Chalcedonian creed shows that it is anticipated almost clause for clause in other documents. The documents which are chiefly used are the Second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, Cyril's letter to the Antiochenes with the Formulary of Reunion of 433 (*Laetentur* Letter), and the Tome of Leo to Flavian. Finally we must also add Flavian's *professio fidei*, which had been read out at the Council of Chalcedon in the context of the Acts of the trial of Eutyches. One clause even seems to hint at a letter of

¹ ACO II 1, 2, 129-30; Latin ACO II 3, 2, 137-8. We quote the text in the English translation by R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 210f. Cf. COD (Herder 1962) 59-63.

83
 θῆναι τὸν υἱόν, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω. Καὶ εἴ τις λέγῃ τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, ἢ γέννημα ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων, ἢ ποίημα ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ μὴ ὡς αἱ εἶται γραφαὶ παραδίδωκαν τῶν προσηγομένων ἑκαστον ἀφ' ἑκάστου, ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλο διδάσκει ἢ εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὁ παρελάβομεν, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω.

Ἡμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν εἰρῶν γραφῶν παραδεδομένοις ὑπὸ τε τῶν προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἀληθινῶς καὶ ἐμφύβως καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ἐκο-
 λουσοῦμεν.

Son of God was begotten, let him be accursed. And if any one says that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or generated as one of the things generated, or made as one of the things made, and not as the divine Scriptures have handed down each of the forenamed statements; or if a man teaches or preaches any thing else contrary to what we have received, let him be accursed.

For we truly and clearly both believe and follow all things from the holy Scriptures that have been transmitted to us by the Prophets and Apostles.

THE PRIVATE CREED OF ARIUS. A.D. 328.

The private confession of Arius seems to have already in view the rising heresy of ARIUS, Presbyter of Alexandria, who kindled one of the greatest theological controversies, and became the occasion of the Council of Nicaea and Creed. We insert it, therefore, in this place, between Lucian and Eusebius, to show how far Arius agreed with the Catholic faith of that age. His peculiar tenets, however, which were condemned at Nicaea in 325, are skillfully avoided in this private confession. It is heretical not by what it says, but by what it omits. It was to pave the way for his restoration. It was laid before the Emperor Constantine, at his request, and is reported by Socrates, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. 26*, and Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. 27*; see also Mansi, *Conc. Tom. II. p. 1157*, and Hahn, pp. 192 sq.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν,
 πατέρα παντοκράτορα.
 Καὶ εἰς κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρισ-
 τόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,
 τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰ-
 ῶνων γεγεννημένον,
 Θεὸν λόγον,
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε
 ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς
 γῆς.

We believe in ONE GOD,
 the Father Almighty;
 And in THE LORD JESUS CHRIST,
 his Son,
 who was begotten of him before
 all ages,
 the Divine Logos,
 through whom all things were
 made, both those in the heav-
 ens and those on the earth;

τὸν καταβῆντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα,
 καὶ παθόντα,
 καὶ ἀναστάντα,
 καὶ ἀνεβῆντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
 καὶ πάλιν ἱρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας
 καὶ νεκρούς.
 Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.
 καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
 καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰ-
 ῶνος,
 καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν,
 καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως
 περάτων.¹

who came down and was made flesh;
 and suffered;
 and rose again;
 and ascended to the heavens;
 and shall come again to judge the
 quick and the dead.
 And in THE HOLY GHOST;
 and in the resurrection of the
 flesh;
 and in the life of the world to
 come;
 and in a kingdom of heaven;
 and in one Catholic Church of
 God which extends to the ends
 of the earth.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA. A.D. 325.

SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. 8.*

EUSEBIUS, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine (d. 340), the Church historian, the friend and ecologist of Constantine I., and a leading member of the Council of Nicaea (325), forms the connecting link between the ante-Nicene and the Nicene Church. In his account of that Council he mentions the following creed, which his church in Cæsarea had received from the bishops of former times in catechizing and at baptism, which he himself had learned from Scripture, believed, and taught, and which he had laid before the Emperor and the Council. It comes very near the Nicene Creed as adopted in 325, and was the basis of it, but the characteristic motto of Nicene orthodoxy, the term *homoousios* or *consubstantial*, is wanting. See *Eusebii Cæsareensis Episcopi de fide Nicenae exposita*, in Athanasius, *Epistola de decretis Synodi Nicenae* (*Opera*, Tom. I. Pt. I. pp. 238 sqq., ed. Montfaucon.); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. 8*; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. 12*.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν πατέρα
 παντοκράτορα,
 τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ
 ἀοράτων ποιητήν.
 Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρι-
 στόν,
 τοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον,

We believe in ONE GOD THE FA-
 THER Almighty,
 Maker of all things visible and
 invisible;
 And in ONE LORD JESUS CHRIST,
 the Word of God,

¹ The Latin version in Mansi: 'quæ ab una orbis terrarum orâ ad alteram usque porri-
 gunt.'

πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ
ἐσσημαζόμενον, τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν
προφητῶν· εἰς μίαν, ἀγίαν, καθολι-
κὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμο-
δοξοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν
ἁμαρτιῶν· προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν
νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰ-
ῶνος. Ἀμήν.

*et Filio adorandum et conglorifi-
candum, qui locutus est per sanctos
prophetas. Et unum, sanctam, ca-
tholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam.
Confitemur unum baptismum in re-
missionem peccatorum. Expecta-
mus resurrectionem mortuorum et
vitam futuri sæculi. Amen.*

NOTES.

See the *History*, pp. 24 sqq. The Greek text is found in the Acts of the First Council of Constantinople in MANSI, *Conc. Tom. III.* p. 565, and twice in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Act. II. Tom. VI. p. 957, and Act. V. Tom. VII. p. 111; also in the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, Act. XVIII. Tom. XI. p. 683. See HAHN, p. 111, and HORT, pp. 73 sqq. The Latin text is chiefly from the *Canones Concilii Constantinop. ex interpr. Dioscori Episcopi*, in MANSI, Tom. III. p. 567 sq. For the different readings, see WASSON, pp. 94-103, and HILFMAN, pp. 112-116, who compared with it the translations in the *Codex Canonum et Constitutionum Eccl. Rom.* in OPP. LEONIS MAGNI, ed. Quesnel, Tom. II. p. 56; in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, as given by Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. vet.* Tom. I. p. 541, and Assemani, *Codex liturg. univ.* Tom. I. p. 11; the old transl. of the *Canones Conc. Const.* by Isidorus Mercator in MANSI, Tom. III. p. 574; *Acta Conc. Toletani*, of the year 589, given by MANSI, Tom. IX. pp. 977 sqq.; ETHERII ET BEATI ADI. EPIFANIUM, Lib. I. in *Bibl. P. P. Lugd.* Tom. XIII. p. 363; *Acta Concilii Chalced.* Act. II. in MANSI, Tom. VI. p. 988, and Act. V. in MANSI, Tom. VII. p. 111; *Codex Reg. Armamentarii Paris.*, published by Ferd. Flor. Fleck, in his *Anecdota* (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 347 sqq. All the early and authentic Latin editions omit the *Filioque*, like the Greek, except Assemani's (a convert to Romanism), who inserts, on his own authority, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. A Syriac version is given by CASPARI, l. c. Vol. I. p. 103.

(b) *Forma Recepta Ecclesie Occidentalis.*

THE RECEIVED TEXT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.¹

Credo in unum DEUM PATREM omnipotentem; factorem cæli et terræ, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.

Et in unum Dominum JESUM CHRISTUM, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula [Deum de Deo], Lumen de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri; per quem

THE RECEIVED TEXT OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.²

I believe in one GOD THE FATHER Almighty; Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one LORD JESUS CHRIST, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds [God of God], Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance [essence] with the Father;

omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cælis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est; crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas; et ascendit in cælum, sedet ad dexteram Patris; et iterum venturus est, cum gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis.

Et in SPIRITUM SANCTUM, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre [Filioque] procedit; qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur; qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum; et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi. Amen.

by whom all things were made; who, for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; he suffered and was buried; and the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures; and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And [I believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life; who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son]; who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified; who spake by the Prophets. And [I believe] one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

The *Wasson* additions, of which the *Filioque* is the most important, are inclosed in brackets. Compare Vol. I. pp. 24-28.]

