

IRENAEUS LUGDUNENSIS

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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 chrétiennes 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 hérésies I, II*, etc. is used when reference is made to the introduction; *Adversus haereses* (or *AH*) designates the Latin text itself.

2. G. Aulen, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*, tr. A. G. Hebert (London, 1943), 32–33; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, I (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1962), 287.

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.⁸

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.⁹ 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).¹⁰

A second work of Irenaeus, the *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis*, is extant only in an Armenian translation (discovered in 1904 by the Archimandrite Karapet Ter-Mekertschian 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.¹¹ 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

Demonstratio is later than the *Adversus haereses*.¹² However, the resemblance of the *Demonstratio* to Books IV and V of the *Adversus haereses* suggests that both were prepared at virtually the same time.¹³

Other works of Irenaeus are known only through fragments or by title: *De disciplina*,¹⁴ *In Marcionem*,¹⁵ *Epistula ad Florinum de monarchia*,¹⁶ *De ogdoade*,¹⁷ *Epistula ad Blastum de schismate*,¹⁸ *Epistula ad Victorem de die Paschae*,¹⁹ *De Pascha*,²⁰ *Epistula ad Victorem*

12. J. R. Smith, tr., *St. Irenaeus: Proof of the Apostolic Preaching* (Westminster, Md., 1952), 108.

13. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 409.

14. Eusebius, *HE* V.26 (tr. Rufinus: “Extat autem . . . aliud volumen egregium adversum gentes, quod De disciplina aditulavit”). Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 35 understands two separate works: “Contra gentes volumen breve, et De disciplina aliud.”

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.

17. According to Eusebius, *HE* V.20.1–2 (quoting the conclusion of the *De ogdoade*), this work treated the errors of the Valentinians; see R. M. Grant, “Fragments of the Greek Apologists and Irenaeus,” *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thornton (Freiburg i. Br., 1963), 179–218, esp. 205.

18. Eusebius, *HE* V.20.1, records Blastus as the addressee of *De schismate*. There is some difference of opinion about the contents of this work. According to Theodoretus Cyrrensis, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* I.23, Blastus was attracted to the Valentinians, but it has been suggested more recently that Blastus was involved in the Quartodeciman controversy (Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 414).

19. The Quartodeciman dispute was the subject of correspondence between Irenaeus and Pope Victor I. On this exchange of letters see Eusebius, *HE* V.24.11–18; G. LaPiana, “The Roman Church at the End of the 2nd Century,” *Harvard Theological Review*, XVIII (1925), 201–27 (esp. 214f.); P. Nautin, “La lettre d’Irénee à Victor de Rome,” in his *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des II^e et III^e siècles* (Paris, 1961), 74–85; H. F. von Campenhausen, “Ostertermin oder Osterfachten? Zum Verständnis des Irenaeusbriefes an Victor, Eusebius 5,24,12–17,” *Vigiliae christianae*, XXVIII (1974), 114–38; M. Richard, “La lettre de saint Irénée au Pape Victor,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, LVI (1965), 260–82 (= M. Richard, *Opera minora*, I [Turnhout, 1975], no. 9).

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,

8. *Ibid.*, V.23.3; V.24.11–18.

9. *AH* I, preface.

10. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* I, 2d rev. ed. (Freiburg i. Br., 1913), 405–6.

11. Eusebius, *HE* V.26.

(*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 spurious²⁶ (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

1857], 456, no. 27). The *De Pascha*, addressed to an Alexandrian, advocated the celebration of the Feast of the Resurrection on the first day of the week.

21. Quasten, *Patrology*, 293, cites a second *Epistula ad Victorem* (an appeal to Victor to act against Florinus), which is extant only in a Syriac fragment; see Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses*, II, 457, no. 28 (Syriac) and Grant, "Fragments of the Greek Apologists."

22. Two fragments of this letter to the churches of Vienne and Lyons have been attributed to Irenaeus; see Ch. Martin, "Saint Irénée et son correspondant, le diacre Démètre de Vienne," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXVIII (1942), 143–52, and R. M. Grant, "Eusebius, *HE* VIII: Another Suggestion," *Vigiliae christianae*, XXII (1968), 16–18.

23. For the fragments of a gospel commentary from the early third century, originally believed to have been written by Irenaeus, see H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London, 1935), 43, 45–49.

24. Eusebius, *HE* V.26. A work entitled *De fide* has also been attributed to Irenaeus on the basis of an alleged quotation cited by Maximus the Confessor, *Opuscula theologica et polemica* (PG XCI, 276B–C); see Martin, "Saint Irénée et son correspondant," 150–51. However, Grant, "Fragments of the Greek Apologists," 207, does not recognize the authenticity of this quotation.

25. Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses*, II, 487, nos. 16–17 (Hippolytus) and 510, no. 46 (Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* VI.7).

26. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d rev. ed. (London, 1988), 1077.

27. Aulen, *Christus Victor*, 32, 33; Quasten, *Patrology*, 287; E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enlarged by R. M. Grant (Chicago, 1966), 119–23; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th rev. ed. (New York, 1978), 35–41, 104–108, 147–49; G. W. H. Lampe, "Christian Theology in the Patristic Period," in *A History of Christian Doctrine*, ed. H. Cunliffe-Jones (Philadelphia, 1978), 42–50.

28. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (= *Philosophumena*), 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 chrétiennes series contain the portions of the Greek *AH* preserved by Theodoretus and Eusebius.

29. Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 54; Origen, *Contra Celsum* V.61.

30. For parallels to theological themes in Irenaeus see Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium* III.4–11; Athanasius, *De incarnatione* (which deals with the unity of God and man in Christ); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 16; Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto* 29 (quoting *AH* V.8.2 and V.9.3). See also F. R. W. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching* (Cambridge, 1914), 46; L. Doutreleau and L. Regnault, "S. Irénée de Lyon," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VII, 1923–69; G. Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus* (Edinburgh, 1959), 165; A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)* 2d rev. ed. (New York, 1975).

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

manuscript, see p. 19 below). The Nag Hammadi library, discovered in Upper Egypt in 1946, contains ancient Coptic texts which apparently originated in Egyptian monasticism and which offer many parallels to information found in Irenaeus;³⁶ this may indicate that Irenaeus was widely read in that region during the fourth and fifth centuries.

LATIN PATRISTIC

Some time between the late second and the late fourth centuries the *Adversus haereses* was translated into Latin. Neither the identity of the translator nor the date and locale of the translation are known. We do know, however, that Tertullian of Carthage (d. post 212?), while writing in Latin, read Irenaeus and used his ideas especially when opposing heresy; it is virtually certain that Tertullian had access to the Greek text of the *Adversus haereses*, and he seems to have used it.³⁷ Whether Tertullian had access to the Greek text or the Latin version is uncertain.

In the third century Irenaeus' concern regarding church unity was shared by Cyprian, another Carthaginian, who advanced an organic view of the church, with the bishop at the center of the structure. Thus the unity of the church would be maintained by the bishops who oppose teachers of false and heretical views (a concept proposed in *Adversus haereses* III.3).³⁸ Both Irenaeus and Cyprian stressed the authority, inherited from Peter the Apostle, of the bishop of Rome.

Jerome (d. ca. 419–420) wrote an account of

31. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 121.

32. Quotations in Armenian from Timotheus "Aelurus" defend the Monophysite position by quoting the summary of the faith of the church from *AH* I.10.1–2; see K. Ter-Mekertschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Aelurus' des Patriarchen von Alexandrien Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre* (Leipzig, 1908).

33. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 405 (beginning of the third century) contains a fragment of *AH* III; see M. Richard and B. Hemmerdinger, "Trois nouveaux fragments grecs de l'*Adversus haereses* de saint Irénée," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, LIII (1962), 252–55. The Jena Papyrus (Jena, Universität, Sektion Altertumswissenschaften, Papyrus-Sammlung P.Ien.Iren: damaged, third or fourth century) was discovered at Apollinopolis Magna near Thebes in Upper Egypt and now preserves *AH* V.3.3–13.3; when complete it may have contained the first fourteen chapters of Book V (the section dealing with the resurrection). For the Jena fragment see H. Lietzmann, "Der Jenaer Irenaeus-Papyrus," *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Klasse (Berlin, 1912), 291–320, and two plates (= *Kleine Schriften*, I, ed. K. Aland [Texte und Untersuchungen 67; Berlin, 1958], 370–409, and pls. 10, 11); F. Uebel, "Der Jenaer Irenaeuspapyrus. Ergebnisse einer Rekonstruktion und Neuausgabe des Textes," *Eirene: Studia graeca et latina*, III (1964), 51–109; *Contre les hérésies* V, 119–57 ("Le papyrus d'Iéna. Edition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine par A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau et Ch. Mercier").

34. K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (New York, 1983), 369.

35. A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Evagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs*

et chez les Syriens, Patristica sorbonensia 5 (Paris, 1962), 37–39.

36. J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library* (New York, 1977), 13–21.

37. See Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos* V ("Irenaeus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator"), IX (for *AH* I.2.2), X (for *AH* I.2.3–4), XX (for *AH* I.5.2), XXXVII (for *AH* I.11.3); these are listed by A. d'Alès, "La date de la version latine de saint Irénée," *Recherches de science religieuse*, VI (1916), 134–35. For Tertullian's use of the Greek text of the *Adversus haereses*, see J.-C. Fredouille, ed., *Tertullien, Contre les Valentiniens*, Sources chrétiennes 281 (Paris, 1981), 363–69.

38. The positions taken by Irenaeus in the early chapters of *AH* III are echoed by Cyprian, *De unitate* IV (this chapter was rewritten by Cyprian, and both versions are extant); see J. Cunningham, *Irenaeus: Adversus haereses, I. A New Edition of the Latin Text* (Princeton, 1967) and M. Bévenot, ed., *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, Corpus Christianorum, Series latina 3 (Turnhout, 1972), 244–45.

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.³⁹ Jerome also cited the *Adversus haereses* for its polemic against the Valentinians and the Basilideans.⁴⁰ Although he knew that Irenaeus was an advocate of millenarianism (see *Adversus haereses* IV.18–21 and V.32.1),⁴¹ 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.⁴²

A clear reference to Irenaeus appears in Augustine (d. 430) who quoted from the Latin *Adversus haereses* in his *Contra Julianum* of 422.⁴³ 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).⁴⁴ Augustine, like Ori-

gen 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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").⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ Jesus Christ was to be understood as

39. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 43.

