IRENAEUS LUGDUNENSIS

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Bibliography.

Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

I. Adversus haereses.

Translations.
1. Anonymus.
   a. The manuscript tradition.
   b. The edition of Erasmus.
   c. The editions of Franciscus Feu-Ardentius.
2. Janus Cornarius (Book I, partial).
5. Jacobus Billius.

Commentaries.
   a. The anonymous Liber de sectis haereticorum (excerpts).
   b. Desiderius Erasmus.
   c. Nicolaus Gallasius.
   d. Jacobus Billius.
   e. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius.
   f. Fronto Ducaeus.

II. Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis.
   No Latin translations or commentaries before A.D. 1600.

III. Fragmenta.

Commentary.
   a. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius.
FORTUNA*

INTRODUCTION

The extant works of Irenaeus Lugdunensis (ca. A.D. 130–ca. 200) are the Adversus haereses in five books and the Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis in a single book. Other writings are mentioned and quoted by Eusebius Caesariensis (Historia ecclesiastica), and a list is also given by Jerome (De viris illustribus), who derived much of his information from Eusebius. The Adversus haereses was composed in Greek, like the other works of Irenaeus, but it is preserved complete only in an old Latin translation; we possess in addition an Armenian translation of Books IV and V, as well as a considerable number of Greek fragments, particularly from Book I. The Demonstratio was not known in the West until the twentieth century and then only in an Armenian translation.¹

Despite the paucity of surviving works, Irenaeus’ influence certainly exceeds that of many other early Christian writers whose extant writings are far more abundant. It is generally agreed that he was the most important Christian theologian of the second century. Neither a brilliant stylist nor an erudite philosopher, Irenaeus none-theless presented a lucid exposition of the central ideas of the Christian faith.²

He was born in Asia Minor where, as a boy, he heard St. Polycarp preach at the church in Smyrna, an experience that made a lasting impression on him. Indeed, Irenaeus remembered vividly Polycarp’s accounts of John and others who had seen Jesus.³ His middle and later years were spent in Gaul, where he first served as a presbyter and later as a bishop; in 177 he survived a severe persecution of the Christians.⁴

While still a presbyter, Irenaeus carried a letter from the martyrs of the Gallic Church to Pope Eleutherus. This letter concerned the rise of Montanism, an apocalyptic movement which had originated in Phrygia and expected an outpouring of the Spirit.⁵ The Gallic Church some of whose members came from Asia Minor, was troubled by this same movement.⁶ Despite internal difficulties and conflicts, however, the Gallic Church interceded at Rome on behalf of the Montanists to preserve peace among the various churches.

During the persecution of 177 the aged Pothinus, first bishop of Lyons, was dragged before the governor for interrogation. His reply provoked severe mistreatment from the bystanders and shortly afterward he died in prison.⁷ Irenaeus was chosen as his successor. As bishop, Irenaeus attempted to mediate another dispute involving the churches in Asia Minor and the church at Rome. Around 190 Pope Victor I had sought to end the so-called Quartodeciman practice, that is, the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus on 14 Nisan, which concurred with the date of the Jewish Passover. Irenaeus appealed to Victor, pleading with him not to cut off the churches of Asia, because of their adherence to Quartodecimanism, from fellowship with the other

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1. The recent critical editions of the Adversus haereses (ten volumes) and Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis (one volume) in the Sources chretiennes series are indispensable for studies of Irenaeus and have been used in this article for all citations and references to the respective texts. This edition of each book of the Adversus haereses consists of two volumes, the first containing an extensive introduction and the second the text; the introductions to the editions of every book of the Adversus haereses have full treatments of the Greek and Latin traditions as well as of the other sources for the text. For full bibliographical information see below, Bibliography I. The short title Contre les heresies I, II, etc., is used when reference is made to the introduction; Adversus haereses (or AH) designates the Latin text itself.


3. Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica (hereafter HE) IV.14.2 and V.20.5.6; Irenaeus, AH III.3.4.

4. For a description of the persecution and the names of several members of the Gallic Church see Eusebius, HE V.1.1–63; V.4.1; V.5.8–9.

5. Ibid., V.3.1–4; V.4.1–3.

6. Ibid., V.3.4; at V.1.49, Eusebius reports that one such member, a certain Phrygian physician named Alexander, possessed an “apostolic charisma.”

7. Ibid., V.1.29–31.
churches. Variety, Irenaeus reminded Victor, had been a long-standing policy of the churches. What little is known of other aspects of Irenaeus’ life in Gaul must be gleaned from references in the *Adversus haereses*, his major work.

The composition of the *Adversus haereses* was occasioned by a moral and religious crisis in the Rhone Valley. There a group of Valentinian Gnostics had as their leader a certain Marcus, whom Irenaeus represented as a charlatan. The five books that constitute the *Adversus haereses* were apparently prepared in sections, at various times, in response to the controversy surrounding these Gnostics. Irenaeus begins his work with the explanation that he is writing the *Adversus haereses* at the request of a friend who wishes to know more about the Gnostic system, especially in its Valentinian form. Book I, then, contains an outline and history of Gnosticism, starting with Simon Magus and devoting particular attention to the Valentinians. Books II–IV contain Irenaeus’ refutation of the Gnostics: in Book II by reason, in Book III by tradition and the prophets, in Book IV by the sayings of Jesus. Book V deals primarily with eschatology. Book III was apparently written during the pontificate (174–189) of Eleutherus, who is specifically mentioned in *Adversus haereses* III.3.3 as the “present” and “twelfth” bishop of Rome. It has been suggested that Books IV and V may have been written in the pontificate of Victor I (189–198/199).

A second work of Irenaeus, the *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis*, is extant only in an Armenian translation (discovered in 1904 by the Archimandrite Karaper Ter-Mekerttschian in a manuscript at Erevan, which contains the entire text). The *Demonstratio* is a brief statement of the Christian faith in the form of a manual of theology and consists of 100 chapters. Eusebius declares that it was dedicated to Marcianus, a fellow Christian. Although the precise date of the composition of the *Demonstratio* is not known, a reference in chapter XCIX to the “already written” exposure of those who falsely claim knowledge seems to indicate that the

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15. Irenaeus attacks Marcion in *AH* I.27.4 and III.12.12.15. According to Eusebius, *HE* V.8.9 he promised a work against Marcion. Whether such a work by Irenaeus actually appeared is problematical.
16. The *Epistula ad Florinum* dealt with the supreme sovereignty of God, or that God is not the author of evil (Eusebius, *HE* V.20.1); the work was apparently another statement by Irenaeus against Gnostic dualism.
18. Eusebius, *HE* V.20.1, records Blasus as the addressee of *De schismate*. There is some difference of opinion about the contents of this work. According to Theodoretus Cyrhenensis, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* I.23, Blasus was attracted to the Valentinians, but it has been suggested more recently that Blasus was involved in the Quartodecimian controversy (Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 414).
20. Grant, “Fragments of the Greek Apologists,” 202, points out that this work is known through a Syriac fragment (preserved in W. W. Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei ep. Lugdunensis Libri quinque Adversus haereses*, II [Cambridge,
(contra Florinum), 21 Epistula ad Demetrium diaconum, 22 Commentarius in evangelium, 23 and Dialogi de diversis. 24

A number of fragments previously attributed to Irenaeus are actually the work of other authors, including Hippolytus and Gregorius Nazianzenus. 25 The so-called Pfaff fragments, allegedly discovered at Turin in 1713, are spurious (see also p. 24 below).

In summary, Irenaeus, writing in the late second century, was a link between the Christians of Asia Minor, Gaul, and Rome. Through his work as a missionary churchman he was forced to deal with issues raised by Gnostics, Montanists, and advocates as well as opponents of the Quartodeciman position; his works are a source of information on these disputes. Orthodoxy has valued his concern for the universal church and his defense of the authority of scripture and tradition, including a rule of faith. His theological stance was given shape by his discussions with the Gnostics: he adhered to a position of the unity of God the Creator as explained in the Hebrew scriptures and the unity of the God-man in Christ as expressed in the New Testament. 27

GREEK PATRISTIC

Although the complete Greek text of the Adversus haereses is no longer extant, it is possible to reconstruct portions of it, especially of Book I. Extensive quotations from this work are found in the writings of Hippolytus (d. ca. 236), Epiphanius (d. 403), and Theodoret (d. 458); all three authors were engaged, as was Irenaeus, in refutation of heresy. In addition, Eusebius (Historia ecclesiastica II–V) supplies much information on the life, work, and thought of Irenaeus. 28

Other Greek writers who were near contemporaries, such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, shared the theological interests of Irenaeus and were familiar with his works. 29 Irenaeus was also known to several later authors either through their personal reading of his writings or through passages transmitted in florilegia; among these are Methodius of Olympus (d. 311), Athanasius (d. 373), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), and Basil of Caesarea. 30

Irenaeus likewise figured in the Christological

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28. Hippolytus, Refutatio omnium haeresium (= Philosopumena), cites some passages from the Greek text of the AH, and many more are found in the Panarion of Epiphanius. The editions of AH I, III, and IV in the Sources chétiennes series contain the portions of the Greek AH preserved by Theodoretus and Eusebius.


controversies. The Nestorians, who held that there were two separate persons in the incarnate Christ, one human and the other divine, were attracted by the mixture of unitive and divisive Christology in *Adversus haereses* V.21.3.\(^{31}\) Timotheus II Alexandrinus ("Aelurus", d. 477), who opposed the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451), found in Irenaeus support for Monophysitism; that is, in the person of the incarnate Christ there was only a single nature, and that divine, rather than two natures (one divine, the other human).\(^{32}\)

Papyrus fragments of his writings demonstrate that Irenaeus was known in Egypt.\(^{33}\) The Egyptian monk Evagrius of Pontus (d. 399) upheld the transmigration of souls, a view condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople (553).\(^{34}\) Evagrius' teaching seems to have been transmitted in Mt. Athos, Vatopedon Monastery ms. 236, an anti-Origenist florilegium containing an exact citation of *Adversus haereses* II.33.1–2, in which Irenaeus speaks of the transmigration of souls (a position held by the followers of Carpocrates with whom Irenaeus deals in *Adversus haereses* I.25.4)\(^{35}\) (for the date of this

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32. Quotations in Armenian from Timotheus "Aelurus" defend the Monophysite position by quoting the summary of the faith of the church from AH I.1.10.1–2; see K. Ter-Merkertschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Aelurus des Patriarchen von Alexandrien Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre* (Leipzig, 1908).


35. A. Guillaumont, Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d’Eva-gré le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les Grecs
Irenaeus’ life in *De viris illustribus* XXXV. He praised the *Adversus haereses* for its “very scholarly and eloquent style,” and this suggests that he knew the Greek text rather than the Latin version, which has been characterized as a “woodenly literal” translation. Jerome also cited the *Adversus haereses* for its polemic against the Valentinians and the Basilideans. Although he knew that Irenaeus was an advocate of millenarianism (see *Adversus haereses* IV.18–21 and V.32.1), Jerome, like Origen, regarded millenarianism as theologically suspect. Jerome was interested as well in the several letters Irenaeus had written when he attempted to bring peace to the church at the time of the Montanist and Quartodeciman controversies.

A clear reference to Irenaeus appears in Augustine (d. 430) who quoted from the Latin *Adversus haereses* in his *Contra Julianum* of 422.

When writing the *De catechizandis rudibus* in 400, he may have used as a model Irenaeus’ *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis*, a work which perhaps also influenced the *De doctrina christiana* (largely written in 396–397 but completed only in 426). Augustine, like Origen and Jerome, rejected (*De civitate dei* XX.7–9) a literal interpretation of the thousand years (Apocalypse XX); in this he may have helped to prepare for the decision of the Council of Ephesus (431) condemning millenarianism.

Interest in Irenaeus is manifest elsewhere during the fifth century, and notably in Gaul. Patrick (d. ca. 461) had been trained at the school of Lérins, and his *Confession* and *Epistle* show the influence of Irenaeus. A sermon by Hilary (d. 449), bishop of Arles, on Honoratus (d. 428–429), his predecessor in the See of Arles and founder of the monastery of Lérins, also indicates familiarity with Irenaeus.

Gennadius (d. ca. 492–505), a priest at Marseilles, wrote an *Adversus omnes haereses* in eight books and adopted the definition of the Incarnation given by Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* III.19.1 (“et qui Filius dei est Filius hominis factus est”).

Earlier the Monophysites of the East had found Irenaeus attractive, and he was to be equally attractive to representatives of the Western Church at the Council of Chalcedon (451). Pope Leo I (d. 461) held that the Son of God, out of compassion for the human race and without change of divine nature, had become man in the person of Jesus Christ. The final draft of the Chalcedonian formula reflected Western modes of describing Christ in concepts that can be traced back to Irenaeus. Jesus Christ is “one in both and perfect in both” (“in utroque unus et utroque perfectus”) and he is “one in both—perfect in each form”; representatives of Leo succeeded in effecting the use of *in* as part of the final draft. Jesus Christ was to be understood as


43. Irenaeus’ treatment of original sin (AH IV.2.7 and V.19.1) is quoted in *Contra Julianum* 1.3.5 and repeated in 1.7.32; see A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* I, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1958), 273, and Arduini, *Irenaei medievalis*, 278–79.

44. B. Altaner, “Augustinus und Irenaeus, eine quellenkritische Untersuchung,” *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 33rd ed. (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1965), no. 293 (see Leo, *Epistulae* XXVIII.3): “Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam, suscetta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas. . . . In integra ergo veri hominis perfectaque natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris.” See also Sellers, *Council of
more than mere man but not "God without flesh" ("deus sine carne"), a Gnostic position which Irenaeus had attacked in *Adversus haereses III.17.4* ("they understand that Christ was one and Jesus another, and they teach that there was not one Christ but many. And if they speak of them as united, they show that one participated in suffering, but that the other remained without being made partaker in suffering").

