Tracing a Creedal Pedigree:
How Did the Patristic *Regula Fidei* Affect the Apostles' Creed?

The Latin text of the Apostles' Creed is designated by J.N.D. Kelly in his 1950 work on creeds as *T*, that is, the *textus receptus*.[1] This nomenclature originated with Ferdinand Kattenbusch in his monumental work on the creed,[2] and it is also used by Wolfram Kinzig in his 4-volume *Faith in Formulae*.[3] The letter *T* has thus become the standard scholarly designation for the Apostles' Creed, and I will use it in this paper.

As we know it today, *T* first shows up as a printed text in a book published in 1568 by Melchior Hittorp, canon of Cologne Cathedral.[4] However, the manuscript origins of this Latin text go back (with some minor variations[5]) to the Merovingian monk, St. Pirmin, who evangelized southern Germany, or Francia, and the upper Rhineland area. He gives us the text in a popular missionary manual, the *Sayings of Abbot Pirmin,* dated to the early 700s.[6] Pirmin had brought the creed either from Spain or southern Gaul (where he was originally from) to his abbey, Reichenau, on an island in Lake Constance. The text of *T*, which appears in the handout, is very close to three contemporary texts found at Bobbio Abbey in Italy, and a fourth at Luxeuil Abbey in Burgundy.

It has become something of a scholarly commonplace that the eighth-century text of *T* derives from the Old Roman Symbol, that is, the fourth-century creed known as *R.* It is preserved in a Latin version by Rufinus of Aquileia (also reproduced in your handout), as well as a Greek version from Marcellus of Ancyra. The formative impact of *R* upon *T* was argued in minute detail by Kattenbusch in 1900. Fifty years later, Kelly concurred when he wrote in 1950, "we should notice (the fact has never been denied) that what we have here [in *T*] is simply a rather elaborate variant of the Old Roman Creed (R)."[7] Then, only a few years ago, in 2017, Kinzig likewise stated: "there is an almost unanimous consensus among scholars" that "*T* is a descendant of an earlier Roman creed (R)."[8]

A famous television commercial for financial services once used the tagline, "When E.F. Hutton talks, people listen." In the world of creedal studies, when Kattenbusch, Kelly, and Kinzig talk, people would also do well to listen. On the other hand, when Litfin talks, people don't always listen. But since you're here today, I hope you will continue to listen for a few more minutes as I consider the nature of this reigning scholarly paradigm about the direct lineage from *R* to *T*. In particular, I want to think about the role of the second- and third-century *regula fidei*, or Rule of Faith, which is the amorphous creedal material that stands behind *R*, and which provides the linkage from it back to the New Testament apostles, so that *T* can in some sense be considered the "Apostles' Creed," even though its *textus receptus* comes from eighth-century Francia, not first century Israel.

As we think about how the Mediterranean Rule of Faith might have cast its influence forward across the centuries (and across the Alps) into the early medieval Rhineland to put its stamp upon *T*, three possible theories come to mind.[9] The first I shall call **the Eastern Hypothesis.** We could imagine that the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed made a profound impact on *T.* As is well known, the text of the Nicene Creed (from 381, not 325) first appeared when it was read into the record at Chalcedon in 451. It immediately became the eastern church's baptismal creed, then entered a fixed place in the Divine Liturgy in 511 under Patriarch Timothy I of Constantinople.

In the West, the process of incorporating the Nicene Creed, first as a baptismal symbol and then into the Mass, took longer. After the Council of Toledo in 589, it entered the Spanish liturgy of the weekly Sunday service—with its *Filioque* addition, of course—to counter the Gothic Arianism that still lingered there. In that Spanish context, perhaps it could have influenced the text of *T* that Pirmin would bring with him to Francia.