40. Jerome, *Ad Helvidium* XVII and *De viris illustribus* XXI. P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, tr. H. E. Wedeck (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 98, suggests that Jerome may have gathered his information on heresy from Epiphanius rather than from Irenaeus directly. M. L. Arduini, "Alla ricerca di un Ireneo medievale," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., XXI (1980), 277–78 nn. 60–62, 67, calls attention to Jerome's information regarding Irenaeus: "Irenaeus, Pothini episcopi, qui Lugdunensem in Gallia regebat Ecclesiam, presbyter" (*Liber de viris illustribus* XXXV); "A martyribus eiusdem loci, ob quasdam Ecclesiae quaestiones legatus Romam missus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherum episcopum perfert litteras" (*ibid.*); "Postea jam Pothino prope nonagenario: ob Christum martyrium [sic] coronato, in locum eius substituitur" (*ibid.*); "Scripsit quinque adversus haereses libros et contra gentes volumen breve et de disciplina aliud, et ad Martianum fratrem de apostolica praedicatione et librum variorum tractatum, et ad Blastum de schismate, et ad Florinum de monarchia" (*ibid.*); "Irenaeus, vir apostolicorum temporum" (*Epist.* LXXV.3).

41. See M. O'Rourke Boyle, "Irenaeus' Millennial Hope: A Polemical Weapon," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XXXVI (1969), 5–16.

42. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 96.

43. Irenaeus' treatment of original sin (*AH* IV.2.7 and V.19.1) is quoted in *Contra Julianum* I.3.5 and repeated in I.7.32; see A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* I, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1958), 273, and Arduini, "Ireneo medievale," 278–79.

44. B. Altaner, "Augustinus und Irenäus, eine quellenkritische Untersuchung," *Theologische Quartalschrift*,

CXXIX (1949), 162–72 (= *Kleine patristische Schriften* [Berlin, 1967], 193–203).

45. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 348.

46. Hilary of Arles, *Sermo de vita s. Honorati* (PL L, 1249–72); see also Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 348 n. 1.

47. See Gennadius, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus liber* II (PL LVIII, 981 B). (Gennadius' *Adversus omnes haereses* has not survived, but it is probable that the final section is preserved in his *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus liber*).

48. Leo, *Epistulae* LIX.3; see R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London, 1953), 235–36.

49. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, 33d ed. (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1965), no. 293 (see Leo, *Epistulae* XXVIII.3): "Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas. . . . In integra ergo veri hominis perfecta 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 Sinaita (d. ca. 700), abbot of the Monastery of St. Catherine, also drew on Irenaeus in presenting his case against the Monophysites.⁵⁰ Yet another example of interest in Irenaeus is an anonymous anti-Origenist 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.⁵¹

Chalcedon, 198 n. 3, for a comparison of Leo, *Epistulae* XXXV.3, and Irenaeus, *AH* III.17.4.

50. The *Seal of the Faith* contains four passages from *AH* I.27; see J. Lebon, “Les citations patristiques grecques du ‘Sceau de la foi,’” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, XXV (1929), 5–32, and H. Jordan, *Armenische Irenaeusfragmente*, Texte und Untersuchungen 36 (Leipzig, 1913), 8–22. Anastasius Sinaita, *Quaestiones* 74 cites *AH* V.36.1–2; see M. Richard, “Florilèges spirituels grecs,” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, V, 499–502.

51. The sixth-century date is that of M. Richard, “Nouveaux fragments de Théophile d’Alexandrie,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, philol.-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 capitulos inéditos del original griego de Ireneo de Lyon (*Adversus haereses* II, 50–51) en el código Vatopedi 236,” *Emerita*, XLI (1973), 483, however, states that the florile-

Irenaeus was also read in the Mar Saba monastery near Jerusalem. There Antiochus Monachus (d. post 619) made a voluminous collection of moral sayings gathered from scripture and the Fathers, including Irenaeus.⁵² This handbook of the spiritual life was to serve the monks as a substitute for a library. An even more important compilation of scriptural and patristic texts is the *Sacra parallela* of Johannes Damascenus (d. ca. 749), another helpful source for the reconstruction of the Greek text of the *Adversus haereses*.⁵³

Photius (ca. 810–895), patriarch of Constantinople, refers in his *Bibliotheca* 120 to a copy of the *Adversus haereses* and explains that he had read the work during his ambassadorship at Baghdad (855–856). This copy of the *Adversus haereses* appears to have been destroyed in 1258 during the sack of Baghdad by the Tartars under Hulagu.⁵⁴ Photius knew too, perhaps through his reading of Eusebius, of the correspondence of Irenaeus and Pope Victor I on various matters, including the Quartodeciman dispute.⁵⁵

An additional indication of the circulation of the Greek text of both the *Adversus haereses* and the *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis* is the appearance of an Armenian translation of these works in the sixth century, the so-called Hellenistic period of the Armenian Church.⁵⁶ For the *Adversus haereses* there survives the Armenian version of Books IV and V only, but

gium was composed by Bishop Theodore Abu Qurra, bishop of Haran, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.

52. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 449; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), 146.

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 vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela*, Texte und Untersuchungen 20 (Berlin, 1899), xxxv, and M. Richard, “Quelques nouveaux fragments des Pères antenicéens et nicéens,” *Symbolae osloenses*, XXXVIII (1963), 76–78 (= Richard, *Opera minora* I, no. 5).

54. B. Hemmerdinger, “Les ‘Notices et extraits’ des bibliothèques grecques de Bagdad par Photius,” *Revue des études grecques*, LXXXIX (1956), 101–3.

55. Bardenheuer, *Geschichte*, 418; *Contre les hérésies* IV, 15.

56. Smith, tr., *St. Irenaeus*, 10; L. M. Froidevaux, ed., *Irénee de Lyon, Démonstration de la prédication apostolique* (below, Bibliography I), 19.

it is useful nonetheless in reconstructing the original Greek text.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),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 Romanos I Lacapene, eastern Roman emperor; and a letter of Gregory Toutedi, of the monastery at Haghbat, to the Catholicos Gregory IV Tghaj (1173–93).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.⁶⁰

LATIN MIDDLE AGES

Reports of Irenaeus' martyrdom begin early in the Middle Ages, seemingly with Gregory of

Tours.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 Aethorius, 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.”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 apostolicae praedicationis* and *Adversus haereses*.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 judaicis superstitionibus*. The source of the first citation may be Eusebius rather than Irenaeus himself, while the latter may derive possibly from another translation altogether.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).⁶⁵ The most learned and farsighted theologian of the ninth century was Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie ca. 844, who knew the rarely quoted

57. L. Froidevaux, “Une difficulté du texte de s. Irénée (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 14),” *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 3d ser., VIII (1931–32), 441–43; G. Bayan and L. Froidevaux, “La traduction arménienne de l'‘*Adversus haereses*’ de saint Irénée,” *ibid.*, IX (1933–34), 315–77 and X (1935–36), 47–169, 285–340; L. M. Froidevaux, “Sur trois passages de la Démonstration de saint Irénée,” *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXXIX (1951), 368–80; R. P. Casey, review of J. P. Smith, trans., “St. Irenaeus: Proof of the Apostolic Preaching,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., V (1954), 263–66; G. M. Lee, “Note on Irenaeus [Contribution of Armenian to the Establishing the Text of Greek for *Adversus haereses* IV.34.6, Harvey II.217],” *Vigiliae christianae*, XXV (1971), 29–30; Ch. Renoux, *Irénée de Lyon. Nouveaux fragments arméniens de l'Adversus haereses et de l'Epideixis*, *Patrologia orientalis* 39.1, no. 178 (Turnhout, 1978); B. Reynders, *Vocabulaire de la “Démonstration” et des fragments de saint Irénée* (Chevetogne, 1958).

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

59. *Contre les hérésies II*, 102f.; Jordan, *Armenische Irenaeusfragmente*, 40–55, 56–108, 108–60, 160–63, 208.

60. Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses*, II, 431–61. On Severus Antiochenus see W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (London, 1871), 550–54; J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata*,

IV (Paris, 1883), 17–25; J. Lebon, ed., *Severi Antiocheni Liber contra impium grammaticum. Orationis tertiae pars posterior*, *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* 101 (Paris, 1933), 285–86 (Latin translation by J. Lebon, *ibid.*, 210–11).

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.

62. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum* XI.40, ed. D. Norberg, *Corpus Christianorum, Series latina* 140A (Turnhout, 1982): “Gesta uero uel scripta beati Herenaei iam diu est quod sollicitate quaesiuimus, sed hactenus ex eis aliquid inueniri non ualuit.”

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

64. The quotations from *AH* I.25 and III.3.4 are found respectively in Agobard, *De judaicis 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. Mercati, “Ancora sul frammento Agobardino d'Ireneo,” *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, *Studi e testi* V (Rome, 1901), 241–43.

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 Flaix, 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 Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) found Irenaeus helpful in writing her *Scivas*.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 clerici."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, Bibliothek 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.

71. *Contre les hérésies IV*, 21–23; Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses*, II, 413.

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.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

66. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1911), 406–7.

67. *Ibid.*, 407 n. 1: "Dass Irenaeus in Corbie war, beweist die Aufschrift aus s. XI bei Becker 55,6 und der Berol. Phillip. 1669 s. IX, der wahrscheinlich aus Corbie stammt"; G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), 139: "Hereni episcopi Ludunensis contra omnes hereses" (= 55.6).

68. J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, 2d enlarged ed. (Bruges, 1948; rpt. Brussels, 1969), 243 and n. 5.

69. Arduini, "Ireneo medievale," 286–99, gives many Irenaean parallels in Rupert of Deutz and Hildegard of Bingen; see also J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. III: *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago, 1978), 203.

70. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (Munich, 1931), 1011.

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 reprintings (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* (= *Diatribes* or *Collatio*), to which Luther replied in the *De servo arbitrio* of 1525.⁷⁴ Pre-

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 asserit liberum arbitrium, cui tribuit, quod et angeli ceciderunt, et

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."⁷⁵ In turn Erasmus, in a letter (April 26, 1526) to Johann Faber, reported that Luther had written against him savagely, detestably, and maliciously.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ (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.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹

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.⁸⁰ 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 prolabuntur impii. Idque facit non uno in loco. Unum locum asscribam ex cap. 71. Et propter hoc, inquit, deus consilium quidem bonum dat omnibus; posuit autem in homine potestatem [*AH* IV.37.1]."