**Byzantine (including Armenian and Syriac) Influence**

Irenaeus was a perceptible presence in the literature of the period following the death of Justinian in 565. He was read in Greek, included in catenae and florilegia, and used by both sides in the controversies involving the Monophysites and Monotheletes. For instance, the *Seal of the Faith*, a Monophysite compilation of ca. 616, contains several passages from the *Adversus haereses*, while Anastasius Sinai (d. ca. 700), abbot of the Monastery of St. Catherine, also drew on Irenaeus in presenting his case against the Monophysites. Yet another example of interest in Irenaeus is an anonymous anti-Originist florilegium (p. 17 above), which cites the text of *Adversus haereses II.33.1–2*; the florilegium is preserved in Mt. Athos, Vatopedon Monastery ms. 236, a twelfth-century Greek codex derived from an original dated variously to the second quarter of the sixth century or to the end of the eighth or early ninth century.

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51. The sixth-century date is that of M. Richard, "Nouveaux fragments de Théophile d’Alexandrie," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse I.2 (1975), 57 (= M. Richard, *Opera minora II* [Turnhout, 1975], no. 39); he suggests that the archetype of ms. Vatopedon 236 was compiled in the context of Palestinian monasticism and at a time when anti-Origenism was at its height, to combat the Origenism of the monks of the Laura in the area of Mar Saba. A. De Santos Otero, "Dos capítulos inéditos del original griego de Irenaeo de Lyon (Adversus haereses II, 50–51) en el códice Vatopedi 236," *Emerita*, XL1 (1973), 483, however, states that the florilegium was composed by Bishop Theodore Abu Qurra, bishop of Haran, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.


53. The *Sacra parallela* preserves seven Greek fragments of AH II and one Greek fragment of AH III (3.2–3); see K. Holl, *Fragmente vonniciäner Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela*, Texte und Untersuchungen 20 (Berlin, 1899), xxxv, and M. Richard, "Quelques nouveaux fragments des Pères antécédents et niéens," *Symbalae osloenses*, XXXVIII (1963), 76–78 (= Richard, *Opera minora I*, no. 5).


it is useful nonetheless in reconstructing the original Greek text.\textsuperscript{57} This Armenian translation of Adversus haereses IV and V is found in the same Erevan manuscript which preserves the complete text of the Demonstratio (p. 15 above); in addition, fifty-two and thirteen excerpts from, respectively, Adversus haereses I–V and the Demonstratio appear in a fourteenth-century Armenian codex (Istanbul, Library of the Armenian Patriarch, Galata 54),\textsuperscript{58} which also includes: a citation (dated to the fifth century) by Evagrius Ponticus of Adversus haereses II.13; fragments from Timotheus “Aelurus”; passages from the Seal of the Faith; a letter of Gagik I, king of Vaspourakan (904–936), to Romans I Lacapene, eastern Roman emperor; and a letter of Gregory Toudeti, of the monastery at Haghbat, to the Catholicos Gregory IV Tghaj (1173–93).\textsuperscript{59}

In the Syriac tradition, Severus Antiochenus (ca. 465–538) quoted Irenaeus in his Liber contra impium grammaticum, and fragments of Irenaeus can be found in florilegia defending Monophysite doctrine as well as in compilations of anti-Chalcedonian material.\textsuperscript{60}

**Latin Middle Ages**

Reports of Irenaeus’ martyrdom begin early in the Middle Ages, seemingly with Gregory of Tours.\textsuperscript{61} Although the accuracy of this account has been disputed, it does indicate continuing interest in Irenaeus. At virtually the same time, Pope Gregory the Great noted in a letter to Athelricus, bishop of Lyons, that “for some time now we have inquired anxiously about the accomplishments or writings of St. Irenaeus, but up to now none of them could be found.”\textsuperscript{62} His own interest in Irenaeus may have started earlier when, still a deacon, he served as ambassador (579–586) to the Byzantine court, at which time the exiled Armenian monks were engaged in translating the Demonstratio apostolica praedications and Adversus haereses.\textsuperscript{63}

In the eighth and ninth centuries Agobard (ca. 779–840), bishop of Lyons in 816, quoted Adversus haereses I.25 and III.3.4 in his De judaicus superstitionibus. The source of the first citation may be Eusebius rather than Irenaeus himself, while the latter may derive possibly from another translation altogether.\textsuperscript{64} In his commentary on the Book of Revelation, the Spanish presbyter Beatus of Liébana (d. 798) included references to the Adversus haereses (perhaps because Irenaeus was a faithful adherent of the eschatology of the Book of Revelation).\textsuperscript{65} The most learned and farsighted theologian of the ninth century was Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie ca. 844, who knew the rarely quoted

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\textsuperscript{58} The text of the Armenian excerpts in ms. Galata 54 is essentially identical with that of the Erevan version; see Contre les hérésies I, 101–105.


\textsuperscript{61} Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, ed. B. Krusch, 2d ed., Monumenta Germaniae historica, Script. rer. Merov. 1.1 (Hanover, 1937), I, 29 (p. 22); Altaner and Stuiber, Patrologie, 110, 477.

\textsuperscript{62} Gregory the Great, Registrum epistoluarum XI.40, ed. D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum, Series latina 140A (Turnhout, 1982); “Gesta uero uel scripta beati Herenaei iam diu est quod sollicitque quaesiusmus, sed hactenus ex eis alicud inueniri non ualuit.”

\textsuperscript{63} L. M. Froidevaux, ed., Irénée de Lyon. Démonstration de la prédication apostolique (Sources chrétiennes 62; Paris, 1959), 22.

\textsuperscript{64} The quotations from AH I.25 and III.3.4 are found respectively in Agobard, De judaicus superstitionibus IX, PL CIV, 85–86 (with reference to Eusebius, HE III.28.6). Regarding Agobard’s source for AH III.3.4 see G. Mercazi, “Ancora sul frammento Agobardino d’Ireneo,” Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica, Studi e testi V (Rome, 1901), 241–43.

\textsuperscript{65} F. Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, I (Munich, 1975), 497.
Latin translation of the *Adversus haereses*. 66 Corbie was also the monastery where Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek ms. Phillipps 1669 (= “Claramontanus” or C), containing the Latin *Adversus haereses*, was copied in Carolingian minuscule, probably during the second half of the ninth century. 67 That the codex displays Irish symptoms in its palaeography and orthography is not surprising because Corbie had been established from Luxeuil, which itself had been founded by St. Columbanus (d. ca. 615), an Irish monk. Two distinctive textual features of C are the absence of the concluding passages as well as material showing Irenaeus to be an advocate of millenarianism (*Adversus haereses* IV.18–21).

There was renewed interest in Irenaeus during the twelfth century. The various heresies which emerged during this period seem to have prompted the composition of the *Liber de sectis haereticorum*, whose anonymous author excerpted industriously and at length from *Adversus haereses* I–III; his remarks on these passages constitute the first commentary on Irenaeus. Another user was Ralph of Flai, a biblical exegete, who cited in his *Commentariorum in Leviticum libri XX* virtually the same passages from Irenaeus as those found in Paschasius Radbertus. 68 Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) made extensive use of Irenaeus in his commentaries on biblical texts, and Hildegarde of Bingen (d. 1179) found Irenaeus helpful in writing her *Scivias*. 69 Between 1159 and 1175 Herrad of Landsberg composed the *Hortus deliciarum*, a massive work which depended upon a wide range of sources, including Irenaeus. 70 In addition, London, British Li

brary ms. Arundel 87 (= “Arundelianus” or A), a member of the Lyonnaise family of witnesses to the *Adversus haereses*, was copied during the second half of the twelfth century in Germany; like C, this codex ends incomplete and lacks the millenarianist passages. 71 The anonymous prologue in A has been attributed to Florus (d. 859–860), deacon of Lyons, and was also found in a manuscript (now lost) from the Grande Chartreuse with the heading “Hyrenei Ludunensis archiepiscopi de heresibus libri quinque in uno libro, et prefatio domini Flori Ludunensis cleric.” 72 Other manuscripts of the *Adversus haereses* are believed to have been copied earlier than C and A, but regrettably these are no longer extant (except for an eleventh-century fragment now at Strasbourg).

**Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries**

A number of manuscripts containing Irenaeus’ works were produced in this period. 73 Niccolò Niccoli, the Florentine humanist, made a copy of a fifteenth-century codex which he obtained through Ambrogio Traversari, who had borrowed it from Tommaso Parentucelli of Sarzana, later Pope Nicholas V (1447–55). The exemplar survives (now Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 187 [= Q]), but Niccoli’s own copy seems to be lost. Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 188 (= R), s. XV, also belonged to Pope Nicholas V. Other witnesses include Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 202 (= S), s. XV (copied before 1457); Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 752 (= O), s. XV, with the episcopal arms of Marco Barbo, nephew of Pope Paul II (1464–71); Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket A 140 (= H), copied in the early sixteenth century from Leiden, Bibliotheca der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. F. 33 (= V), a fourteenth-century manuscript given in 1494 by Laurentius Burellus (d. 1504) to the Carmelites in Paris; and Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1154 (= P) of the early sixteenth century.


72. See *Contre les hérésies* IV, 21–23, for the relationship between the Lyonnaise family of manuscripts and Lorsch. The anonymous prologue in A is brief and gives succinct information about Irenaeus and his motives for composing the *Adversus haereses*, together with a short summary of each book and five reasons for copying the work.

Erasmus is responsible for the editio princeps (Basel, 1526) of the Adversus haereses. The manuscripts which he used lacked the millenarianist sections at the end of the work (V. 31–36), and the omission is preserved in the two reprintings (Basel, 1528 and 1534) before Erasmus’ death in 1536, and in the subsequent eight other reprints (the last in 1567). Three more editors of the Adversus haereses were at work during this century: Nicolaus Gallasius in 1569 and 1570; Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus in 1571; Franciscus Feu-Ardentius in 1575 and 1596.

New Greek and Latin sources of Irenaeus’ text became available after the publication of the editio princeps, and these were used by Erasmus’ successors. First to emerge was the long fragment explicitly attributed to Irenaeus by Epiphanius in his Panarion or Contra ogdoaginta haereses opus. Janus Cornarius published a Latin translation of the Panarion in 1542 and a Greek edition in 1544. This Greek fragment of Irenaeus was separately translated by Nicolaus Gallasius in 1569 and also by Jacobus Billius in 1575 who included as well the short fragment at AH I. 21.5. Moreover, the millenarianist section of the anonymous Latin translation was discovered in other manuscripts not used by Erasmus, and Franciscus Feu-Ardentius incorporated this text, together with a defense of its authenticity, in his edition of 1575. Finally, in the last third of the century, new commentaries were written which took account of the new material now available: by Gallasius in 1569; by Billius between 1569 and 1575; by Feu-Ardentius in 1575 and 1596; and by Fronto Ducaeus between 1569 and 1596.

Throughout the sixteenth century Irenaeus was read and studied in the context of contemporary religious disputes (as had been the case, seemingly, in the twelfth century; see p. 21 above). Thus it is not surprising that the tension between Erasmus and Luther was an important factor in the preparation of the editio princeps. In 1524 Erasmus composed his De libero arbitrio (= Diatribe or Collatio), to which Luther replied in the De servo arbitrio of 1525. Pre-

viously Luther had said in his final letter to Erasmus (April 18, 1524): “I have thus far held back my pen whenever you have needled me.”

In turn Erasmus, in a letter (April 26, 1526) to Johann Faber, reported that Luther had written against him savagely, detestably, and maliciously. In his final letter to Luther (April 11, 1526), Erasmus claimed that Luther wanted to be considered God, that Luther’s disposition was arrogant, and that Luther was disturbing the world with destructive dissension. (This last point is consistent with Erasmus’ concern for the disturbance of the peace, as stated in his praefatio to Irenaeus’ Adversus haereses.) Erasmus defended his attack on Luther in a letter of April 30, 1526, to John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and also declared his intention to publish a work on “old” Irenaeus. On May 21, 1526, Erasmus wrote to Gian Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona, of his joy at the coming of peace through the Treaty of Madrid and also the decline of the Lutheran movement.

In 1526 Luther was attacked by Erasmus in his Hyperaspistes, which described Luther as a Stoic and a Gnostic and a sage who could not err. He took issue with Luther’s method of interpreting scripture because Luther claimed special knowledge derived from fervency of spirit rather than the use of reason. Through this charge Erasmus was able to connect Luther with the ancient heresies against which Irenaeus had written: “These Gnostics . . . had certain barbarous, unparalleled, violent and imperious words. Pronouncing these with remarkable confidence homo in mortem prolapsus est, et quotidie prolabatur impii. Iduque facit non uno in loco. Unum locum ascribam ex cap. 71. Et propter hoc, inquit, deus consilium quidem bonum dat omnibus; posuit autem in homine potestatem [AH IV. 37.1]”


Ibid., 306–7 (no. 1688).

Ibid., 333 (no. 1704).

Ibid., 348–50 (no. 1716).

J. Clericus, ed., Opera omnia, X (Leiden, 1706; rpt. Hildesheim, 1962), 1273D: “Nam nusquam errare, nihil nescire, nullius dicti poenitere, tibi Stoico et Gnostico peculiare est”; 1371C: “His tam feliciter dissertatis, in ovatione momentur immundi Sophistae cum spectante Diatriba, ut distinguant verba Legis et Euangelij, sed distinguant juxta Lutheri gnomoneum, qui non potest errare.”

74. The argumentum to Erasmus’ edition of Adversus haereses IV clarifies the basic issue between him and Luther regarding freedom of the will. Thus Erasmus finds support in Irenaeus for his own interpretation: “In hoc libro [= AH IV], quemadmodum et in quinto [= AH V] frequenter assent librum arbitrium, cui tribuit, quod et angeli ceciderunt, et
they terrified the judicious and swept the infirm against their own judgment. They even imparted the spirit of prophecy to women, again and again ordering, admonishing, commanding them only to open their mouths, and swearing that whatever they should speak would be prophetic. What do you expect? Spiritual imbeciles glowed with magic words and breathed hotly, not unlike those adjured by imaginary voices who are elated and roar just as if they were hard-pressed by the very words of exorcism. It is with such voices that all the books of Luther abound, but especially this one."  

Despite these harsh words, however, Erasmus claimed that he never called Luther a heretic.  

Not only Erasmus but also virtually every other party to the religious controversies of the sixteenth century—Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and the radical reformers—studied Irenaeus to find support for the theological refutation of their opponents. Some examples follow.  

Johann Faber, a lifelong friend of Erasmus, took part in a debate in Swiss Baden in 1526. Arrayed with Johann Eck and Thomas Murner against a group of Basel pastors, including Johann Oecolampadius, Faber produced a manuscript of Irenaeus, which disconcerted Oecolampadius.  

