THE GOSPEL OF JUDAS AS CONFLICTIO
(IRENAEUS, ADV. HAER. I, 31, 1)

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The first testimony we have to the newly discovered Gospel of Judas is in Irenaeus, Adv. haer. I, 31, 1. Here it is said that certain Gnostics adduce a conflictio which they call ‘the Gospel of Judas’. The question is: what does the noun conflictio mean here?

Up to now the word has been translated into English as ‘a fictitious history’, ‘a fabrication’, ‘a fabricated work’, ‘a fabricated book’. The suggestion in all of these translations is that the Gospel of Judas is considered to be ‘a fiction’. One may dispute this opinion, however.

According to TLL, conflictio has a negative meaning indeed: dolosa excogitatio. But apart of this first (mentioned) meaning it also denotes formatio. The positive meaning of this last word is illustrated by a quote from the Collectio Avellena: qui ... plasmatus est et confitionem (Gr. σύστασιν) in muliebri accepit ventre. Moreover, it is also indicated that the noun is derived from confingere and that its equivalent according to glossaria is σύνθεσις, σύμπλασις. For the correct understanding of conflictio in the Latin Irenaeus we deem this information to be of vital importance.

As regards confingere, TLL starts by indicating that the verb is composed of con and fingere. Its first and, so it appears on the basis of its many testimonies, preponderant meaning is: fingendo efficere cominisci. Its second and, in view of the considerable number of testimonies, also well-attested meaning is componere, conficere. Among the testimonies of the second category one reads, for instance, one example from Varro belonging to the discipline of linguistics and some from Pliny ‘the Elder’ belonging to natural history. It is this second but at the same time most literal, elementary and hence basic meaning which, according to my opinion, the person who once translated Irenaeus original Greek into Latin had especially in view.

Evidence to support this claim is primarily found in Epiphanius. In his report on the Gospel of Judas and the Gnostics who adduce (φερειν) it, he terms it a συνταγματον. This seems to indicate a (small) work that has been put together from several components. From the Latin translation of Irenaeus’ testimony, it is true, one cannot deduce that the writing we are dealing with was small; the suggestion brought about by the word conflictio is supported by Epiphanius’ συν-ταγματον, however. It is fairly possible that
Irenaeus in his original Greek text used this word. It might also be possible that he termed the work a σύμπλασις or σύνθεσις. Be that as it may, one thing seems to be evident: both Irenaeus and, in his wake, Epiphanius hand down the information that the Gospel of Judas was a composition in the original sense of the word, i.e. a work put together from several (in all likelihood: Gnostic) traditions.

As a matter of fact the word confictio, like its suggested equivalent σύμπλασις, has the negative connotation of ‘feigned’ or ‘fabricated’. But this connotation is not inherent to the meaning of σύνταγμα/συνταγματικόν (or σύνθεσις, for that matter). By opting for an ambiguous word such as confictio in order to indicate the peculiar work the Gospel of Judas according to Irenaeus’ description was, the Latin translator made an appropriate choice. His readers are endangered, however, to overlook the original meaning of the word and, in this way, to miss a cardinal characteristic Irenaeus intended to transmit. From the course of Irenaeus’ exposition in Adv. haer. it is clear that in I, 31 he is dealing with a group of Gnostics (later on, for instance by Epiphanius and Theodoretus, they are termed ‘Cainites’) whose teachings are based upon doctrines several of which we also find in other Gnostic groups.

A glance at the original meaning of confictio we finally get from Theodoretus of Cyrhrus. In his Haereticorum fabularum compendium I, 15 he hands down an abstract from Irenaeus’ original Greek passage on the Gospel of Judas and their Gnostics. As regards the Gospel, he emphatically communicates:

οπέρ ἐκεῖνοι συντεθείκασιν. The stress in this phrase, it should be observed, is on ἐκεῖνοι: Theodoretus is explaining to his readers that Judas did not write the Gospel named after him, but that it originated from others. In the choice of the verb συντεθήκασιν, however, we may hear an echo of Irenaeus’ original Greek noun which his Latin translator transmitted as confictio.

Our concluding remarks may be brief. Already from Irenaeus’ testimony it may be derived that the Gospel of Judas was a composite, the word confictio at the same time bearing the negative connotation of something put together. But Irenaeus (and the same goes, in his wake, for Epiphanius and Theodoretus) does not term it a mere fabrication or fiction. From the recently discovered Gospel of Judas we learn that the information provided by Irenaeus is correct. The Gospel of Judas is a work composed of several Gnostic (mainly ‘Sethian’) and also other traditions.

NOTES

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2 Adu. haer. I, 31, 1 (Rousseau & Doutreleau, I/2, 386): ‘Et confi(n)ctionem adferunt huiusmodi, Iudae Euangelium illud uocantes’. Adversus haereses is quoted here according to the critical edition (with French translation, introduction, notes, and appendices) by Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, Irenée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre I, Tome I + II (Sources chrétiens 263–264), Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1979. Erasmus in his 1526 editio princeps of Irenaeus, Harvey in his influential edition (W. Wigan Harvey, Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quique adversus Haereses, I, Cantabrigiae: Typis academicis 1857, 242) and Rousseau & Doutreleau opt for confinctio (perhaps according to the –disputed– principle of the ‘lectio difficilior’ potior?); the important mss. Claromontanus and Vossianus read the common Latin noun confictio, however. In essence, all this does not effect the meaning while both confinctio and confictio derive from fingere which verb in first instance denotes the act of forming).


10 TLL IV (n. 8), 213–214.


12 Plinius, nat. 10, 91: ‘nee unde confingantur (halcyonum nidi), invenitur’; 10, 93: ‘eadem materia confingunt nides’; etc.

13 There is some discussion in regard to the date of the (unknown) person(s): see Doutreleau’s remarks in the various volumes of the edition of Irenaeus’ Adv. haer. in the Sources chrétiennes and, in particular, Sven Lundström, Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung, Lund: Gleerup 1943 and idem, Neue Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung, Lund: Gleerup 1948.


17 For σύνταγμα, see for instance Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1724 (e.g. ‘that which is put together in order’ and ‘treatise, work, book’); for σύνταγμάτιον, see for instance G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961 (repr. 1972), 1338: ‘dimin. of σύνταγμα, little treatise, little work’ (in regard to σύνταγμα in patristic sources, Lampe can confine himself to the just quoted meanings as found in Liddell & Scott); for σύνθεσις, see Liddell & Scott, 1716 (e.g. ‘putting together, composition, combination’) or Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1328-1329 (idem from a great variety of ‘patristic’ sources).


19 See e.g. Scopello (ed.), *Gospel of Judas in Context* (n. 1). The major part of the essays included in this volume refer to ‘Sethian’ elements, some (e.g. J.-D. Dubois, ‘L’ Évangile de Judas et la tradition basilidienne’, 145–154) to ‘Basilidean’ elements, others to the apparent ‘Biblical’ traditions. As it is generally assumed (and becomes evident at first reading), the main contents of the Gospel of Judas as we now have it in a Coptic version consists of ‘(pseudo-) historical’ information on the one hand and highly interesting Gnostic (mainly ‘mythical’) information on the other.