75. *Luther's Works*, vol. XLIX: *Letters*, ed. and tr. G. G. Krodel (Philadelphia, 1972), 79 (no. 144, "To Erasmus of Rotterdam. Wittenberg, [about April 18,] 1524").

76. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, VI (Oxford, 1926), 309–13 (no. 1690).

77. *Ibid.*, 306–7 (no. 1688).

78. *Ibid.*, 333 (no. 1704).

79. *Ibid.*, 348–50 (no. 1716).

80. 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 dissertis, in ovatione monentur immundi Sophistae cum oscitante Diatriba, ut distinguant verba Legis et Euangelii, sed distinguant juxta Lutheri gnomonem, qui non potest errare."

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."⁸¹ Despite these harsh words, however, Erasmus claimed that he never called Luther a heretic.⁸²

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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ Yet during the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, Oecolampadius used Irenaeus against Melanchthon.⁸⁶

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 transubstantiation 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.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸

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.⁸⁹ 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).⁹⁰

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

87. Fischer, ed. and tr., *Word and Sacrament*, pt. III, 142–43; Pelikan, *Christian Tradition*, vol. IV: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago, 1984), 197–98.

88. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I, tr. F. L. Battles (Philadelphia, 1960), 27, 155–56.

89. H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, II, tr. E. Graf (Edinburgh, 1961), 471.

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 patristic 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.

81. *Ibid.*, 1422C–D; tr. M. O'Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther*, Harvard Historical Monographs 71 (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 143.

82. Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform*, 204 n. 69.

83. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, ix.

84. Allen and Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum*, VI, 347 (no. 1715); E. G. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (London, 1969), 29.

85. *Luther's Works*, vol. XXXVII: *Word and Sacrament*, pt. III, ed. and tr. R. H. Fischer (Philadelphia, 1961), 115–20.

86. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation*, 42.

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.⁹¹

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. Grabe, 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).⁹² A 1710 Paris edition (reprinted Venice, 1734) was prepared by René Massuet, a French Benedictine, to counteract Grabe's interpretations;⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

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

A. Stieren, in the Leipzig edition of 1848–53, attempted to correct the mistakes of Grabe and Massuet on the basis of readings in ms. V.⁹⁶ W. W. Harvey's edition (Cambridge, 1857) compared mss. C, A, and V and showed a decided preference for A.⁹⁷ Harvey also collated the Greek and Syriac fragments which had been accumulated by his predecessors but caused some confusion by using a numbering system for the chapters of the *Adversus haereses* different from that used by either Grabe or Massuet. In 1857 J.-P. Migne merely reprinted Massuet's edition.⁹⁸ English translations of the *Adversus haereses* followed soon after in the *Library of the Fathers* (ed. John Keble, 1872), *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, and *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*; these appear to be the first renderings of Irenaeus into the modern vernacular.

Another development during the nineteenth century involved the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, which came under new attack from secular forces. One method of its defense was to strengthen the doctrine of papal primacy, and much scholarly effort was devoted to showing how *Adversus haereses* III.3.2 supported such a position.⁹⁹

In the latter part of this century attention was given to the study of early Christianity, especially under the inspiration of German scholarship. The highly influential and prolific Adolf Harnack published important studies on Irenaeus, including a discussion of the Armenian translation of the *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis* discovered in 1904.¹⁰⁰ Focus on early Christianity has led to the treatment by other scholars of such topics as the nature of the church in the light of biblical and patristic sources and other fundamental issues in Christology, soteriology, the sacraments, and

91. L. Olier, "Feuardent, François," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI, 58; "League or Holy League," *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, 1546.

92. Harvey, ed., *Adversus haereses*, I, iii–x; Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 585 ("Grabe, Johannes Ernst").

93. F. Mersmann, "Massuet, René," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 37.

94. Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1077 ("Pfaff Fragments of Irenaeus").

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.

97. *Ibid.*, iv–ix.

98. PG VII, 437–1223.

99. AH III.3.2: "ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiam principalitatem necesse est omnem conuenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conseruata est ea quae est ab apostolis traditio."

100. See Harnack's contribution in K. Ter-Merkertschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, eds., *Des heiligen Irenäus Schrift zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung*, Texte und Untersuchungen 31, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1907).

the role of man in human history.¹⁰¹ Research in the history of religions has included examination of the antiheretical 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* (1965–82) and the *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis* (1959) in the Sources chrétiennes series, together with the first vernacular translations of Irenaeus into Dutch, German, and Italian.¹⁰²

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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).

1545, Parisiis (Paris): apud Viuantium Gaulterot (excud. Anthonius Iurianus). Ed. Erasmus. Adams I–152. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College.

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1548, Basileae (Basel): per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. Ed. Erasmus. Adams I–153; NUC. Cambridge, University Library; (ICU; NcD; NNUT; CaOTV).

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1567, Parisiis (Paris): apud Audoenum Paruum. Ed. Erasmus. Adams I–156; NUC. BN; Cambridge, Trinity College; (CtY; MnU; NN).

1569, Parisiis (Paris): apud Ioannem Le Preux et Ioannem Parvum. Ed. Nicolaus Gallasius, with his new translation of the Epiphanius fragment and with his annotations. NUC. (MH).

1570, [Paris? Geneva?]: apud Ioannem Le Preux et Ioannem Parvum. BM gives the place of printing as Geneva, but BN, *Catalogue général* and Adams give Paris. B. Hemmerdinger, "La tradition latine," *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies. Livre IV*, Sources chrétiennes, 100, pp. 37–38, observes: "Son épître dédicatoire est datée de Genève, 1569. L'édition sort des presses de Jean le Preux et Jean Petit, deux imprimeurs parisiens qui selon toute probabilité sont alors également réfugiés à Genève." Ed. Nicolaus Gallasius, with his new translation of the Epiphanius fragment and with his annotations. Adams I-157; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, Queen's College; (NNUT).

1571, Basileae (Basel): per Eusebium Episcopium et Nicolai fratris haeredes. Ed. Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus, with a new translation, based on that of Janus Cornarius, of Book I. Adams I-158; NUC. BN; Cambridge, University Library; (CtY; DFo; MnU; CaOTV).

1575, Parisiis (Paris): apud Sebastianum Nivellium (ex typog. Henrici Thierry). (Gr.-Lat.). Ed. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius, with a new translation of the Epiphanius fragment, with commentary, by Jacobus Billius, and with annotations by Feu-Ardentius on all five books. Adams I-159; Cambridge, Peterhouse; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève; Weimar, Landesbibliothek.

1576, Parisiis (Paris): apud Sebastianum Nivellium. Another issue of the preceding. Adams I-160. Cambridge, University Library.

1596, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): in officina Birckmannica. sumptibus Arnoldi Mylii. Ed. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius, with a new translation of the Epiphanius fragment, with commentary, by Jacobus Billius, with scholia of Fronto Ducaeus on the fragment, and with revised annotations of Feu-Ardentius on all five books; the fragments of lost works of Irenaeus are added, in Greek and Latin, accompanied by the annotations of Feu-Ardentius; finally, the editor added *Arnobii Catholici cum Serapione Aegyptio Conflictus de Deo trino et uno*. Adams I-161; NUC. BL; Cambridge, University Library; (DCU; MH; OO; PMA).

1625, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): in officina Birckmannica, sumptibus H. Mylii. Contents as in edition of 1596. NUC. (CtY-D; PLaTS; CaOTV).

1639, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): contents as

in edition of 1596. NUC. BL; BN; (NjP; MA; NNUT).

1675, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris). Contents as in edition of 1596. NUC. BN; (MeB; OO; ViLxW).

1677, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Anissonios. M. de La Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum* in 27² vols. Vol. II.2, 217–367 contains the text of the Feu-Ardentius edition of 1596. Fabricius and Harles, BG V, 79; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; InND; NN).

(*) 1697, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): sumptibus A. Mylii. Ed. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius. Contents as in edition of 1596. BN.

DOUBTFUL EDITION

1554, Basel. Fabricius and Harles, BG VII, 79.

I. *ADVERSUS HAERESSES*

TRANSLATIONS

I. 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 Valentianos*, 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, Praefatio 1) Quatenus veritatem refutantes quidam inducunt verba falsa et genealogias infinitas quae quaestiones magis praestant quemadmodum Apostolus ait quam aedificationem Dei quae est in fide [I Tim 1:4]. . . . [*Expl.* of section covered by the main Epiphanius fragment, I.21.4]: Redimi enim per agnitionem interiorem hominem spiritualement et sufficere eis universorum agnitionem: et hanc esse redemptionem veram. . . . [*Inc.* and *Expl.* of the short Epiphanius fragment, I.21.5]: Ego filius a Patre, Patris qui ante fuit, filius autem in eo qui ante fuit. . . . ipsos autem abire in sua, proicientes 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 resurrectionis nostrae tempus praenuntiatum a prophetis, et sic resurgentes assumi quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (V.36.3) ut progenies eius primogenitus Verbum descendat in facturam, hoc est in plasma, et capiatur ab eo, et factura iterum capiat Verbum et ascendat ad eum, supergrediens angelos et fiens secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei.

Bibliography: A. d'Alès, "La date de la version latine de saint Irénée," *Recherches de science religieuse*, VI (1916), 133–37; B. Altaner, "Augustinus und Irenäus, eine quellenkritische Untersuchung," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CXXIX (1949), 162–72; Altaner and Stüber, *Patrologie*, 111–12 (Bibliography II above); G. Bardy, "Traducteurs et adapteurs au IV^e siècle," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXX (1940), 257–306; Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne*, I (Paris, 1948), 281; F. C. Burkitt, "Dr. Sanday's New Testament of Irenaeus, with a Note on Valentinian Terms in Irenaeus and Tertullian," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV (1924), 56–67; J. Chapman, "Did the Translator of St. Irenaeus Use a Latin New Testament?" *Revue bénédictine*, XXXVI (1924), 34–51; G. W. Clarke, "Irenaeus Adv. Haer.