Luther used Irenaeus in 1527 in his discussion of the bread and the cup; he quoted extensively from the Adversus haereses in the essay “That These Words ‘This Is My Body,’ etc., Still Stand Firm against the Fanatics” and made particular use of Adversus haereses IV.18.5 and V.2.2.3 when he accused Oecolampadius of slobbering irrelevancies. Yet during the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, Oecolampadius used Irenaeus against Melanchthon.  

The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) claimed that its interpretation of man (made in the likeness of God and receiving gifts such as the knowledge of, fear of, and trust in God) was based on Adversus haereses V.11.2. Ambiguity in Irenaeus’ formula at Adversus haereses IV.18.5 (“the Eucharist . . . consists of two realities, earthly and heavenly”) helped the Roman Catholic theologians to adhere to the doctrine of transsubstantiation and also made possible a statement of compromise among Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer called the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. John Calvin and his followers used the same ambiguous position in defending their doctrine against both Roman Catholics and Lutherans.  

In Institutes I Calvin observed that his adversaries falsely appealed to Irenaeus, from whom they took many passages. Later in the same book, however, Calvin, after stating that Irenaeus was a saintly man who in his own time contended with fanatics, quoted numerous passages from Irenaeus.  

During the Council of Trent Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (d. 1585), one of the most erudite scholars of the sixteenth century, sent to Marcellus Cervinus, who was presiding at the Council, long letters which contained texts from Irenaeus on the importance of tradition. After the Council had concluded its work, Martin Chemnitz, a Lutheran, wrote an Examination of the Council of Trent and focused his attention on what Irenaeus had to say about scripture, especially the role of the apostles (Adversus haereses III.3).  

Finally, in 1575 Franciscus Feu-Ardentius prepared his edition of Irenaeus in the midst of

82. Boyle, Rhetoric and Reform, 204 n. 69.  
83. Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum, ix.  
86. Rupp, Patterns of Reformation, 42.  
90. M. Chemnitz, Examination of the Council of Trent, tr. F. Kramer (St. Louis, 1971), 224–25, 231–50. Although the examples given above have been favorable to Irenaeus, some took an opposite view. For example, the German humanist Sebastian Franck, for a time a Lutheran and later an advocate of complete freedom of thought, declared in a letter of 1531 to a friend that patriotic writers, including Irenaeus, were the “wolves” that St. Paul had anticipated would fall upon the flock and those whom St. John had called the anti-Christ; see S. L. Greenslade, The English Reformers and the Fathers of the Church (Oxford, 1960), 4–5.
his activity as one of the foremost preachers of the Catholic League, an organization of Roman Catholics seeking to suppress Protestantism and Protestant political influence in France.  

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER

The religious controversies that continued into the seventeenth century and after found in the *Adversus haereses* a useful tool, whatever the persuasion of the protagonists. The 1625 edition of Feu-Ardentius contained an extensive introduction which attacked Lutherans and Calvinists. In his 1702 edition J. E. Grabes, a Lutheran from Königsberg, who had moved to England and become a member of the Anglican Church, incorporated Anglican views into some readings of the text of Irenaeus; at the same time he collated ms. A with passages from ms. V (for the shelf marks see p. 21 above). A 1710 Paris edition (reprinted Venice, 1734) was prepared by René Massuet, a French Benedictine, to counteract Grabe's interpretations; he based his edition on C as well as on the Ottoboniani manuscripts at the Vatican Library (p. 21 above).

The cause célèbre for the use of Irenaeus in connection with a particular theological purpose was C. M. Pfaff's publication in 1713 of four fragments, purported to be from Irenaeus and allegedly discovered at a library in Turin, which supported the Lutheran view of the Eucharist. Adolf Harnack demonstrated that these fragments were actually forgeries which had been assembled from the *textus receptus* and other New Testament texts current in the eighteenth century.

In the mid-nineteenth century there was a cluster of new editions of the *Adversus haereses*.


95. A. Harnack, *Die Pfaff schen Irenäus Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen, Texte und Untersuchungen* 20, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1900).

96. Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses* I, x.


98. PG VII, 437–1223.

99. *AH* III, 3:2: “ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principaliatem necesse est omnem conuenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique consertata est ea quae est ab apostolis tradita.”

the role of man in human history. Research in the history of religions has included examination of the antithetical writers regarding the origins and structure of Gnosticism, and here Irenaeus is an important source. Finally, the intensive study of patristics which began in the nineteenth century and continues to the present resulted not only in a veritable mine of critical articles on Irenaeus but also in the critical edition and French translation of the Adversus haereses (1665–82) and the Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis (1959) in the Sources chrétiennes series, together with the first vernacular translations of Irenaeus into Dutch, German, and Italian.

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The most recent and exhaustive critical editions of Irenaeus' works are those (with accompanying French translations) in the Sources chrétiennes series:


II. GENERAL STUDIES


III. LIFE AND THOUGHT OF IRENAEUS

(Post-1945 STUDIES)

A. Life and Letters of Irenaeus


B. Irenaeus and His Thought

(Selected Bibliography)


IV. THE INFLUENCE OF IRENAEUS

A. Greek Patristic Period


For the Greek tradition of the Adversus haereses, see the edition of this text in the Sources chrétiennes series (above, Bibliography I): Contre les hérésies, I, 66–82; II, 85–100; III, 49–133; IV, 51–87; V, 64–157.

B. Latin Patristic Period


C. Byzantine Period

1. Byzantine Greek


2. Armenian and Syriac


D. Latin Middle Ages


E. Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

F. Seventeenth Century and Later

Editions of the Anonymous Translation Before A.D. 1700
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1528, apud inclytam Basileam (Basel): ex officina Frobeniana. Ed. Erasmus. Panzer VI 263 #687; NUC. BL; (CTY; MH; NIC).
1534, Basileae (Basel): per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. Ed. Erasmus. Panzer VI 298 #951; Adams I–151; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, University Library; (MdBP; MH; NNG; CaOTV).
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1567, Parisii (Paris): apud Audoenum Paru. um. Ed. Erasmus. Adams I–156; NUC. BN; Cambridge, Trinity College; (CTY; MnU; NN).

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Doubtful Edition


I. Adversus haereses

Translations

1. Anonymus

a. The manuscript tradition

We lack precise information regarding the origins of the Latin translation of the Adversus haereses. For this question two important facts have been established: Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 220) used Irenaeus in his Adversus Valentinianos, chs. 5 and 37; Augustine (354–430) also used Irenaeus. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether Tertullian and Augustine had access to Irenaeus via the Greek text or a Latin translation.

Scholars arguing that the translation was made shortly after the Adversus haereses appeared in the late second century include Grabe, Massuet, Harvey, Loofs, Lietzmann, Koch, Sanday, Turner, d’Alès, Kraft, Chapman, and Hitchcock. Grabe (followed by Massuet and Loofs) also suggested that the translation was produced in Gaul by someone other than Irenaeus and that it antedated the work of Tertullian.

Jordan has proposed a fourth-century date and North African origin for the translation on the basis of its seeming use by Augustine. Souter agreed with Jordan on both points, believing that the text of Irenaeus used by Tertullian was Greek rather than Latin since Greek was the primary language of the Church at the end of the second century.
Yet another line of reasoning is that of H. Koch who held that Cyprian (d. 258) made general use of Irenaeus, especially in Epistula 74.2 which depends on AH I 27.1. Later Zahn and Harnack were to prefer a third-century date for the Latin translation.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* (ed. of Paris, 1965–82). [Inc.]: (I, Prefatio 1) Quatuen veritatem refutantes quidam inducunt verba falsa et genealogiae infinitas quae quaestiones magis praestant quemadmodum Apostolus ait quam aedificantem Dei quae est in fide [I Tim 1:4]. . . [Expl. of section covered by the main Epphanius fragment, I.21.4]: Redimi enim per agnationem interiori hominem spiritualem et sufficere eis universorum agnationem: et hanc esse redemptionem veram. . . . [Inc. and Expl. of the short Epphanius fragment, I.21.5]: Ego filius a Patre, Patris qui ante fuit, filius autem in eo qui ante fuit. . . . ipsos autem abire in sua, praeicientes nodos ipsorum, hoc est animam. Et de redemptione quidem ipsorum haec sunt quae quidem in nos venerunt. . . . [Expl. in Erasmus’ edition of the last section, V.31.2]: sic et nos sustinere debemus definitum a Deo resurrectiosis nostrae tempus praenuntiatur a prophetis, et sic resurgentibus assumi quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit. . . . . . . . [Expl.]: (V.36.3) ut progenies eius primogenitus Verbum descendat in facturam, hoc est in plasmat, et capitatur ab eo, et factura iterum capiat Verbum et ascendat ad eum, supergregidens angelos et fiens secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei.


Manuscripts:

(*) Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philippi 1669, s. IX (= Claromontanus 438; C). The text ends at AH V.26,1 Et decem cornua quae vidisti (V. Rose, Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 1 [Berlin, 1893], 58–60; B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 18–19; E. Köstermann, “Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Handschriften des Irenäus.” Zeit- schrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXXVI [1937], 1–5).

(*) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. F. 33, s. XIV (= V). It contains the millenarianist sections at the end of Book V (K. A. de Meyier, Codices Vossiani latini, part I: Codices in folio (Leiden, 1973), 73–75; de Meyier, Paul et Alexandre Pétau [Leiden, 1947], 201–24; B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 19–20).


(*) Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 202, s. XV (= S). Book V is missing. The manuscript was given to the library in 1457 by Juan de Segovia (L. Doutreleau, “Le Salmanticensis 202 et le texte latin d’Irénée,” Orpheus, II [1981], 131–56; Doutreleau, “Le manuscrit de Salamanque S 202,” Contre les hérésies II, 33–50; B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 30–34).

(*) Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket, A 140, s. XVI (= H) (B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 20–21).


(*) Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1154, s. XVI (= P) (B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 30).

(*) Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 187, s. XV (= Q). The millenarianist sections (AH V.32–36) are missing (Codices Vaticani latini I [Rome, 1902], 148; B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 23–29; E. Köstermann, “Neue Beiträge,” 25).

(*) Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 188, s. XV (= R) (Codices Vaticani latini I, 148; B. Hemmerdinger, Contre les hérésies IV, 29–30; E. Köstermann, “Neue Beiträge,” 24–25).

Editions:

See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

b. The edition of Erasmus

The edition of Erasmus, by far the most important of the sixteenth century, appeared in 1526. The Irenaeus project had apparently been suggested to Erasmus by Johannes Faber, who also supplied him with one of the three manuscripts used for it. Faber himself had originally planned to edit Irenaeus, and he wrote in his Opus adversus . . . dogmata Martini Lutheri that he hoped to edit both Irenaeus and Epiphanius with the support of his patron, Cardinal Schiner (“Eucharistiam contra traditionem apostolorum sacrificialium esse negas. Id quam inustae feceris avertissime docebunt olim Hyrenaeus et Epiphanius auctores gravissimi quos una cum
quibusdam aliis non omnino aspermandis Reverendissimi Cardinalis Sedunen. auxilio si vita superstes mansero in lucem prodisse videbis;” cited by J. Ruyschaert [see Bibliography, p. 37 below]. Cardinal Schiner died, however, and on May 19, 1526, Faber wrote to Erasmus that he had decided to part with his manuscript and to dissociate himself from the project ("Ex postulas iam denuo Irenenum communem nostrum, quem prius quoque una aut altera vice serio efflagitasti: in quo tantum te spero frugis facturum instaurando [qui mirum in modum, ut est industria et eruditio tua, vendicare a mendis poteris], ut numquam recusare ausim. Bene igitur spera, brevi voti te Frobeniumque compotes faciam;” Erasmus, Opus epistolarum #1715, VI, 347).

Erasmus was also encouraged to edit Irenaeus by Bernard of Cles, bishop of Trent, to whom he dedicated his edition. Bernard was one of the most trusted advisers of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, and Ferdinand had an interest in the projected edition. According to a letter to Erasmus of August 26, 1526, it was supposed that Ferdinand would be included in the dedication along with Bernard of Cles (“Sic nanque Tridentinus gaudet tuis monumentis ad posteros traduci, ut eius rei gratia non solum ab hoc sis accepturus munus elegantissimun magnorumque sumptuum; verum etiam a Principe nostro serenisissimo, quod et Principis magnificentia et Erasmi incomparabili eruditione aestimationeque dignissimum fuerit”; Erasmus, Opus epistolarum #1739, VI, 391).

Erasmus apparently did not begin serious work on the edition until late May of 1526, and he completed the editio princeps in late August. In his dedication to Bernard of Cles Erasmus explains that he had used three manuscripts for the edition, one of which had been copied at Rome and sent to him by Johannes Faber and two of which had been loaned by monasteries. In addition to the information in the dedication there is a note in the margin of the editio princeps toward the end of Book III: “Hirs. non habet de quoquam.” This seems to be a reference to the codex Hirsaugienis, a manuscript from the abbey at Hirschau in Württemberg that was presumably lost in the fire of 1692 which destroyed a major part of the library. The second monastic manuscript apparently belonged to the Lyonnaise family represented principally by A. The third manuscript sent by Johannes Faber has been identified by Hemmerdinger as Niccolò Niccoli’s copy, written at Florence between 1429 and 1432, of Q; Doutreleau and Ruyschaert, however, argue that this manuscript, a copy of R, was made for Cardinal Pucci and revised on the basis of O. All three manuscripts used by Erasmus omit the concluding millenarianist sections (AH V.32–36); consequently it does not appear in the editio princeps or its reprintings.

Erasmus confesses that he is not sure whether Irenaeus wrote in Greek or Latin, but he is inclined to think that he wrote in Latin but was more expert in Greek and hence the Greecisms in the text. Before Books II through V Erasmus presents in each case an Argumentum (on these, see p. 50 below, under Commentaries); he added frequent marginal notes, mostly of a textual nature. In the second edition, of 1528, at the end of the Argumentum for Book V (see p. 50 below), he reconsidered the question whether Irenaeus wrote in Greek or in Latin; largely on the basis of the statements of Jerome, he was more inclined now to believe that the adversus haereses was originally written in Greek.