NOTES.

The Latin text is from the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, third session, held Oct. 4, 1546, when the Nicene Creed was solemnly professed by this Synod as the 'symbolum fidei, quod sancta Romana ecclesia utitur, tanquam principium illud, in quo omnes, qui fidem catholicam profiterentur, necessario conveniunt, ac fundamentum firmum et unicum, contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prevalebunt.' The same text is incorporated in the *Profession of the Tridentine Faith*. The punctuation varies in different editions.

From the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, with which the text in other Protestant versions agrees, with slight variations. The Lutheran symbols substitute, in the article on the Church, the term *christliche* (*Christian*) for *Catholic*. Luther did the same in his German version of the Apostles' Creed; unwisely leaving the Romanists to monopolize the name *Catholic*.

58

III. SYMBOLUM CHALCEDONENSE.

THE SYMBOL OF CHALCEDON.

Oct. 22d, 451.

Ἐπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πα-
τέρας ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν
υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέ-
λειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀλη-
θῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐ-
τὸν, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς¹ καὶ σώ-
ματος, ὁμοούσιον² τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ
τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον² τὸν
αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,
κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρ-
τίας· πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐκ
ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν
δι' ἡμῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτη-
ρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς
θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρω-
πότητα,³ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χρι-
στὸν, υἱὸν, κύριον, μονογενῆ, ἐκ δύο
φύσεων [ἐν δύο φύσεσιν],⁴ ἀσυγχύ-
τως, ἀτρέπτως,⁵ ἀδιαιρέτως,
ἀχωρίτως⁶ γνωριζόμενον· οὐδα-
μοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀν-
ρημένης διὰ τὴν ἐνώσιον, σωζομένης δὲ
μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκάτερως φύ-
σεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν
ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης, οὐκ εἰς δύο
πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμε-
νον, ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ
μονογενῆ, θεὸν λόγον, κύριον Ἰησοῦν

We, then, following the holy Fa-
thers, all with one consent, teach
men to confess one and the same
Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the
same perfect in Godhead and also
perfect in manhood; truly God and
truly man, of a reasonable [ration-
al] soul¹ and body; consubstantial
[coessential]² with the Father ac-
cording to the Godhead, and con-
substantial with us according to the
Manhood; in all things like unto us,
without sin; begotten before all ages
of the Father according to the God-
head, and in these latter days, for us
and for our salvation, born of the
Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, ac-
cording to the Manhood;³ one and
the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-
begotten, to be acknowledged in
two natures,⁴ *inconfusedly, un-
changeably,⁵ indivisibly, insepara-
bly;*⁶ the distinction of natures be-
ing by no means taken away by the
union, but rather the property of
each nature being preserved, and
concurring in one Person and one
Subsistence, not parted or divided
into two persons, but one and the
same Son, and only begotten, God
the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as

Χριστὸν· καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ προφή-
ται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ κύ-
ριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσε καὶ
τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε
σύμβολον.

the prophets from the beginning
[have declared] concerning him,
and the Lord Jesus Christ himself
has taught us, and the Creed of the
holy Fathers has handed down to us.

SYMBOLUM CHALCEDONENSE. VERSIO LATINA.

*Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, unum eundemque confiteri FILIUM
et DOMINUM NOSTRUM JESUM CHRISTUM consonanter omnes docemus,
eundem perfectum in deitate et eundem perfectum in humanitate;
Deum verum et hominem verum eundem ex anima rationali et cor-
pore; consubstantialem Patri secundum deitatem, consubstantialem
nobis eundem secundum humanitatem; 'per omnia nobis similem,
absque peccato' (Heb. iv.): ante secula quidem de Patre genitum secun-
dum deitatem; in novissimis autem diebus eundem propter nos et
propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine, Dei genitrice secundum
humanitatem; unum eundemque Christum, Filium, Dominum, uni-
genitum, in duabus naturis INCONFUSE, IMMUTABILITER, INDIVISE, IN-
SEPERABILITER agnoscendum: nusquam sublata differentia naturarum
propter unionem, magisque salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, et
in unam personam atque subsistentiam concurrente: non in duas
personas partitum aut divisum, sed unum eundemque Filium et uni-
genitum, Deum verbum, Dominum Jesum Christum; sicut ante pro-
phetas de eo et ipse nos Jesus Christus erudit et patrum nobis sym-
bolum tradidit.*

NOTES.