4,30,1," *Harvard Theological Review*, LIX (1966), 95–97; J. Friesen (Bibliography II above); W. W. Harvey (Bibliography I above), I, clxiii–clxiv; B. Hemmerdinger, "Observations critiques sur Irénée, IV (Sources chrétiennes, 100), ou Les mésaventures d'un philologue," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 17 (1966), 308–26; Hemmerdinger, "Saint Irénée évêque en Gaule ou en Galatie?" *Revue des études grecques*, LXXVII (1964), 291–92; F. R. M. Hitchcock, *St. Irenaeus' Treatise against Heresies* (London, 1916), ix; F. J. A. Hort, "Did Tertullian Use the Latin Irenaeus?" in *Novum Testamentum sancti Irenaei episcopi lugdunensis*, Old Latin Biblical Texts 7 (Oxford, 1923), xxxvi–lvi; A. Houssiau, "Vers une édition critique de saint Irénée," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLVIII (1953), 141–50; H. Jordan, "Das Alter und die Herkunft der lateinischen Übersetzung des Hauptwerks des Irenaeus," *Theologische Studien Th. Zahn zum 10. Oktober 1908 dargebracht* (Leipzig, 1908), 133–92 (also printed separately, Leipzig, 1908); E. Köstermann, "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Handschriften des Irenaeus," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXXVI (1937), 1–34; B. Kraft, "Die Evangelienzitate des heiligen Irenaeus," *Biblische Studien*, XXI (1924), Heft 4, 45–47; F. Loofs, "Die Handschriften der lateinischen Übersetzung des Irenaeus und ihre Kapitelteilung," *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien Hermann Reuter gewidmet* (Leipzig, 1888), 5–25; S. Lundström, "Textkritische Beiträge zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung," *Eranos*, XLIII (1945), 285–300; Lundström, *Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung* (Lund, 1943), 90–109; Lundström, *Neue Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung* (Lund, 1948); Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet des christlichen Latinität* (Lund, 1955), 5–7; Lundström, *Die Überlieferung der lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung* (Stockholm, 1985); J. A. Robinson, "Selected Notes of Dr. Hort on Irenaeus Book III," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIII (1932), 151–66; W. Sanday, "The Date of the Latin Irenaeus: A Fragment," in *Novum Testamentum sancti Irenaei episcopi lugdunensis*, lvii–lxiv; K. Th. Schaefer, "Die Zitate in der lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung und ihr Wert für die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments," in *Vom Wert des Lebens*.

Festschrift für Max Meinertz (Münster, 1950), 50–59; A. Souter, “The Place and Date of the Latin Translation of Irenaeus,” in *Novum Testamentum sancti Irenaei episcopi lugdunensis*, lxxv–cvi; B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua, 1972), 55 (on Niccoli’s manuscripts); F. Vernet, “Irénee,” *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VII, 2 (Paris, 1923), 2402; G. Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus* (Edinburgh, 1959), ix–x.

Manuscripts:

(*) Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 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*, I [Berlin, 1893], 58–60; B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 18–19; E. Köstermann, “Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Handschriften des Irenäus,” *Zeitschrift 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 en Alexandre Pétau* [Leiden, 1947], 201–24; B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 19–20).

(*) London, British Library, Arundel 87, s. XII (= A). The millenarianist sections (*AH* V.32–36) are missing. An anonymous prologue resembles the *praefatio* of a manuscript that perished at the Grande Chartreuse: “Hyrenei Ludunensis [*sic*] archiepiscopi de heresibus libri quinque in uno libro” (G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* [Bonn, 1885], 106, 108; B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 21–23).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12264, fols. 159rb–168rb, s. XII, excerpts from *AH* I–III (H. J. Sieben, “Irenäus im Mittelalter. Ein neues Zeugnis im *Liber de sectis haereticorum*,” *Theologie und Philosophie*, LXII [1987], 73–85).

(*) 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’Irénee,” *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).

(*) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 3762, fol. 19, s. XI. This fragment contains *AH* II.18.6–19.1 (P. Petitmengin, “Notes sur des manuscrits patristiques latins. I. Fragments patristiques dans le ms. Strasbourg 3762,” *Revue des études augustinienne*, XVII [1971], 4–7; L. Doutreleau, *Contre les hérésies II*, 81–82).

(*) Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 752, s. XV (= O) (B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 29; J. Ruyschaert, “Le manuscrit ‘Romae descriptum’ de l’édition érasmiennne” [Bibliography, p. 37 below], 264–65; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 414b).

(*) 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 sacrificium esse negas. Id quam iniuste feceris apertissime docebunt olim Hyrenaeus et Epyphanus auctores gravissimi quos una cum

quibusdam aliis non omnino aspernandis 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 ("Expostulas iam denuo Ireneum 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, vindicare 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 elegantiss[imum] magnorumque sumptuum; verum etiam a Principe nostro sereniss[imo], 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 Hirsauensis*, 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 Lyonaise 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 Grecisms 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, ornatissime Praesul, auspiciis in lucem producimus magnum illum Ecclesiae propugnatorem, ac pro sui nominis augurio pacis ecclesiasticae vindicem, Irenaeum. Nam εἰρήνη Graecis pacem sonat, et in Evangelio Dominus beatos pronunciat εἰρηνοποιούς id est pacificos, 'quoniam' inquit 'filii Dei vocabuntur'. Deus enim non est dissensionis 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 Evangelicae doctrinae segetem vitiavit, clam inspersis zizaniis:

nocturnum opus aptumque Principi tenebrarum. Utinam et in his Ecclesiae tumultibus—quibus nec in annalibus legimus unquam exortos vel graviores vel latius divagatos, quanquam latissime se sparserat 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 restinguant. Verum hoc per Christianos principes faciet Dominus, posteaquam nobis ad meliora conversis ex irato coeperit esse propicius. Ad Irenaeum meum redeo: cur enim non meum appellem, quem paene sepultum, absterso quantum licuit situ, luci restituimus, indignum profecto qui perpetua oblivione obsolesceret? Spirant enim illius scripta priscum illum Evangelii vigorem, ac phrasis arguit pectus martyrio paratum. . . . [Erasmus discusses Irenaeus' life.] Nunc de doctrina paucis accipe. Eloquentiae nec studiosum nec peritum sese fatetur ipse, 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 graecene scripserit an latine, etiamsi magis arbitror latine scripsisse, graeci tamen sermonis peritiorem. Itaque figuris graecis tanquam suo iure abutitur latine loquens, veluti *noceri pro laedi*, quemadmodum Graeci dicunt *βλάπτεισθαι*; *ἔχοντες* id est *habentes*, pro *valentes*: cuius generis aliquot annotavimus in spatiis marginum, ne lector hiis offenderetur. . . . [Erasmus lists the known writings of Irenaeus.] Ex his tam multis viri lucubrationibus solum hoc quod nunc damus, seculorum invidia reliquum esse voluit. Quod utinam sic dare licuisset, quemadmodum ab illo proditum fuit! Primus et secundus, quoniam fere occupantur recensendis monstrosis haeticorum et vocabulis et opinionibus, alicubi torserunt nos; quos nemo nisi patientis stomachi poterit absque tedio pervolvere. Tribus exemplaribus sumus adiuti, uno quod Romae descriptum illinc ad nos misit egregius studiorum patronus Ioannes Faber, duobus e monasteriis commodato praebitis. Ex Tertulliano pauca restituimus, quod illic plus etiam erat depravationis in vocabulis; non pauca coniecturis sumus assecuti, 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 inscrutabili suo consilio vertat in bonos exitus, excitetque nobis Irenaeos aliquot, qui compositis dissidiis pacem orbi restituant. Hunc interim Irenaeum velut ominis fausti loco laeta fronte dignaberis 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 admirabili prudentia parique humanitate coniuncta. Sed nulla laus episcopo dignior quam quod ubique studes 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 bonis omnibus augeat is a quo solo proficiscitur vera felicitas. Datum Basileae sexto Calend. Septembris 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 resurgentes assumi quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit.

Bibliography: P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami* (Oxford, 1926), vols. VII and VIII passim; P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod, eds., *Correspondance d'Erasmus* (Paris, 1968–80); M. O'Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); L. Doutreleau, "S. Irénée de Lyon," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VII, 1936; Desiderius Erasmus, *Hyperaspistes* in *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus (Leiden, 1706; rpt. Hildesheim, 1962), X, 1273, 1316, 1355, 1371, 1422, 1500, 1513, and *Spongia*, *ibid.*, 1654; R. L. De Molen, ed., *Erasmus* (London, 1973), 148–49; G. Faludy, *Erasmus* (New York, 1970), 207; B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies*

sies IV, 34–37; Hemmerdinger, “Observations critiques sur Irénée, IV (Sources chrétiennes 100) ou Les mésaventures d’un philologue,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 17 (1966), 308–26; R. Peters, “Erasmus and the Church Fathers: Their Practical Value,” *Church History*, XXXVI (1967), 259–60; Peters, ed., *Desiderius Erasmus: Prefaces to the Fathers* (Menton, Eng., 1970), pt. 3, 79–82; J. Ruyschaert, “Le manuscrit ‘Romae descriptum’ de l’édition érasmiennne d’Irénée de Lyon,” in *Scrinium Erasmianum*, ed. J. Coppens, I (1969), 263–76.

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 millenarianist 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.

