

Syriac Fragments of
Irenaeus Against the
Gnostics and Docetics

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Based on:

W. W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses*,
vol. 2 (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1857), 431–461.

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Preface

This is a translation of some Syriac fragments of the writings of Irenaeus,¹ containing portions of his magnum opus concerning heresiology, *Against Heresies*, and some other lost work. Notably, the fragments have been suggested to demonstrate that a complete Syriac translation of the former tome at one time existed.² The primary focus of the material is on his opponents' heterodox Gnostic and Docetic "narratives," (fragment 7) i.e. accounts regarding secret knowledge of the embodiment of the immortal soul.³ The last six fragments (25–30) were placed among the "Lost Writings of Irenaeus" by the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* series due to their unprecedented subject matter and extraction from a series in the British Museum's Nitrian Collection.⁴

Prior to the 1945 discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices, Irenaeus' writings were the most relevant surviving source for studying early-Christian sectarian conflicts, particularly those movements dubbed "Gnostic" and "Docetic" for their

¹ Fragments 21, 31, and 32 are not given here as they only exist in Armenian.

² W. Wigan Harvey suggested that due to "duplicate and triplicate passages" with "almost universal agreement" to the Greek of *Against Heresies*, that "a Syriac Version existed formerly": see W. W. Harvey, ed. *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1857), 431.

³ "Docetism" is frequently defined as a denial of Jesus' incarnation and passion; however, Irenaeus states his opponents believe he "partly partook of sufferings" (fr. 10) without explaining the problem or how any other alternatives are possible. Mt 10:28's injunction not to fear "those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul" would imply that souls (including Jesus') cannot actually be killed by other human beings; hence, the many references to the descent and embodiment of "only something spiritual" (fr. 1) which at the crucifixion "was to fly away from Jesus" (fr. 13). Despite Irenaeus' rhetoric, the disagreement is intangible and polemically motivated: i.e. how does incarnation actually differ from the soul's embodiment?

⁴ See footnotes corresponding to fragments 25–30 in P. Schaff, et al., trans., "Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, eds. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1867), 576–77.

emphasis on secret “knowledge” and the “apparition” of Jesus’ spiritual nature. The Syriac fragments accordingly give a radically different depiction of the nativity and crucifixion, one which cannot be attributed to mere doctrinal differences rather than representative of a gospel tradition independent from the canonicals, one which not incidentally has much in common with later Jewish folklore and Islamic tradition.

Surprisingly, the Syriac text of these fragments has gone the last two centuries without a complete English translation available to general readers. To remedy this neglect, the Syriac is here given without alteration according to William Wigan Harvey’s 1857 printed edition of *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses*,⁵ and translated in its entirety into English for the benefit of students. The numbering system follows that found in the familiar *Ante-Nicene Fathers* edition (since Harvey’s numbering is obscure). Writings as important as this for comparative religion, philosophy, and history should never be lost or forgotten, but must always have a special place within the humanities.

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⁵ Wigan compiled his text from the following manuscripts of the British Museum: 12,154 (CE 714–716, 718), 12,155 (10th c.), 12,156 (CE 562), 12,157 (7th/8th c.), 14,612 (6th–7th c.), 14,629 (6th–10th c.), 17,191 (10th/11th c.), 17,194 (10th/11th c.), 17,200 (6th/7th c.), also, 17,214 and 12,158. W. W. Harvey, ed. *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses*, vol. 2, 431–61.

Text and Translation

Fragment 1 – *Haer.* I 7,2

But there are those who say that he sent
 forth only something spiritual⁶ into his own Son
 the Messiah,⁷ and by means of this he spoke
 through the prophets, being then one who
 passed through Mary just like waters pass
 through a stream.⁸

Fr. 2 – *Haer.* I 8,1

For example, if a person with the figure of a
 king, carefully arranged from pretty
 gemstones by means of a wise artisan, will
 disassemble the human image, which is then
 set as ribbing around a portico for those
 same gemstones, and will transfer and make
 from them the image of a dog or a fox—and
 this while badly crafted. Afterward he will
 specify and say, “This is that beautiful figure
 of the king which that wise artisan crafted,”
 while showing them those gemstones that

⁶ Commonly interpreted as “animal nature,” but literally “something spiritual” (ܦܢܝܬܐ), which is elsewhere Irenaeus’ point regarding the Docetic “Spirit,” but which is otherwise lost in translation.