The Greek text, together with the Latin version, is taken from the *ἕρος τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδὼν τετάρτης Συνόδου*, Act. V. in MANSI, *Conc. Tom. VII. p. 115*. We have inserted *in δύο φύσεσιν* (see note 4). There are several other Latin versions which Mansi gives, *Tom. VII. pp. 115 and 751-758*, with the various readings. See also Hahn, l. c. pp. 117 sqq.

The Creed is preceded in the acts of the Council by an express confirmation of the Nicene Creed in both forms, 'the Creed of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers of Nicæa,' and 'the Creed of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers who were assembled at Constantinople.' The Fathers of Chalcedon declare that 'this wise and saving Creed [of Nicæa] would be sufficient for the full acknowledgment and confirmation of the true religion; for it teaches completely the perfect doctrine concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and fully explains the Incarnation of the Lord to those who receive it faithfully.' The addition of a new Creed is justified by the subsequent Christological heresies (Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism). After stating it, the Synod solemnly prohibits, on pain of 'deposi-

IV. SYMBOLUM QUICUNQUE.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

THE LATIN ORIGINAL.

1. *Quicumque vult salvus esse: ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem.*

2. *Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit: absque dubio in æternum peribit.*

3. *Fides autem catholica hæc est: ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur;*

4. *Neque confundentes personas: neque substantiam separantes.*

5. *Alia est enim persona Patris: alia Filii: alia Spiritus Sancti.*

6. *Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas: æqualis gloria, coæterna majestas.*

7. *Qualis Pater: talis Filius: talis [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

8. *Increatus Pater: increatus Filius: increatus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

9. *Immensus Pater: immensus Filius: immensus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

OLD TRANSLATION REVISED.

1. Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith:

2. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

3. And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

4. Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance [Essence].

5. For there is one Person of the Father: another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.

6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal.

7. Such as the Father is: such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.

8. The Father uncreate [uncreated]: the Son uncreate [uncreated]: and the Holy Ghost uncreate [uncreated].

9. The Father incomprehensible [unlimited]: the Son incomprehensible [unlimited]: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible [unlimited, or infinite].

10. *Æternus Pater: æternus Filius: æternus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

11. *Et tamen non tres æterni: sed unus æternus.*

12. *Sicut non tres increati: nec tres immensi: sed unus increatus: et unus immensus.*

13. *Similiter omnipotens Pater: omnipotens Filius: omnipotens [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

14. *Et tamen non tres omnipotentes: sed unus omnipotens.*

15. *Ita deus Pater: deus Filius: deus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

16. *Et tamen non tres dii: sed unus est Deus.*

17. *Ita dominus Pater: dominus Filius: dominus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.*

18. *Et tamen non tres domini: sed unus [est] Dominus.*

19. *Quia sicut singulatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri, christiana veritate compellimur:*

20. *Ita tres deos, aut [tres] dominos dicere, catholica religione prohibemur.*

21. *Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus, nec genitus.*

22. *Filius a Patre solo est: non factus, nec creatus: sed genitus.*

10. The Father eternal: the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.

11. And yet they are not three æternals: but one eternal.

12. As also there are not three uncreated: nor three incomprehensibles [infinite], but one uncreated: and one incomprehensible [infinite].

13. So likewise the Father is Almighty: the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

14. And yet they are not three Almightyes: but one Almighty.

15. So the Father is God: the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

16. And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

17. So likewise the Father is Lord: the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.

18. And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord:

20. So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say, There be [are] three Gods, or three Lords.

21. The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

22. The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created: but begotten.

23. *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus: sed procedens.*

24. *Unus ergo Pater, non tres patres: unus Filius, non tres filii: unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti.*

25. *Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius, aut posterius: nihil majus, aut minus.*

26. *Sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt, et coæquales.*

27. *Ita, ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est: et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate, veneranda sit.*

28. *Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.*

29. *Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem: ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.*

30. *Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur: quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Deus [pariter] et homo est;*

31. *Deus [est] ex substantia Patris, ante secula genitus: et homo ex substantia matris, in seculo natus.*

23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding.