I. 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 Sancto Andrea, and B. Hemmerdinger, *Contre les hérésies IV*, 38, identifies it with V (Leiden, Bibliothek 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 Ecclesiae restituit, graecene an latine initio fuerint ab auctore scripti dubitat; in eam tamen descendit sententiam ut latine quidem sed a latiae linguae non satis erudito, graece autem peritissimo editos credat. Ultima praefatione hominem remordet testimonium B. Hieronymi, qui eum inter scriptores graecos numerat, simul et librorum inscriptionibus movetur, et graece compositos suspicatur. Beatus Rhenanus graece conscriptos ideo non ambigit, quod Hieronymus Tertullianum tertium ex latinis scriptoribus faciat, alias quartum facturum, si Irenaeum inter Latinos, non inter Graecos adnumerasset! D. Brissonius in senatu Parisiensi Regii publicique iuris Regius vindex et Patronus, vir ut multae lectionis, sic acerrimi iudicii, 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, innumeras dictiones formasque loquendi latinis minus usitatas, graecos scriptores tantum citari, Latinos numquam, Homeri et Hesiodi graecos versus saepe repetitos et intertextos, animadvertam frequentia ἀνακόλουθα καὶ ἀναπόδοτα, vix a latinis, saepenumero 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 faciunt), toties se ad verbum velut apud ipsum habentur, verba eius citare, authoris verba se proferre testantur. Cum vero Tertulliani latini scriptoris quidpiam adducit Eusebius, prius ut ex latino sermone conversum fuit transcribere 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, forsitan quod ipse Latinos ex Graecis faciat. Si mihi liceret de re dubia et obscura sententiam in praesentia ferre, citra cuiusquam animi offensionem, lubens affirmarem auctorem et interpretem horum quinque librorum eundem esse, qui primo Graece, deinde Latine tales dispari stylo posteris mandarit. Nam cum natura Graecus esset, et in omni genere disciplinarum egregie institutus, Graece idque pereleganter ac scienter scripsit, et Latine, verum non pari sermonis felicitate et lepore, quia iam grandis natus in Gallias a Polycarpo legatus, Latinae linguae barbara dialecto, sicuti ipsemet fateatur, plurimum exercebatur, facultateque scribendi (Latine, ut interpretor) non exercitatus, Graecis tamen et Latinis bene consultum et provisum volens adversus haereses, quae per terrarum orbem increbrescebant, libros istos conscripsit. Aut certe presbyterum quendam ad manum Irenaeus habuit, qui eius iussu de verbo ad verbum coram transtulerit, aut translatos separatim postea communicarit, et mentem sensaque auctoris fideliter expresserit. Qui his conjecturis me una cum piis et doctis viris quos hac de re consului falli, et melioribus productis, primum interpretem indicaverit et docuerit, nos sibi maximo beneficio 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 calcem horum librorum comperies decem et octo priora capita libri primi, ex Graeco sermone Latine reddita scholiisque illustrata, opera D. Jacobi Billii, cuius viri magnam eruditionem, eloquentiam, exactum iudicium mirentur alii, ego singularem humanitatem, insignem pietatem, integerrimam vitae consuetudinem studiose semper observabo atque colam. Deinde ex codicum Parisiis, Basileae semel atque iterum, itemque Lausanae editorum collatione, simulque veteris cuiusdam manu scripti exemplaris fide et auxilio, centum et mille locos, innumeris dictionibus immutatis, correctos habes, atque, ni vehementer fallimur, feliciter emendatos. Vetus istud exemplar summa voluntate atque egregia animi alacritate suppeditavit et credidit D. Nicolaus a Sancto Andrea, vir qui eximia in Deum

pietate, facultates universas quas parvas non habet, partim in egenis et miseris clementer et opportune impertit, partim conquirendis toto orbe veterum scriptis, iisque in Ecclesiae universae utilitatem evulgandis divinitus absumit. Tales eius ordinis consimiles huic studiosissimo viro reipublicae Christianae prorsus nato, mecum, obsecro, tacitus exopta et absimiles ut ad meliorem frugem redeant precare. Sed ad Irenaeum revertamus. Ne quid libris eius sublatum aut depravatum lector conqueratur, quod expunctum est, in annotationes reiecit, quod ex veteri codice additum, duabus virgulis, quod immutatum, unica signavimus, variis lectionibus in margine cum asterisci nota repositis. Praeterea multa quae ad ecclesiasticae fidei confirmationem, doctrinae formas et regulas, sacramentorum ritus, Christianorum mores et haeresion eversionem maxime pertinent, ab aliis martyribus ac selectis patribus accepta quaeque dedita opera non tractasset aut tantum subobscurae hic auctor, annotationibus nostris aperitius et latius observavimus, ut ea secum qui vellet diutius consideraret. Ad haec, huius auctoris haeretici suo more praecipue Magdeburgenses, et quidam Nicolaus Gallasius Calvinianae pestis olim Genevae, hinc Aureliae, postea uti ferunt, Wasconiae praeco, multos locos ex industria corruperant, et ad suas haereses flagitiose detorserant, quos restituere atque vindicare a falsa interpretatione operae pretium fuit ac decuit. Irenaei porro sententias ab antiquis auctoribus, quorum libri ad nos pervenerunt, laudatas suis locis nequaquam praeterivimus. Adiecit quinque capita sub finem libri quinti, quae nondum typis commissa fuerant, in vetere codice reperta, et ea Irenaei germana esse perspicue comprobamus. Librum quintum facillioris eruditionis gratia in capita divisimus, quorum singulis singula argumenta apposuimus, quae summam cuiusque comprehendunt. Brevissima item scholia toto libro in margine sparsimus, sed quae, ni fallor, totius rei sensum breviter exponant, ibidem sacrae scripturae locis omnibus indicatis. Tres insuper amplissimos indices atextendos curavimus, quorum primus Scripturarum his libris adductarum iuxta ordinem sacrorum Bibliorum est, secundus rerum et verborum B. Irenaei, postremus annotationum praecipua capita complectitur. Tum denique operis initio praefatione ad Illustriss. Cardinalem a Borbonio de divinae 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-Gnosticis [*sic*] collatione amplissime disserimus; vitam quoque auctoris ex suis atque aliorum patrum scriptis contextam adiecimus. Multas dictiones, satis rudes fateor, puriorisque linguae romanae amatoribus parum gratas, ab hoc auctore passim usurpatis, intactas reliquimus, tum quod absque ullius emendationis codicis auctoritate, tantis auctoribus praesertim veteribus, 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 etiam videbatur sub huius sancti viri simplicibus verbis iis quidem, sed quae masculam vim animi pectusque martyris omnino redoleant, pietatem, fidem, integritatem, vitaeque beatissimae viam addiscere, quam inanibus porcorum siliquis (*sic*) pasci, aut inflato humanae eloquentiae vento intumescendo arroganter contemnere, vel maledico dente carpere. Ceterum haec inter quotidianas disputationes et occupationes theologicas quibus obstricti per aliquot dies adhuc sumus, carptim contexta in communem omnium utilitatem, qualiacunque comperiantur, emittimus, dumque emendatiora et ampliora fiant et iterum exeant, candide lector, quae desideranda videbuntur, ea benigne, quaeso a te, suppleas et boni aequique consulens, meliora cunctae reipublicae Christianae amplificandae causa, mecum meditanda tibi semper proponas. Vale.

Dedication. Reverendissimo Cardinali ac Illustrissimo Principi Carolo a Borbonio, Rothomagensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopo, F. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius Minor. S. D. [*Inc.*]: Etsi quamplurima eaque certa sunt argumenta, Princeps illustrissime, quae nos 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 Iesu Christi toto pectore precor, ut te ceterosque

pios principes et pastores ecclesiae suae nutritios protegat 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. Monluciensis, *Sacrarum literarum studioss. Lectori* (14 lines); (3) a poem by Iac. Godefridus, *F. Francisco Feu-Ardentio Theologo* (16 lines); (4) *Catalogus auctorum qui in annotationibus citantur, praetermissis 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. martyrem 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 chrétiennes 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) Posteriora quinque capita numquam antea typis excusa, ex veteri nostro codice venerandae fidei, subiicimus. Quae Irenaei germana et vera esse, ipsa scribendi dicendique ratio, tum Eusebius, Nicephorus, et Anastasius Sinaites eadem Irenaei nomine aliquot in locis citantes, prout locis suis indicabimus, citra ullam controversiam probant et demonstrant. Praeterea Hieronymus in vita Papiae, Proem. in lib. 18 comm. in Isaiam, comm. in 36 Ezech. B. Irenaeum una cum Papia, Tertulliano, Victorino, Lactantio, Severo, Apollinari, quibus addo Iustinum Martyrem, notat insecutum Iudaeorum δευτέρωσεις regnum Christi et electo-

rum eius, post resurrectionem, extinctum Antichristum, et universorum iudicium in terris terraeque Ierusalem restituta per mille annos futurum dixisse, iuxta litteralem sensum exprimentem omnia quae in Prophetis et Apocalypsi his de rebus leguntur, adversus quem vir eloquentissimus Dionysius Alexandrinus elegantem librum scripsit, deridendo mille annorum fabulam, et auream atque gemmatam in terris Ierusalem, otium Sabbati, cunctarum gentium servitutem etc. Haec cum nemo ex libris Irenaei hactenus editis colligere possit, ex his tamen fragmentis, quae modo in lucem edimus, perspicuum est ad Irenaeum pertinere. Sublata porro candide suspicor, ne vel huiusmodi opinio ab ecclesia improbata huius tanti episcopi et martyris auctoritatem elevaret, vel famam obscuraret apud posteros, vel denique ne argumentis illius illecti quidam sententiam iam explosam amplectarentur (*sic*). Verum nec id tutum, nec probabile mihi videtur, his praesertim artibus periculis acceptis mederi, alioquin bona pars scriptorum patrum orthodoxorum evanesceret ac periret. Medendum erat praemonitione et locorum detortorum fideli expositione, non litora, calamo non scalpello. Nihilo secius enim lapsus tanti martyris auctoritatem eius derogat, quam peccata Moysis, Davidis, Salomonis, Iona, Petri, Matthaei, et Pauli scriptorum suorum maiestatem laedunt aut imminuunt. Itaque pio lectori satis erit talem opinionem, quam hic percurreret ab Irenaeo induci, doctissimo, beatissimo homini tamen excidisse, secumque repetere, Christum Dominum in duobus filiis Zebedaei, deinde in duobus discipulis Emaunta peregrinantibus, postremo in Apostolis suis, ipso die Ascensionis suae in coelum, illam coarguisse. Eam postea scriptis editis confutatam ac reiectam a Dionysio Areopagita lib. De ecclesiastica hierarchia, parte I, cap. 7, Gaio et Dionysio Alex. antiquis et magni nominis scriptoribus, Eusebio lib. 3 hist. cap. 22 et 33, Augustino 20 de Civ. cap. 7, 8, et 9, Theodoreto lib. 3 haereticarum fabularum, Epiphanio lib. 3 contra haereses, tomo I. Ab Irenaeo autem hac in re summa cum reverentia et animi modestia sic discedet, ut illius existimationem retineat, nec quicquam ex ea diminuat, vel eo maxime nomine, quod primus hanc nequaquam invexerit, neque pertinaci aut factioso spiritu defenderit, sed a Papia et a quibusdam aliis, qui Iudaeorum traditiones nondum penitus deposuerant, exceptam, falsus animi refrigerit.