⁷ Cf. this embodiment of “only something spiritual” with Qur’an Sura 4:171: “The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only a messenger of Allah, and His word which he conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him.” (Pickthall)

⁸ The Syriac’s “passed through Mary like waters pass through a stream” agrees with *Haer.* III 11,3, though the dignity of expression could suggest Syriac originality.

חסא לאל סתפסא אל
 הלבא מ מ מ אא
 סהמ לסמ הלבא מוהב
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 להמא הלבא אאאאא
 פלסא הלמ הסתפסא
 לאל הל מוספ מל הסמ
 הלבא ל מ מ מ מ
 המא מ מ מ מ מ
 אאאא, מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 הלבא מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ

were well arranged into the figure of the king by whoever was the first artisan—but were badly transferred by the other into the image of a dog—and by means of the appearance of those very gemstones he will deceive those who have no experience, possessing not the figure of the king, and will persuade them this detestable image of the fox is that beautiful figure of the king.⁹ Accordingly in the same way have they even clung to the fables of old men, thereafter words, and speeches, and parables—however and from wherever—while taking away agreements they desire for their own pretexts as the words of God.

Fr. 3 – *Haer.* I 9,3

מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ
 מ מ מ מ מ מ מ

The flesh is the first thing that was made from clay into Adam, a formation by God, which John truly recollected was the Word of God. But their own Ogdoad, which is the first and original offspring, is refuted. For when it is demonstrated that the Word (Logos), and Only-begotten (Monogenes), and Life (Zoe), and Light (Phos), and Savior (Soter), and Messiah (Christos), and Son

⁹ Irenaeus inverts the classical ‘Ship of Theseus’ thought experiment: rather than posing a paradox of immaterial identity via exchanging all parts of a ship, his example shows that identity (the image of the king) can be lost even while preserving all the same components (the pretty gemstones).

of God are one and the same, and that after it was incarnated we were transformed, the habitation of frameworks of the Ogdoad is refuted.

Fr. 4 – *Haer.* II 26,1

It is therefore advantageous, as we have said, to believe in God and persevere in his love—for in him no one knows a limit, not even one reason for any of the things that happened on account of whatever reason they happened—or else they will fall from the love that afflicts a human being, while being “puffed up”¹⁰ by means of the knowledge that is according to it. Nor should we seek to know anything other except Jesus the Messiah the Son of God, who in exchange for us was crucified, or else by means of human profundity and verbal subtlety to fall into that which is godless.

Fr. 5 – *Haer.* II 34,1

But sufficiently has the LORD taught not only that souls should not remain temporal, nor even keep the bodily forms to which they are attached the same; or remembering the works they did here, and whatever was ceased—in the narrative concerning the rich

¹⁰ 1 Cor 8:1.

man, and that Lazarus who found repose in the bosom of Abraham.

חתם, הן אחר התלמוד משל
 האלה מן הדגש אחר: שם לך
 חכמה דגש אחר לחסד לך:
 זה הן אחרת מן חכמה לחסד
 הנפסח קנה חסד כה סוד
 הסוד שם הנפסח אחרת, שם
 החסד: חסד מן חסד השם
 אחרת, השם שם השם אחרת
 חסד אחר חסד חסד: השם הן
 חסד הנפסח אחרת, שם
 החסד חסד חסד לך שם:
 לחסד הן חסד השם שם
 חסד חסד חסד חסד אחרת
 לחסד חסד חסד חסד

But Matthew says that those Magi who came from the east said: "For we have seen his star in the east, and we have come to worship him."¹¹ But when they had been guided by the star unto the house of Jacob, to Emmanuel, they showed by means of the gifts which they brought who is the one to be worshiped: myrrh, partly because he was the one in exchange for humanity, a mortal dying and being buried; gold, then, because he is the king "whose kingdom has no end,"¹² but frankincense because he is God and "was known in Judea"¹³ and "revealed to those who did not seek him."¹⁴