The editio princeps of 1526 was well received, and Erasmus was able to write with pleasure to Bernard of Cles in July 1528 that a second edition was being printed at the demand of the booksellers (Opus epistolarum #2997, VII, 414). A further edition appeared in 1536, the year of Erasmus’ death, and his text was the basis of all later editions in the sixteenth century.

Dedication (Opus epistolarum #1738, VI, 384). Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac D. D. Bernardo Episcopo Tridentino Des. Erasmus Rot. S. D. [Inc.:] En tuis, ornatisimque Praesul, auspiciis in lucem producimus magnum illum Ecclesiea propugnatores, ac pro sui nominis augurio pacis ecclesiasticae vindicem, Irenaeum. Nam εἰρήνη Graecis pacem sonat, et in Evangelio Dominus beatos pronuntiavit εἰρηνούσιοις id est pacificos, ‘quoniam’ inquit ‘filii Dei vocabuntur’. Deus enim non est dissenzioniis autor sed pacis, qui per Filium suum pacificavit ea quae in coelis et quae in terris. Contra, qui dissidiis orbem concutiunt, parentem suum referunt, qui primus sevit discordiam inter Deum et hominem, et salutiferam Evangelicæ doctrinae segetem vitavit, clam inspersis zizaniis:
nocturnum opus aptumque Principi tenebrarum. Utinam et in his Ecclesiae tumultibus—quibus nec in annalibus legimus unquam exortos vel graviore vel latius divagatos, quanquam latisime se sparsarer Arianorum haeresis—exoriantur aliquot Irenaei, qui spiritu Evangelico mundum redigant in concordiam! Nam libri qui nunc utrinque provolant, eiusmodi ferme sunt ut citius novum excitent incendium quam vetus restinquant. Verum hoc per Christianos principes facit Dominus, posteaquam nobis ad meliora conversis ex irato coeperit esse propicius. Ad Irenaeum meum redeo: cur enim non meum appellem, quem paene sepultum, absterro quantum licuit situ, luci restituius, indignum profecto qui perpetua oblivione obsoleseret? Spiram enim illius scripta priscum illum Evangelii vigorem, ac phasis arguit pectus martyrio partum. . . . [Erasmus discusses Irenaeus’ life.] Nunc de doctrina paucis accipe. Elouentiae nec studiosum nec peritum sese fatetur ipsae, praefans in primum librum. Ac non affectatam quidem ab eo facile crediderim; ignoratam ne credam, facit ipse sermonis cursus, in rebus tam spinosis ac perplexis, immo fastidii plenis, dilucidus, digestus ac sibi cohaerens: nisi quod mihi nondum satis liquet graecae scripsit an latine, etiamis magis arbitror latine scripsisse, graeci tamen sermonis peritorem. Itaque figuris graecis tanquam suo iure abutitur latine loquens, veluti noceri pro laedi, quemadmodum Græci dicitur βλέπτεσθαι; ἔχουντες id est habentes, pro valentes: cuius generis aliquot annotativum in spatiis marginem, ne lector hiis offenderetur. . . . [Erasmus lists the known writings of Irenaeus.] Ex his tam multis viri lubricationibus solum hoc quod nunc damus, seculorum invidiam reliquum esse voluit. Quod utinam sic dare licisset, quemadmodum ab illo proditum fuit! Primus et secundus, quoniam fere occupantur recensendis monstrosis haereticorum et vocubulis et opinionibus, aliqui torserunt nos; quos nemo nisi patientis stomachi poterit absque tedium pervolvere. Tribus exemplaribus sumus adiuti, uno quod Romae descripsum illinc ad nos misit egregius studiorum patronus Ioannes Faber, dubios et monasterii commodato praebitis. Ex Tertulliano paucus restituius, quod illic plus etiam erat depravationis in vocubulis; non paucis coniecturis sumus assecutis, quae, si parum certa videbantur, in margine tantum annotavimus. . . . [Erasmus gives a history of the heresies described by Irenaeus, and he meditates upon God’s counsel for the church in the past.] Itaque bona quaedam spes habet animum meum fore ut hanc Ecclesiae tempestatem Dominus inscruta-bili suo consilio vertat in bonos exitus, excidetque nobis Irenaeos aliquot, qui compositis dissi-diis pacem orbi restituant. Hunc interim Irenaeum velut ominis fausti loco laeta fronte dignaveris accipere, Praesul optime, tui nominis auspiciis in lucem prodeuntem. Id ut facerem non tam mihi persuasit singularis quidam ac, ut gratuitus, ita perpetuus animi in me tui favor, quam uno omnium ore praedicata morum tuorum integritas, cum admirabilia prudentia parvice humanitate conjuncta. Sed nulla laus episcopo dignior quam quod ubique studies paci concordiaeque Christiani populi. Atque hae quidem in te virtutes hoc sunt admirabiliores quod aetate florenti Nestorem quendam, ut ita loquar, praestas, tum illustriss. Principi Ferdinando, tum Ecclesiae Christi. Nec ignota, nec tuas dotes praedico, sed pro donis in te collatis et Deo gratias agimus et nobis gratulamur. Amplitudinem tuam bonus omnibus auget is a quo solo proficiscitur vera felicitas. Datum Basileae sexto Calend. Septembri Anno M.D.XXVI.

Adversus haereses (ed. of Basel, 1526). [Inc.]: Identical with that cited p. 33 above, [Expl. of section covered by Epiphanius fragment]: Identical with that cited p. 33 above . . . [Expl.]: (Book V. 31.2) sic et nos sustinere debemus definitum a Deo resurrectionis nostrae tempus praenuntiatum a prophetis, et sic resurrectiones assumi quotquot Dominus hoc dignos ha-buerit.


**Editions:**
1526, 1528, 1534, 1545 (four issues), 1548, 1560, 1563, 1567. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700. All later editors rely significantly upon the Erasmus edition.

**Biography:**
See CTC, IV, 221–22.

c. The editions of Feu-Ardentius.
Although Nicolaus Gallasius and Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus had made some improvements in the Erasmus text and included in their editions the large fragment of Book I preserved by Epiphanius, the editions of Feu-Ardentius mark the beginning of a new epoch. He printed for the first time the complete text of Book V and included the millenarian chapters at the end (V.32.1–36.3), which were absent from Erasmus’ manuscripts. Further, he made use of other fragments preserved in Greek authors and in the edition of 1596 presented in Greek and in Latin translation, with commentary, all known fragments of the lost works of Irenaeus.

1. The edition of 1575
In his letter *Ad lectorem*, Feu-Ardentius explains how through use of the editions of Paris, Basel, and Geneva and with the aid of an ancient manuscript he has corrected 1,100 passages in the *Adversus haereses*. The ancient manuscript had been supplied by Nicolaus a Sanctoro Andrea, and B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 38, identifies it with V (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. F. 33). From this manuscript Feu-Ardentius was able to supply the concluding chapters of Book V. He defended their authenticity in a special *Ad lectorem*, and in support he printed in Greek a hitherto unpub-

lished fragment of Irenaeus from Anastasius Sinaita, *Quaestiones* (PG LXXXIX, 701). In an appendix Feu-Ardentius printed a new Latin translation, with commentary, by Jacobus Billius of the Epiphanius fragments of Book I (see pp. 49 and 51 below). Finally, he added his own extensive annotations to the five books of the *Adversus haereses* (see p. 51 below).

To the Reader (ed. of Paris, 1575). Frater Franciscus Feu-Ardentius pio lectori S. [Inc.]: Divi Irenaei libros quinque tibi nunc superioribus editionibus longe emendatiores et auctiores offerimus, quos Erasmus Ro. qui primus eos a blattis tineisque vindicavit et Ecclesiæ restituit, graecæ a latine initio fuerint ab auctore scripti dubitati; in eam tamen descendit sententiam ut latine quidem sed a latiae lingue non satis erudito, graece autem perississimo editos credat. Ultima praefatione hominem remordet testimonium B. Hieronymi, qui eum inter scriptores graecos numerat, simul et librorum inscriptionibus movetur, et graece compositos suspicatur. Beat us Rhenanus graece conscriptos ideo non ambigit, quod Hieronymus Tertullianum tertium ex latinis scriptoribus faciat, alias quartum facturus, si Irenaeum inter Latinos, non inter Graecos adnumerasset! D. Brissonius in senaturi Parisiensis Regii publici urs juris Regius vindex et Patro- nus, vir ut multae lectionis, sic acerrimi judicis, libro observationum divini et humani iuris, in quo ex Eusebio et Epiphanio multos Irenaei ab eisdem transcriptos locos signat, omni adseveratione contendere et contra sentientes sacramento provocare non dubitat, istos qui nunc extant quinque libros de Graecis elegantibus Latinos rudes factos. Quorum iudicium libenter sequar, maxime cum agnoscam phrasim plane graecam, innueras dictiones formasque loquendi latinis minus usitatas, graecos scriptores tantum citari, latinos numquam, Homeri et Hesiodi graecos versus saepe repetitos et intertextos, animadvertem frequenter ἀνακόλοθον καὶ ἀναπόδοτα, vix a latinis, saepenumbero a graecis patribus hunc authorem citari et laudari. Accedit huc, quoties Eusebius et Epiphanius graeci authores aliquid ex illius suis scriptis inserunt (id quod non raro facient), toties se ad verbum velut apud ipsum habentur, verba eius citare, authoris verba se proferre testantur. Cum vero Tertulliani latinis scriptoris quidpiam adducti Eusebius, prius ut ex latino sermone conversum fuit transcriptione fatetur; de Irenaeo nihil usquam simile dicitur.
De primo horum librorum interprete nondum
mihi satis liquet, quid statuendum sit, praesertim
cum illum nullus quod sciam ad hoc tempus
scripto indicaverit. Augustinus duos Irenaei locos
latine citat, sed qui nonnihil ab hoc nostro
interprete differant, forsarn quod ipse latinos ex
graecis faciit. Si mihi liceret de re dubia et
obscura sententiam in praecepta ferre, citra
cuisquam animi offensionem, lubens affirmare
rum auctorem et interpretem horum quinque
librorum uendem esse, qui primo græca, deinde
latine tales dispari stylo posteris mandariat. Nam
cum natura graecus esset, et in omni genere
disciplinarum egregie institutus, graecè idque
perelganten ac scieret scrispit, et latine, verum
non pari sermonis felicitate et lepore, quia iam
grandis natu in Gallias a Polycarpo legatus, la-
tiae linguae barbaræ dialecto, sicuti ipsem fatet
jur, plurimum exerceratur, facultateque scribendi (latine, ut interpretor) non exercitatus,
Graecis tamen et Latinis bene consultum et pro-
visum volens adversus haereses, quae per terrarum
orbeb increbescens, libros istos conscripsit. Aut certe presbyterum quendam ad
num Irenæus habuit, qui eiusius usus de verbo ad
verbum coram transtulerit, aut translatos separa-
tim postea communicaret, et mentem sensaque
auctoris fideliter expresserit. Qui his conjecturus
me una cum piis et doctis viris quos hac de re
consului falli, et melioribus productis, primum
interpretem indicaverit et docuerit, nos sibi
maximo beneficie gratos et devinctos habebit.
Hactenus de dubio in medium adducto dictum
sit, nunc quid ad hanc editionem praeter alias
omnes priores accesserit, accipe. Primo ad cal-
cem horum librorum comperies decem et octo
piora capita libri primi, ex graeco sermone la-
tine reduita scholissque illustrata, opera D. Ja-
cobi Billii, cuius viri magnum eruditionem, elo-
quentiam, exactum judicium mirentur alii, ego
singuarem humanitatem, insignem pictatem,
tegerrimae vitae consuetudinem studiose
semper observabo atque colam. Deinde ex codi-
cum Parisiis, Basilieae semel atque iterum, item-
que Lausaneae editorum collatione, simulque ve-
teris cuiusdam manu scripti exemplaris fide et
auxilio, centum et mille locos, innumeris dictio-
nibus immutatis, correctos habes, atque, ni ve-
hemeter fallimur, feliciter emendatos. Vetus
istud exemplar summa voluntate atque egregia
animi alacritate suppedavit et creditid D. Nicola-
laus a Sancto Andrea, vir qui eximia in Deum
pietate, facultates universas quas parvas non ha-
bet, parvit in egenis et miseris Clementer et
opportune impertit, parvit conquendis toto
orbe veterum scriptis, isque in Ecclesiae univers-
æae utilitatem evulgandis divinitus absumit. Ta-
les eius ordinis consimiles huic studiosissimo
viro reipublicae Christianæae prorsus nato, me-
cum, obsecro, tacitus exopta et absimiles ut ad
meliorem frugem redeant precare. Sed ad Irenæum revertamus. Ne quid libris eius sublatum
aut depravatum lector conqueratur, quod expu-
nctum est, in annotationes reiecinus, quod ex
veteri codice additum, dubius virgulis, quod
immutatum, unica signavimus, variis lectioni-
bus in margine cum asterisci nota repositis. Prae-
terea multa quae ad ecclesiasticæ fidei confir-
mationem, doctrinae formas et regulas, sacra-
mentorum ritus, Christianorum mores et haere-
seon versionem maxime pertinent, ab alii
martyribus ac selectis patribus accepta quaque
dedita opera non tractasset aut tantum subo-
bscure hic auctor, annotationibus nostris aper-
tius et latius observavimus, ut ea secum qui
vellet diutius consideraret. Ad haec, huius aucto-
toris haereticus suo more praecipue Magdebur-
genses, et quidam Nicolaus Gallius Calvinianæae
pestis olim Genevae, hunc Aurelius, postea uti
ferunt, Wasconiae praeco, multos locos ex indu-
striæ corrupserat, et ad suas haereses flagitiæ
detorserant, quos restituere atque vindicare a
falsa interpretatione operæ pretium fuit ac de-
cuit. Irenæi porro sentientias ab antiquis autho-
ribus, quorum libri ad nos pervenerunt, laudatas
suis locis nequaquam praeterivimus. Adiecimus
quinque capita sub finem libri quinti, quae non-
dum typis commissa fuerant, in vetere codice
reperta, et ea Irenæi germanæ esse perspicue
comprobamus. Librum quintum facilioris erudi-
tionis gratia in capita divisimus, quorum singulis
singula argumenta apposuimus, quae summam
cuisquâ comprehendunt. Brevissima item
scholia toto libro in margine sparsimus, sed
quae, ni fallor, totius rei sensum breviter expo-
nant, ibidem sacrae scripturae locis omnibus in-
dicatis. Tres insuper amplissimos indices at-
texendos curavimus, quorum primus Scriptura-
rum his libris adductum uixta ordinem sacro-
rum Bibliorum est, secundus rerum et verborum
B. Irenæi, postremus annotationum praecipua
capita complectitur. Tum denique operis initio
praefatione ad Illustriiss. Cardinalem a Borbonio
de divinæae providentiae consilio in tutanda et
propaganda ecclesia adversus tyrannorum violentiam et haereticorum artes, de utilitate ac necessitate lectionis patrum antiquorum atque veterum Gnosticorum cum recentioribus Hu-Gnostics [sic] collatione amplissime disserimus; vitem quoque auctoribus ex suis atque aliorum patrum scriptis contextam adieicimus. Multas dictiones, satis rudes fatae, puriorisque linguae romanae amatoribus parum gratas, ab hoc author passim usurpata, intactas reliquimus, tum quod absque ullius emendantioris codicis authoritate, tantis auctoribus praesertim veneribus, pietatis nostrae assertoribus, manus temere inferre religio fuit, tum quia homini graeco haec facile condonanda, nobis item qui conferentis inter se codices, non autem translatoris partes subivimus. Satius atiam videbatur sub huius sancti viri simplicitus verbi iis quidem, sed quae masculam vim animi pectusque martyris omnino reddant, pietatem, fidem, integritatem, vitaeque beatissima viam addiscere, quam inanibus porcorum siliquis (sic) pasci, aut inflato humano porcorum eloquentiae vento intumescendo arroganter contemnere, vel maledico dente carpine. Ceterum haec inter quotidianas disputationes et occupationes theologicas quibus obstricti per aliquot dies adhuc sumus, captim contexta in communem omnium utilitatem, qualia atque competriantur, emittimus, duumque emendantiora et ampliora fiat et iterum exeat, candide lector, quae desideranda videbuntur, ea benigne, quae so a te, supples et boni aequium consules, meliora cunctae reipublicae Christianae amplificandae causa, mecum meditanda tibi semper proponas. Vale.