To complete this possible Eastern Hypothesis that the Rule of Faith influenced the Apostles' Creed via the Nicene Creed, we would have to trace the pre-history of the Nicene Creed

back to an early version of the Rule of Faith. Eusebius, of course, reported that he had offered at the Council of Nicaea his own baptismal symbol of Caesarea as the basis for the creed, to which a few edits were made. Though some scholars, such as Adolf von Harnack, once supported this theory, or that a Jerusalem catechetical statement might have been used instead, R.P.C. Hanson summarized the current scholarly consensus when he declared that the Nicene Creed was most likely "the product of a number of different creeds put together for the occasion."[10] In other words, scholars today consider the Nicene Creed to be a hodgepodge of traditional creedal statements with the insertion of certain anti-Arian formulae to fit the needs of the time.

While this conclusion makes the Eastern Hypothesis tenuous in relation to its backstory by removing a solid connection to the Rule of Faith, the Hypothesis really blows up when we try to connect the Nicene Creed to any version of the Apostles' Creed. The text of *T* contains no evidence of an anti-Arian outlook—certainly not the *homoousios* clause or anything like it. The fact is that the Nicene and Apostles' creeds existed side-by-side as distinct formulae in the Latin West. Their language just isn't parallel enough to ascribe a direct lineal descent.

Sometime in the sixth century, the Nicene Creed actually replaced the Old Roman Symbol as the Catholic Church's official baptismal creed.[11] This situation came to its natural conclusion in 1014, when Pope Benedict VIII was induced by the Holy Roman Emperor to insert the recitation of the Nicene Creed into the liturgy of the Sunday Mass, after the homily and before the Eucharist, where it has remained ever since. Nonetheless, various versions of the Apostles' Creed were also widely used outside of Rome during the early medieval period. Today, its recitation can be substituted for the Nicene Creed in the liturgy, which usually happens during Lent and Eastertide. So the conclusion here seems inescapable: the Nicene Creed *did not substantially influence* the Apostles' Creed, but existed alongside it in the same milieu. They were two well-regarded, yet distinct creeds. The Eastern Hypothesis isn't the best way to trace the impact of the Rule of Faith upon the Apostles' Creed.

The next theory is what I call **the Central Hypothesis**. Generally speaking, this one is widely agreed upon, for it is the theory of Kattenbusch, Kelly, and Kinzig. It states that the Old Roman Symbol, which was a crystallization of the earlier Rule of Faith, morphed into the Apostles' Creed. In a general way, we can affirm that this is true. However, the Central Hypothesis is too simplistic, if by it we mean that a fixed verbal statement from Rome traveled up the Italian peninsula, crossed the Alps over St. Bernard's Pass, and descended into Germanic lands where Pirmin adapted it for evangelizing the barbarians. In other words, the Central Hypothesis would seem to say that *T* was a direct "daughter creed" of *R*, when in fact, it was more like a great-great-great-granddaughter. And it is those intervening generations of daughters that we need to investigate in order to understand the full picture.

To do this, we must appeal to what I will call **the Western Hypothesis**: that the story of *T*'s creedal origins swerved over into southern Gaul for several centuries, thereby problematizing the overly simplistic lines of the Central Theory that people so often proclaim, as if Pirmin just took a look at the Old Roman Symbol in front of him, made a few theological adjustments, and promulgated *T* among his pagan converts. No, the story is much more complex than that; and a Hispano-Gallic setting, not an Italian one, forms the essential element of that complexity.

It is generally agreed that St. Pirmin originally hailed from the region of southern Gaul that was under the influence of Visigothic Spain. The Gallic city of Narbonne was the capital of the historical region known as Septimania, and it may have served as Pirmin's home base. Some historians note that Pirmin's presence in the Merovingian Frankish north probably coincided with the flight of many Christians—especially clergy and monks—after the Muslim invasion of Septimania in 719.[12]

Several creeds of Spanish origin bear close resemblance to Pirmin's text of *T.* One book which Pirmin certainly had before his eyes was *On the Correction of Rustics* by Martin of Braga,

which is in modern day Portugal.[13] Martin lived in the years 520–79. Although I won't discuss this text in detail because I want to focus on another one, it has been reproduced in your handout. Of note is the inclusion of the phrase, *descendit ad inferna*, "he descended into hell," which does not appear in the Old Roman Symbol. Notice also that Martin records the text in an interrogatory format. I mention this creed simply to point out the close ties between Pirmin's text in Frankish Germany of the 700s and the Spanish milieu of the 500s, two centuries prior. Yet the text is also very similar to *R,* so it seems to have served as a kind of bridge between *R* and *T.*