Edition:

1575. See above under Editions of the Anonymous Translation before A.D. 1700.

Biography:

Franciscus Feu-Ardentius (François Feuarden) was born at Coutances, Normandy, in December 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 Franciscans (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 Franciscan monastery at Paris. He preached widely: at Meaux, Chartres, Tours, Mantes, Laon, Soissons, Amiens, Beauvais, Péronne, Senlis, and Nantes, as well as in Paris and other towns in Normandy, Dauphiné, Lorraine, and Flanders. Roennus 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 Catholicism 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-Ardentius attempted to refute 1,400 errors. In addition 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 françois* (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 sacremens et catechisme des calvinistes* (Paris, 1599); *Advertissement aux ministres sur les erreurs de leur confession de foy* (Paris, 1599); *Entremangeries ministrales, c'est-à-dire contradictions, injures, condamnations et exécutions mutuelles des ministres et prédicans de ce siècle* (Caen and Paris, 1601); *Evangelica planeque divina Christi Dei et Domini ac sanctissimi praecursoris eius conceptionis et nativitatibus septem et viginti homiliis 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. Oliger); 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-Ardentius 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 republished 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-Ardentius 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). Illustrissimo principi ac reverendissimo Cardinali, Carolo Lotharingo, Metensi et Argentinensi Episcopo, ac

S. D. N. a latere legato, F. Franciscus Feuarden-
tius [*sic*], D. Theol. S. P. [*Inc.*]: Praeclare certe de republica merentur, Illustrissime Princeps et Cardinalis ampliss., illi magno et excellenti ingenio viri, qui novis quidem, sed oleum lucernaeque resipientibus scriptis, vel sacrorum Bibliorum libros explicant, vel exorientes haereses solide refellunt, vel denique aliis rationibus pietatem ac philosophiam Christianam exornant: sed hi quoque rem non minus utilem ac necessariam ab aequis aestimatoribus praestare judicantur, qui veterum praesertim theologorum sanctissima doctissimaque monumenta vel ex oblivionis sepulchro in hanc lucem revocant, vel a mendis et depravationibus, quas temporum partim iniuria excrescentium partim incuria contraxerunt, repurgata, pristino nitore ac splendore suo pro viribus restituunt. . . . [Feu-Ardentius praises the inspiration of the early Fathers.] Huc denique accedit, quod cum miserandae Galliarum nostrarum calamitates instantiaque meae vocationis ac instituti professoribus discrimina procul me a patria exegissent, C. T. ditone exceptus humanissime et in ipsa Lotharenorum augusta urbe septem mensibus ad docendum admissus, multaque tam Illustriss. Ducis, nobiliss. fratrum, religiosiss. heroidum, quam in primis eiusdem C. T. attentione auditus, ad familiare frequensque colloquium vocatus, demumque non illiberaliter dimissus, istud quantumcumque sit, viri certe theologi ac religiosi publicum meae erga eandem C. T. testimonium, cum omni obsequio deferendum ac offerendum e 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 Dominantium eandem C. T. diutissime felicissimeque servet incolumem, ac finito huius vitae curriculo, in beatum ac sempiternum regnum suum perducatur. Coloniae Agrippinae, Idibus August. anno Dom. MDXCV, Illustrissimae Celsitudinis Tuae servus obsequentissimus Franciscus Feu-Ardentius.

De ista quinque librorum D. Irenaei editione ad lectores F. Francisci Feu-Ardentii Commonitio. [*Inc.*]: En beatissimi patris et martyris Irenaei quinque libros, denuo collatos, emendatos, et locupletatos nova editione in publicam studiosorum utilitatem emittimus. . . . [Feu-Ardentius 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 Epiphonio 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 Theodoro 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 auctore quaest. et responsionum ad Orthodoxos apud Justinum Martyrem, Eusebio, et Demetrio Diacopo collecta graece subiecimus, et tam illa, quam ista maiori parte a laudatissimo viro Jacobo Billio, reliqua a doctiss. interpretibus Christophorsono, 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 Iesu tam pius quam doctus theologus, suis notis ad Epiphonii graeca 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 ambigua plurima loca multasque graecas, et latinis minus usitatas phrases explicamus, et quicquid ad Ecclesiae Catholicae doctrinam, hierarchiam, ritus fidemque confirmandam et antiquas novasque haereses refellendas pertinere deprehendimus, denique quod expunctum vel immutatum a nobis est, ne quid iniuria sublatum sibi quirerentur aliqui, retinemus et observamus. Accessit quoque editioni cum Vaticano manuscripto codice nova collatio, cuius, praesertim vero per illustrem ac eruditum D. Johannem Sant-Andreanum Ecclesiae Parisiensis canonicum, nobis pridem commodati codicis veteris attentiore lectione et meditatione, adhuc supra sexcentos locos emendatiores reddimus, addita duabus clausulis, nonnumquam unica et numero quodam signavimus, variis adhuc quibusdam lectionibus asteriscis in margine notatis. Ad haec beatissimi et vere apostolici viri Polycarpi, episcopi Smyrnensis et martyris, quinque non aspernanda 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 Aegyptio Conflictus.*] Multas fateor dictiones et phrases minus latinas, hiulcas adhuc sententias et periodos, adeoque non paucos adhuc locos in utroque auctore luxatos, imperfectos et obscuros a nobis relictos invenire licebit, tum quod plurium ac emendationum codicum auxilio destituti fuimus, 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 contexuimus, et in publicam studiosorum utilitatem emittimus, quae cum acceperint candidi lectores, et his nostris qualibuscunque laboribus frui fuerint, studiis nostris bene favere, ac praesertim nostram salutem suis precibus apud communem Salvatorem ac iudicem nostrum D. Iesum Christum commendare rogo et obsecro, non recuset.

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 Christophorsonus, 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-Ardentius, in the second column the source of the fragment, and in the third the name of the translator.

I.18	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (= <i>HE</i>) IV.10	Christophorsonus
I.28	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.10	Billius
I.30	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.27	Billius
I.31	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.27	Billius
II.56	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.7	Christophorsonus
II.57	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.7	Christophorsonus
III.1	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
III.3	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.6	Christophorsonus
III.3	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.14 (Greek numbering)	Billius
III.4	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.11 (Greek numbering)	Billius
III.11	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
III.18	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Billius
III.19	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
III.20	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> III	Billius
III.20	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Billius
III.20	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
III.21	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
III.21	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> III	Billius
III.24	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
III.25	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
III.27	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
III.31	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius

III.32	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> I	Billius
IV.7	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Billius
IV.14	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.17	Christophorsonus
IV.37	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
IV.37	Antonius Melissa, <i>Sermo</i> I, qui est de fide	C. G.
IV.59	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Billius
IV.66	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Hervetus
V.1	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> III	Hervetus
V.1	Theodoretus, <i>Dialogus</i> II	Billius
V.6	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.7	Christophorsonus
V.8	Basilius Magnus, <i>Liber de Sancto Spiritu</i> 29	Erasmus
V.9	Basilius Magnus, <i>Liber de Sancto Spiritu</i> 29	Erasmus
V.26	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> IV.17	Christophorsonus
V.28	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> III.30	Christophorsonus
V.30	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
V.30	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> V.8	Christophorsonus
V.33	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> III.39 (Greek numbering)	Christophorsonus
V.36	Anastasius Sinaita, <i>Liber quaestionum in scripturam</i> , 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 panarii*, 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 Stadtphysikus 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, Bse 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). Illustriss. ac Potentiss. Principi ac Domino, D. Ioanni Fridericho, Saxoniae Duci, Sacri Rom. Imp. principi Electori ac Archimareschallo, provinciali Thuringiae comiti, Misniae Marchioni, et Burggravo Magdeburgen. Ianus Cornarius medicus physicus Francoforden. S. D. [*Inc.*]: Cum Deus opt. max. ita, credo, voluerit, Illustriss. princeps Ioannes Frideriche, ut iam biennium praestantissimum ac eloquentissimum graecorum theologum, Divum Basilium latinis hominibus legendum converterim, neque enim humanis viribus adscribendus est is qui mihi contigit successus, ut intra unius anni spatium totum opus absolverim, trium usus exemplarium collatione, et adhibita alicubi priorum 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 secuti, quod potuimus praestitimus, ut Epiphanius latine legatur, iuxta interpretis fidem, ita ut nihil adiectum, neque immutatum a nobis sit, nisi palam vitiatum, quod non infrequenter occurrit in ipso exemplari. Sed profuit etiam hac parte hoc nobis, quod multa *ταύτολογεῖ* atque iisdem verbis contra diversas haereses repetit Epiphanius, ut ex altera lectione alteram corruptam emendare detur. Praeterea cum bonam partem Irenaei *αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι* transscribat, non incommodum nobis fuit Irenaei latinum exemplar adhibitum, quamquam id ipsum vitiosissime translatum sit, et plus ex Epiphanio restitui possit, quam ipsum mihi in Epiphanio convertendo profuit, ut mirum sit, Erasmus Roterodamum, acri alioqui 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 exteros vivunt, esse tot insignes ducatus tui viros praesentes qui Celsitudini Tuae 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 Erfordiensis impetrarit. Deinde ad industrium virum Joannem Oporinum utraque lingua professorem clarum miserit, quo illius et Roberti Chimerini industrii typographi opera graece ederetur. At hi ambo ut melius de latina lingua et de studiosis graeca non assequantibus mererentur, persuaserunt mihi, ut post Basilii conversionem a me factam, etiam hoc Epiphanius opus aggressus sim, et intra nonnum mensem in latinam linguam transtulerim. Atque hoc extra professionis medicae, in qua iam per viginti annos versor, rationem. Verum dum hoc ago, maiorem rationem pietatis habui et verae Christianae doctrinae, quae revera in utrisque his theologis graecis insigniter illustris existit, quam vel privati quaestus, vel Spartaee 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, magno illo et ad omnia magna praestanda nato, Celsitudinis tuae procancellario Francisco Wimariense, cum aliis multis egregie doctis viris, omnibus uno ore operam hanc meam approbantibus. . . . [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 Princeps 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 praeferrem, me reperire potuisse neminem. Opt. ac diu valeat Celsitudo tua magnum et studiosorum bonorum et pietatis praesidium. Francofordae ad Moenum. Calen. Novemb. Anno Christi MDXLII.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, Book I, Praefatio, 1–I.21.5. The fragment extends from page 82 to page 125 in the 1542 edition, and at the beginning there is a marginal note: Irenaei 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 exhibent, velut Apostolus dicit, 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 opificem, ipsos valde turbare 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 devenerunt.