Dedication. Reverendissimo Cardinali ac Illustriissimo Principi Carolo a Borbonio, Rothomagensi Ecclesiae Archiepiscopo, F. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius Minor. S. D. [Inc.]: Etsi quamplurima eaque certa sunt argumenta, Principes illustriissime, quaes profiteri cogunt universa quae hoc mundo continentur divina providentia administrari. . . . [In the long dedication Feu-Ardentius discusses, as he had indicated in the Ad lectorem, the counsel of divine providence in protection of the Church against tyrants and heretics, the use and necessity of a reading of the ancient Fathers, and a comparison of the ancient with the modern Gnostics.] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Deum aeternum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi toto pectore precor, ut te ceterosque pios principes et pastores ecclesiae suae nutritios proteget et conservet, ad ipsius gloriam et Christianae reipublicae salutem. Fiat, fiat. Lutetiae Parisiorum, Idibus Augusti, anno a partu Virginis quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto supra milesimum.

There follows: (1) Vita D. Irenaei ex illius et aliorum patrum scriptis collecta per F. Franciscum Feu-Ardentium; (2) a poem by F. Gilb. Rondreux Franciscanus Theol. Monlucienensis, Sacrarum literarum studios. Lectori (14 lines); (3) a poem by Iac. Godefrius, F. Francisco Feu-Ardentio Theolo. (16 lines); (4) Catalogus authorum qui in annotationibus citantur, praemissis illis quos omnino damnauit Ecclesia; (5) Interpretatio latina vocabulorum graecorum quae in Irenaeo passim obvia sunt, per F. F. F.; (6) a Greek poem to Feu-Ardentius by Nicolaus Goulonius (12 lines); (7) Doxologia saphica in beatiss. martyrum Irenaeum horum librorum auctorem.

Adversus haereses. [Inc. of Praefatio I.1; Expl. of the main Epiphanius fragment (I.21.4); Inc. and Expl. of the short Epiphanius fragment (I.21.5); Expl. of the last section in the edition of Erasmus]: all identical with those cited p. 33 above . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (V.36.3) identical with that cited p. 33 above except that in line 73 Feu-Ardentius, in accord with the extant Latin manuscripts, reads fiet, while the Sources chretiennes edition reads fiens on the basis of the Armenian translation.

As noted above, Feu-Ardentius added a special Ad lectorem in defense of the authenticity of the concluding chapters of Book V, and he placed this between the end of V.31 and the beginning of V.32.

Ad lectorem. [Inc.]: (p. 368) Posterioria quique capita numquam ante typis excusa, ex veteri nostro codice venerandae fidei, subicimis. Quae Irenaei germana et vera esse, ipsa scribendi dicendique ratio, tum Eusebios, Nicephorus, et Anastasius Sinaitae eadem Irenaei nomine aliquot in locis citantes, prout locis suis indicabimus, citra ullam controversiam probant et demonstrat. Praeterea Hieronymus in vita Papiae, Proem. in lib. 18 comm. in Isaiaam, comm. in 36 Ezech. B. Irenaeum una cum Papia, Tertulliano, Victorino, Lactantio, Severo, Apollinari, quibus addo Iustinum Martyrem, notat insecutum Judaeorum δευτέρωσεις regnum Christi et electo-
rum eius, post resurrectionem, extinctum Anti-christum, et universorum judicium in terris terre- 
naque Jerusalem restituta per mille annos futurum 
dixisse, iuxta litteralem sensum exprimentem omnia quae in Prophetis et Apocalypsi his de re- 
bus leguntur, adversus quem vir eloquentissimus 
Dionysius Alexandrinus elegantiam librum scrip- 
sit, deridendo mille annum fabulam, et auream 
atque gemmatar in terris Jerusalem, otium Sab- 
bati, cunctarum gentium servitutem etc. Haec 
cum nemo ex libris Irenaei hac tenus editis colli- 
gere possit, ex his tamen fragmentis, quae modo 
lucebat edimus, perspicuum est ad Irenaeum 
portinere. Sublata porro candide suspicor, ne vel 
huismodi opinio ab ecclesia improbata huius 
tanti episcopi et martyris auctoritatem eleveret, 
vem famam obscuraret apud posteros, vel denique 
ne argumentis illius illestit quidam sententiam iam 
explosam amplectarentur (sic). Verum nec id tu- 
umb, nec probabile mihi videtur, quia praestim 
artibus periculis acceptis mederi, aliquo bone 
paris scriptorurn pratum orthodoxorum evanesce- 
ret ac periret. Medendam erat praemonitione et 
locorum detortorum fidelis expositione, non li- 
tura, calamo non scalpello. Nihilo secus enim 
lapsus tanti martyris auctoritatem eius derogat, 
quam peccata Moysis, Davidis, Salomonis, Io- 
nae, Petri, Matthaei, et Pauli scriptorum suorum 
maiestatem laedunt aut imminuunt. Itaque pio 
lectori satis erit: talem opinionem, quam hic per- 
currerat ab Irenaeo induci, doctissimo, beatissimo 
hominem tamen excitisse, secunque repetere, 
Christum Dominum in duobus filiis Zebedaei, 
deinde in duobus discipulis Emaunta peregrinan- 
tibus, postremo in Apostolis suis, ipso die Ascen- 
sionis suae in coelum, ilam coarguissi. Eam 
poesta scriptis editis confutatam ac reiectam a 
Dionysio Areopagita lib. De ecclesiastica hier-
archia, parte I, cap. 7, Gaio et Dionysio Alex. 
antiquis et magni nominis scriptoris, Eusebio 
lit. 3 hist. cap. 22 et 33, Augustino 20 de Civ. 
cap. 7, 8, et 9, Theodoreto lib. 3 haericarum 
fabularum, Epiphanio lib. 3 contra haereses, 
tomo I. Ab Irenaeo autem hac in re summa cum 
reverentia et animi modestia sic discedere, ut illius 
existimationem retineam, nec quicquam ex ea di-
minuam, vel eo maxime nomine, quod primam 
hunc nequaquam inve rexerit, neque pertinaci aut 
factioso spiritu defendiderit, sed a Papia et aquis-
dam alius, qui Iudaorum traditiones nondum pe-
nitus deposuerant, exceptam, falsus animi refri-
acarit.

Edition: 1575. See above under Editions of the Anony- 

mous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography: 

Franciscus Feu-Ardentius (François Feu-

dant) was born at Coutances, Normandy, in De-

cember 1539. He died at Paris, January 1, 1610, 

and was buried in the middle of the choir of the 

Cordeliers, where one can see his epitaph. He 

began his studies at Bayeux and joined the Fran-

ciscans (Friars Minor). In 1561, at twenty years 
of age, he was ordained a priest. He was sent to 

Paris to complete his studies, receiving a degree 
of Doctor of Theology on May 5, 1576. He 

taught with great success at the University of 

Paris. In 1579 he became guardian of the Fran-

ciscan monastery at Paris. He preached widely: 

at Meaux, Chartres, Tours, Mantes, Laon, Sois-

sons, Amiens, Beauvais, Péronne, Senlis, and 

Nantes, as well as in Paris and other towns in 

Normandy, Dauphiné, Lorraine, and Flanders. 

Roncuus in the appendix to Feu-Ardentius’ 

Theomachia Calvinistica said that there was 

hardly a church in which he did not preach. 

He dedicated himself to opposing the heresy of 

Luther and Calvin, as well as its widespread 

influence. He was associated with John Boucher 

and Bishop Rose of Senlis in preaching for the 

Catholic League. Pierre de l’Etoile, an opponent 

of the League, writing in his Mémoires, credited 

Feu-Ardentius with stemming the tide of heresy 

in France. He composed diatribes against Henry 

IV at the time of the latter’s conversion to Ca-

tholicism in 1593. Because of illness at that time 

he took the waters of the Spa. He spent seven 

months in voluntary exile in Lorraine, then went 

to Cologne, where he found asylum (1594–96). 

In 1597 he returned to France and retired to the 

monastery at Bayeux, devoting himself to the 

restoration and enrichment of the library. 

Cardinal d’Ossat was named bishop of Bayeux, 

and Feu-Ardentius dedicated to him in 1604 his 

Theomachia Calvinistica, in which Feu-Ar-

dentius attempted to refute 1,400 errors. In addi-

tion to scriptural commentaries he prepared 

works on the Church Fathers and wrote a diary.

Works: 

Appendix ad libros R. P. Ildephonsi a Castro 

contra haereses (Paris, 1576); Divins opuscules 

et exercices spirituels de s. Ephrem mis en fran-

cçois (Paris, 1579); Censura orientalis Ecclesiae
de praecipuis nostri saeculi haereticorum dogmatibus (Paris, 1584); Sept dialogues ausquels sont examinez cent soixante et quatorze erreurs des calvinistes (Paris, 1585); Brief examen des prières ecclésiastiques, administration des sacrements et catechisme des calvinistes (Paris, 1599); Advertissement aux ministres sur les erreurs de leur confession de foi (Paris, 1599); Entremangeries ministrales, c'est-à-dire contradictions, injures, condamnations et exécutions mutuelles des ministres et prédicants de ce siècle (Caen and Paris, 1601); Evangelia planeque divina Christi Dei et Domini ac sanctissimi praecursoris eius conceptionis et nativitatis historia septem et viginti homilis per Adventum explicata (Paris, 1605); Histoire de la fondation de l'église et de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel (Coutances, 1604).

Bibliography:
Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne, XIV, 57–58; The Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 58 (L. Olinger); A. Cioranescu, Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle, 316, 9974–10004; Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, V, 2262–65 (E. d’Alenson); Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, IV, 102–103 (A. Kleinhaus); PG VII. 1339–52.

2. The edition of 1596
Feu-Arduentius published a second edition of the Adversus haereses in 1596, dedicated this time to Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. The edition represented the high point of sixteenth-century Irenaeus scholarship; it was reprinted four times in the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth-century editions of J. E. Grabe and R. Massuet built upon it. In addition to minor improvements, Feu-Arduentius published both in Greek and Latin a large number of citations from the Adversus haereses in the Greek Fathers; he printed the Greek text of the Adversus haereses, and he reprinted the notes of Billius on the fragment from Epiphanius; he added scholia of Fronto Ducaeus on the same Epiphanius fragment; finally, he printed in Greek and Latin all the fragments he had discovered of the lost works of Irenaeus, and to these he added his own commentary.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1596). Illustissimo principi ac reverendissimo Cardinali, Carolo Lotharingo, Metensi et Argentinensi Episcope, ac S. D. N. a latere legato, F. Franciscus Feuarden- tius [sic], D. Theol. S. P. [Inc.]: Praecclare certe de republica merentur, Illustissime Princeps et Cardinalis ampliss., illi magno et excellenti ingenio viri, qui novis quidem, sed oleum lucernaeque responsitibus scriptis, vel sacrum Bibliorum libros explicant, vel exortientes haereses solide refellunt, vel denique alis rationibus pietatem ac philosophiam Christianam exornant: sed hi quoque rem non minus utilem ac necessarium ab aequis aestimatoribus praestare judicantur, qui veterum praesertim theologorum sanctissima doctissimae monumenta vel ex oblivios sepulchro in hanc lucem revocant, vel a mendis et depravationibus, quas temporum partim injuria exscribimur partim incuria contraxerunt, repurgata, pristino nitori ac splendori suo pro viribus restituit. . . . [Feu-Arden- tius praises the inspiration of the early Fathers.] Huc denique accedit, quod cum miserandae Gal-liarii nostrarum calamitates instantiisque meae vocationis ac instituti professoribus discrimina procul me a patria exegissent, C. T. ditione exceptus humanissime et in ipsa Lotharenorum augusta urbe septem mensibus ad docendum admissus, multaque tam Illustres. Ducis, nobiliss. fratum, religiosiss. heroidum, quam in primis eiusdem C. T. attentione auditis, ad familiare frequensque colloquium vocatus, demumque non illiberaliter dimissus, istud quantulumcumque sit, viri certe theologi ac religiosis publicum meae erga eandem C. T. testimonium, cum omni obsequio referendum ac offerendum et re mea esse censui. Quod cum facio, id consueta humanitate sua C. T. gratoque vultu suscipiat, et me in clientela sua servare ac retinere pergat. [Expl.]: Deus immortalis, Rex regum, et Dominus Domini- nantium eandem C. T. diutissime felicissimeque servet incolunem, ac finito huius vitae curriculo, in beatam ac sempiternum regnum suum perducat. Coloniae Agrippinae, Idibus August. anno Dom. MDXCV, Illustissimae Celsitudinis Tuae servus obsequentissimus Franciscus Feu-Arduentius.

