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HENRY BETTENSON

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CHRIS MAUNDER

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was made flesh, *and became man*,<sup>1</sup> suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into the heavens, is coming to judge living and dead.

And in the Holy Spirit.

And those that say 'There was when he was not,'  
and, 'Before he was begotten he was not,'  
and that, 'He came into being from what-is-not,'<sup>2</sup>  
or those that allege, that the son of God is  
'Of another substance or essence'  
or 'created,'  
or 'changeable'<sup>3</sup>  
or 'alterable,'<sup>4</sup>

these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

### (c) The 'Nicene' Creed

[Found in Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 118, c. AD 374, and extracted by scholars, almost word for word, from the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem; read and approved at Chalcedon, 451, as the creed of '(the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea and that of) the 150 who met at a later time' (i.e. at Constantinople, 381). Hence often called the Constantinopolitan or Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan creed, and thought by many to be a revision of the creed of Jerusalem held by Cyril. See, for discussions, Hort, *Two Dissertations* (1876), Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds* (1899), and Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (1950).]

We believe in one God the Father All-sovereign, 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 the ages, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance<sup>5</sup> with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down from the heavens, and was made flesh of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,

<sup>1</sup> ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, taking on himself all that makes man man, expanding σαρκωθέντα, 'was made flesh'; or perhaps, 'lived as man among man,' expanding and safeguarding the Caesarean 'lived among men,' ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον. But this seems less likely.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, 'from nothingness.'

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *morally* changeable.

<sup>4</sup> The additions, 'God of God' (from the creed of Nicaea) and '(from the Father) and the Son', occur first in the 'Creed of Constantinople' as recited at the third Council of Toledo, 589. The latter phrase, the '*filioque* clause,' had already been used at an earlier council of Toledo, 447: it gained popularity in the West and was inserted in most versions of the creed, except that of the Roman Church, where Leo III in 809 refused to insert it. But in 867 Nicholas I was excommunicated by Photius, Bishop of Constantinople, for having corrupted the creed by this addition.

<sup>5</sup> See note (2) on the Creed of Nicaea, p. 26.

and became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and cometh again with glory to judge living and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end:

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and the Life-giver, that proceedeth from the Father,<sup>1</sup> who with Father and Son is worshipped together and glorified together, who spake through the prophets:

In one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church:

We acknowledge one baptism unto remission of sins. We look for a resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come.

## SECTION III

### The Earliest Testimony to the Gospels

#### I. THE TRADITION OF THE ELDERS

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (c.130), *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*, in Euseb. *H.E.* III. 39

Five books of Papias are extant, bearing the title *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*. Irenaeus relates that this is his only work, and says, 'Papias, the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp, a man of an earlier generation, testifies to these things in his fourth book. His work is in five volumes.' Such is the evidence of Irenaeus. Now Papias himself in the introduction to his writings makes no claim to be a hearer and eyewitness of the holy Apostles, but to have received the contents of the faith from those that were known to them. He tells us this in his own words: 'I shall not hesitate to set down for you, along with my interpretations, all things which I learnt from the elders with care and recorded with care, being well assured of their truth. For, unlike most men, I took pleasure not in those that had much to say but in those that teach the truth; not in those who record strange precepts, but in those who relate such precepts as were given to the Faith from the Lord and are derived from the Truth itself. Besides, if ever any man came who had been a follower of the elders, I would enquire about the sayings of the

<sup>1</sup> See note (4) on previous page.