חַסְדֵּיכֶם מִן הַמִּצְוֹת
 אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם
 וְאֶתְכֶם לֵאמֹר אֲהַבְתֶּם
 אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֶת הָאָדָם
 וְאֶת הָאֶרֶץ וְאֶת הַיָּם

Their narratives are partly diverse, as we have demonstrated: for one, they say that he is the one who suffered and was born, and that this is Jesus; but another is who

¹⁴ Is 65:1.

descended on him, and this is the Messiah
 which also ascended again; and the one who is
 the Maker (Demiurge), or who comes by
 dispensation, or who is from Joseph,¹⁵ who
 also is one to whom they attribute suffering,
 one then who descended from things invisible
 and unnameable; one who is also
 incomprehensible, and invisible, and without
 suffering, confirming the one who exists,
 while erring from the truth because their
 thinking is far from the God who exists.

¹⁵ Unless this alludes to affiliation with the tribe of Joseph or Samaritans (like the accusation in Jn 8:48), this appears to refer to Jesus as a natural son of his father Joseph, similar to the Syriac Sinaitic Palimpsest's absence of the virgin birth in Mt 1:25 and its earlier claim in Mt 1:16, "he begat Jesus" (ܐܕܪܝܬܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ): see A. S. Lewis, ed., *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1910), 2–3. This suggests that some Gnostics refrained from a Docetic nativity and rather held an Adoptionist Christology wherein the Spirit only descended upon Jesus at his baptism, which would be redundant had the Spirit been embodied since birth. Epiphanius identifies the doctrine of the Spirit's descent with the Ebionite manifestation of the True Prophet: see *Panarion* 30.18.5.

Fr. 8 – *Haer.* III 16,6b

While they fell from the truth because their thinking was far from the one who is God,¹⁶ and do not know the only-begotten Word of this one who truly is near to humanity, unified and formed along with his own formation according to the will of the Father, and made flesh, who is Jesus the Messiah our Lord, who also suffered in exchange for us, and rose for the sake of us, and comes again in the glory of his Father to raise all flesh for a demonstration of salvation and to extend the rule of righteous judgment over all those who were made by him.

Fr. 9 – *Haer.* III 16,9

And just as he does not make declaration for
 those who wish to hear, you should not err: one
 and the same is Jesus the Messiah, who is the
 Son of God, who by means of his suffering
 reconciled us to God, and rose from among
 the dead.

Fr. 10 – *Haer.* III 17,4

מלי הכחם מה צדק האמון They partly deny the Spirit, but consider that

¹⁶ This first phrase of fragment 8 and the last clause of fragment 7 are translations of the same portion of the text; however, the differences between the passage of these two fragments demonstrate that they are not copied from the same Syriac vorlage.

there is a different Messiah and different Jesus, and not the one Messiah rather than the many they have been teaching. And even if they were united speaking about them, still they would distinguish them, for they teach that he partly partook of sufferings, yet he remains without suffering; and this one partly ascended to the Pleroma, but that one remained in the middle (interval).¹⁷

But while I have clearly demonstrated that the Word was existing in the beginning with God¹⁸—by whose hand everything came into being,¹⁹ who is also truly present to the human race—in later times, in the time that was determined by the Father, he was united in his own form by means of having become a suffering human being. There is annulled all controversy of those who say, “If our Lord was then born, he did not therefore exist before he became the Messiah.” We indeed

¹⁹ Cf. GosThom 50.

הַלֵּל מִיָּדָה זֶה, הַמֵּלֵךְ כִּי
 הָאֱלֹהִים הָאֱמֶלֶךְ, מִן
 אֲבֹתָ: אֵל הַמִּיָּדָה אֲבֹתָ
 כִּי הָאֱמֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֶלֶךְ
 הָאֱמֶלֶךְ מִן הַיָּדָה אֲבֹתָ
 הָאֱמֶלֶךְ לֵךְ אֲבֹתָ הַמֵּלֵךְ
 הָאֱמֶלֶךְ כִּי הָאֱמֶלֶךְ
 הָאֱמֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֶלֶךְ לֵךְ
 הָאֱמֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֶלֶךְ.