Instead of Spain, let us focus our attention on southern Gaul, while remembering that this area was influenced by the Spanish church on the far side of the Pyrenees, even more so than other parts of what we now think of as France. In other words, this was a Hispano-Gallic environment. Although there are intriguing creedal texts from Faustus of Riez, who was abbot of the Lérins monastery, and also from Cyprian of Toulon, the most important text is from Caesarius of Arles, dated to around AD 514. It is reproduced in your handout adjacent to the text of *T.* Upon comparing the two, we immediately note the startling similarities between them. So similar are they that we can even wonder why Caesarius's text isn't considered as the *textus receptus* of the Apostles' Creed, rather than that of Pirmin. They are virtually identical in wording—but with one key difference.

The underlined differences are verbally insignificant except for one variation in the Christological clause, which is quite noteworthy. Caesarius describes Jesus as God's "only-begotten, everlasting Son," using the adjectives *unigenitum* and *sempiternum*. The first word also appears in the creed of the bishop's disciple, Cyprian of Toulon, while the second adjective seems to be unique to Caesarius, except for a single later manuscript which also has it.[14] Here is a place where I think we can discern the influence of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381. It, too, uses the word *unigenitum* in its Latin translation of the key Greek word, *monogenes*, "only-begotten." This Greek expression occurs in several eastern creeds of the fourth century, as early

as Bishop Alexander's baptismal symbol at Alexandria prior to the outbreak of the Arian controversy.[15] A quotation of the Antiochian creed in John Cassian's refutation of Nestorianism could have introduced the term into southern Gaul around 430.[16] Caesarius would have been familiar with the Nicene significance of the word *unigenitum*, and he would have seen it affirmed in his Latin version of the Nicene Creed. [17] Therefore he wanted that word in his baptismal creed.

Likewise, Caesarius's use of the word *sempiternum*, "everlasting," could be reflecting the Nicene expression that Christ was "from the Father *before all the ages*." In Caesarius's citation of the baptismal creed, he quotes it three times in a row because, he says, "the faith of all Christians consists of the Trinity."[18] Sermon 244, which is often attributed to Caesarius, reveals him to be an energetic proponent of Nicene Trinitarian dogmatics.[19] Thus, it seems quite plausible to discern the influence of the Nicene Creed in his use of the words "only-begotten" and "everlasting." But for whatever reason, most western creeds, including that of Pirmin, were content to settle for *unicum,* God's "only" Son.

Since Caesarius of Arles has provided us with a nearly exact version of *T* from the sixth century, the next intriguing question is to ask whether the fourth century Old Roman Symbol in Italy was its sole precursor,[20] or whether we can perceive the influence of the Rule of Faith from anywhere else, apart from *R.* Certainly, we have to admit the validity of the basic premise of the Central Hypothesis, that *R* was directly influential upon *T.* If you compare the two texts in the handout, you can see that, yes, indubitably, the Old Roman Symbol bears a strong relationship to the Apostles' Creed. Yet as I have tried to show, it is only when we swerve over to the western, Hispano-Gallic area that we can tell the full story with the intervening "daughter creeds."

It is important to recognize not only the similarities, but also the differences between the Old Roman Symbol and *T*. Upon close inspection, we find *six expansions* of *R* by both Caesarius

and Pirmin. Omitting some minor lexical or syntactical variances,[21] the six main expansions are listed in the handout as follows:

1. God is called "creator of heaven and earth"
2. Christ is "conceived" by the Holy Spirit but "born from" the Virgin Mary
3. Christ "suffered" under Pontius Pilate, and he "died"
4. Christ "descended into hell"
5. The church is called "catholic" and the "communion of saints"
6. Christians can expect "eternal life."