De ista quinque librorum D. Irenaei editione ad lectores F. Francisci Feu-Arduentii Commoni- tio. [Inc.]: En beatissimi patris et martyrj Irenaei quinque libros, denuo collatos, emendatos, et locupletatos nova editione in publicam studio- sorum utilitatem emittimus. . . . [Feu-Arduentius argues that the author was Greek, but he believes that the author was also the translator.] Atque
haec de sermonis genere ac interprete dicta sint. Nunc quid hac potissimum editione novissima praestitum sit, accipe. Libri primi decem et octo priora capita ab Epiphanio quondam ad verbum ex Irenaeo graece transcripta; deinde ex Eusebio fragmenta viginti et duo [twenty-one according to the list on p. 43 below]; ex Theodoreto quatuordecim [sixteen according to the list on p. 43 below]; ex Basilio duo; ex Melissa totidem [one according to the list on p. 43 below]; unum ex Anastasio Nicaeno suis locis graece prout ab Irenaeo primum descripta, hinc ab his Patribus laudata fuerunt, typis evulganda curavimus. Deinde ad finem operis sex alia ex diversis eiusdem operibus fragmenta, ex autore quaest. et responsionem ad Orthodoxos apud Justinum Martyrem, Eusebio, et Demetrius Diacopo collecta graece subiecitum, et tam illa, quam ista majori parte a laudatissimo viro Jacobo Billio, reliqua a doctiss. interpretibus Christophorono, Herveto, Erasmo, Fabro latine reddita quam decenti fieri potuit ordine collocavimus. Superiora decem et octo libri primi capita graeca idem Billius scholiis, deinde R.P. Fronto Ducaeus, Societatis Jesu tam pius quantum doctus theologus, suis notis ad Epiphanii graecam exemplaria contulerunt, emendarunt, et illustrarunt. Nos quoque non solum ad illa, sed ad singula librorum capita et adiecta de novo fragmenta annotationes locupletissimas addidimus, quibus emendationum rationes reddimus, obscuriora et ambiguam plurima loca multisque graecas, et latinis minus usitatas phrases explicamus, et quicquid ad Ecclesiae Catholicae doctrinam, hierarchiam, ritus fidemque confermandam et antiquas novasque haereses refellendas pertinere reprehendimus, denique quod expunctum vel immutatum a nobis est, ne quid iniuria sublatum sibi quirintur alii qui, retinemus et observamus. Accessit quoque editioni cum Vaticano manuscripto codice nova collatio, cuius, praesertim vero per illumatem ac eruditum D. Johanne Sant-Andream ecclesiae Parisiensis canonicum, nobis pridem commodati codicis veteris attentiore lectione et meditatione, adhuc supra sexcentos locos emendatores reddimus, addita duabus clausulis, nonnumquam unica et numero quodam signavimus, varias adhuc quibusdam lectionibus astericisc in margine notatis. Ad haec beatissimi et vere apostolici viri Polycarpi, episcopi Smyrnensis et martyris, quinque non aspermanda fragmenta ante mille et centum annos a Victore Capuano citata et Latio donata, a nobis vero in vetustissimo codice reperta et transcripta convenienti sede locavimus. . . . [Feu-Ardentius has also added the ancient Encomia of Irenaeus, the attacks on him by contemporary heretics, a Vita of Irenaeus, full indexes, and finally a work he had himself discovered: Arnobii Catholici cum Serapione Aegypto Conflictus.] Multas fatoer dictiones et phrases minus latinas, hiulcas adhuc sententias et periodos, adeoque non paucos adhuc locos in utoque auctore luxatos, imperfectos et obscuros a nobis relictos invenire licebit, tum quod plurimum ac emendatorum codicum auxilio destituti fuisse, tum quod tam veteribus ac sanctis Patribus manum temere inferre religio fuit. Ceterum, haec solo natali, et quod longe molestius est, musaeo ac nostra bibliotheca exacti, solumque nunc ab illis, mox ab istis commodato inter peregrinandum acceptis libris adiuti conteximus, et in publicam studio- sumem utilitatem emittimus, quae cum acceperint candidi lectores, et his nostris qualibuscunque laboribus fruisti fuerint, studiis nostris bene favere, ac præsertim nostram salutem suis precibus apud communem Salvatorem ac judicem nostrum D. Iesum Christum commendare rogo et obsecro, non recusent.

There follow: (1) a Vita of Irenaeus; (2) Antidota adversus probra et impias criminationes, quibus illustrissimam B. Irenaei famam lacerare auctoritatemque vel imminuere vel labefactare conantur novissimi huius temporis haeretici; (3) Encomia B. Irenaei ex priscis patribus collecta; (4) Interpretatio latina vocabulorum graecorum; (5) and four pages of poems.

Feu-Ardentius then printed the Greek fragment from Epiphanius with the translation and commentary of Jacobus Billius (see pp. 49 and 51 below) and the Scholia of Fronto Ducaeus (see p. 52 below) and his own annotations (see p. 51 below). He continued with the old Latin translation in its complete form, also with his own annotations.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*: Incipits and explicits as in the edition of 1575; see p. 39 above.

In the 1596 edition, Feu-Ardentius for the first time printed at the appropriate places in the text, in Greek with Latin translation, all the citations of the *Adversus haereses* he had found. In his *Ad lectores*, Feu-Ardentius had indicated that Jacobus Billius was responsible for the greater
part of these, but he also used translations of Johannes Christophoronus, Desiderius Erasmus, C. G. (Conradus Gesnerus?), and Gentianus Hervetus. The following list of these fragments contains in the first column the book and chapter of the *Adversus haereses*, in the numbering of Feu-Arventius, in the second column the source of the fragment, and in the third the name of the translator.

I.18  Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (= HE) IV.10
      Christophoronus

I.28  Eusebius, *HE* IV.10
      Billius

I.30  Eusebius, *HE* IV.27
      Billius

I.31  Eusebius, *HE* IV.27
      Billius

II.56 Eusebius, *HE V.7* V.6
      Christophoronus

II.57 Eusebius, *HE V.7* V.8
      Christophoronus

III.1 Eusebius, *HE V.8* V.6
      Christophoronus

III.3 Eusebius, *HE V.8* V.9
      Christophoronus

III.3 Eusebius, *HE IV.14* (Greek numbering)
      Billius

III.4 Eusebius, *HE IV.11* (Greek numbering)
      Billius

III.11 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.18 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Billius

III.19 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.20 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Billius

III.20 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.21 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.21 Theodoretus, *Dialogus III*
      Billius

III.24 Eusebius, *HE V.8*
      Christophoronus

III.25 Eusebius, *HE V.8*
      Christophoronus

III.27 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.31 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

III.32 Theodoretus, *Dialogus I*
      Billius

IV.7 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Billius

IV.14 Eusebius, *HE IV.17*
      Christophoronus

IV.37 Eusebius, *HE V.8 IV.37*
      Christophoronus

Antonius Melissa, *Sermo I*, qui est de fide
      C. G.

IV.59 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Billius

IV.66 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Hervetus

V.1 Theodoretus, *Dialogus III*
      Hervetus

V.1 Theodoretus, *Dialogus II*
      Billius

V.6 Eusebius, *HE V.7 V.8*
      Christophoronus

V.8 Basilius Magnus, *Liber de Sancto Spiritu 29*
      Erasmus

V.9 Basilius Magnus, *Liber de Sancto Spiritu 29*
      Erasmus

V.26 Eusebius, *HE IV.17*
      Christophoronus

V.28 Eusebius, *HE III.30*
      Christophoronus

V.30 Eusebius, *HE V.8 V.30*
      Christophoronus

V.33 Eusebius, *HE III.39* (Greek numbering)
      Christophoronus

V.36 Anastasius Si- naita, *Liber quaestionum in scripturam, q. 88*
      Hervetus

Editions:
1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1677, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
See p. 40 above.

2. Janus Cornarius (Book I, partial)
The most important single Greek fragment of Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, is found in the *Panarion* or *Contra ogdoaginta haereses opus* of Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus.
(d. A.D. 403). It was first published in 1542 in the Latin translation of Janus Cornarius, and it appeared in Greek in 1544. Beginning with 1569 the fragment regularly appeared, sometimes only in Latin, sometimes in both Latin and in Greek, in the Irenaeus editions.

K. Holl (see Bibliography, below) has described the circumstances that led Cornarius to undertake the translation. Philipp Melanchthon, on his return from the Marburg Colloquy of October 10, 1529, visited the library of Johann Lang at Erfurt, a library famous in humanist circles. Melanchthon found there a manuscript in several volumes of the works of Epiphanius, including the Panarion seu Adversus lxxx haereses, Ancoratus, Anacephaleosis seu Recapitulatio brevis panarum, and the De mensuris ac ponderibus. Melanchthon took the material with him to Wittenberg, intending to read it in his spare time. He became fascinated with the material, and he turned to his colleague, Joachim Camerarius, about the possibility of an edition of the works of Epiphanius. As time went by, however, Melanchthon’s interest in Epiphanius declined because what Epiphanius had written appeared to Melanchthon to be of historical interest rather than important for dogmatic theology. As late as 1537, however, Melanchthon was still interested in having the Epiphanius material collected and edited, and he hoped that some prince might support the project (Corpus Reformatorum 442 n. 1626, cited by Holl, p. 1).

Johann Pistorius also had an interest in the Epiphanius manuscripts, and he wrote to Johann Bullinger in 1538 that he intended to prepare a Latin translation, but the project was not completed. In addition, at the time of the Worms Disputation of 1540–41, Camerarius sought to interest others in an Epiphanius project, and he convinced Oporinus and Winter in Basel to undertake such work.

As a first step Oporinus was to have a Latin translation prepared. He turned to Janus Cornarius, who was at that time Stadtphysicus at Frankfurt a. M., and who was also visited by Melanchthon on his return from the Worms Disputation. Cornarius accepted the responsibility and worked quickly. As an experienced translator of both medical and theological tomes, he had completed by September 1542 the translation of the four works of Epiphanius. Cornarius tells us in the dedication of the work to Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony that he had been able to use only one manuscript, and Holl identifies this with Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Bose f. 1. Cornarius had hoped to be able to use the Irenaeus translation to improve the Greek text of Epiphanius, but the poor quality of the translation made this almost impossible, and it would have been easier to use the Epiphanius text to improve the translation. Cornarius was shocked that Erasmus could have supposed that Irenaeus wrote in Latin.

Dedication (ed. of Basel. 1542). Illustiss. ac Potentiss. Principi ac Domino, D. Ioanni Fridericho, Saxoniae Ducii, Sacri Rom. Imp. principi Electori ac Archimareschallo, provinciali Thuringiae comiti, Misniea Marchioni, et Burggravio Magdeburgen. Janus Cornarius medicus physicus Francoforden. S. D. [Inc.]: Cum Deus opt. max. ita, credo, voluerit, Illustiss. princeps Ioannes Frideriche, ut iam biennium praestantisimun ac eloquentissimum graecorum theologum, Divum Basilium latinis hominibus legendum converterim, neque enim humanis viribus adscribendus est is qui mihi contigint successus, ut intra unius anni spatium totum opus absolvirem, trium usus exemplarium collatone, et adhibita alciubi prorum in quibusdam libellis interpretum lectione, quo undiquaque absolutum si id a me praestari posset, optimum opus publicarem. . . . [Cornarius notes the value of such works on heresy, and he reports Augustine’s attempt to persuade Quodvultdeus to translate Epiphanius.] Nunc cum hoc factum non sit, his commoditatibus privati, unicum exemplar secutii, quod potuimus praestitisimus, ut Epiphanius latine legatur, iuxta interpretis fidem, ita ut nihil adiectum, neque immutatum a nobis sit, nisi palam vitiatum, quod non infrequenter occurrerit in ipso exemplari. Sed profuit etiam hac parte hoc nobis, quod multa ταυτολογεί atque idem verbis contra diversas haereses repetit Epiphaniu, ut ex altera lectione alteram corruptam emendare detur. Praeterea cum bonam partem Irenaei αὐτοίς ὑπόμοναι transscriptam, non in commodum nobis fuit Irenaei latinum exemplar adhibitum, quamquam id ipsum vitiosissime translatum sit, et plus ex Epiphanio restituit posit, quam ipsum mihi in Epiphanio convertendo profuit, ut mirum sit, Erasmum Roterodamum, acri aliquo iudicio in eiusmodi praeditum, putasse ipsum Irenaeum latine scripsisse. . . . [Cor-
narius discusses the problem of Augustine and the *Panarion* and *Anacephaleosis*, and he praises the value of Epiphanius’ refutation of heresy. He hopes that the work is worthy of the duke to whom it is dedicated and also of Saxony.] Nimirum praeter eos qui apud externos vivunt, esse tot insignes ducatus tui viros praesentes qui Celsitudini Tuau et usui et utilitati et ornamento esse possunt. E quorum numero unum quendam quasi insignem phoenicem, undiquaque doctissimum Philippum Melanchthonem proferre non dubitabo, quo et praeceptore et amico per multos iam annos usus sum. Hic opus hoc ita probavit, ut id primum in studiosorum gratiam a clarissimo viro D. Joanne Langio Erfordiensi impetravit. Deinde ad undiudum virum Joannem Opornum utraque lingua professorum clarum miserit, quo illius et Roberti Chimerini industria typographi opera graece ederetur. At hi ambo ut melius de latina lingua et de studiosis graecae non assequentibus mererentur, persuaserunt mihi, ut post Basilii conversionem a me factam, etiam hoc Epiphaniili opus aggressus sum, et intra nonum mensem in latinam linguam transtulerim. Atque hoc extra professionis medicae, in quaiam per viginti annos versor, rationem. Verum dum hoc ago, maiorem rationem pietatem habui et verae Christianae doctrinae, quae revera in utrisque his theologis graecis insigniter illustris existit, quam vel privati quaestus, vel Spartae meae exornandae mihi peculiariter propositae, praesertim cum magnos quosdam theologos hoc meum studium valde probare viderem, et Philippus Melanchthon cum superiore anno hic esset, de Vangionico colloquio revertens, etiam industriam hanc meam collaudaret, praesente una cum ipso, magnio illo et ad omnia magna praestanda nato, Celsitudini tuae procancellario Francisco Wimariense, cum aliis multis egregiae docitis viris, omnibus uno ore operam hanc meam approbatibus. . . . [Cornarius tells briefly of the life of Epiphanius.] Hunc itaque scriptorem, theologum pium, eruditum, et verae Pietatis studiosissimum, nunc quasi recens natum, et ex profundis tenebris in lucem productum, et per me latinum e graeco factum, et Celsitudini tuae peculiariter dicatum, suscipe Princpes illustrissime, legereque dignare tuerique ac defendere, et ex hoc studium ac officium meum erga Celsitudinem tuam agnosce. Dabitur fortassis alibi commodior mihi locus eximias tuas heroicas virtutes recensendi. [Expl.:] Hic cum pientissimum theologum pientissimo Principi inscribendum ac mittendum putarim, satis sit hoc studiosis indicasse, quem Celsitudini tuae praeferrerem, me reperire potuisse neminem. Opt. ac diu valeat Celsitudo tua magnum et studiorum bonorum et pietatis praesidium. Francofordae ad Moenenum. Calen. Novemb. Anno Christi MDXLII.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, Book I, Praefatio, 1–1.21.5. The fragment extends from page 82 to page 125 in the 1542 edition, and at the beginning there is a marginal note: Irenaeorum locus transscriptus; it corresponds to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 31.9 through 36.3. [Inc.:] (Praef. I.1) Quidam emissi ad veritatem, introducunt sermones falsos et genealogias vanas, quae sane quaestiones magis exhibunt, velut Apostolus dictit, *quam aedificationem Dei in fide* [I Tim 1:4]. . . . [Expl.:] (I.21.4) Spiritualem igitur oportet etiam redemptionem esse, redimi enim per cognitionem internum hominem spiritualem et contentos ipsos universorum cognitione, atque hanc esse redemptionem veram. Hactenus Irenaeus. (Cornarius continues with a translation of Epiphanius’ comments on AH I.21.5 = Holl II 37, 22f.) . . . / . . . [Expl.:] (I.21.5). Haec ubi audierint qui sunt circa opinicem, ipsos valde turbari et reprehendere radicem suam et genus matris. Hunc vero abire in propria, abiecto vinculo suo, et angelo, hoc est anima. Putant enim post corpus et animam esse et aliud quid in homine. [The preceding sentence is not found in Holl’s Greek text of Epiphanius or in the anonymous Latin translation.] Et de redemptione quidem haec sunt quae ad nos deveniunt.