That Word of God descended from the Father
of all, and was incarnated, and descended
unto death, and fulfilled the dispensation of
our salvation.

If it was not going to suffer, but was to fly away from Jesus,²⁰ why even did he charge the

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Fr. 14 – *Haer.* III 22,2

Diatessaron," *Vigiliae Christianae* 40 (1986): 313–341.

²¹ Mt 4:2.

²² Jn 4:6.

²³ Ps 69:26.

Fr. 15 – *Haer.* IV 6,7

וְהָיָה מִדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲנִי מֵאֵל הָאֵל
 אֵין יָדִיעַ לְאִשָּׁא אֵל אֵין יָדִיעַ הָאֵל
 לְבָנָא אֵל אֵין אִשָּׁא אֵל אֵלֵּךְ הָאֵל
 בְּלִי לְמַעַן: מִן לְבָנָא הָאֵל לְ
 מֵאֵל בְּלִי לְמַעַן בְּלִי מִן הָאֵל
 אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר אֵל מִן הָאֵל מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא הָאֵל לְאִשָּׁא מִן בְּנֵי
 מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ אֵל לְמַעַן בְּלִי
 בְּלִי וְכֵן מִדָּבָר.

And because of this, our Lord was saying,
 “No one knows the Father except the Son,
 nor the Son except the Father, and those to
 whom the Son will reveal.”²⁴ For he was not
 to reveal it only over that spoken of the
 future, as if partly the Word had begun to
 reveal the Father, partly after it was born
 from Mary, rather than it being generically
 set over the entire time.

Fr. 16 – *Haer.* IV 20,8

לֹא בְּלִי בְּלִי בְּלִי בְּלִי
 מֵאֵל נִקְרָא אֵל אֵין בְּלִי
 אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 הָאֵל מִלְּבָנָא בְּלִי מִדָּבָר
 בְּלִי מִדָּבָר הָאֵל מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר
 מִלְּבָנָא מִדָּבָר אֵלֵּךְ מִדָּבָר

For not only were the prophets prophesying by
 language, but also by vision, and by conduct,
 and by those deeds which they were doing
 according to the counsel of the Spirit. But by
 reason according to this, they were seeing the
 invisible God just as Isaiah says, “My eyes have
 seen the King, the LORD of hosts,”²⁵ while
 making known that a human being sees God with
 his eyes,²⁶ and hears his voice. According to
 this construct of reason, they were also
 seeing the Son of God, a human being

²⁴ Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22.²⁵ Is 6:5.²⁶ Cf. Gen 18:14; 31:11; also Philo, *On Dreams* 1.171 has a unique folk etymology for the name Israel: “man saw God” (אִשְׂרָאֵל אֵל).

conversing with human beings, while they were
 prophesying something of the future to come,
 and were saying that he who was not yet
 present was present; but they rather were
 preaching suffering is passive, and were saying
 that he who is in heaven had descended unto
 “the dust of death.”²⁷

Fr. 17 – *Haer.* IV 24,2

But here is a strange admonition and new
 doctrine: the gods of the gentiles are not
 only not gods, but even “the idols of
 demons.”²⁸ But one is God, he who is
 “exalted above all principality, and
 authority, and dominion, and every name
 that is nameable.”²⁹ even the Word of this
 one who by nature is invisible, while he was
 comprehensible and visible among human
 beings, descending “unto death—the death,
 then, of the cross.”³⁰

Fr. 18 – *Haer.* IV 33,11

But they say again, “He is a human being, and
 who can know him?”³¹ and, “I drew near unto

²⁷ Ps 22:15.

²⁸ Ps 96:5, and cf. GosThom 30.

²⁹ Eph 1:21.

³⁰ Phil 2:8.

the prophetess, and she gave birth to a son,"³² and "his name was called Counselor, Wonderful, the Mighty God."³³ And they were preaching that he who is from the virgin is Emmanuel, for the union of the Word of God, which they were making known according to its formation. For the Word became flesh, and the Son of God, the Son of man who is pure, purely opening the pure womb which has regenerated human beings unto God, which he made pure—and this after he had become something that also we are—being a Mighty God, and having a generation that no one can describe.