Since these ideas are not in the Old Roman Symbol, where did these expansions come from? Where else do we see them? Did they come from the second or third century Rule of Faith? Let us use Tertullian as a baseline example of the *regula fidei* (though admittedly, we could find loosely-quoted creedal material in his forerunners such as Ignatius, Justin, or Irenaeus). Writing in the early 200s, Tertullian's best quotation of the Rule occurs at *Prescription Against Heretics* 13, complemented by *Veiling of Virgins* 1 and *Against Praxeas* 2. Taken together, we find that four of the six expansions are found in Tertullian's Rule, namely: (1) God as Creator[22] (2) a separate conceptive work of the Spirit, distinct from the physical birth from Mary (3) Christ's suffering and death explicitly mentioned, and (6) the Christian's expectation of eternal life. What we do not find, however, is (4) the descent into hell, nor (5) catholicty and the communion of the saints (though catholicity does feature prominently in the nearby context of Tertullian's creedal quotations).

Let us also look at Hippolytus, who wrote from Rome around 215 in Greek, but who is preserved in a Latin translation from shortly thereafter. We will attach his name to the *Apostolic Tradition*, even though that connection is tenuous. Many scholars would see this text as prime source material for *R*; and indeed, the texts are in lockstep, as you can see from the handout. But what we do not find are any of the six expansions that later arose in Gaul. Hippolytus doesn't call

God the Creator; uses *natus* for the incarnation by the Holy Spirit without reference to a separate conceptive work; does not refer to Christ's "suffering," though he does use *mortuus*, "died"; does not refer to the descent into hell, nor the church's catholicity, nor the communion of saints; and does not mention eternal life, but ends abruptly with *carnis resurrectionem*, just like *R* does.[23] Therefore, while the Roman figure of Hippolytus serves as a strong antecedent source for *R*, it is the African context of Tertullian that helps to explain the Gallic expansions that eventually found their way into the Apostles' Creed.

This African connection is borne out when we examine a few creeds that are preserved in the writings of Augustine or are associated with his lifetime during the period of the early 400s. These creeds represent the cities of Hippo, Carthage, and Ruspe. Do they contain the six expansions? Some of them, yes, but not all. In all three African creeds, God is called the Creator of the world, though the word *universorum* is uniquely used, not *caeli et terrae*;[24] Jesus "died" (*mortuus*) under Pontius Pilate, though there is no mention of his "suffering"; and Christians can expect *vitam aeternam*, "eternal life." On the other hand, some of the notable absences, in addition to Christ's suffering, are: any separate conceptive work by the Holy Spirit, the descent into hell, the catholicity of the church, and communion of the saints.

Is it likely that Africa could have been a major intellectual gateway into the ecclesiastical community in southern Gaul, more so than Rome? Absolutely. Narbonne or Marseilles were about equidistant from Hippo, Carthage, or Rome. The sea trip in each case would have taken less than a week. The intellectual community centered on the Lérins monastery, perched on an island just off the coast of Gaul where the glitzy town of Cannes stands today, drew its scholars and leaders from the whole region of Provence. This community was wide open to the vibrant African theological world, as can be seen especially in the way that the Augustinian-Pelagian debate took it by storm and led to the Council of Orange in 529. If Augustinian ideas about sin and grace could so deeply permeate the southern Gallic milieu, so too could the creedal forms and ecclesiology of

North Africa, right up to the end of the Vandal kingdoms in 534, when the Eastern Roman Empire took back control of the area.