**Bibliography:**


**Editions:**

1542, Basileae (Basel): per Robertum Vui temperum. The *Panarion* and other works of Epiphanius, translated by Janus Cornarius. NUC. CṭY-M.

(*) 1543, Basileae (Basel): per Robertum Winterum. Contents as in the edition of 1542. Adams E-249; NUC. BL; Cambridge, University Library; (DDO; IU).

(∗) 1545, Basileae (Basel): per Robertum Winterum. Contents as in the edition of 1542, Basel. Adams E-253; NUC. Cambridge, Trinity College; (CSmH; MH; NcD).
(∗) 1560, Basileae (Basel): per Ioannes [sic] Oporinum et Heraugium. Adams E-254; NUC. Cambridge, Trinity College; (DDO).
(∗) 1566, Parisiis: apud Hieronymum de Marnef et Gulielmum Cavellat. Contents as in the edition of 1542, Basel, with works of Theodetus. Adams E-255. BL; BN; Cambridge, Jesus College.
(∗) 1578, Basileae (Basel): ex officina Hervagiana, per Eusebium Episcopium. Contents as in the edition of 1542, Basel. Adams E-256; NUC. BL; Cambridge, Trinity College; (IU; MB; PU).
(∗) 1612, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): sumptibus S. Crampois. Contents as in the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliar, with additional works. BN.

Biography:
See CTC II, 118; IV, 176.

3. Nicolaus Gallusius (Book I, partial)
Nicolaus Gallusius published an edition of Irenaeus, Adversus haereses, in 1569, and for the first time he included, in addition to the anonymous translation, the main Greek fragment preserved by Epiphanius as well as his own new Latin translation of it. He included in the edition an explanation of the Greek terms in Irenaeus as well as annotations of his own (see p. 51 below).

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1569). Reverendo Patri pioque et eximio Christi servo D. Edmundo Grindallo episcopo Londinensi Nicolaus Gallusius, S. D. [Inc.]: Mitto ad te, vir amplissime, fructum aliquem laboris nostri, cuius hoc tempore edendi occasione ac simul quae me nunc tempestas Genevam expulerit, pauca accepi. . . . Gallusius tells of his plan to go to England, his escape from the papists at Orleans, and his return to Geneva, where Beza encouraged him to undertake the work.] Visum est igitur ab eo qui inter Latinos antiquissimis censetur initium facere. Ab Irenaeo scilicet, cuius scripta ut obscura, ita plerisque in locis corrupta et depravata fuerunt. Quamvis autem ipsum inter Latinos numerandum non putem (nam phrasis plane graeca est), tamen quia nondum naturali suo habitu et ornatu indutus apparuit, eum quem haec autem inter Latinos obtinuit locum illi relinququo. Testantur nonnulli piet et docti viri se graecum legisse in Venetiana bibliotheca, ubi cum ab ilium postea quaereretur, locus vacuus est repertus. Alii etiam in Vaticanum visum ferunt. Qui talia monumenta ecclesiae adimit, aut invident, digni sunt qui perpetuo horrendis Invidiae furis et dire conscientiae vulnere cruciendum. Graece vero scripsisse Irenaeum testantur multae paginae quas apud Epiphanioum transscriptas reperimus. Eas autem inserimus huic libro atque obiecinus versioni ut pius lector facile de hac re judicaret. Quod siquis excipiat potuisse Irenaeum utraque lingua scribere, atque in latinum vertere, quod prius graece edidisset, quamvis mihi verissimile non sit, ego tamen non magnopere laboro, nec sane contendendum puto. Mihi satis est graecum esse, ac scripsisse graecce. . . . Gallusius notes that the best judge, Jerome, always classes him with the Greeks. The work is difficult, but Gallusius has added summaries before each chapter and noted the Scripture references. He has also followed the old “sections” in Books I–IV, and he has inserted chapters in Book V. He notes the value of the Adversus haereses for the sixteenth century, and he praises Grindallus as a contemporary Irenaeus. Theodore Beza sends his greetings to Grindallus.] [Expl.]: Dominus Jesu tibi perpetuo faveat, diu te incolenum servet tuaeque laboribus et curis benedicat. Genevae pridie Cal. Februarioi. MDLXIX.

Prefatio ad lectorem de instituto huius operis et de utilitate colligenda ex lectione veterum doctorum. [Inc.]: Utinam studio et diligentiae,
quaque conquirendis Irenaei monumentis adhibi
mus, eventus ipse respondeat. Integrum enim ipsum, pie lector, non mutulum, suave toturn non aliqua lingua scriptum haberes.../. . . [Expl.]: ut unius judicis arbitrio stemon illiusque solius cui stamus aut cadimus censura, quidquid abullo perperam aut dictum aut scriptum fuerit, emendetur.

There follows a Vocabulorum graeorum, quae passim apud Irenaeum occurrunt, explanatio, and a De vita et scriptis D. Irenaei ex Eusebio et Hieronymo.

The main fragment from the Panarion of Epiphanius (see p. 43 above). It is entitled Nova interpretatio N. Gallasi. [Inc.]: (Praef. I.1) Nonnulli in veritate praeter ius et fas emissi introducunt fabulas et genealogias vanae, quae potius quae stiones praebent (ut ait Apostolus) quam aedificationem Dei quae est in fide (1 Tim. 1:4) [Expl. of section covered by Epiphanius fragment]; (I.21.4) Notione enim redimii hominem spiritualem et contentos esse ipsos agitione universorum, ac veram esse hanc redemptionem. Hactenus Irenaeus. (See p. 45 above.)

Editions:
1569 and 1570. See above, under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
Nicolaus Gallasius (also known as Des Gallars, Des Gallards, Salicæus, and Salicetus) was born about 1520. He was a nobleman from Saules, near Paris, and a minister of the Reformed Church. Early in his life he went to Geneva, where he became a pupil of John Calvin, and in 1551 he obtained citizenship there, having exercised the functions of minister in Geneva since 1543 or 1544. In 1553 he was called to replace Bourgoin at Jussy at the gates of Paris. In 1557 he was offered a position as a replacement for Francois de Morel, who because of his zeal had been forced to flee from France to Switzerland. But Gallasius also had to flee Paris because of persecution and return to Geneva. In 1560 he was sent, on the recommendation of Calvin, to establish a church in London to serve the French refugees in that city, a project which was then possible because Elizabeth had succeeded Mary Tudor on the throne. While in London Gallasius was involved in a dispute with Pierre Alexandre of Arles. Gallasius was chosen as a delegate to the Colloquy of Poissy (Disputation Pussicena) of 1561, which involved the French bishops under Cardinal F. de Tournon and the Protestant ministers under Theodore Beza. Catherine de'Medici summoned this colloquy, which resulted in an edict of January 1562 giving official recognition, as well as some measure of freedom, to French Protestants. After a short stay in England, Gallasius was forced to return to France because of the unfavorable weather. In 1564 he became a minister at Orléans. In 1565 he presided at the Fifth National Synod at Paris. He assisted in the synod at La Rochelle in 1570 and was one of the theologians who defended the Reformers. He became a professor at the academy at Lescar in 1579 and died in 1580.

Works: Defensio pro Farello et collegis eis adv. Petri Caroli theolosastri calumnias (Geneva, 1545); a series of Latin translations of the works of Calvin: Traité de la Cène (Geneva, 1545); Calvin’s Inventaire des reliques (Geneva, 1548); Calvin’s Traité contre les Anabaptistes et les Libertins (Geneva, 1549); Responsio pro J. Calvino ad ineptias et convitio J. Cochlaei (Geneva, 1549); Forma politiae ecclesiasticae nuper instituta Londini in coetu Gallorum (London, 1561); De divina Christi filii Dei essentia (Orléans, 1565); (ed.) D. Irenaei Opera cum annotationibus (Paris, 1569; [Paris? Geneva?] 1570).

Bibliography: A. Cioranescu, Seizième siècle, 239, 7569–78; Dictionnaire de biographie française, X, 1353–54 (R. Limousin-Lamothe); L. Doutreleau, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, VII, 1936; M. M. Haag (1854), La France protestante, IV, 244–46; B. Hemmerdinga, Sources chrétiennes, 100, pp. 37–38.

4. Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus

(Book I, partial)

Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus published a new edition of the Adversus haereses in 1571. For most of the text he relied on Erasmus, but like Gallasius, he also took account of the Greek fragment preserved by Epiphanius, following the translation made by Cornarius.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1571). In D. Irenaei libros. Ad magnificum virum, sapientia, virtute et auctoritate praestantissimum, Dn. Bernharden Brandum, Inclytæ Basiliensis Reipub. Tri-

Irenaeus, Adversus haereses (ed. of Paris, 1571). [Inc.]: As in the translation of Cornarius of 1542; see p. 45 above. . . . [Expl.]: (I.21.4) Spiritualem igitur oportet etiam redemptionem esse: redimi enim per cognitionem interum hominem spiritualem, et contentos ipsos esse universorum cognitione, atque hanc esse redemptionem veram. [Grynaeus then continues with the Anonymus = Erasmus translation.] (I.21.5) Alii sunt qui mortuos redivunt ad finem defunctionis, mittentes eorum capitibus oleum et aquam. . . . Haec autem eos qui circa Demiurgum sunt audientes valde conturbari et reprehendere suam radicem et genus matris, ipsos autem abeuntes in sua proiectentes nodos ipsorum, id est animam. Et de redemptione quidem ipsorum, haec sunt quae quidem in nos venerunt . . .

[Expl.]: (V.31.2) As in the edition of Erasmus; see p. 36 above.

Edition:
1571. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus was born October 1, 1540, in Berne, the third son of Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541). He studied at the University of Basel, becoming a vicar in 1559. In 1565 he succeeded his father as pastor and church superintendent at Rotteln, near Basel. In 1563/64 he received a doctorate at Tübingen. Originally he was a student and adherent of Lutheran sympathizers, Simon Sulzer and Jakob Andréa, ardent champions of the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity in connection with the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. In 1575 he declined an invitation to become a professor at Basel and instead made a study of the Lutheran interpretation of the Lord’s Supper and the Formula of Concord. In 1584–86, he accepted the invitation of Johann Kasimir to teach at the University of Heidelberg. He assisted substantially in strengthening the Reformation witness in the Pfalz. In 1586 he became the successor to Sulzer in Basel as “antistes” and as professor of the New Testament. As “antistes” he was pastor at the cathedral, as well as both president of the city clergy and archdeacon for the territory of Basel. He eventually moved away from the Lutherans and together with his son-in-law Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf, professor of the Old Testament at Basel, he guided the church at Basel in a Calvinist direction. In line with this position he opposed the Formula of Concord and the Lutheran interpretation of the Lord’s Supper. He edited the First Confession of Basel of 1534, which had been set by Sulzer, to which he added a comprehensive church order and an order for divine worship in 1590. He was, in sum, an important contributor to Reformation thought for Swiss Protestantism. Grynaeus died on August 30, 1617, at Basel.

Works: Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodo-grapha (Basel, 1569); (ed.) Irenaei Opus . . . in quinque libros digestum (Basel, 1571); (ed.) Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae historicae libri XV (Basel, 1578); (tr.) Eusebii Pamphi . . . Ecclesiastica historia (Basel, 1587).