But they are completely vain, who are rejecters of the complete dispensation and deny the salvation of the flesh, even reproaching his own birth³⁴ which is from the beginning, while saying that he is not receptive of incorruptibility. But if this is

³⁴ Jesus' natural birth, i.e. "who is from Joseph" (fr. 7), was such an issue for nascent Christianity that it simultaneously spawned both the orthodox immaculate conception and Jewish and pagan claims of illegitimacy: see the *Toldot Yeshu* literature and Origen's testimonia to Celsus.

not saved, well then the Messiah does not save us with his own blood, nor is this cup of confession a communion of his own blood, nor is that bread which we break a communion of his own body.

And in that which is to the Romans he says, "For if you live by flesh, you are going to put it to death,"³⁵ if only by means of their intercourse, that is, their way of life which is required by the flesh; for he also wrote to them while he was in the flesh. But after the lusts of the flesh, those which put human beings to death, cut off. And because of this he added,³⁶ "If then by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the flesh, you shall live. For all those who are led by the Spirit of God, they are the children of God."

For we have demonstrated by means of many things that the Word of God, when it was incarnated, was hanged³⁷ on the tree.

³⁷ The meaning is evidently “suspended” but employs the same root as allegations of ‘hanging’ executions in both the Babylonian Talmud and *Toldot Yeshu* literature: see Sanhedrin 43a, “on the eve of Passover they

Fr. 23 – *Haer.* V 35,2

אכחא לחי הצניא חא אטחא, For just as he truly is the God who raises the
 אלא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא human being, so even truly will the human
 אצניא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא being rise from among the dead, and not
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא allegorically, as we have demonstrated by
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא means of all these things.

Fr. 24 – *Haer.* V 35,2–36,1

חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא Afterward, when everything is renewed,
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא truly they will dwell in the city of God. For
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא clearly he says, “He who sits on the throne
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא says, ‘Lo, I myself make all things new.’ And
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא he said, ‘Write, because these words are
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא faithful and true.’ And he said to me, ‘They
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא are done,’”³⁸ most fittingly. For when human
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא beings exist truly, it is truly proper even for
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא their own renewal to come about, but not to
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא be pushed beyond unto things that they are
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא not,³⁹ rather than to come to advancement
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא in the things that they are. For neither the
 חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא חא person nor the substance of the creation is

hanged (תלאודו) Yeshu.”

³⁸ Rev 21:5–6.

³⁹ This “pushed beyond unto things that they are not” seems to allude to the 2nd-century Gnostic Encratite doctrine of an androgynous (or more properly, hermaphroditic) union in the afterlife, similar to what many interpreters of the Gospel of Thomas have claimed regarding the erroneous translation “single one(s),” and through which Nicholas Perrin argued for a late 2nd-century dating of the work: see N. Perrin, *Thomas, the Other Gospel* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2007), 120–23.

אלה אמשא הכזשא מחלשא
 צונו לזי אמצונו מה האמצונו: אלה
 אשכחא הבלשא מה בזי מה
 הק מלך הבזי פוסהא כחך מהא
 מלך האבלשא כחך כזשא: אמלך
 מהא מהא אשכחא וכשא מהא זה
 משהק נהב אלשא בלשהק: אק
 מא השמך כחלשא מה הסהק מהא
 אכלשא הכזשא וכשא הבלשא
 אק השמך שחך: זה הק בזי למ
 אשכחא מהא וכזשא אלהא
 אלהא למ מחלשא מהא אשכחא
 הלא שחך אלהא הנשא אלהא
 אלהא שחך אלהא אלהא
 אלהא מ, הכזשא שחך אלהא
 כזשא זה כחלשא שחך אלהא
 מלך שחך אלשא: אמלך
 הכחלשא משהק מלך למ תשאא
 אשכחא שחך אלהא: אלהא לזי
 השכחא שחך אלהא אלהא
 מלך האא שחך אלהא הנשא
 מהא אלהא שחך שחך אלהא
 וזכחא אשכחא: אלהא השכחא
 אלהא.