So the African world could have supplied some of these ideas to Caesarius of Arles, whether through the writings of Tertullian or through official African creeds. But what explains the Gallic innovations: the descent into hell, catholicity, and the communion of saints? To answer this, it is necessary to revisit the previously sidelined Eastern Hypothesis, in which the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed of 381 figured prominently. My point isn't to search for precursors behind this creed in some kind of Rule of Faith, but at least to show that the term "catholic," which was found in the Creed of 381 as well as in the anathemas attached to the Creed of 325, could explain its presence in Caesarius's creed. In 2021, I published an article in *JETS* in which I traced this word throughout various creeds. I pointed out that "catholic" does not appear in Italian nor African creeds, but it does begin to appear in Gallic ones, as well as Spanish and eastern creeds, shortly after the time—that is, within a few decades—when the Creed of 381 was officially read aloud at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.[25] It seems likely that the high stature of the Nicene Creed explains the sudden infusion of catholicity into the Gallic environment. If Caesarius could add *unigenitum*, the Latin word for "only-begotten," into his baptismal creed—almost certainly due to his knowledge of important Nicene terminology—he could also add *catholicus.*

But where did the "descent into hell" and "communion of saints" come from? Kelly discusses both of these clauses in detail. The descent appears to have been adopted early into Syriac-speaking baptismal catechesis, perhaps even in the first century. It simply elaborated on the biblical locution that Christ "rose from the dead,"[26] where "the dead" does not translate the abstract state of death (θάνατος), but the community or abode of those who *are* dead (the plural, νεκρῶν). Thus, it was an affirmation of Christ's true death, since he went down to Sheol where the dead were lodged. By the fourth century, an explicit affirmation of the descent was making its way into some formal creeds. Kelly thinks the westerners in Gaul happily adopted it in the sixth century

because it addressed a pressing felt need: that the church's baptismal symbol required some kind of soteriology to link the affirmations of the Easter event with the believer's ultimate eschatological hope. The soteriology that worked best was the Christus Victor motif. Thus, Caesarius declared, "This lion, that is, Christ from the tribe of Judah, victoriously *descended into hell* to snatch us from the mouth of the hostile lion. He hunts in order to protect, seizes in order to free, leads men captive in order to restore them when freed to their eternal country."[27] Another sermon, probably also by Caesarius, exults, "He *descended to hell* in order to rescue us from the jaws of the cruel dragon."[28] Thus, for popular spiritual reasons, the Christians of southern Gaul (and Spain, as noted earlier with Martin of Braga) embraced a treasured soteriological dictum and happily incorporated it into their baptismal creed.

As for "communion of the saints," it, too, seems to have worked its way into the symbol out of popular devotional practices more than conciliar or creedal authority. In treating this subject, Kelly remarks, "When the question is asked…what particular situation or crisis prompted [this] interpolation, a confident answer does not come so readily to the lips."[29] One theory is that "communion with holy or sanctified things" referred to eucharistic participation, but Kelly believes that was a later, secondary meaning. The original context, he declares, was the robust cult of the saints that had recently emerged, making for a natural entry of this locution into the creed. After Kelly suggested this theory in 1950, Peter Brown's work came along and made all the more clear how devotion to the "holy man" was absolutely central to Late Antiquity. Such saintly ardor provides sufficient reason to explain how *communio sanctorum* could have made its away into Gallic baptismal creeds. The phrase was attested as early as AD 400 by Nicetas of Remesiana in the Balkan region. But it was in southern Gaul, with its thriving devotion to the illustrious dead, where the phrase took firm root and entered the creedal trajectory of *T.*

In conclusion, to understand exactly how the *textus receptus* of the Apostles' Creed amalgamated earlier ideas, going all the way back to the Rule of Faith in the second and third

centuries—and of course to the New Testament itself, but that is a separate topic—we need to take a three-pronged approach. The Eastern Hypothesis cannot be entirely dismissed; for it is possible that the Nicene emphasis on catholicity impacted *T* via Caesarius and his compatriots. Furthermore, the Central Hypothesis cannot be denied, for the Old Roman Symbol manifestly served as the skeleton that was later fleshed out as *T.* Yet the fact that *T* is not a mere Roman skeleton shows that the Western Hypothesis is important as well. The creed's trip to the west, primarily in the Hispano-Gallic context, added three centuries of theological flesh to the bare bones, yielding such expansions as "creator of heaven and earth," "conceived by the Holy Spirit," "suffered under Pontius Pilate," and "eternal life." Finally, to round out the creed's fleshy plumpness, we have at least two populist accretions that didn't come from any formal authority: the descent into hell and the communion of saints.