24. So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

25. And in this Trinity none is afore, or after another: none is greater, or less than another [there is nothing before, or after: nothing greater or less].

26. But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal.

27. So that in all things, as aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshiped.

28. He therefore that will be saved, must [let him] thus think of the Trinity.

29. Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly [faithfully] the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

30. For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

31. God, of the Substance [Essence] of the Father; begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the Substance [Essence] of his Mother, born in the world.

32. *Perfectus Deus: perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.*

33. *Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem: minor Patre secundum humanitatem.*

34. *Qui licet Deus sit et homo; non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.*

35. *Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem: sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum.*

36. *Unus omnino; non confusione substantiæ: sed unitate personæ.*

37. *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo: ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.*

38. *Qui passus est pro nostra salute: descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.*

39. *Ascendit ad [in] caelos: sedet ad dexteram [Dei] Patris [omnipotentis].*

40. *Inde venturus [est] judicare vivos et mortuos.*

41. *Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis;*

42. *Et reddaturi sunt de factis propriis rationem.*

32. Perfect God: and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

33. Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood.

34. Who although he be [is] God and Man; yet he is not two, but one Christ.

35. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking [assumption] of the Manhood into God.

36. One altogether; not by confusion of Substance [Essence]: but by unity of Person.

37. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ;

38. Who suffered for our salvation: descended into hell [Hades, spirit-world]: rose again the third day from the dead.

39. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father God [God the Father] Almighty.

40. From whence [thence] he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

41. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies;

42. And shall give account for their own works.

88
801
43. *Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam: qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum.*

44. *Hæc est fides catholica: quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.*

43. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

44. This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully [truly and firmly], he can not be saved.

NOTES.

¹ The LATIN text of the oldest known MS. in the Utrecht Psalter has been reproduced by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy in his Report (London, 1873), and in the fac-simile ed. of the Utrecht Psalter (1875). It agrees nearly altogether with the text given above, but has a number of inaccuracies. I have compared also the texts of Waterland (*Works*, Vol. III. pp. 221 sqq.), Usher (*De Romana Eccl. Symbolo Apost. vetere*, 1647, Genev. ed. 1722, pp. 13-15), Montfaucon (in his ed. of *Athanasius*, Tom. II. pp. 719 sqq.), Hahn (pp. 122-125), Lumby (p. 259), and Swainson (p. 204). The numbering of verses differs: Waterland, Montfaucon, and the English Book of Common Prayer have only 40 verses by combining 19 and 20, 25 and 26, 39 and 40, 41 and 42; Walch and others make 44, the Roman Breviary 42. In my *Church Hist.* Vol. III. pp. 690-695, I have given the parallel passages from the fathers.

² There is no authorized Greek text of the Athanasian Creed, since it was never adopted in the Oriental Church. There are several translations, which differ considerably. Usher gives a Greek version with many interpolations. Caspari (Vol. III. pp. 263-267) published for the first time two other Greek versions from MSS. in the Venetian Library of St. Mark and the Ambrosian Library of Milan.

³ The English translation is that of the sixteenth century (1548), as found in the English editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and still in use in the public service of the Church of England. My emendations are inclosed in brackets. The punctuation is adjusted to the liturgical use of this Creed.

Ver. 1.—Some copies read *opus habet for opus est*. Usher: *την ἐπιτάχην πιστῶν, orthodoxam fidem*. The MS. in the Utrecht Psalter begins with a grammatical blunder: 'Incipit fides catholica.'

Ver. 2.—On the damnatory clause, which is twice repeated, ver. 28 and ver. 44, see the *Introduction*, pp. 39, 41. Some MSS. read *inviolabilemque*; some omit *absque dubio*.

Ver. 3.—Usher: *Orthodoxa for catholica*. Compare on this verse Gregory Naz., *Orat.* xxiii.: *μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένην*.