lost, for he is true and firm who establishes
 it. However, "the form of this world passes
 away,"⁴⁰ but that is, those in whom is the
 transgression of authority, because the
 human being in them has grown old. And
 wherefore this temporal form came into
 being, while God is foreknowing everything—
 according to what we have demonstrated in
 the book which precedes this one—even the
 causes of the temporal creation of the
 world we have given as much as possible. But
 when this form passes away and the human
 being has been renewed, and it melts away
 into what is incorruptible, so that it will be
 impossible further to grow old, there shall
 be a new heaven and a new earth,⁴¹ that
 wherein a human being continues, while
 always speaking newly with God. And because
 they always remain immortal, Isaiah thus
 says, "For just as the new heaven and the
 new earth, which I myself make, remain
 before me, says the LORD, so your seed and
 your name shall stand,"⁴² just as the elders
 say.

⁴⁰ 1 Cor 7:31.

⁴¹ Is 65:17, Rev 21:1.

⁴² Is 66:22.

Fr. 25 – Lost writing

ܒܗ ܡܚܒܠ ܥܩܒܐ ܠܩܢܐ ܒܗ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܡܐ ܠܥܢ ܠܩܢܐ
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܐܠܝܦܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ,
 ܡܒܪܐܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܡܢ, ܗܠܥܡܥܥܐ
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܡܐ ܗܦܪܝܡ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܡܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢ;
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܠܗ ܗܡܐ, ܡܒܪܐܬܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܒܡܚܒܐ ܗܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܗ
 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܗܡܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ,
 ܡܢܫܐ ܗܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ.

How therefore did the seventy languages⁴³
 demonstrate that by means of number, and
 partly David, the languages would be
 gathered into one? Being constrained by
 them, even the ark demonstrates that it
 existed as a type of the body of the Messiah,
 being both pure and without blemish, just as
 indeed the ark had been gilded with pure gold
 both inside and outside,⁴⁴ so even thus the
 body of the Messiah was pure and shone
 the same inside, having been adorned by
 the Word, but outside preserved by the
 Spirit, so that by the two of them their
 natural glory can be demonstrated.

Fr. 26 – Lost writing

ܒܒܐ ܗܡܐ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ
 ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ

But already by means of the things he had
 begotten, there has until now been partly
 received the Word: since we are persuaded that
 in every one of us there are two human beings.
 For one is acknowledged hidden and the other is
 manifest, one is bodily and the other is spiritual,

⁴³ The hagiographic notion of seventy languages comes from the seventy grandsons of Noah listed in Gen 10:1–32 and 11:10–29, which the Book of Jubilees 10:25 associates with nations and languages of their own. See R. H. Charles, ed., *The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis* (London: A. and C. Black, 1902), 83–84.

⁴⁴ Ex 25:11.

חסדא דהויטא דהויטא. און
 נח יצא אל הויטא לליל
 כל יצא וזו מנעם לו
 לצדק צדקא דא צדקא
 מנעם לו לצדקא דא, נח
 וכל אלה הויטא דהויטא
 דהי השלם אבדא, הצדק
 וזו צדקא.

while the generation of the two of them is twins.⁴⁵ For as one, the two of them have manifested in the world, for the spirit was not prior to the body in its coming into being, nor the body prior to it in its formation,⁴⁶ but the two of them are the offspring of one time, an Aeon, but the provision of them is purity and sweet fragrance.

Fr. 27 – Lost writing

For in truth, therefore, there will be universal
 joy to all the Pleroma for all those who have
 believed in salvation, and in every person
 there shall be confirmed the mystery of the
 resurrection, and the hope of incorruptibility,
 and the beginning of the eternal kingdom,
 when the LORD will strike down death, the
 Adversary. For the human being and the flesh
 which rose from among the dead does not
 again die, but after having been transformed
 into incorruptibility, and mingled with the
 Spirit, when the heavens were opened, he
 gloriously offered it up to the Father.

⁴⁵ This “twins” doctrine is otherwise unknown to Christian tradition and likely something Irenaeus found compelling from his opponents: notice the unambiguous transliteration for “Aeon” (ܐܝܢ) toward the end of this fragment, which in fragment 2 is merely the Syriac word for “portico.”

⁴⁶ Cf. GosThom 29: “If the flesh came into being because of the spirit, it is a marvel, but if spirit came into being because of the body, it is a marvel of marvels.”