The *textus receptus* of the Apostles' Creed is a complex, multi-layered document. That it built upon the Old Roman Symbol as its central core is obvious. Yet other theological streams enhanced it as well. Some of those streams bubbled up from eastern wellsprings, others from the west, others from the south. Three different continents were involved in the composition: Europe, Africa, and Asia. Some enhancements were grounded in popular spirituality, while others emerged from formal theological debate. And multiple generations of distinct personalities each contributed their bits, from a second-century African polemicist like Tertullian, to a sixth century bishop on the sun-drenched Riviera like Caesarius, to an eighth century missionary in crude barbarian lands like Pirmin. Thus, we can consider the Apostles' Creed to be a truly "catholic" statement of faith—and I think that is something about which the apostles for whom it was named would have been quite pleased. [~30 minutes to read]

Rufinus of Aquileia, Old Roman Symbol (R), (ca. 404)	**Martin of Braga, *On the Correction of Rustics* (ca. 580)**
Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem; Et in Christum Iesum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui natus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram patris, unde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos; et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.	Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem? Et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, deum et dominum nostrum, qui natus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine, passus sub Ponti Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus; *descendit ad inferna* tertia die resurrexit vivus a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram patris, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos? Credis in spiritum sanctum, santam ecclesiam catholicam, remissionem omnium peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam?
Caesarius of Arles (ca. 514)	**Pirmin, Apostles' Creed (T), (ca. 725)**
Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae. *Credo* et in Iesum Christum, filium eius *unigenitum*, *sempiternum*, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus *est de* Maria virgine, passus *est* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in *sanctum spiritum*, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam. Amen.	Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae. Et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam. Amen.
Additions to *R* by Caesarius & *T*	**Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* (ca. 215)**
1. God is called "creator of heaven and earth" 2. Christ is "conceived" by the Holy Spirit but "born from" the Virgin Mary 3. Christ "suffered" under Pilate, and he "died" 4. Christ "descended into hell" 5. The church is called "catholic" and the "communion of saints" 6. Christians can expect "eternal life."	Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem? Credis in Christum Iesum, filium dei qui natus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et mortuus est et sepultus et resurrexit die tertia vivus a mortuis et ascendit in caelis et sedit ad dexteram patris, venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos? Credis in spiritu sancto et sanctam ecclesiam et carnis resurrectionem?