Ver. 4.—*Person* in the sense of *persona*, *πρόσωπον* (also *ὑπόστασις* in the post-Nicene use of the term), i. e., *character, face, manifestation, subsistence*. It must not be confounded with *essence or being* (*essentia, substantia, natura, οὐσία, φύσις*). God is one in essence, three in persons (*Deus est trinus, h. e. in essentia unus, tres habet subsistenti modos*). In modern philosophical usage the term *person* means a separate and distinct rational individual. But the trinitarianity of God is not a numerical or essential trinity of three beings (like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), for this would be tritheism; nor is it, on the other hand, merely a threefold aspect and mode of manifestation, in the Sabellian or Swedenborgian sense; but it is a real, objective, and eternal, though ineffable, distinction in the one Divine being, with a corresponding threefold revelation of this being in the works of creation, redemption, and sanctification.

⁴ Swedenborg was willing to adopt the Athanasian Creed if a trinity of (the one Divine) person was substituted for a trinity of persons. According to him, the Father is the Essential Divinity, the Son the Divine Humanity, the Holy Spirit the Divine Proceeding or Operation.

Hence the distinction between the immanent, intrinsic (or ontological) trinity and the extrinsic (or oeconomic) trinity; in other words, between the trinity of essence and the trinity of manifestation.

Ver. 4.—The Latin *substantia* (that which stands under) and *essentia* correspond to the Greek *οὐσία*, as distinct from *πρόσωπον*. But in modern English, *substance* is used mostly in the sense of matter, body, or the most important part, summary. Hence *essence or being* is preferable. *Hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*; foundation, groundwork, *substratum, substantia*) was originally used in the same sense as *οὐσία*, but afterwards it became identical with *πρόσωπον, persona*.

Ver. 6.—Usher reads after *divinitas*: '*Unum robur, una potestas, unum regnum*' (an interpolation of the Greeks).

Ver. 9.—*Incomprehensibile* is a false translation, unless it be taken in the unusual sense, 'not to be comprehended within any bounds.' The Anglican translator of 1548 perhaps followed a Greek copy (of 1533) which renders *immensus* by *ἀκατάληκτος*. But other Greek copies read *ἀπειρος* or *ἀμετρος* instead. Usher's Greek text has *παντακράτωρ, omnipotent*. The Latin *immensus* means, what can not be circumscribed or limited by any boundaries, what is illocal, omnipresent. Fortunatus explains the word: '*Non est mensurabilis in sua natura, quia illocalis est, incircumscribitus, ubique totus, ubique præsens, ubique potens*.' The author of the Athanasian Creed glories in the clear revelation and statement of the mystery of the Trinity rather than in the mystery itself. The Utrecht Psalter reads *immensus*.

Ver. 20.—Waterland omits *tres* before *Dominos*. Usher reads for *prohibemus*: '*Non comprobamus, sed omnino prohibemus*.'

Ver. 21.—Usher: *sed ingenuus for nec genitus*.

Ver. 23.—The Greek translation and the Latin text in Usher omit *et Filio*, which is contrary to the Greek doctrine of the single procession. Most Greek copies read only *ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς*.

Ver. 25.—Usher: *nullus primus aut postremus, nullus major aut minor, οὐδὲς πρῶτος ἢ ἴσχατος, οὐδὲς μίγας ἢ μικρός*.

Ver. 29.—*Fideliter* is variously rendered in the Greek copies by *ἀρῶς, πιστῶς, βιβλῶς*.

Ver. 30.—Utrecht Psalter reads *quia* for *quod*, and omits *pariter*.

Ver. 31.—Usher's Greek text inserts here a long interpolation, which is not at all in keeping with the sententious character of the symbol.

Ver. 32.—Another long interpolation in Usher.

Ver. 38.—After *passus est* a Greek version adds the anti-patrispassian clause: *ἀναδούς τῆς ζωῆς ἁγίου μινούσης, impassibili nante divinitate*.

Ver. 38.—Some MSS. read *ad infernos* or *ad inferna*. Usher's enlarged Greek copy omits the clause, and reads *ταφίς καὶ ἀναστάσις*. The Utrecht Psalter reads *et qui* for *qui vero*.