Fr. 28 – Lost writing

ומעכּהּ חלל הַבְּחִי לְתִיב לְחַיִּי
 מְחַבְּחֵהּ חֲסִידֵי מַלְכֵּי הָאֵלִי בְּהַמֵּן
 לְיָדֵי חֲלָל מַהֲבֵד אֵלֵּי לְחַיִּי
 הַמִּשְׁתֵּל אֵלֵּי מַשְׁתֵּלֵּי הַלְּחֵי
 הַזִּמְנֵי מִן מְחַבְּחֵי לְחַבְּחֵי
 אֵלֵּי הַבְּחִי מִן מַחְבֵּלֵי חֲלָלֵי
 חֲלָל הַמַּחְבְּחֵי מִן מַחְבְּחֵי
 הַנֶּה מַחְבֵּי אֲשֶׁרֶם; מַשְׁתֵּלֵּי הַנֶּה
 לְשִׁמְרָא הַמַּחְבְּחֵי הַלֵּל
 אֲשֶׁרֶם מַחְבֵּלֵי אֵלֵּי הַנֶּה מַחְבֵּי
 לְהַרְפֵּי מִן הַכִּלְמֵי לְחַבְּחֵי הַנֶּה
 מִן הַמִּלֵּי אֲשֶׁרֶם הַכִּלְמֵי לְחַבְּחֵי
 חֲלָלֵי לְחַבְּחֵי הַמִּשְׁתֵּלֵּי מַשְׁתֵּלֵּי
 הַמַּחְבְּחֵי הַזִּמְנֵי מִן מַחְבֵּלֵי חֲלָלֵי
 חֲלָלֵי אֲשֶׁרֶם אֵלֵּי הַלֵּלֵי הַלֵּלֵי
 מַשְׁתֵּלֵּי הַנֶּה מַחְבֵּי מַחְבְּחֵי
 מַחְבְּחֵי הַזִּמְנֵי מִן מַחְבֵּלֵי חֲלָלֵי
 מַחְבְּחֵי חֲלָלֵי חֲלָלֵי

And now, because already the written records of those which also have come down unto us are lost to you, I make known to you that according to your own dignity you should cast out from the midst those books, for they partly bring our blame upon you, because that writer boasted of himself that he is one of you.⁴⁷ But they injure many who simply and without questioning, as if from an elder, receive that blasphemy by which they have rebuked God. (Consider) then he who caused them to be written, that by means of them he may not only injure those who have been drawn near, preparing for their thinking blasphemies against God, but even injuring those who are with us, which by means of whose written records he produces false opinions against God in their minds.

Fr. 29 – Lost writing

חֲלָלֵי מַהֲבֵד הַנֶּה לְחַבְּחֵי
 הַנֶּה מַחְבֵּי מַחְבְּחֵי חֲלָלֵי
 חֲלָלֵי מַחְבְּחֵי חֲלָלֵי

The holy books know of the Messiah, that just as he is a human being, so also he is not a human being; and just as the flesh, so also

⁴⁷ It is not clear who this “writer” is whose books “should be cast out of the midst;” however, Marcion and Valentinus are probable since Irenaeus robustly polemicized against them, despite that other charismatic writers of “heresy” are also possible.

אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף. מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים
 מִלְּבָרָא הָאֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ
 הַנֶּחֱמָה מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה אֱלֹהִים.
 מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים הַכְּסִיף הַלֵּל מִבְּנֵי
 נֶפֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף
 מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים הַכְּסִיף. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף
 לְעִתָּהּ בִּי אֱלֹהִים, מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה
 מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים לְעִתָּהּ מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה
 הַנֶּחֱמָה מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה הַכְּסִיף
 הַלֵּל. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף הַכְּסִיף.
 מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ
 הַנֶּחֱמָה מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה. מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים
 אֱלֹהִים. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף הַכְּסִיף.
 הַלֵּל. מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים מִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה
 לְמִיָּד כֹּחַ אֱמִתָּה. מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים הַכְּסִיף
 הַכְּסִיף הַכְּסִיף. אָמֵן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּסִיף.