Bibliography:

K. Holl, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Epiphanius (Ancoratus und Panarion)*, Texte und Untersuchungen, Reihe III, Band VI, Heft 1b (Leipzig, 1910), 1–5.

Editions:

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

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

(*) 1544, Parisiis (Paris): apud Carolum Guiliarium (*sic*). Contents as in the edition of 1542, with additional works of Epiphanius. Adams E-251. BN; Cambridge, University Library.

(*) 1544, Parisiis (Paris): sub signo hominis siluestris. Another issue of the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliari. Adams E-252. Cambridge, Magdalene College; (CaOTIM).

(*) 1544, Parisiis (Paris): apud M. Puteanum. Another issue of the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliari. BN.

(*) 1544, Parisiis (Paris): apud J. Foucherium. Another issue of the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliari. BN.

(*) 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 Heruagium. Adams E-254; NUC. Cambridge, Trinity College; (DDO).

(*) 1564, Parisiis (Paris): apud A. Parvum. Contents as in the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliari. NUC. BN; (IU; NNC).

(*) 1566, Parisiis: apud Hieronymum de Marnef et Gulielmum Cavellat. Contents as in the edition of 1542, Basel, with works of Theodoretus. 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. Cramoisy. Contents as in the edition of 1544, Paris, apud Carolum Guiliari, with additional works. BN.

(*) 1617, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): A. Hierat. Contents as in the preceding edition. NUC. (MH; NCH).

Biography:

See CTC II, 118; IV, 176.

3. Nicolaus Gallasius (Book I, partial)

Nicolaus Gallasius 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 Gallasius, S. D. [*Inc.*]: Mitto ad te, vir amplissime, fructum aliquem laboris nostri, cuius hoc tempore edendi occasionem ac simul quae me nunc tempestas Genevam expulerit, paucis accipe. . . . [Gallasius tells of his plan to go to England, his escape from the papists at Orléans, and his return to Geneva, where Beza encouraged him to undertake the work.] Visum est igitur ab eo qui inter Latinos antiquissimus 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 hactenus inter Latinos obtinuit locum illi relinquo. Testantur nonnulli pii et docti viri se graecum legisse in Venetiana bibliotheca, ubi cum ab iisdem postea quaereretur, locus vacuus est repertus. Alii etiam in Vaticano visum ferunt. Qui talia monumenta ecclesiae adimunt, aut invident, digni sunt qui perpetuo horrendis Invidiae furiis et diro conscientiae vulnere crucientur. Graece vero scripsisse Irenaeum testantur multae paginae quas apud Epiphanium transcriptas reperimus. Eas autem inseruimus huic libro atque obiecimus versioni ut pius lector facile de hac re iudicaret. Quod si quis excipiat potuisse Irenaeum utraque lingua scribere, atque in latinum vertere, quod prius graece edidisset, quamvis mihi verisimile non sit, ego tamen non magnopere laboro, nec sane contendendum puto. Mihi satis est graecum esse, ac scripsisse graece. . . . [Gallasius notes that the best judge, Jerome, always classes him with the Greeks. The work is difficult, but Gallasius 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 Jesus tibi perpetuo faveat, diu te incolumem servet tuisque laboribus et curis benedicat. Genevae pridie Cal. Februarii. MDLXIX.

Praefatio ad lectorem de instituto huius operis et de utilitate colligenda ex lectione veterum doctorum. [*Inc.*]: Utinam studio et diligentiae,

quae conquiendis Irenaei monumentis adhibuimus, eventus ipse respondeat. Integrum enim ipsum, pie lector, non mutilum, suaque totum non aliena lingua scriptum haberes . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ut unius iudicis arbitrio stemus illiusque solius cui stamus aut cadimus censura, quidquid ab ullo perperam aut dictum aut scriptum fuerit, emendetur.

There follows a *Vocabulorum graecorum, 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. Gallasii*. [Inc.]: (Praef. I.1) Nonnulli in veritatem praeter ius et fas emissi introducunt fabulas et genealogias vanas, quae potius quaestiones praebent (ut ait Apostolus) quam aedificationem Dei quae est in fide (I Tim. 1:4) [Expl. of section covered by Epiphanius fragment]: (I.21.4) Notione enim redimi hominem spiritualement et contentos esse ipsos agnitione 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, Salicaeus, 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 François 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 (*Disputatio Pussicensis*) 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 eius adv. Petri Caroli theologastri 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 convitia J. Cochlaei* (Geneva, 1549); *Forma polittiae ecclesiasticae nuper institutae 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. Hemmerdinger, *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. Bernhardum Brandum, Inclytae Basiliensis Reipub. Tri-

bunum Plebis primum, et Academiae eiusdem urbis Patronum incomparabilem, Ioan. Iacobi Grynaei Praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Etsi graves cum primis causae fuerunt, propter quas vetustas erudita magno applausu et consensu recepit adprobavitque elegans illud apophthegma: *γνώθι σεαυτόν*, Nosce teipsum. . . . Tantum hoc monere libet magnas fuisse causas cur post Des. Erasum Roterodamum summo iudicio virum ipse quoque Irenaei libros emaculandos et pro virili illustrandos in manus sumerem. Praestitit Erasmus, ut in aliis plurimis scriptoribus, ita quoque in Irenaeo, operam se dignam, hoc est longe maximam. Primus perfregit glaciem, superavit difficultates et veluti Syrteis et scopulos, nobis viam aperuit, sic tamen ut sibi nondum satisfaceret, et cum de lingua qua usus esset Irenaeus subdubitaret, non admodum probaret hanc, qua necessario, cum graecum exemplar non extet, in posterioribus libris utimur, conversionem latinam, propterea quod et obscura esset et non necessariis Hellenismis scateret undique. Factum autem est singulari beneficio Dei, studioque bonorum et eruditorum quorundam virorum, ut postquam apud superos agere coepit Erasmus, prodiret in lucem Epiphanius episcopi Constantiae Cypri eximium opus *Contra Octoginta Haereses*, in quo cum multa ad verbum ex Irenaei libris descripta extarent, maximam libri primi partem ex Epiphano restituere, et multo meliore Iani Cornarii versione uti nobis licuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Bene vale perpetuum patriae tuae ornamentum, et Irenaeum optimum scriptorem in familiam fidemque *εὐτυχῶς* et sereno vultu suscipito. Scripsi Cal. Aprilis 1571.

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 internum 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 redimunt 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 proicientes 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 Roeteln, near Basel. In 1563/64 he received a doctorate at Tübingen. Originally he was a student and adherent of Lutheran sympathizers, Simon Sülzer and Jakob Andreä, 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 Sülzer 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 Sülzer, 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 Orthodoxographa* (Basel, 1569); (ed.) *Irenaei Opus . . . in quinque libros digestum* (Basel, 1571); (ed.) *Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae historicae libri XV* (Basel, 1578); (tr.) *Eusebii Pamphili . . . Ecclesiastica historia* (Basel, 1587).

Bibliography: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3d ed., II, 1898 (G. W. Locher); L. Doutreleau, "S. Irénée de Lyon," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VII, 1936; Fabricius and Harles, BG VII, 79; *Lutheran Cyclopaedia* (1975), 353; *The New Schaff Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, V, 91 (R. Stählin); K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517–1585*, I, 7682–90.

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 graecorum theologorum interpretes magna ex parte, dum verbum verbo reddere student, non satis eleganter quod volunt exprimunt, immo etiam plerumque graeca non assequuntur, tamen eos vel hoc uno nomine non prorsus repudiandos et aspernandos esse semper iudicavi, quod innumerabiles maculas, quae typographorum negligentia optimos quosque authores occuparunt, consultis illis promptissime deleri posse persaepe sum expertus. Qua quidem in sententia, si is quoque fuisset, qui octodecim haec prima D. Irenaei capita [= AH I.1–21] non ita pridem latinitate donavit, non tam turpiter et flagitiose tot locis lapsus fuisset, idque potius studuisset 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 qualemcunque operam denegare non potui. Breuissima etiam scholia adieci, ex quibus proclue, ni fallor, erit intelligere me non temere multa paulo aliter atque apud Epiphanius habentur interpretari. Vale Christiane lector, et his fruere.

Divi Irenaei Lugdunensis episcopi Adversus Valentinianorum errores liber primus (ed. of Paris, 1575). [*Inc.*]: (Praef. I.1) Quoniam nonnulli repudiata veritate sermones et genealogias vanas inducunt, quae quidem *quaestiones potius*, ut

Apostolus ait, *praestant, quam aedificationem Dei quae in fide est* [I Tim 1:4]. . . . [*Expl.* of the main Epiphanius fragment]: (I.21.4) Per cognitionem enim internum ac spiritualem hominem redimi aiunt, seque rerum universarum cognitionem adeptos, nihil praeterea requirere, atque hanc veram redemptionem esse. . . . [*Inc.* of the short Epiphanius fragment]: (I.21.5) Ego filius a patre, patre inquam praeexistente, filius autem in eo qui praeexistit. Veni ut tam mea quam aliena cernerem: quamquam non etiam prorsus aliena, sed Achamoth, quae femina est, atque haec in usum suum effecit . . . / . . . [*Expl.* of the short Epiphanius fragment]: (I.21.5) Hoc autem cum Demiurgus audierit, magnopere perturbari radicemque suam et matris genus incusare. Ipsum autem ad sua proficisci, proiecto suo vinculo et angelo, hoc est anima.

Editions:

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

Biography:

See CTC II, 85. Add to the Bibliography: Cioranescu *Bibliographie . . . du seizième siècle*, p. 131, nos. 4012–21.

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 Irenaeus 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.

The text of the comments cited below is taken from the edition of H. J. Sieben, "Irenäus im Mittelalter. Ein neues Zeugnis im *Liber de sectis haereticorum*," *Theologie und Philosophie*, LXII (1987), 73–85.