Ver. 43.—Usher: *εἰς αἰώνιον κολάσις, ad cruciatus eternos*.

Ver. 44.—The Greek copies read either *πιστῶς* alone, or *πιστῶς τε καὶ βιβλῶς*, or *καὶ πιστῶς βιβλῶς πιστιῶσ*.

Vol. II.—F

V. SYMBOLUM CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM TERTIUM,
ADVERSUS MONOTHELETAS, A.D. 680.

THE CREED OF THE SIXTH OECUMENICAL COUNCIL, AGAINST THE
MONOTHELITES.

Review of the Dogmatic Legislation of the Seven Oecumenical Councils

The NICENO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN Creed, and the Creed of CHALCEDON, both of which we have given in full, embrace the sum and substance of the dogmatic legislation of the oecumenical Councils of the undivided ancient or Græco-Latin Church. All the rest is merely explanatory and supplementary, or disputed.

The SIXTH OECUMENICAL (or THIRD CONSTANTINOPOLITAN) COUNCIL (also called *Conc. Trullanum I.*), held A.D. 680, in consequence of the *Monothelite* or *One-Will* Controversy (633-680), enlarged the Creed of Chalcedon, notwithstanding the solemn prohibition of the Council of Chalcedon (see p. 16), by adding a *ῥησις*, or dogmatic definition to the effect that Jesus Christ had *two distinct and inseparable wills* (*θελήματα*), as well as two natures, a *human* will and a *divine* will, working in harmony, the human in subordination to the divine; the will being regarded as an attribute of nature rather than person. See Actio XVIII. in Mansi, *Conc.*, Tom. XI. pp. 637 sqq. After quoting the Symbol of Chalcedon down to the words *παράδιδοιμι σύμβολον* (see p. 15), the Synod goes on, without interruption, as follows:

Καὶ δύο φυσικὰ θελήσεις ἦτοι θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ [Ἰησ. Χριστῷ] καὶ δύο φυσικὰ ἐνεργείας ἀδιαίρετως, ἀρέπτως, ἀμείρως, ἀσυγχύτως, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διδασκαλίαν ὡσαύτως κηρύττομεν· καὶ δύο μὲν φυσικὰ θελήματα οὐχ ὑπεναντία, μὴ γένοιτο, καθὼς οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἐφθασαν αἰρετικοί, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θελημα, καὶ μὴ ἀντιπίπτον ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι· ἴδιαι γὰρ τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς θελημα κινηθῆναι, ὑποταγῆναι δὲ τῷ θελήματι τῷ θεϊκῷ κατὰ τὸν πάνσοφον Ἀθανάσιον.

Et duas naturales voluntates in eo [Jesu Christo], et duas naturales operationes indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse secundum sanctorum patrum doctrinam adæque prædicamus; et duas naturales voluntates non contrarias, absit, juxta quod impij asseruerunt hæretici, sed sequentem ejus humanam voluntatem, et non resistentem vel reluctantem, sed potius et subjectam divinæ ejus atque omnipotentis voluntati. Oportebat enim carnis voluntatem moveri, subjici vero voluntati divinæ, juxta sapientissimum Athanasium.

Then follow quotations from John vi. 38, Gregory Nazianzen, Pope Leo (*Ep. ad Flavianum*, c. 4), Cyril of Alexandria, and a repetition of the Ephesian and Chalcedonian prohibition to set forth any new symbol of faith on pain of excommunication. Pope Agatho, by a dogmatic

epistle, exercised a controlling influence over this Council similar to the one of Pope Leo I. over the Council of Chalcedon. On the other hand, the Council emphatically condemned Pope Honorius as a Monothelite heretic. Monothelism continued among the Maronites on Mount Lebanon.

The THIRD OECUMENICAL COUNCIL, held at EPHESUS, A.D. 431, and the FIFTH OECUMENICAL COUNCIL, held at CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 553 (hence also called the SECOND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN C.), issued no new Creed, but simply reaffirmed the previous Creeds and condemned certain heresies.