[1] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York: Longman, 1950; 3rd ed. 1972), 369.
[2] Ferdinand Kattenbusch wrote, "ich werde diesen Text fortab der Kürze wegen T nennen," ("I will henceforth call this text *T* for the sake of brevity") in *Das apostolische Symbol*, vol. I (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1894), 189.
[3] Wolfram Kinzig, ed., *Faith in Formulae: A Collection of Early Christian Creeds and Creed-related Texts*, 4 vols (Oxford: 2017).
[4] Kelly, *Creeds*, 368–369.
[5] Liuwe H. Westra notes that Pirmin's variations from Hittorp's *T* are more substantial than Kelly indicates (*The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2002], 22, n. 7; cf. 136–37). Even so, the differences are still "minor." Westra acknowledges that Kelly's basic conclusions about the creed's lineage from seventh-century Gaul to *T* are "generally accepted" by scholars (23, n. 8).
[6] *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus* (*Patrologia Latina* 89, 1029–1050).
[7] Kelly, 369.
[8] Kinzig, vol. I, 12. In addition, Westra declares that the "time-honoured theory" continues to be "best for explaining the available data" (403).
[9] The twentieth-century English scholar F.J. Badcock has defended a fourth hypothesis: a "Northern theory" (148) that claims the Apostles' Creed was stitched together at a late date in the Germanic areas soon to be evangelized by Pirmin. Badcock writes: "It is impossible to decide where the whole of the Danubian phrases first came to be attached to the already existing baptismal Creed, but we can, I think, say that the amalgamation took place at some point or points on the road from Bobbio to Northern France, and in the quite early years of the seventh century; and if a nearer definition is required, then probabilities would seem to point to the neighbourhood of the Lake of Constance" (157). Badcock designates what I have called the Central Hypothesis—the view of Kattenbusch that *T* is a direct descendant of *R*, which can be traced back to the early second century—a "fictitious pedigree" (1-12). Though Badcock supports the Northern theory as best, his mind is not completely closed to the theory that Eastern phrases and ideas could have been added to *R* in the southern Gallic region at the time of Caesarius of Arles to produce *T* (148). See F.J. Badcock, *The History of the Creeds* (London: SPCK, 1938, 2nd ed.).
[10] R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (Baker Academic, 2005), 164.
[11] Kelly, 346-48. Kelly attributes the change to the need to refute the latent Arianism still held by the Ostrogoths, as well as to Rome's ecclesial and theological dependence on the Byzantines at this time.
[12] See, e.g., Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 58; and Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 203.
[13] The dependence is noted, for example, by Fletcher, 203; and by Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: Volume 3, The Medieval Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 138. Pirmin also modeled his work on Augustine's *On Catechizing the Uninstructed*.
[14] Of the 35 manuscript excerpts of this clause listed at Westra, 225-27, Caesarius and one at Bobbio are the only ones which use *unigenitum sempiternum*. See also Kelly, 401. Cyprian of Toulon uses *unigenitum* without *sempiternum*. No other manuscripts use either of these words.
[15] Kelly, 182-88.
[16] *On the Incarnation of the Lord, Against Nestorius* 6.3. NPNF2, vol. 11, 592; cf. Kelly, 184.
[17] *Unigenitum* is used for *monogenes* in three of the four ancient sources collected by A.E. Burn, "THE OLD LATIN TEXT OF OUR NICENE CREED" *Journal of Theological Studies* 2, no. 5 (1900): 102–10. The lone exception uses *unicum.* Additionally, *unigenitum* is used by Dionysius Exiguus in his *Collectiones Canonum Dionysianae*, a Latin translation of various eastern conciliar decrees made in the early 500s. See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. II, 57 (https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2/creeds2.iv.i.ii.i.html).
[18] Kinzig, vol. II, 261.
[19] Ibid., 257-59.
[20] Westra provides a reconstructed text of a supposed "proto-R," dated to around 250 (67-68).
[21] For example, Caesarius and Pirmin describe Christ's session at the right hand of *dei patris omnipotentis*, whereas *R* simply has *patris.* This is not really a significant change because *deus* and *omnipotens* are already used to describe God in the first article. There are other small differences like this, which do not alter the fundamental theology of the creed like the six expansions do.
[22] Tertullian's expressions are either *mundi Conditiorem* (*De Praescr.* 13; *De Virg. Vel.* 1) or *Creatorem universitatis* (*De Praescr.* 36).
[23] The Greek text of *R* from Marcellus of Ancyra does include ζωὴν αἰώνιον, but this seems to be unique to him and not part of actual *R*. Westra does not include the phrase in his Greek version of *R* (27) and he considers it an addition by Marcellus (30, n. 35; 36-37). Westra also omits the phrase from his reconstructed proto-R (68).

[24] The specific wording of *creatorem caeli et terrae* could be another sign of subtle influence from *C,* which says ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. The Nicene wording could have been preferable to Africa's *universorum Creatorem.* Of course, at the root of this terminology is Genesis 1:1 in the Septuagint.
[25] Bryan M. Litfin, "Origins of Catholicity in the Apostles' Creed," *JETS* 64.3 (2021): 549, n. 16.
[26] Matthew 28:7; Luke 24:46; John 21:14; Acts 2:24; Romans 6:9; 1 Peter 1:3.
[27] *Sermon* 119.2 *On Samson*, in Mary Magdeleine Mueller, trans., *Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons, Volume II (81-186)*, Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1964), 190-91.
[28] Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermon* 44.6 (*PL* 39.1834); quoted in Kelly, 382.
[29] Kelly, 396.