Commentary. (Sieben 76) De Irenaeo: Irenaeus Lugdunensis episcopus scripsit quinque

libros, in quorum primo diversitates haereticorum et haeresium digerit et distinguit. In aliis quatuor easdem haereses destruit et ecclesiastica dogmata annectit. De hoc Irenaeo Hieronymus in libro de viris illustribus scribit his verbis. . . . [PL XXIII, 649–51]. Haec Hieronymus de Irenaeo. [*Inc.*]: De Simone mago et discipulis 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 figmentis et philosophicis commentis 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 distinguit et ordinat et his omnibus praepositum Nun. . . . Verumtamen praedictum ordinem non observaverunt ponentes ennoiam ante Nun, 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:

H. J. Sieben, "Irenäus im Mittelalter. Ein neues Zeugnis im *Liber de sectis haereticorum*," *Theologie und Philosophie*, LXII (1987), 73–85.

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 Roterodami 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 protraxisse sit confutasse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (*Argumentum* to Book V) Sed in huiusmodi multis veteres illi cum candore nonnumquam et cum venia legendi sunt, quod haec tum temporis nondum in quaestionem venerant, aut si venerant, nondum excussis scripturis ecclesia super his suam sententiam clara voce pronuntiarat. 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.

Argumentum in quintum librum (ed. of Basel, 1528) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: In prima quidem praefatione dubitabamus, utrum graece scripserit Irenaeus an latine, nec adhuc certum aliquid habemus, nisi quod Hieronymus eo loco quem modo citavi testatur eum fuisse graecum, quamquam et hic dubitare licet, utrum natione graecum dixerit an scriptorem graecum. Sed apparet illum de scriptura sensisse, cum illum copulat cum Apollinare, quem constat graece scripsisse. Verba Hieronymi sic habent: 'Quod et multi nostrorum et praecipue Tertulliani liber, qui inscribitur De spe fidelium, et Lactantii Institutionum volumen septimum pollicetur, et Victorini Pictabionensis episcopi crebrae expositiones et nuper Severus noster in dialogo cui Gallo nomen imposuit, et ut Graecos nomen et primum extremumque coniungam, Irenaeus et Apollinaris.' Haec Hieronymus. Adiuvant hanc opinionem tituli librorum graeci. Tantum obstreperit quod versus aliquot graecos admixtos videmus illius libris, quod ab auctore fit usitate, ab interprete non idem, tum quod nullus indicavit interpretis nomen. Bene vale lector.

The marginal annotations. (ed. of Basel, 1526) [*Inc.*]: (Praef. I. 1) I Timot. I. / ἔχοντες idest valentes. / πιθανῶς. / alias, mortem. / Alias, Quomodo. / Alias, omnibus. / φυλάξαι idest cavere. / Ptolemaeus haeresim a Valentino

deliniatam auxit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (V.30.1) alias Iesum. / Numeri divinantium. 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 / τειταν / 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 Gallasius

Nicolaus Gallasius 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.

To the Reader. N. Gallasius Pio Lectori S. (ed. of Paris, 1569). [Inc.]: Antequam in annotationes ingrediamur, operae pretium mihi fore videtur, si de Valentinianorum origine, progressu, et exitu, ac simul de omnium haereseon fonte . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ita cedere voluit, quin partem quoque aliquam ad se repararet. Sed de his hactenus: iam enim ad annotationes nostras veniendum est.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Quatenus (Praef. I. 1). Mendosum codicem traductori fuisse oportuit qui pro ἐπι legit ἐπεί. Unde etiam longum hyperbatum et ἀνανταπόδοτον secutum est . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (V.31.2) Haec ego accurate expendere atque examinare volui ne quis sanctum virum gravius accuset, aut immerito condemnet, aut etiam a veritate deflectens, illius auctoritate abutatur. Finis annotationum.

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-Ardentius 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.

Scholia (ed. of Paris, 1575). [Inc.]: Quoniam nonnulli (Praef. I. 1). Graeci exemplaris vitium, a Gallasio non animadversum, densas ei nebulas offundit. Legendum enim est ἐπεὶ non ἐπι ut facile perspiciet qui propius animum attenderit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae patris experts (I.21.5). Sensus hoc loco perspicue postulat, ut cum veteri interp. legamus πατέρα, non, ut corrupte apud Epiphanium, μητέρα. Hoc autem τοῦτο legendum in Graec. cum vet. *Ipsum autem* haec mendose in plurali leguntur in vet. interp. Finis.

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 Pelusiota, *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-Ardentius

Feu-Ardentius 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*

Annotationes (ed. of Paris, 1575). [Inc.]: (Inscriptio) *Divi Irenaei*. Vulgatam istam inscriptionem suspectam facit non solum vetus codex, qui paulo diversam habet . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (V.36.3) tandem perducatur et mente divina sempiternae perfruatur. Fiat. Fiat.

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 vulgatum librorum D. Irenaei inscriptionem initio mihi suspectam reddiderat non solum vetus codex manuscriptus, qui paulo diversam habet, ut in margine signavimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (V.36.3) Ad quae Deum opt. max. oro et obsecro, ut peractis omnibus, quae salutem aeternam unicuique pro certo pariunt, omne genus hominum, vitae spatio naturaliter excurso, tandem perducatur, et mente divina sempiternae 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 ex Adversariis Frontonis Ducae (ed. of Cologne, 1596). [*Inc.*]: *Quatenus veritatem* (Praef. I. 1). Restitutus est hic locus ex emendatione V. C. Iac. Billii, reiecta Gallasii interpretatione, qui vertit *Nonnulli in veritatem praeter ius et fas emissi introducunt 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 naeviis plura Theodoretus lib. I haeret fab. ubi de Ascodrytis 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 APOSTOLICAE PRAEDICATIONIS

No Latin translations or commentaries before A.D. 1600 have been located.

III. FRAGMENTA

COMMENTARY

a. Franciscus Feu-Ardentius

In his 1596 edition of the *Adversus haereses* (see p. 41 above) Feu-Ardentius printed the Greek text, with Latin translation and his own commentary, of all known fragments of the lost works of Irenaeus. With one exception, the texts and translations appear to be taken from earlier publications, and all will simply be indicated without incipit or explicit. The exception is the first fragment, of uncertain origin, under *c.*, where Feu-Ardentius has only the Latin translation sent to him by N. Faber. The commentary of Feu-Ardentius, like that on the *Adversus haereses*, is in part textual but also devotes full discussion to larger theological and historical questions.

In aliorum operum Divi Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis et Martyris subiecta fragmenta, F. Fr. Feu-Ardentii brevis praefatio (ed. of Cologne, 1596). [*Inc.*]: Quoniam ex priscorum monumentis ac certissimis historiae testimoniis comperitum est, hunc eximium Ecclesiae Lugdunensis antistitem et doctorem non solum quinque superiores adversus Valentini et similium Gnosticorum haereses sub episcopatu B. Eleutherii libros edidisse, verum et alios plurimos, qui vel iniuria temporum vel haeticorum fraudibus perierunt vel denique adhuc alicubi cum blattis et tineis certantes latent, quaedam illorum fragmenta, quanta potui fide et diligentia hinc inde collecta, graece et latine piis lectoribus hoc saltem postremo loco proponenda et exhibenda curavimus, ut quantum fieri potuit, integrum beatissimi viri lucubrationum corpus simul exiret in lucem. Illa porro imprimis sunt duarum epistolarum eius ad Blastum et Florinum Ecclesiae Romanae non ita pridem presbyteros, sed tunc a sanctissimo Eleutherio Papa, propter Valentinianas impietates et alias quasdam illis additas fanaticas opiniones, quibus et alios inficere et schismate suo Ecclesiae membra divellere conabantur, gradu moti pulsique fuerant. . . . [Feu-Ardentius, using ancient sources, argues that these two letters followed the *Adversus haereses*. The letter to Blastus was known as *De schismate* and the one to Florinus as *De monarchia*. In the same connection Irenaeus wrote the *De odoade*. In *Adversus haereses* I.29, Irenaeus speaks of writing against Marcion, but nothing survives. To

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 aspernandum fragmentum subiicimus; de aliis altum silentium. Edidit denique *Librum de Pascha*, cuius ante Hieronymum ac Eusebium meminit simulque particulam quandam assignat auctor *Quaestionum et responsionum ad Orthodoxos* apud Iust. Martyrem. Illam quoque adiciemus, gravi ferentes animo quod plura proferre in communem studiosorum utilitatem ex tam sancto vetusto eruditoque 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 Ogdoade* extremo Eusebius vere elegantissimum esse censet, Historiae suae lib. 5, cap. 19, inserit, subiicimus. Ait ergo ad illius libri lectorem et exscriptorem Irenaeus.

a. *Irenaei* Obtestatio ad exscriptorem (*Eusebius*, *Historia ecclesiastica V.19*) interprete *Ioanne Christophorsono*.

Annotationes. [*Inc.*]: Ex tam gravi sanctoque Martyris exorcismo seu obtestatione Eusebius 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 Florinum (*Eusebius*, *Historia ecclesiastica V.19*), interprete *Ioanne Christophorsono*.

Annotationes. [*Inc.*]: *Ista dogmata* [opening words of fragment]. Ex his observat Eusebius Irenaeum cum beato et apostolico viro Polycarpo magna familiaritate coniunctum fuisse, quod illi non solum honori fuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Vide rint nunc plurimi ecclesiarum praesules, qui in Galliis illos in pretio, in famulitio, 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, alioque variorum tractatum, libro denique adversus gentiles, De scientia nuncupato, nulla pro certo fragmenta reperio, subiecta quaedam partim a Demetrio Diacopo Viennensi, mihi a D. N. Fabro, insignis pietatis et eruditionis viro, liberaliter concessa, partim a Damasceno in Parallelis suis inserta et collecta, quae ad supra nominatos libros forsitan pertinent, subnectam."

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 Billio*.

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

d. Epistola ad Victorem papam (*Eusebius*, 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 dicitur ut et reipsa est haereticus etc. Vide notas in cap. 3 libri tertii.

e. Liber de Pascha (*ps. Justinus Martyr*, Responsiones ad quaestiones 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 erubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus etc.

Feu-Ardentius adds a concluding observation: Notat demum Eusebius lib. 5 *hist. cap. 25* Ire-

naecum in libro de variarum rerum disquisitione, tum Epistolae ad Hebraeos, tum libri Sapientiae Salomonis mentionem facere certaue testimonia 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.