The Council of Ephesus condemned 'the impious and profane doctrines' of Nestorius in two of its six canons (can. 1 and 4), and indorsed the twelve anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria hurled against Nestorius, which are purely negative, and need not be inserted here.¹ The same Synod sanctioned also the letters of Cyril and of Celestinus of Rome to Nestorius, and incidentally (in can. 1 and 4) condemned *Pelagianism* in the person of *Calastius*, the chief pupil of Pelagius, on the supposition that he sympathized with Nestorius; but the Pelagian doctrines are not stated.

The Fifth Oecumenical Council, of 164 Bishops, occasioned by the protracted and tedious Monophysite controversies (which grew out of the Council of Chalcedon), confessed the Nicene Creed as explained and enlarged by the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, indorsed the dogmatic edicts of Emperor Justinian, and condemned the three Chapters (*τρία κεφάλαια*), that is, some writings of three departed divines of the Antiochian school, Theodore of Mopsuestia (the teacher of Nestorius), Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa (friends of Nestorius). The last two, however, had been declared orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon. The Fifth Oecumenical Council had a leaning towards Monophysitism, but the Sixth Oecumenical Council reacted again in favor of the dyophysitism of the Council of Chalcedon, and supplemented it by teaching the dyotheletism of Christ.²

The SEVENTH (and last strictly) OECUMENICAL COUNCIL, held, under the Empress Irene, at NICÆA, A.D. 787, and hence also called the SECOND NICENE COUNCIL, condemned the Iconoclasts, and sanctioned the ecclesiastical use and limited worship of sacred images.³ But this decision is recognized only by Greeks and Romans, while Protestants regard it as a relapse into a refined form of idolatry, condemned by the Second Commandment and the primitive Christian Church. It became a fruitful source of superstition, but stimulated also the development of Christian art.

¹ See the *Anathematismi* Cyrilli in Mansi, *Conc.* Tom. IV. p. 1069 and Tom. V. pp. 63 sqq. (Greek and Latin, with the *ἀπολογία* of Theodoret, and the *ἀπολογία* of Cyril), also in Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, pp. 27-31, and Gieseler's *Church History*, Vol. I. pp. 349 sqq. (Am. ed., only the Greek text). The ambitious, violent, and overbearing Cyril, who controlled the Synod, misrepresented his rival Patriarch of Constantinople, and leaned towards the opposite heresy of Eutychianism. Compare the refutation of Theodoret in Mansi, Tom. V. pp. 67 sqq., and my *Church History*, Vol. III. pp. 722-728. The Oecumenical Council of 431 was saved by its orthodoxy, otherwise it would have shared the disgrace of the infamous Robber Synod (*σύννοδος ἁρεστικῆς, Intrinsecum Ephesinum*), held at Ephesus a few years later (449) under the lead of Dioscurus (Cyril's successor), where passion, intrigue, and uncharitableness ruled supreme. Gregory of Nazianzen, who himself presided over the Second Oecumenical Council, drew a sad picture of the unchristian spirit which disgraced the synodical assemblies of his day. But the Third Oecumenical Council stands morally as well as doctrinally far below its two predecessors.

² The Greek Acts of the Fifth Council, with the exception of the fourteen anathemas on the three Chapters, are lost; but a Latin translation, concerning whose genuineness and completeness there has been much controversy, is preserved. See Mansi, *Conc.* Tom. IX. pp. 163 sqq., especially pp. 638-639. Denzinger gives the *Canonæ III. de tribus capitulis* (*Enchir.* pp. 68-73), and also the fifteen Canons against the errors of Origen (pp. 73-80), but the latter belong to an earlier Constantinopolitan Synod, held A.D. 544. On the Three Chapter Controversy, see my *Church History*, Vol. III. pp. 768 sqq., and more fully, Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Vol. II. pp. 775-829.

³ The *ἑσπέραι καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραι προσέτινον, osculum et honoraria adoratio*, but not *ἀλλοθινὴ λατρεία ἢ ἑστία* μὴ ἐπὶ θεῷ φέρεται, vera latría, que solum divinam naturam decet. See the decree in Mansi, *Conc.* Tom. XIII. p. 878 sq. Also in Denzinger, *Enchir.* pp. 104, 106.