5. Jacobus Billius

The new translation by Jacobus Billius of the Epiphanius fragment of Book I first appeared in the Feu-Ardentius edition of 1575 (for the date and circumstances of this edition, see p. 37 above). The Billius translation was accompanied by a commentary (see p. 51 below) and appears to have been made not much earlier than 1575. There is no preface to either translation or commentary.

To the Reader (ed. of Paris, 1575). Jacobus Billius abbas S. Michaelis in Eremo lectori S. Etsi veteres græcorum theolgorum interpretès magna ex parte, dum verbum verbo rededere student, non satis elegantuer quod volunt exprimunt, immo etiam plerumque graecæ non assequuntur, tamen eos vel hoc uno nomine non prorsus repudiandos et asperrandos esse semper judicauit, quod innumerabiles maculas, quæ typographorum negligentia optimos quoque auctores occuparunt, consultis illis promptissime deleri posse persaepe sum expertus. Qua quidem in sententia, si quæ quaequis suisset, qui octodecim haec prima D. Irenæi capita [= AH 1.1–21] non ita pridem latinitate donaut, non tam turbiter et flagitiose tot locis lapsus suisset, idque potius studiissut ut ex emendatis latinis deprauata graeca quam ex corruptis graecis emendata latina corrigeret. Quod quoniam facere neglexit, ego amico cuidam ut me denuo verterem a me postulanti hanc qualem cuncte operam denegare non potui. Breuissima etiam scholia adieci, ex quibus proclue, nisi fallor, erit intelligere me non temere multa paulo alterate apud Epiphanium habentur interpretari. Vale Christiane lector, et his fruere.


Editions:

1575. 1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonöyous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:


Commentaries

a. The anonymous Liber de sectis haereticorum (excerpts)

Part I of the anonymous Liber de sectis haereticorum, an unedited work preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12264, fols. 158ra–263ra), contains numerous excerpts from Irenæus together with lengthy comments on most of these excerpts. AH I particularly attracted the attention of the compiler: there are twenty excerpts, and all but one are accompanied by a comment. Of the remaining excerpts, three are from AH II, with only one of these receiving a comment; the final excerpt is from AH III and is not followed by a comment.


Commentary. (Sieben 76) De Irenaeo: Irenaeus Lugdunensis episcopus scripsit quinque
libros, in quorum primo diversitates haereticorum et haeresium digerit et distinguish. In alius quatuor easdem haereses destruit et ecclesiastic dogmata annectit. De hoc Irenaeus Hieronymus in libro de viris illustribus scribit his verbis.

[Inc.]: Haec Hieronymus de Irenaeo. [Inc.]: De Simone mago et disciplis eius ex primo libro Irenaei (AH I.27.4–28.1). Explanatio praedictorum: Discipuli Simonis magi, qui in novo testamento primus haereticorum fuit, doctrinam magistri ex aliqua parte tenebant. Sed nomen magistri non profitebantur. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Sieben 83–84) Ostensio quod ex passionibus animi coniecturas opinionum suarum acceperunt ex secundo libro Irenaei: Non solum ex poeticis figuris et philosophicis commentarii characteres sectarum suarum figuraverunt. . . . De his motionibus animi Irenaeus in secundo libro sic ait (AH II.13.2–3). Explanatio praedictorum: Sex animi motiones sive affectiones bis distinguent et ordinat et his omnibus praepoent Nunc. . . . Verumtamen praedictum ordinem non observaverunt ponentes ennoiam ante Nunc, cum Nus naturaliter, ut dictum est, in humanis affectionibus ennoiam praecedat.

There follow excerpts from AH II.13.3 and AH I.8.2–5, both without commentary.

**Manuscript:**

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12264, fols. 159rb–168rb, s. XII (comments on Irenaeus excerpts edited by Sieben; see Bibliography below).

**Biography:**

Nothing is known at present about the anonymous author of the Liber de sectis haereticorum; Sieben speculates (pp. 74–75) that the appearance of various heresies in the twelfth century prompted the composition of this work.

**Bibliography:**


b. Desiderius Erasmus

Erasmus added to his edition of 1526 (see p. 35 above) two helps for the reader which might serve in lieu of commentary. First, he placed his own Argumenta at the beginnings of Books II through V, and, second, he added brief marginal explanations, primarily of transliterated Greek terms.

**Argumentum Erasmi Roterdami in secundum librum Irenaei (ed. of Basel, 1526).** [Inc.]: In primo libro recensuit et detexit Valentini et aliorum qui hunc secuti sunt opiniones, quae fere tales sunt ut in lucem protraxisset sit confutasse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Argumentum to Book V) Sed in huiusmodi multis veteres illi cum candore nonnunquam et cum venia legendi sunt, quod haec tum temporis nondum in quaestionem venerant, aut si venerant, nondum excusis scripturis ecclesiae super his suam sententiam clara voce pronuntiaret. Bene vale lector.

In the second edition of 1528 Erasmus added at the end of the Argumentum to Book V, before the final “Bene vale lector” some remarks which clarify and in part modify what he had said in the Dedication of 1526 (see p. 36 above) on the question whether Irenaeus was a Greek or a Latin author.


**The marginal annotations.** (ed. of Basel, 1526) [Inc.]: (Praef. I. 1) I Timot. 1. / ἐχοντες idest valentes. / πιθανως. / alias, mortem. / Alias, Quomodo. / Alias, omnibus. / φιλαξει idest cavere. / Ptolemaeus haeresim a Valentino
delinitatam auxit . . . [Expl.]: (V. 30.1) alias lesum. / Numeri divinatus. Hexacontasin [sic] et monasin, dativi casus sunt. Sensus autem est in 600 tot sunt decades quot monades in 60, et rursus in 60 tot decades quot monades in sex. / I decem, ξ sexaginta / τετάρα / Alias, tale.

Editions:
1526, 1528, 1534, 1545 (four issues), 1548, 1560, 1563, 1567. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
See CTC IV, 221–22.

c. Nicolaus Gallus
Nicolaus Gallus published his annotations with his 1569 edition of the text of Irenaeus; for the circumstances of the edition, see p. 46 above. The annotations frequently concern textual questions, but they also cover other material.


Edition:
1569, 1570. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
See p. 47 above.

d. Jacobus Billius
The scholia of Jacobus Billius on the Irenaeus fragment preserved by Epiphanius (see p. 33 above) were first printed, together with his translation of the fragment (see p. 49 above), in the Feu-Ardenius edition of 1575 (see p. 37 above). In his opening comment, Billius refers to Gallasius (see p. 46 above), and therefore the scholia must be later than 1569.


Editions:
1575, 1576. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.
1585, Parisiis (Paris): apud G. Chaudiere. Billius, Sacrarum observationum libri duo, with Isidorus Pelusio, Epistolarum . . . libri tres. Fabricius and Harles, BG V, 79 (who report that the comments are at AH I. 33 f. and II. 5); NUC. BL: BN; (Cty; MnU; NcD).
1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
See p. 49 above.

e. Franciscus Feu-Ardenius
Feu-Ardenius first published his commentary in his edition of 1575 (see p. 37 above) and then in a revised form in his edition of 1596 (see p. 41 above). These were the first extensive commentaries on all five books of the Adversus haereses to appear, and they had no successors in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The commentaries cover not only textual questions but also the larger theological issues.

1. Annotationes of 1575

Edition:
1575. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.
2. Annotationes of 1596
   Annotationes (ed. of Cologne, 1596). [Inc.]: D. Irenaei (title). Hanc vulgatam librorum D. Irenaei inscriptionem initio mihi suspexam red-
   diderat non solum vetus codex manuscriptus, qui paulo diversam habet, ut in margine signamus
   . . . . [Expl.]: (V. 36.3) Ad quae Deum opt.
   max. oro et obsecre, ut peractis omnibus, quae
   salutem aeternam unuique pro certo pariunt,
   omne genus hominum, vitae spatio naturaliter
   excursus, tandem perducatur, et mente divina
   semperiterne perfruatur. Fiat, fiat.

Editions:
1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation
before A.D. 1700.

f. Fronto Ducaeus
   The Notae of Fronto Ducaeus were first printed in
   the 1596 edition of Feu-Ardentius (see p. 41
   above). They refer to the translation of Jacobus
   Billius (see p. 49 above) and must therefore be
   later than that, but it has not proved possible to
date them precisely. The Notae extend through
the Epiphanius fragment of AH I.21.5.
   Notae de Adversariis Frontonis Ducaei (ed. of
   Cologne, 1596). [Inc.]: Quatenus veritatem (Præf.
   I. 1). Restitus est hic locus ex emendatione V. C.
   Iac. Billii, reiecta Gallasi interpretatione, qui vertit
   Nonnulli in veritatem praeter ius et fas emissi intro-
ducunt fabulas (see p. 47 above) . . . . Anima vero
eorum proiciatur (I.21.5) . . . . [Expl.]: sic
   apud Tertull. ex eisdem fabulis Valentin. cap. 32
   easque Demiurgo suo reddent. De his ipsis náevís
   plura Theodoretus lib. I haeret fab. ubi de Asco-
drytis haer.
   15.

Editions:
1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation
before A.D. 1700.

Biography:
See CTC V, 71–72.

II. DEMONSTRATIO APOSTOLICAЕ
   praedicationis

No Latin translations or commentaries before
A.D. 1600 have been located.
support those wavering in their faith. Irenaeus wrote a De apostolica praedicatione and a Liber variorum tractatum; Eusebius, Jerome, and Nicephorus mention these but cite no fragments. Against the heathen, Irenaeus wrote De scientia, also lost. When the Quartodeciman controversy revived, Irenaeus on behalf of the brethren in Gaul wrote letters to Pope Victor and to other church leaders.] [Expl.]: Epistolae ad Victorem non asperandum fragmentum subicimus; de alius altum silentium. Edidit denique Librum de Pascha, cuius ante Hieronymum ac Eusebium meminit simulque particulam quandam assignat auctor Quaestitionum et responsionum ad Orthodoxos apud Iust. Martyrem. Illam quoque adiciemus, gravissima animo quod plura proferre in communem studiosorum utilitatem ex tam sancto vestusto erudito Patre non possimus. Cum itaque nihil ex Epistola seu Commentario ad Blastum schismaticum simul et haereticum, praeter titulum, relictum sit, fragmentum quod ex Libro de Ogdoadre extremo Eusebium vere elegantissimum esse censet, Historiae suae lib. 5, cap. 19, inserti, subicimur. Ait ergo ad illius libri lectorem et exscriptorem Irenaeus.

a. Irenaei Obestatio ad exscriptorem
(Eusebii, Historia ecclesiastica V.19)
interprete Ioanne Christophorsono.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Ex tam gravi sanctoque Martyris exercizmo seu obtestatione Eusebium observat veteres illos et vere pios viros... /... Quod si tam nefaria in expressum Dei verbum admittunt, quomodo abstinebunt a sanctorum Patrum scriptis, quos tam diserte constanterque suis erroribus repugnare haudquaquam ignorare possunt? Sed de his alibi. Nunc ad sancti Irenaei fragmenta redeamus.

b. Epistola ad Floridum (Eusebii, Historia ecclesiastica V.19), interprete Ioanne Christophorsono.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Ista dogmata [opening words of fragment]. Ex his observat Eusebium Irenaeum cum beato et apostolico viro Polycarpo magna familiaritate coniunctum fuisset, quod illi non solum honoris fuit... /... [Expl.]: Vide-rint nunc plurimi ecclesiariun praeules, qui in Galliis illos in pretio, in famulito, in consilio, in mensa, in intima familiaritate retinent, quomodo beatissimorum episcoporum Polycarpi, Ignatii, Irenaei relicta sibi exempla flocci pendant.

c. Fragments of uncertain origin.
Feu-Ardentius writes: “Quoniam vero ex libro Irenaei nostri adversus Marcionem, libro quoque ad Marcianum fratrem, aliquo variorum tractatu, libro denique adversus gentiles, De scientia nuncupato, nulla pro certo fragmenta reperio, subiecta quaedam partim a Demetrio Diacopo Vienensi, mihi a D. N. Fabro, insignis pietatis et eruditusius viro, liberaliter concessa, partim a Damasceno in Parallelis suis inserta et collecta, quae ad supra nominatos libros forsitan pertineat, subnecat.”

1. (Demetrius Diacopus a Vienna, Sermo de igne), interprete N. Fabro.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Demetrii Diacopi. Quis fuerit et quando vixerit iste Diacopus necdum plane novi; fragmentum enim nudum mihi concessum fuit... /... [Expl.]: ut Simonis Magi idem negantis, et Florini, peccatorum causam Deo, non libero hominum arbitrio tribuentis, impietates refelleret.

2. (Johannes Damascenus, Parallel., Liber III), interprete Jacobo Billo.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Benedictenses. Ecquid ab hoc apostolico viro profidet, quam quod Apostolorum pectus pietatemque spiraret?... /... [Expl.]: Bono animo esse oportet, viri Iudaie, quia tum adest divinum, cum humanum deest auxilium. Lib. de legatione ad Caesiam, et apud Euseb. lib. 2 Hist.

d. Epistola ad Victorem papam (Eusebii, lib. 5 Hist. cap. 24), interprete Ioanne Christophorsono.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Non enim. Festum Paschatis ab omnibus Christianis celebrandum ac multa cum pietate observandum esse nullus (quod sciam) adhuc negavit... /... [Expl.]: Haec cuius fides non potest sentire defectum, et a cuius fidei doctrina quisquis discordat, vere dictur ut et reipsa est haereticus etc. Vide notas in cap. 3 libri tertii.

e. Liber de Pascha (ps. Justinus Martyr,
Responsiones ad quaeestiones orthodoxorum, q. 115), interprete Ioachimo Perionio.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Non flectere autem genu. Huius quoque ritus paulo post Irenaeum et Iustinum, ita Tertullianus meminit... /... [Expl.]: capite nudo, quia non erubesceus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus etc.

Feu-Ardentius adds a concluding observation: Notat demum Eusebii lib. 5 hist. cap. 25 Ire-
naeum in libro de variarum rerum disquisitione, tum Epistolae ad Hebraeos, tum libri Sapientiae Salomonis mentionem facere certaque testimonialia ex eisdem deprompta citare; quae ad illorum librorum confirmandam contra novatores auctoritatem non parum faciunt.  

Editions:
1596, 1625, 1639, 1675, 1697. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.