the Spirit, and the Word of God is even God.
 And just as he was born from Mary in later
 times, so also the first-born of all
 creation⁴⁸ came forth from God. And just
 as he hungered, so also was he satisfied.
 And just as he thirsted,⁴⁹ so also from of
 old did he even make the Jews drink, when
 the stone was being the Messiah,⁵⁰ and now
 Jesus gives the believers to drink spiritual
 waters, which spring up unto eternal life.⁵¹
 And just as the son of David, so also the
 Lord of David.⁵² And just as from Abraham,
 so also from before Abraham.⁵³ And just as
 the servant of God, so also the Son of God
 and the LORD of all. And just as he was spit
 upon as disgraceful,⁵⁴ so also he breathed
 the Holy Spirit into his disciples.⁵⁵ And just
 as he was grieved, so also he gave joy to his

⁴⁸ Col 1:15.

⁴⁹ Jn 19:28.

⁵⁰ 1 Cor 10:4: "For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ." Cf. "...drank water from the stone following them whose taste was changed by the Power of God according to their desire." (Rec 1:35)

⁵¹ Jn 4:14.

⁵² Mt 22:45.

⁵³ Jn 8:58.

⁵⁴ Mt 26:67.

⁵⁵ Jn 20:22.

people. And just as he was comprehensible and tangible, so again in the midst of those who were striking him, he passed by without being apprehended;⁵⁶ and he entered by means of closed doors without being hindered.⁵⁷ And just as he slept, so also he commanded the sea, and breeze, and winds.⁵⁸ And just as he suffered, so also he lives, and gives life and healing for all of our pains. And just as he died, so also there is a resurrection of the dead, being disgraceful on earth, but higher in the heaven than all honor and glory; who was partly crucified through infirmity. But he lives by divine power, who descended unto the lower parts of the earth, and ascends to above the heavens—for the manger was sufficient for him, but he fills all—who was dead, and lives forever and ever. Amen.

The Law, and the Prophets, and the
 Evangelists made announcement about the
 Messiah, that he was born from the virgin,
 and suffered upon the cross, and appeared

⁵⁸ Mt 8:24–26.

לעמא. והנך אבא מעלכא.
 והאבות, מלכא לכל והנא
 אבות, מהא מעלכא מלכא
 האלמא מה הנך סגד למורא
 אבות. מה האבות, בנא
 בנהא הכל. ובכל הכי אנא.
 מה הכל כל מא. בנא
 אבותא זנא אבותא. בנא
 נאמא. בנא זנא בנא.
 בנא מנא. בנא נא
 בנא מלכא. בנא כי
 אנא. כאכא כי. כאלמא
 אלמא. מלכא לכל.

מה לזי אבות, מה מה הלמא
 מא מלכא אלכזמא הכי. מה
 הנך אנא אבותא הנך
 בנא מא כאנא. זנא
 האלמא המעלכא מלכא הכי.
 מנא הכי הכי. זנא
 המלכא. אלמא הנך אלמא. כי
 הנך אכא. נא מנא מלכא
 הללך בנא אכא.

from among the dead, and ascended into heaven, and is glorified by the Father, and is king forever. And this is he who makes known the tradition, the Word of God who was begotten prior to the light,⁵⁹ who was with the Maker of all, the form of the Son of Man who was all in all, the patriarch among patriarchs, the Law among laws, chief priest among priests, the leader among kings, the prophet among prophets, the angel among angels,⁶⁰ the human being among human beings, the Son with the Father, God with God, the king forever.

For this is the one who was a navigator for Noah, and took Abraham; who was bound with Isaac, and was foreign with Jacob; the shepherd of those who are saved, and the bridegroom of the church, and the leader of the Cherubim; the commander of the host of angels; God from God; the Son from the Father; Jesus the Messiah, the king forever and ever. Amen.

⁵⁹ Cf. GosThom 50.

⁶⁰ The claim of Jesus being "the prophet among prophets, the angel among angels" is reminiscent of the Clementines' True Prophet doctrine regarding one of each genus set over their respective genera: "He determined as Princes an Angel of angels, a Spirit of spirits, a Star of stars, a Bird of birds..." (Rec 1:45)

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